

THE LEGACY OF MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.: THE MONTGOMERY  
BUS BOYCOTT (1955-1956), THE BELOVED COMMUNITY AND  
NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE

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## ABSTRACT

### THE LEGACY OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.: THE MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT (1955), THE BELOVED COMMUNITY AND NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE

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The United States faced one of the crucial social movements in the second half of the twentieth century. The Civil Rights Movement, symbolizing the struggle for equality and justice, was the revival of the country's founding principles in a way. This study primarily aims to reconsider Martin Luther King Jr., as one of the notable figures of the recent United States history, and his legacy by referring to The Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955), the beloved community and nonviolent resistance. This thesis will argue the images of King's religious affiliations and duties on his course of action. In this study, The Boycott, which boosts the Civil Rights Movement, will be examined by benefitting from two newspapers, called *The Washington Star (Evening Star)* and *Arizona Sun*, which are based on different stances. This study will also consider propaganda posters, photographs, court records, memoirs, speeches, and letters to analyze the Boycott and King's leadership. This thesis will ask if another way would be possible without civil disobedience and reveal the importance of the course of action in evaluating the struggle of King Jr. and African Americans.

**Keywords:** The Montgomery Bus Boycott, Martin Luther King Jr., The Beloved Community, Nonviolent Resistance

## ÖZ

### MARTİN LUTHER KİNG JR.'İN MİRASI: MONTGOMERY OTOBÜS BOYKOTU (1955), MUTEBER TOPLUM VE PASİF DİRENİŞ

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Amerika Birleşik Devletleri yirminci yüzyılın ikinci yarısında en önemli toplumsal hareketlerden biriyle karşı karşıya kaldı. Eşitlik ve adalet mücadelesini simgeleyen Sivil Haklar Hareketi, bir anlamda ülkenin kuruluş ilkelerinin dirilişiydi. Bu çalışma öncelikle, yakın dönem Amerika tarihinin önemli isimlerinden biri olan Martin Luther King Jr.'ı ve mirasını, muteber toplum ve pasif direniş konseptlerini; Montgomery Otobüs Boykotu'na (1955) atıfta bulunarak yeniden değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu tez, King'in hareket tarzına ilişkin dini aidiyetlerinin ve görevlerinin imajlarını da tartışacaktır. Bu çalışmada, farklı duruşlara dayanan *The Washington Star (Evening Star)* ve *Arizona Sun* adlı iki gazeteden yararlanılarak Sivil Haklar Hareketi'ni öne çıkaran boykot incelenecektir. Bu çalışmada ayrıca, boykotu ve King'in liderliğini analiz etmek için propaganda afişleri, fotoğraflar, mahkeme kayıtları, hatıralar, konuşmalar ve mektuplar ele alınacaktır. Bu tez, sivil itaatsizlik olmadan başka bir yolun mümkün olup olmayacağını soracak ve King Jr. ile Afrikalı Amerikalıların mücadelesini değerlendirirken eylem tarzının önemini ortaya koyacaktır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Montgomery Otobüs Boykotu, Martin Luther King Jr.,  
Muteber Toplum, Pasif Direniş

*To the founder of the modern Turkish republic,  
Mustafa Kemal Atatürk*

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

I believe the Indian then to be in body and mind equal to the white man. I have supposed the black man, in his present state, might not be so. But it would be hazardous to affirm that, equally cultivated for a few generations, he would not become so.<sup>1</sup>

The concept of citizenship, which legally defines the relationship between the state and the individual, has been the subject of a lot of struggles for rights and freedom in the historical process. Civil rights embodying and institutionalizing as an aftermath of the American Revolution (1765-1783) and the French Revolution (1789-1799), were based upon not only the superiority of the state that represented a notional hegemony, but also on concepts like freedom of speech and right to participation of the citizen. This relationship which was developed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining public safety has glorified the principle of equality among citizens.

The Declaration of Independence (1776) addresses that all men are created equal, and they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from Thomas Jefferson to the Marquis de Chastellux, June 7, 1785. Retrieved from, *National Archives*, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-08-02-0145> . Date of Access: 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2021.

organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their Safety and Happiness.<sup>2</sup>

In this context, it was opened to discussion whether the founding principles had been implemented or not. Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), one of the Founding Fathers and authors of the Declaration of Independence, underlined the importance of equality also in his first Inaugural Address in 1801, and the address completely denied the potential domination of the majority or those who had been in power over the minority. In contrast with these founding principles, the White majority in the United States did not recognize the civil rights of the African Americans.

During the contest of opinion through which we have past, the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely, and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the constitution all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law and unite in common efforts for the common good. All too will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate would be oppression.<sup>3</sup>

In fact, President Jefferson's address reveals the great contradiction arising from the distortion between actual practices and ideals in American history, also the speech might give clues about what happened in case of abusing the founding principles which directly indicates human equality. However, African Americans, who have been one of the "others" in the United States, have barely benefitted from the legal rights while their demands have been fallen on deaf ear

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<sup>2</sup> The Declaration of Independence was proclaimed by Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776. The Thirteen Colonies which struggled against the Great Britain participated in Congress. In this respect, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson had a pivotal role to forge the United States of America. For detail, see *The Library of Congress*, <https://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/declarind.html> . Date of Access: 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2021.

<sup>3</sup> For detail, see *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, <https://jeffersonpapers.princeton.edu/selected-documents/first-inaugural-address-0> . Date of Access: 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2021.

by the government in general. Ultimately, both the United States and the world witnessed one of the greatest acts of civil resistance in history.

This thesis primarily centers upon Martin Luther King Jr. and his legacy with regards to the American Civil Rights Movement. In this sense, the study grounds on the Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955) as one of the watersheds of the movement by the reason of being the first large scale maneuver which massified the Civil Rights Movement. Thanks to this boycott, the American Civil Rights Movement gained a social visibility, and it was realized that racism was a daily problem of ordinary people. A tailor's protest sparked a national riot. Besides, the boycott was also important that King's leadership was tested for the first time in the eyes of public. The study also argues that the American Civil Rights Movement would not be carried out if King's mode of action, which based upon nonviolent and passive disobedience, was not implemented. This perspective has also been widely discussed in other secondary sources. Different from those point of views, this thesis will establish a link between King's spiritual concerns, episodic efforts, and the spirit of the era. Nevertheless, this thesis will argue the topic by referring to two different newspapers, the *Washington Star (Evening Star)*, which possessed mainly a conservative perspective, and *Arizona Sun*, which supported the African American community by the purpose of tendering a different perspective. These sources may provide informative clues in terms of the mentality, perception management, and social behaviors of Americans during the indicated era. This viewpoint will make this thesis distinct from other academic studies. Another goal of this study is to focus on the speeches, letters, court cases, dockets, filings, and posters. The thesis attempts to avoid concentrating on narrative history by asking questions about both the grounds and outcomes of the Boycott that reflects how an ordinary person marginalized by social and political mechanisms in recent American history has changed history. and King's legacy to promote an authentic approach to the delineation of the "other" in recent United States history.

In the second chapter of the thesis, a brief historical background of the American Civil Rights Movement will be provided by focusing on social, political, and cultural aspects. By doing so, the study aims to reconsider and analyze the underlying reasons and motives of the movement. Then, the chapter will concentrate on the laws which protect and eliminate racism and social polarization in the United States. Especially, the chapter will focus on *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 US 483 (1954) and *Civil Rights Act of 1964*. The chapter will refer to The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) by the purpose of revealing and analyzing the roles of Martin Luther King Jr. and nongovernmental organizations on the Civil Rights Movement. In this chapter, social and economic dynamics that triggered the movement will be analyzed by benefitting from posters and photographs.

In the third chapter, King's philosophy which was primarily based upon the concepts of "The Beloved Community" and "Nonviolence" will be discussed by benefitting from his own books. Josiah Royce, an American philosopher, who had an intellectual influence on Martin Luther King Jr. and coined the term "Beloved Community" will be briefly analyzed in this chapter. Hence the origin of the "beloved community" and six steps of nonviolence will be examined. Herein, an analytical overview will be brought forth to comprehend King's struggle for racial equality and justice. On the other hand, in this chapter, the concept of social change triggered by King's approach of nonviolence will be scrutinized to form an opinion about the United States in that period.

In the fourth chapter of the thesis, the Montgomery Bus Boycott will be discussed in detail by touching upon Martin Luther King Jr.'s role and other prominent figures like Claudette Colvin and Rosa Parks who paved a way for civil disobedience. At this juncture, this chapter will reconsider why the Montgomery Bus Boycott was a turning point within the scope of the Civil Rights Movement. Besides, King's way and the course of the Boycott will be

embraced by ascribing to the founding principles and American ideals. Additionally, whether the Montgomery Bus Boycott brought about social polarization will be questioned. A series of speeches, letters, court records, and newspaper clippings from the *Evening Star* (*Washington Star*) and *Arizona Sun* will be utilized in order to deliver a comparative and analytical perspective about the Boycott.

### **1.1. Literature Review**

Numerous secondary and primary sources such as books, articles, dissertations, theses, court cases, dockets, letters, speeches, and newspapers are scrutinized within the scope of this thesis. In the second chapter, which concentrates on the historical background of the American Civil Rights Movement and King's leadership, *The Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People* by Alan Brinkley, *The American Dream: A Short History of an Idea Shaped a Nation* by Jim Cullen, *The Fifties* by David Halberstam, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* by James Paterson, *If White Kids Dies* by Dick. J. Reavis, *Cities and Race* by David Wilson, *A Companion to American Cultural History* by Karen Halttunen, *The Culture War in the Civil Rights Movement* by Joe Street, *Rethinking the Black Freedom Movement* by Yohuru Williams, *Brown, Racial Change, and the Civil Rights Movement* by Michael J. Klarman, *The Black Revolution in Cultural Perspective* by Eric J. Lincoln will be examined in terms of social, cultural, and political grounds and outcomes of the Civil Rights Movement.

The thesis mainly concentrates on King's philosophy and his principles, his own books, and writings such as *Stride Toward Freedom*, *Why We Can't Wait*, *Letter from Birmingham Jail* and *A Gift of Love: Sermons from Strength to Love and Other Preaching*, *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community* will be utilized for the purpose of reconsidering the soul and method of the struggle.

The study mainly concentrates on historical and socioeconomic presence of Montgomery, Alabama and the Montgomery Bus Boycott in which King Jr. and Rosa Parks had pivotal roles, Joyce Ann Hanson 's Rosa Parks: A Biography, Marry Hull's Rose Parks Civil Rights Leader, David Harvey's Social Justice and the City, Coleman Hutchison 's Apples and Ashes: Literature, Nationalism, and the Confederate States of America, David Meyer and Nancy Whittier 's Social Movements Identity, Culture, and the State, Richard Sennett's The Fall of Public Man: The Forces Eroding Public Life and Burdening the Modern Psyche with Roles It Cannot Perform, Alabama: The History of a Deep South State the Montgomery Bus Boycott of Katie Marsico, The Thunder of Angels by Donnie Williams and Wayne Greenhaw, Newspaper Wars of Sid Bedingfield, The Montgomery Bus Boycott: A History Perspectives Book by Martin Gitlin, Daughter of the Boycott: Carrying On a Montgomery Family's Civil Rights Legacy by Karen Gray Houston, "Martin Luther King's Constitution: A Legal History of the Montgomery Bus Boycott" by Randal Kennedy, "Reexamining the Montgomery Bus Boycott: Toward an Empathetic Pedagogy of the Civil Rights Movement" by Derek H. Alderman, "The Origins of the Montgomery Bus Boycott" by David Garrow, "The Social-Psychological Origins of the Montgomery Bus Boycott: Social Interaction and Humiliation in the Emergence of Social Movements" of Doron Shultziner will be analyzed comparatively in detail.

In all chapters, various primary sources such as newspapers, court records, memoirs, letters, and speeches will also be utilized. On the other side, Stanford University the Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, National Archive, Library of Congress (Chronicling America), Eisenhower Presidential Library, Civil Rights Digital Library, SJSU Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Library, and some digital university collections such as Southern Indiana, Harvard and Yale University's digital archives will be examined to reach some primary sources. Along with primary sources, the books and articles will provide comprehensive and analytical evaluations about the American Civil Rights Movement – especially the Montgomery Bus Boycott and Martin Luther King

Jr., and African American people who have fought for equality and justice for years.

The Council of Higher Education Thesis Center of Turkey does not include any study which focuses on the Boycott and King Jr.'s legacy by referring to both secondary and primary sources. However, Mutlu Çalışkan's unpublished thesis; "An Analysis of African American intellectuals, 1900-1972," mainly examines the relationship between civil disobedience and democracy by addressing King. Besides, "Civil disobedience and the formation of democracy in creating public consciousness", written by İntaç Şenaydın at Istanbul University, examines civil disobedience in a philosophical context by also referring to King. In these academic studies, not only King but also the Boycott are focal points. Additionally, the doctoral dissertation titled "The Fire This Time: Media, Myth, Memory, and the Black Power Movement", written out by Conall McMichael from Queen's University Belfast, centers upon the African American struggle by referring to media narratives, and mentions about the Montgomery Bus Boycott. United States M.A. Thesis Database provides a variety of academic studies referring to the Boycott and King. For instance, "Unknown martyr: the murder of Willie Edwards, Jr., and civil rights violence in Montgomery, Alabama", by Paige Eugenia Young from University of Georgia, primarily focuses on the murder within the scope of the Boycott. "Successful Communication in a Social Movement: A Case Study of the Montgomery Bus Boycott", written by Felicia McGhee-Hilt from University of Tennessee, centers upon the Boycott by benefitting from the media coverage and approaches to the topic by examining social dynamics.

Different from previous studies, this thesis will reconsider King's legacy which was based upon three main pillars: The Montgomery Bus Boycott, the Beloved Community, and the Nonviolent Resistance. It will also mainly utilize the two newspapers, which had political affiliations in addition to numerous court records and letters. Therefore, this study will give priority to the Montgomery Bus Boycott in order to delineate how King's leadership gained strength within

the scope of the Civil Rights Movement. This study also aims to indicate that the primary sources, including court cases, dockets, filings, letters, and newspapers are beneficial to comprehending the mentality and perception of American society and African Americans towards the Boycott. This approach might lead to a comparative analysis to King Jr.'s legacy and make a way in order to grasp African Americans' struggle in recent United States history.

## CHAPTER II

### AWAKENING

The Civil Rights Movement, which occupies a substantial place in recent American history, has changed the face of society in terms of social, cultural, and political aspects. The impact of the movement during the Cold War is significant since the struggle for equality and justice became a massive conflict zone in the United States. The social and cultural transformation witnessed by the United States between the years of 1948 and 1968 undoubtedly symbolized rebirth for African Americans. The decree, signed by the thirty-third President Harry S. Truman (1884-1972) in 1948, aimed at eliminating segregation in the military, and was a cornerstone for the Civil Rights Movement, albeit a deadly one. In addition, Martin Luther King Jr. (1929-1968), who was assassinated in 1968, became a prophetic vanguard for the Civil Rights Movement. Thanks to his intellectual and political legacy, he became a pioneer in the struggle of African Americans.

The American society began to witness both anxiety and comfort in the post-World War II era.

America experienced a golden age in the 1950s and early 1960s, and it was largely a result of two developments. One was a booming national prosperity, which profoundly altered the social, economic, and even physical landscape of the United States. The other was the continuing struggle against communism, a struggle that created considerable anxiety but that also encouraged many Americans to look even more approvingly at their own society. But if these powerful forces created a widespread sense of national purpose and self-satisfaction, they also helped blind many Americans to serious problems plaguing large groups of the population.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Alan Brinkley, *The Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2010), p. 726.

From this perspective, the priorities of the United States should be considered to analyze the degree of change and transformation in society. After World War II, increasing urbanization and the overpopulation of the middle class in the United States directly triggered the Civil Rights Movement. According to Alan Brinkley, much of the impetus for the civil rights movement came from the leaders of urban black communities, ministers, educators, professionals, and much of it came as well from students at black colleges and universities.<sup>6</sup> While the African Americans' struggle for equality and justice focused on the ordinary necessities of daily life such as profession, education and transportation, the battle symbolized an issue for reestablishing the founding philosophy of the United States.<sup>7</sup> Initially, the Civil Rights Movement focused on the political rights of black southerners, and the violence in the streets was also used to justify a “white backlash” against the civil rights claims of African Americans.<sup>8</sup> Afterwards, the movement began to be influential in cultural and social fields. In fact, it would be an understatement to argue that the discrimination in the United States during the Cold War was purely racial. During that period, one of the consequential realities that motivated African Americans was gender discrimination. However, varieties of marginalization and discrimination magnified each other. By the late 1950s, about 75% of American women were working at female-only jobs.<sup>9</sup> Even the data manifests that discrimination did not target any group specifically, but the “others” of the society. African

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p.748.

<sup>7</sup> American Founding Principles are essentially based on concepts like individual liberty, federalism, limited government, representative government, private property, equality and separation of powers. For detail, see J. Judd Owen, “The Struggle between “Religion and Nonreligion”: Jefferson, Backus, and the Dissonance of America’s Founding Principles,” *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 101, No. 3 (August 2007), 493-503.

<sup>8</sup> David Farber and Benth Bailey, *The Columbia Guide to America in the 1960s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), pp. 254,255.

<sup>9</sup> James West Davidson, *After the Fact: The Art of Historical Detection* (After the Fact), 2nd ed. (Alfred A Knopf, 1985), p.310.

American people were others in the eyes of the authorities, too... They were deprived of equal citizenship rights.

In this respect, the Civil Rights Movement criticized social stratification and the established order rather than segregation based on color, language or belief. In the United States, which witnessed a patriarchal and authoritarian modernization during the Cold War years, the scale and impact of the movement was puzzling to estimate, but the consciousness of the leadership cadres dispelled the illusions. Under the conditions of the Cold War, the struggle for equality, individual and social rights and demands for liberty almost signified a demon according to the American state and for the established order. Within this context, the uniqueness of the struggle for rights and freedom in the United States can be observed. That uniqueness has influenced and nurtured not only the internal dynamics of a nation, but also its international position and stance. Thus, the Civil Rights Movement attained a collective form, and massed forms of action led to the emergence of powerful organizations. The Movement, which was a revolt against the patriarchal and authoritarian order, also served as a litmus test in recent American history. This test could answer whether the United States would be surrendered by the Founding Principles or by threatening and worrying breaking points of Cold War. The core of the Declaration of Independence, which was issued on July 4, 1776, was the idea that all men were created equal. However, the segregation towards African Americans constituted an obvious violation of the concept.

Despite being an alienated minority, Afro-Americans did not favor to use a hate speech against White Americans, with whom they decided to share a homeland. This attitude, which impeded the Civil Rights Movement from shifting into a de facto and bloodier civil war, could well imply that African Americans dared to eliminate the country from the hostile scene of the Cold War. On this occasion, the Civil Rights Movement needed public propaganda strategies and mass communication more than ever. In fact, the emancipation of African Americans simply meant the emancipation of all Americans, as well as the disposal of Cold

War characteristics that threatened democracy, basic human rights, and the individual's living space. During World War II, the official government agency issued the following propaganda posters as figure 1 indicated. The poster was depicted by Ukrainian American photographer Alexander Semeonovitch Liberman in 1943. The motto "United We Win" probably symbolized a sort of common ground and reconciliation between African Americans and White Americans to cope with the conditions of the war. The poster was published by The War Manpower Commission, which was a federal government agency, was created by President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945) during the World War II to strategize for the work requirements of agriculture, manufacturers, and the military services.<sup>10</sup> In this sense, racial unity was imposed during the conflict in order to secure the country's common interests and future. The poster depicted White and African American laborers while they were working together to promote the United States' goal for development, prosperity and victory during the war. And again, both Whites and African Americans experienced a sense of patriotism when they saw the American flag on the poster.

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<sup>10</sup> For detail, see The American Presidency Project on <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/executive-order-9279-providing-for-the-most-effective-mobilization-and-utilization-the>. Date of Access: 1<sup>st</sup> August 2022.



**Figure 1.** *National Archives, United We Win, Photograph by Alexander Liberman, 1943, Printed by the Government, Printing Office for the War Manpower Commission, Records of the Office of Government Reports. Retrieved from <https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/powers-of-persuasion> . Date of Access: 23rd April 2021.*

President Harry S. Truman issued an executive order outlawing segregation in the army on July 26, 1948. According to Executive Order 9981, "all individuals in the military would have fair treatment and opportunities without respect to gender, color, religion, or ethnic background."<sup>11</sup> According to the order, the United States had handled racism from the perspectives of national security and the economy under the atmosphere of the Cold War. Different political solutions had been developed in the democratic system for various public areas. The order could be seen as political hypocrisy in this context.

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<sup>11</sup> See Executive Order 9981: Desegregation of the Armed Forces (1948) on *National Archive* <https://www.archives.gov/historical-docs/todays-doc/index.html?dod-date=726>. Date of Access: 1st August 2022.

The ongoing discrimination in the field of education created a quasi-caste system in society. In the early 1950s, white schools received four and a half times as much funding per pupil as did the black ones, and black school years were shorter, teachers were paid less, and textbooks were dated discards from the white schools.<sup>12</sup> The striking feature of the period was that the discrimination faced by an African American when (s)he was born continued to grow in the school, on bus seats and on the street. In that way, the internal dynamics and politics were directly related to the foreign affairs to promote the country towards the world. Robbie Lieberman and Clarence Lang cite that Americans who worked for peace, as in peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union and opposition to nuclear weapons, far-flung military bases, and imperialist wars, were viewed as Communist agents or dupes, while at the same time the U.S. government was forced to address the issue of civil rights in order to lend legitimacy to its claims to be the leader of the “free” world.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, social polarization and discrimination widened the moral division of the country and the struggle of African Americans, who had aimed to be eliminated from social field just because of the implications of White Supremacy that had sort of hegemony in almost all fields. Ill- educated and poorer African Americans were not only targets of bankers, lawyers and businessmen in their workplaces, but also suffered from widespread Negrophobia.<sup>14</sup> African Americans, on the other hand, had fostered solidarity with their civilian White allies in their struggle against segregation in public spaces. The following photograph which was taken in mid-1960s in New York indicated that civil rights activists who urged the adoption of anti-segregation laws in education became a symbol of democratic engagement regardless of their ethnic

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<sup>12</sup> James Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 387.

<sup>13</sup> Robbie Lieberman and Clarence Lang, ed., *Anticommunism and the African American Freedom Movement* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011) p. 18.

<sup>14</sup> James Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.397.

background. The incident illustrated that educational inequality was a significant barrier to social integration. Furthermore, the participation of White Americans brought attention as a factor that enhanced African Americans' legitimacy in the eyes of the public. In this context, the joint struggle of African Americans and White Americans proved that, despite all of the turmoil and tension, the Civil Rights Movement generated a consolidation in American society.



**Figure 2.** Parents and students heading from Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's office in Midtown to City Hall during a pro-integration boycott that kept over a third of the city's roughly one million students out of school. Feb. 3, 1964. Accessed on 23rd April 2021 on <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/26/nyregion/school-segregation-new-york.html> .

In the face of state laws that incited racial discrimination and motivated a divided and polarized society, being organized had been the only method of struggle for African Americans.

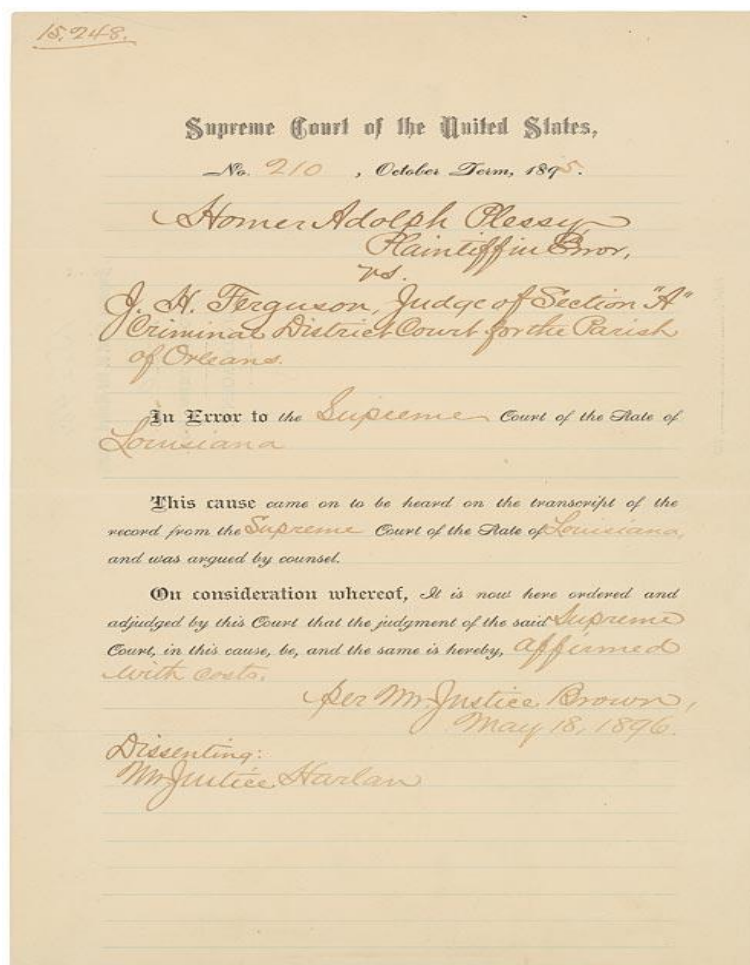
## 2.1. Laws Protecting or Eliminating Racism and Social Polarization in the United States

When Homer Plessy entered the white train compartment in New Orleans in 1892, he deliberately violated the Auto Act <sup>15</sup>, which was also known as *Separate Car Act* (1890) that mandated to maintain "equal but separate" facilities for white and non-white passengers by law. Plessy claimed that the law was unconstitutional by referring to the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment of the US Constitution that guaranteed equal citizenship rights. He petitioned to the Louisiana Supreme Court and the United States Supreme Court after failing his court case in Louisiana.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> The law forces all roads and railways functioning in the state to just provide "equal but separate accommodations" for white and African American occupants, and it barred travelers from entering lodging other than those allotted to them due to their race. For detail, *see Louisiana Separate Car Act, 1890* on <http://projects.leadr.msu.edu/makingmodernus/exhibits/show/plessy-v-ferguson-1896/louisiana-separate-car-act--18>. Date of Access: 1<sup>st</sup> August 2022.

<sup>16</sup> For detail see *Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)* on <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/plessy-v-ferguson> . Date of Access: 1st August 2022



**Figure 3.** Plessy vs. Ferguson, Judgement, Decided May 18, 1896; Records of the Supreme Court of the United States; Record Group 267; Plessy v. Ferguson, 163, accessed on July 1, 2022 on <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/plessy-v-ferguson> .

As the Figure 3 above document indicates the Supreme Court stated in this conclusion that while the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment secured equality under the law for whites and blacks, it did not permit for the abolition of separate but equal concept. Jim Crow Laws<sup>17</sup> which were inherited from the nineteenth century to twentieth century, and which transformed racial discrimination in the United States into a system, had a profound impact on the daily life of African Americans. In 1896, Jim Crow laws justified racism across the United States. Because of the Jim Crow laws, African Americans were treated as second-class

<sup>17</sup> Originally, Jim Crow was depicted as humiliated and despised by African Americans and adapted by British comedian Thomas Rice. See What was Jim Crow? On <https://www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/what.htm> . Date of Access. 1<sup>st</sup> August 2022.

citizens in terms of property right, education, employment, public services and universal suffrage by law.

The following poster, which was illustrated by African American cartoonist and writer Elton Fax (1909-1993) indicated a church session that was held during WWII by The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP),<sup>18</sup> which was one of the prominent groups in the civil rights movement of African Americans. The poster displayed the influence of World War II's political and social atmosphere on the American anti-racist campaign. Jim Crow laws were delineated by a crow with Nazi and Japanese military and marine flags on its claws, and a correlation was identified between the racial tones of those laws and the political leanings of Germany's Nazism and Japan's aggressive imperial expansion by delineating their national flags. The motto, which was called "Come, let us take counsel together", revealed the importance of democratic participation which was given priority by the NAACP during the struggle.

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<sup>18</sup> The NAACP was launched in 1909 to challenge systemic racism. The institution was active in organizing the first national African American conference. During the Civil Rights Movement, the NAACP hosted numerous meetings, particularly in opposition to economic, political, and social inequalities. The NAACP will be discussed in the following chapter in terms of its role on the Montgomery Bus Boycott. For detail and numerous primary sources of the NAACP see *Library of Congress* on <https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/naACP-a-century-in-the-fight-for-freedom/>.



**Figure 4.** "Come, let us take counsel together" Attend NAACP Wartime Conference for Total Peace, Chicago, July 12-16 / / E. Fax, '44. Accessed on 23rd April 2021 on <https://www.loc.gov/item/2010648420/> .

Turning into a tool of social control and interaction based on racism, Jim Crow had become the most important objection of African Americans who were marginalized in the United States. On the other hand, the state-sponsored attempt to pacify African Americans by the white majority was a herald of resistance.

Segregation laws were proposed as part of a deliberate effort to drive a wedge between poor whites and African Americans. These discriminatory barriers were designed to encourage lower-class whites to retain a sense of superiority over blacks, making it far less likely that they would sustain interracial political alliances aimed at toppling the white elite. The laws were, in effect, another racial bribe. As William Julius Wilson has noted, "As long as poor whites

directed their hatred and frustration against the black competitor, the planters were relieved of class hostility directed against them.<sup>19</sup>

Jim Crow Laws constituted one of the biggest obstacles to the American people to unite on common interests and consciousness and establish a free future. As an outcome of these laws, contrary to the Founding Principles and the Declaration of Independence of 1776 and more importantly the US Constitution which had already given several rights to all citizens of the country, the social structure of the United States became vulnerable to tensions based on inequalities. In the book, called *Jim Crow Laws (Landmarks of the American Mosaic)*, it was pointed out that In Jim Crow America, any White family who had sent their children to a "colored school" or any African American parent who had sent their children to a "white school" were challenged a regular fine of \$20.<sup>20</sup> It might be argued that not only African Americans but also Whites were being intimidated by the purpose of hindering the reconciliation within the scope of public arenas. African Americans and other minorities required separate waiting rooms and ticket panes at railroad stations, and Jim Crow laws obligated streetcar companies to assign separate seating areas for black riders.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, the laws prevented white female hospital staff from taking care of black male patients.<sup>22</sup> The tension and social corruption were observed not only in the streets, squares, buses and schools, squares and buses, but also in prisons where human freedom was legitimately restricted. As African American activist and the Founding Director of the Racial Justice Initiative at the University of St. Thomas, Yohuru Williams argued:

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<sup>19</sup> M. Alexander, *The New Jim Crow* (New York, The New Press, 2020), p.34.

<sup>20</sup> Leslie Tischauser, "The Long, Slow Decline of Jim Crow, 1945–1954," in *Jim Crow Laws* (Westport: ABC-CLIO, 2012), p. 107.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.107-108.

The worst manifestations of Jim Crow Justice existed in prisons. Locked away from the gaze of the media and polite society, prisoners endured serious abuses far beyond the scope of humane punishment. African Americans, of course, were aware of this brutal reality. While going to jail for violating unjust segregation laws became a badge of honor for many Civil Rights activists, the Black Power Movement's reach behind prison walls gave voice to those often forgotten by mainstream society, whether movement activists or American prisoners. Laws that disproportionately penalized poor minority offenders led to a burgeoning prison population.<sup>23</sup>

According to this viewpoint, the authorities in the United States, who had been a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural entity, abused the law to incite racial segregation. The mindset, which jeopardized pluralism and attempted to build a homogenous social system through legal regulations, displayed the legitimacy and nature of African Americans' struggle for equality.

The following image dating back to 1940s, which was taken by Ukrainian American photographer Jack Delano (1914-1997), depicted that there were separate public transportation facilities which that were set up for African Americans. The bus that ran by California Coach Company was in the pole position for the passengers. However, the photograph would find out some crucial rebounds of the society and the attitudes of African Americans. For instance, the guy was looking at the advertisement, which expressed the promotion of a new novel about Hawaii of American writer Faith Baldwin (1893-1978). The advertisement was published by *Cosmopolitan* which was monthly entertainment and fashion magazine that began publishing in the United States for women as of 1886. The advertisement also included palm trees and the ocean that were symbolizing the content of the novel and also a call for spare time activities. Other magazine, called *True Story* promised "Hitler's Love Life Revealed by His Former Maid". Such a news could be credited to the American public's interest in German chancellor Adolf Hitler's private life during the Second World War. On the other hand, in the public sphere, Hitler's advertising was rooted in racism, which frustrated African Americans as a natural outcome.

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<sup>23</sup> Yohuru Williams, *Rethinking the Black Freedom Movement* (New York, Routledge, 2016), p. 70.

The story might be related to Elisabeth Kalhammer, who was probably former maid of Nazi leader.<sup>24</sup> Another magazine which was called *Good Housekeeping* that was monthly women's magazine that was founded in 1885 in Massachusetts advertised “Bingo Tonite” game. It would give clues about the understanding of entertainment of the era. The man was wearing the white suit, and it might be a reflection of a strong outcry of African Americans against the policy of apartheid that was based upon skin color. The phenomenon highlighted the severe intolerance and provocation that African Americans were exposed in the public realm. The Montgomery Bus Boycott, the primary objective of the thesis, will be scrutinized in the following chapter.



**Figure 5.** At the bus station in Durham, North Carolina. Delano, Jack. Created / Published 1940 May. Accessed on 23rd April 2021 on <https://www.loc.gov/item/2017747598/>.

<sup>24</sup> For detail, see Hitler's former maid at his mountain retreat reveals all as she breaks her silence after 71 years on <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2614525/2pm-lie-ins-daily-Fuhrer-Cake-Hitlers-former-maid-mountain-retreat-reveals-break-silence-71-years.html>. Date of Access: 1st August 2022.

It can be argued that during the Cold War Era, when tensions and social ruptures could not be understood as a petal or a thorn in terms of democratic regimes, the political hegemony in the United States aspired to overshadow the existing problems in many fields such as education, culture and economy through racist practices.

According to the 1950 census, among Southerners in their late twenties, the state-by-state percentages of functional illiterates (people with less than five years of schooling) for whites on farms overlapped with those for blacks in the cities. Most Southern whites were better off than Southern blacks, but they were not affluent or well educated by any means; they were semiliterate (with less than twelve years of schooling). Only a tiny minority of whites were affluent and well educated. They stood far apart from the rest of the whites and virtually all blacks.<sup>25</sup>

Therefore, the struggle for freedom and equality, which was initiated by African Americans, could also create a new agenda for other Americans by molding the public opinion on schooling through economic and social climate.

### **2.1.1. Brown v. Board of Education (1954)**

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court declared its decision in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*.<sup>26</sup> In considering the legal segregation of a Kansas public school system, the Court rejected its own 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision,<sup>27</sup> which had ruled that communities could provide African Americans

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<sup>25</sup> M. Alexander, *The New Jim Crow* (New York, The New Press, 2020), p. 243.

<sup>26</sup> Linda Brown, 6, left her little house every morning for school and crossed a set of tracks in Topeka's bustling railroad switching yards. She walked carefully between the rails, avoiding the "enormous" trains that clanged noisily past her and waved at the railway employees. This everyday route took her roughly six perilous blocks to her school bus stop. Her father, Oliver Brown, attempted to enroll her in the Sumner School's third grade in September 1950, the neighboring white school where she could walk on sidewalks along tree-lined streets only seven blocks from her home. Because of her color, the principal of that school refused to admit her. See

<sup>27</sup> "The ruling in this Supreme Court case upheld a Louisiana state law that allowed for "equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races." See <https://www.archives.gov/milestonedocuments/plessy-v-ferguson> and see Richard J. Altenbaugh,

with separate facilities if the facilities were equal to those of whites.<sup>28</sup> The following figure 5 pointed out the primary goal and the content of the decision. The jury laid stress on that they asserted that the concept of "separate but equal" seemed to have no position in public education. Separate public schools were, by understanding of the term, disproportionate." As a result, they hold that the petitioners and many others treated similarly to whom the acts had been brought were rejected the equal protection of the laws provided by the Fourteenth Amendment as a result of the claimed segregation. This decision excluded the need to debate whether such segregation violated the Fourteenth Amendment's Constitutional Provision. Besides, the jury had proclaimed that certain segregation was a violation of equal protection under the law. The tribunal's reference to the 14th Amendment, which were supposed to guarantee individuals' equal rights and molded states' mindsets toward citizens, could be regarded as a legacy of the United States' founding principles on the Civil Rights movement.

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"Liberation and Frustration: Fifty Years after Brown," *History of Education Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (2004), p. 1-9.

<sup>28</sup> Alan Brinkley, *The Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2010), p.746.

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guage in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.<sup>12</sup>

Because these are class actions, because of the wide applicability of this decision, and because of the great variety of local conditions, the formulation of decrees in these cases presents problems of considerable complexity. On reargument, the consideration of appropriate relief was necessarily subordinated to the primary question—the constitutionality of segregation in public education. We have now announced that such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws. In order that we may have the full assistance of the parties in formulating decrees, the cases will be restored to the docket, and the parties are requested to present further argument on Questions 4 and 5 previously propounded by the Court for the reargument this Term.<sup>13</sup> The Attorney General

<sup>12</sup> See *Bolling v. Sharpe*, *infra*, concerning the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment.

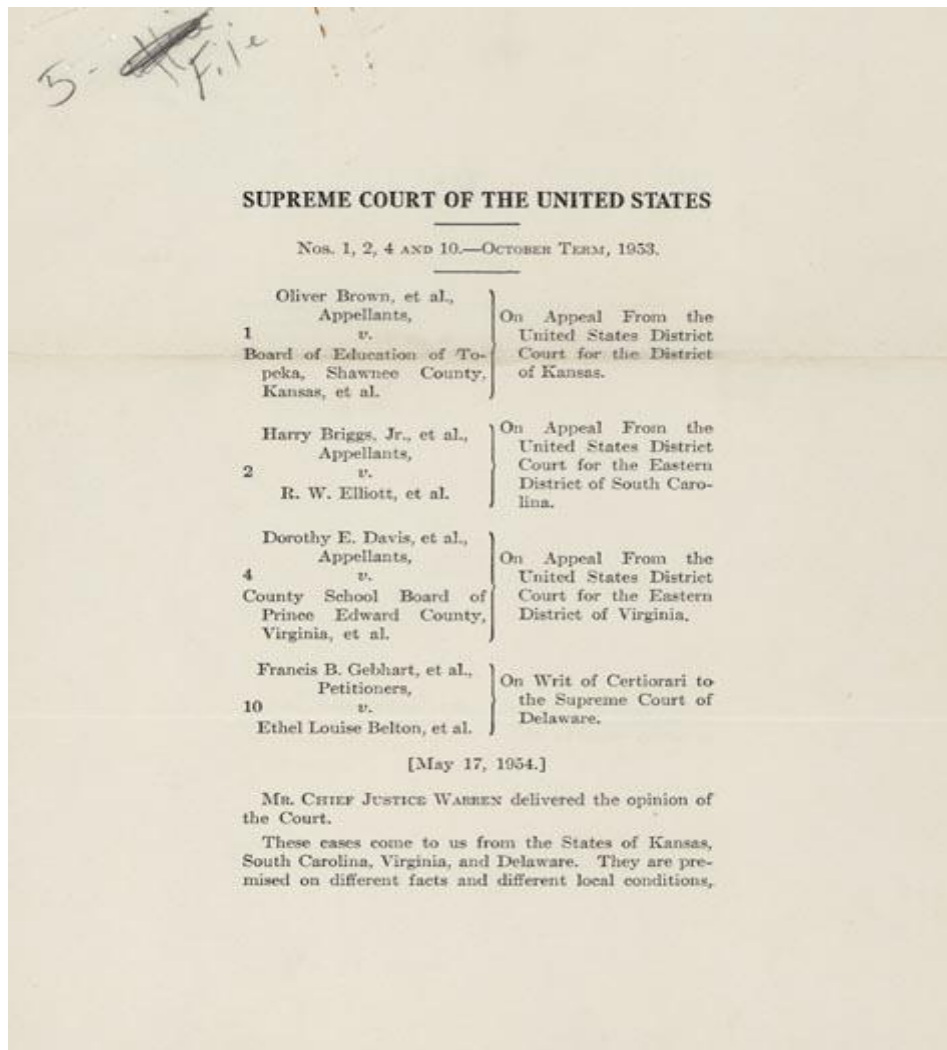
<sup>13</sup> "4. Assuming it is decided that segregation in public schools violates the Fourteenth Amendment

"(a) would a decree necessarily follow providing that, within the limits set by normal geographic school districting, Negro children should forthwith be admitted to schools of their choice, or

"(b) may this Court, in the exercise of its equity powers, permit an effective gradual adjustment to be brought about from existing segregated systems to a system not based on color distinctions?

"5. On the assumption on which questions 4 (a) and (b) are

**Figure 6.** Page 11 of the landmark Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. Accessed on 23rd April 2021 on <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2004/spring/brown-v-board-1.html>.



**Figure 7.** First page of the landmark Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (Records of the Supreme Court of the United States, RG 267). Accessed on 23rd April 2021 on <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2004/spring/brown-v-board-1.html> .

In the sense of African Americans, the beginning of the social struggle and transformation with a victory in the field of education was a watershed that determined the way and method of the Civil Rights Movement. The decision which was declared by the US Supreme Court revealed that the fight for equality and justice could be won without violence because the victory was proclaimed legally in the courtroom rather than in a square or street. That path would reveal the validity and functionality of the concepts (which will be argued in the following chapters in detail) of Martin Luther King Jr., who became the natural

leader of the Civil Rights Movement. Moreover, the court decision would turn civil disobedience into a cornerstone of the struggle for equality and justice. However, the actual implementation of the court decision paved the way for some policies of obstruction and intimidation within society. Levi Pearson, an African American farmer living in Summerton, South Carolina, and his family were among the people who faced urgency before and after the Supreme Court decision.

Pearson and many other black people, however, had exhausted their patience, and they stood up to be counted as plaintiffs in suits that Marshall brought against segregation in the schools. Five of these suits, including Pearson's, reached the Supreme Court by 1953, challenging school policies in Virginia, Delaware, the District of Columbia, South Carolina, and Kansas. The best-known plaintiff was the Reverend Oliver Brown, a welder in Topeka, Kansas, whose eight-year-old daughter Linda had to go to a Negro school twenty-one blocks away when there was a white school only seven blocks from her house. His suit, joined by twelve other parents, was filed in 1951 as *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka*.<sup>29</sup>

This Supreme Court decision was overshadowed by Jim Crow laws for almost 10 years. In many schools across the United States, segregation was not dead in the water. The report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity was finally released on September 12, 1963. Following 15 months of hearings, the report rejected most of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). They wrote in the preface:

[T]here are no easy answers and no speedy solutions to these problems which include de facto segregation in our schools; the present segregated housing patterns of the community; the high incidence of low economic status among minority people ... and the lack of hope and motivation among some of these families which leads them into negative attitudes toward education and the demands the school makes on their children.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p.483.

<sup>30</sup> Peniel E. Joseph, *Black Power Movement* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2007), p. 44.

Nevertheless, it can be argued that *Brown v. Board of Education* is widely regarded as one of the most significant decisions in US Supreme Court history. Michael J. Klarman argues:

The events described below led to the mid-1960s civil rights legislation known as *Brown v. Board of Education*. First, Brown crystallized southern opposition to racial change, which had previously been dispersed and episodic since at least the time of Truman's civil rights proposals. Second, the unification of southern racial intransigence, which became known as "massive resistance," propelled politics in practically every southern state several notches to the right on racial issues; Brown temporarily destroyed southern racial moderation. Third, in such an extremist political climate, men who were unwaveringly committed to preserving the racial status quo were catapulted into public office.<sup>31</sup> On May 17, 1954, the *State Journal*, a local newspaper in Topeka that witnessed the events surrounding the court decision in question, published a story titled "School Segregation Banned" to its readers as the following figure indicated. The *State Journal* had pursued an independent republican editorial policy that backed President Roosevelt. In fact, one of the newspaper's prominent figures, Frank Pitts MacLennan, had run for the presidency.<sup>32</sup> It was worth noting that in the news, Topeka Education Commission chairman Jacob Alan Dickinson claimed that there was no de facto segregation and described the court's decision as embodying the prestigious spirit of law and pure democracy. The court was very prudent in having to decide the basic question and then encouraging all parties more to discuss the disciplined and sensible implementation of the judgement, chairman Dickinson told in the article. In this context, it could be contended that the city's schooling bureaucracy enabled and encouraged the implementation of the supreme court's decision.

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<sup>31</sup> Michael J. Klarman, "Brown, Racial Change, and the Civil Rights Movement," *Virginia Law Review* 80, no. 1 (February 1994), p.79

<sup>32</sup> For detail, see About The Topeka *State Journal* on <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016014/>. Date of Access: 1st August 2022.



**Figure 8.** The Topeka State Journal reported the historic May 17, 1954, decision that segregation in public schools must end. (Records of District Courts of the United States, RG 21, NARA–Central Plains Region [Kansas City]). Accessed on 23rd April 2021 on <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2004/spring/brown-v-board-1.html>.

Nonetheless, one of the most significant long-term benefits of this decision was that it increased literacy and schooling rate rates, as well as civic awareness among African Americans. As a result of the Supreme Court decision and the subsequent gains in civil rights, in 1964, about 2% of African American children attended the same schools as Whites, compared to 91 percent in 1973, particularly in Southern states.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 9-10.

## 2.2. No Alternative: The Turnover for a Better Future

By the 1950s, the population of African Americans in the United States reached 15 million, accounting for 11% of the total population.<sup>34</sup> Following the Supreme Court's decision, which eliminated inequality, particularly in the field of education, African American civil society activities gained momentum. There were two prominent non-governmental organizations in this context. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) have become the headquarters of African Americans' struggle for equality and freedom regarding social, cultural and political fields. In addition, these institutions reinforced civil disobedience, one of the mottos of the civil rights movement, and common concerns among African Americans. Under the harsh conditions of the Cold War, the NAACP and SNCC's organization of civil disobedience and peaceful actions would lead to a soft revolution. The NAACP, which led the mass protests, had nearly 500,000 members.<sup>35</sup> It may also be argued that as a result of heavy mobilization, patriotic ideas were expanded by means of group consciousness during that period, and a nostalgia for old values arose. the NAACP's challenge was to assemble a patriotic movement rooted in common democratic values. The organization attempted to reconcile the pluralistic principles and discourse of the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution with traditional patriotism. To claim back her promise of freedom, justice, and democracy, America had to rid herself of the stain of racism.<sup>36</sup> From this perspective, as a multi-ethnic organization, the NAACP endorsed a campaign of common values-based patriotism over race and color nationalism. Thus, the NAACP aimed to keep African Americans from being

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<sup>34</sup> James Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.151.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p.20

<sup>36</sup> Manfred Berg, *The Ticket to Freedom: The NAACP and the Struggle for Black Political Integration* (Univ Pr. of Florida, 2007), 26.

radicalized and militant, while also ensuring its legitimacy through legal struggle.

The NAACP was not overly concerned about the rebirth of black nationalism in the early 1960s, instead focused its efforts on the legislative attack against segregation. Since the NAACP did not want rising nationalism to overwhelm civil disobedience and nonviolent protest, the government and some white Americans mostly avoided demonizing and marginalizing the Civil Rights Movement. As a matter of fact, one of the underlying dynamics of the Civil Rights Movement was the tremendous social, economic, and political transformations that hit the country in the 1950s and 1960s, as well as the ensuing domestic migration. The situation marked a new front in the conflict, notably for African Americans who belonged to low-income group and dwelling in cities in which white Americans were the majority. According to Karl W. Deutsch, who was a social and political scientist, social mobilization is the practice whereby significant formations of old social, financial, and emotional pledges were also undermined or ruptured by allowing individuals to be open to new styles of socialization and attitudes.<sup>37</sup> African Americans began migrating to the northern states in the 1910s in pursuit of greater socioeconomic opportunities. The migration persisted until the 1970s, when roughly six million African Americans left the south.<sup>38</sup> In 2010, Isabel Wilkerson, the first African American Pulitzer Prize winner, compiled the book, called *The Warmth of Other Suns*, which shed light on this great migration. Wilkerson depicted both social and personal challenges of African Americans after immigration in the book by relying on the memories of those who lived through the era. Wilkerson pointed out that the totalitarian South could frighten most whites into lockstep solidarity, but the cacophonous big cities of the North could not be controlled or

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<sup>37</sup> Karl W. Deutsch, "Social Mobilization and Political Development," *American Political Science Review* 55, no. 3 (1961): pp. 493-514, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1952679>, 464.

<sup>38</sup> For detail, see The Great Migration (1910-1970) on <https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/migrations/great-migration>. Date of Access: 1st August 2022.

commanded into submission.<sup>39</sup> Hence, African Americans had become increasingly isolated within dominant White population as a minority and alienated from their accustomed social atmosphere and economic conditions as a result of massive urbanization and emigration. The massive urbanization resulted in alteration of the features of African Americans, and their potential to stand against the segregation boosted. Wilkerson underlined that the percentage of blacks who had the favorable position of coming from the urban South who had achieved high school graduation was higher than that of the whites they united.<sup>40</sup> The relocation isolation culminated in a sense of balkanization by stressing or eliminating gaps in economic opportunities and raising group identity among African Americans. However, in this context, the stressing and elimination of opportunities might be addressed within the city framework. The socioeconomic context of the locale had impacted intergroup communication. First and foremost, the question of why the city where African Americans' struggle gained ground was gaining prominence. Robert Park<sup>41</sup> and Ernest Burgess<sup>42</sup> consider the city as a human product regarding social integration and lifestyle's functionalization, and they have brought attention to a culturally generated type of social solidarity in the city that they call moral order.<sup>43</sup> Although educational and professional variability had risen, it might be critical to assess their vulnerability to expression of themselves and even survivability boundaries in a spatial context. Wilkerson emphasized that those immigrants were more likely to

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<sup>39</sup> Isabel Wilkerson and Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration* (London: Penguin Random House, 2020), p. 244.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p.257.

<sup>41</sup> Robert Park (1864- 1944), he was an American urban sociologist who was widely regarded as one of the most influential figures in American sociology.

<sup>42</sup> Ernest Burgess (1866-1966) was an American Canadian urban sociologist.

<sup>43</sup> David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 131. Also see Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, and Roderick McKenzie, *The City Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Pr, 1992), 50.

be hired, and since they were willing to commit to longer hours or second jobs, they managed to earn more as a group than their northern counterparts, despite being reassigned to the lowest-paying occupations.<sup>44</sup> The stranger is associated with the outsider and arises in a world where individuals are self-aware enough to develop norms about who belongs and who does not, and these principles do not apply to another type of stranger: the stranger as an unknown rather than an alien. A stranger can be experienced on these grounds by someone who has rules for his own identity.<sup>45</sup> As Peniel E. Joseph underlines:

The portrayal of Black Power and political organizing in the urban North squares with a turn in the social sciences toward a theory of urban crisis. Numerous social scientists and historians have linked structural changes in the economy, black Northern migration and urban segregation with a decline of community institutions and the development of a pathological set of behaviors among an isolated and poor black community. The urban black poor are often portrayed as a socially disintegrated, postindustrial underclass too busy surviving and too alienated from mainstream culture to theorize and mobilize against their oppression. Rioting makes sense within this paradigm because it is the spontaneous.<sup>46</sup>

Wilkerson's and Joseph's characterizations of African Americans did not overlap totally at this point. At the time, it was not possible to classify African Americans into a fixed, distinctive cultural class. This disagreement could be viewed as a reflection of the various socio – economic concerns that African Americans faced having followed immigration. On the other hand, Joseph had seen potential rebellion as a natural consequence of African Americans' alienation from dominant Whites and their inability to benefit similarly from wealth and resources. From this vantage point, it is difficult to argue that the Civil Rights Movement was merely a field of alteration and battle for African

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<sup>44</sup> Isabel Wilkerson and Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration* (London: Penguin Random House, 2020), p. 258.

<sup>45</sup> Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man: The Forces Eroding Public Life and Burdening the Modern Psyche with Roles It Cannot Perform* (New York: Knopf, 1977), 48.

<sup>46</sup> Joe Street, *The Culture War in the Civil Rights Movement* (University Press of Florida, 2017), p.29.

Americans. What's more, the atmosphere of racial discrimination and social injustice, which became more visible in cities than in rural areas, exacerbated African Americans to develop a cognitive affinity for the Civil Rights Movement. African Americans, whose daily lives had shifted dramatically as a result of this phase, had also transformed from a rural society image to a more urban and separated formation within the white majority as American legal historian Michael J. Klarman mentioned: The new lifestyle, values and shifting economic activities inspired the daily apprehensions of the vast majority of African Americans, thereby bolstering the Civil Rights Movement. In postwar America, Afro-Americans who appeared to have abandoned their traditional occupations by migrating from the countryside to the city, where they became isolated masses among the White majority. Michael J. Klarman noted:

During the middle decades of the twentieth century, the South ceased to be a predominantly agricultural and rural society. In 1900, 65.8% of the southern population engaged in agricultural pursuits, as compared with 28.7% of the non-southern population. By 1930, the comparable figures were 42.5% in the South, and 14.7% in the non-South; and in 1960, the numbers were 10.2% in the South, and 5.4% in the non-South. In the eleven former Confederate states, the number of farms declined from 2.4 million to 723,000 between 1940 and 1974; the number of southern black farm operators decreased from 915,000 during the 1920s to 267,000 in 1959. Even in Mississippi, the least industrialized southern state, the percentage of the workforce engaged in agriculture decreased from 58% in 1940 to 21% in 1960, and the number of black farmers fell from 159,500 in 1940 to fewer than 9,000 in 1980.<sup>47</sup>

The following two photographs of African American Peaceful protesters, who were the supporters of Martin Luther King Jr, and mainly motivated by the African American churches, who rallied outside the White House on March 12, 1965, and the campaign poster, headlined "One Man One Vote" illustrated that the struggle for equality for African Americans was becoming increasingly evident as a result of urbanization and long-termed struggle. The figure 7, which

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<sup>47</sup> David Hilliard, "The Transformation of South Australian Anglicanism, c. 1880–1930," *Journal of Religious History* 14, no. 1 (June 1986), p.244.

was recorded by civil rights photographer Warren K. Leffler<sup>48</sup> for *U.S. News & World Report*, depicted some noteworthy mottos such as “Negroes are Americans, too, protect them, Stop Brutality in Alabama, The Right to Vote Everywhere, We Demand the Right to Vote Everywhere. The slogans illustrated African Americans' challenge for equal citizenship and universal suffrage, and the social and political feature of the civil rights movement was embodied in this way. The activists confronted direct intervention from government troops, as depicted in the image. The figure 8, which was shot by Danny Lyon,<sup>49</sup> might give clues of social and individual realities of African Americans. For instance, the person in the photograph, as implied by the clothes and shoes, was a member of lower socioeconomic class and resided in a rural area. The piece that was propagandized by SNCC depicted all Americans' equal right to vote, regardless of their economic, social, or racial heritage. The Voting Rights Act of 1965<sup>50</sup> was ratified by President Lyndon B. Johnson on August 6, 1965. The bill handed the federal government the power and funding to secure that all constitutional citizens would vote in all states without impediments such as literacy tests, thereby implementing the 15th Amendment to Constitution. The elimination of inequality, which specifically targeted African Americans in terms of literacy, might be interpreted as a result of the demographic changes, legal process, and the guidance of the leadership which triggered political engagement and activism that was spurred by non-governmental organizations such the NAACP and

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<sup>48</sup> In general, She frequently toured the Southern states to witness the civil rights movement, though he spent most of his time in Washington, DC. Specifically, Leffler documented the historic moments of the movement and its vanguards. For detail, see Warren K. Leffler on [https://art.state.gov/personnel/warren\\_leffler/](https://art.state.gov/personnel/warren_leffler/). Date of Access: 1st August 2022.

<sup>49</sup> Lyon has been among the most revolutionary documentary photojournalists of the late twentieth century, and he later became engaged in the civil rights movement as a photographer for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). For detail, see *Portfolio: Danny Lyon* on [https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/picturing\\_the\\_century/portfolios/port\\_lyon.html](https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/picturing_the_century/portfolios/port_lyon.html). Date of Access: 1<sup>st</sup> August 2022.

<sup>50</sup> See *Voting Rights Act (1965)* on <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/voting-rights-act>.

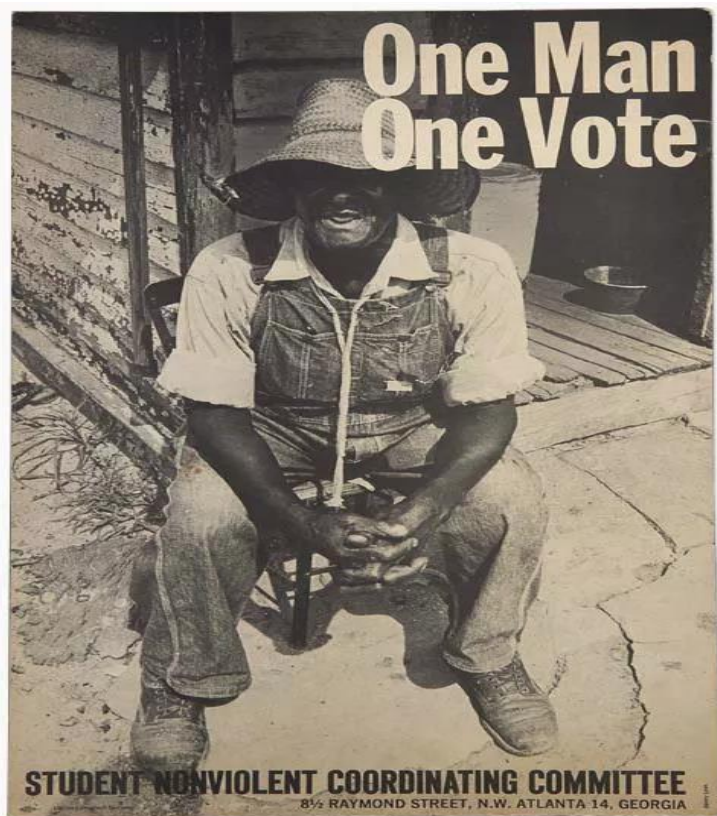
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC),<sup>51</sup> which was a movement created in the early 1960s by African American students to challenge racism in the public arena.



**Figure 9.** Courtesy of Library of Congress, Leffler, Warren K., "[African American demonstrators..." 12 March 1965. Accessed on 23rd April 2021 on <https://iowaculture.gov/history/education/educator-resources/primary-source-sets/right-to-vote-suffrage-women-african/african-american>.

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<sup>51</sup> For detail see *The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)* on <https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/black-power/sncc>. Date of Access: 1<sup>st</sup> August 2022.



**Figure 10.** SNCC Poster, 1963. Photo by Danny Lyon. Civil Rights Movement Archive. Accessed on 23rd April 2021 on <https://www.nps.gov/articles/civil-rights-movement-archive.htm>.

Due to social organization and legal struggle, the Civil Rights Movement resulted in a remarkable increase in political and democratic participation. The number of African Americans participating in legitimate political arenas had also rapidly increased across the country as Michael J. Klarman states:

In the mid-1940s, southern black voter registration risen dramatically as a consequence of the Second World War. The number of registered black southerners who signed up to vote climbed from about 3% in 1940 to 20% in 1952, and eventually to 29% in 1960. By 1948, blacks accounted for 40% of all votes cast in Atlanta elections. Likewise, by the 1950s, black primary candidates for public office, some of which were triumphant, had become an increasingly prevalent phenomenon in the upper South, notably in several Virginia and North Carolina counties. .<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Michael J. Klarman, "Brown, Racial Change, and the Civil Rights Movement," *Virginia Law Review* 80, no. 1 (February 1994), p.62, 63.

The Civil Rights Movement flourished, albeit under difficult conditions, by obtaining strength from not only political concerns, but mostly because of the implications of socioeconomic factors, technology, and mass media. The wider availability of mass media such as radio, television, and newspapers in postwar American society included African Americans in the fight both mentally and virtually. The progression of socio-cultural life conditions, as well as a rise in the number of attaining basic needs and access to entertainment, urged the Civil Rights Movement to adopt a versatile and dynamic identity. As Searles and Williams, Jr. highlight, the percentage of southern blacks who were employed at higher levels increased from 7.3 percent in 1940 to 12.2 percent in 1950. Southern blacks' median income increased from \$739 in 1949 to \$1604 in 1962.<sup>53</sup> It became easier for African Americans to contribute to the challenge for their civil rights, equality, and freedom as their economic freedom continued to increase and they began to take advantage of the Golden Age.<sup>54</sup> The economic and social progress has compelled African Americans to take more daring steps and appreciate democratic participation. As the below billboard illustrated that while White Americans were benefitting from economic prosperity, African Americans suffered from poverty due to a lack of fundamental human needs. In the figure 9, the advertisement for the National Association of Manufacturers<sup>55</sup> above them, in complete contradiction to their depressing gestures, portrayed a cheerful white family in a car, under the headline "World's Highest Standard of

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<sup>53</sup> R. Searles and J. A. Williams, "Negro College Students' Participation in Sit-Ins," *Social Forces* 40, no. 3 (March 1962), p. 215,216.

<sup>54</sup> The 1950s to 1970s are often regarded to as the "Golden Age" of American capitalism. Real per capita income expanded at a 2.25 percent annual rate during those years, and economic growth was democratized as a large number of Americans joined the middle class. See *European Review of Economic History* Vol. 12, No. 2 (AUGUST 2008), pp. 221-241. (21 pages)  
Published By: Oxford University Press

<sup>55</sup> The National Manufacturers Association has been a business group based in Washington, D.C., with offices throughout the country. It has been the nation's leading manufacturing trade body, indicating 14,000 both small and large firms across all areas of the economy and states. For detail, see National Association of Manufacturers Records, 1895-1990 on <https://invention.si.edu/national-association-manufacturers-records-1895-1990-bulk-1930-1976>.  
Date of Access: 1<sup>st</sup> August 2022.

Living” and the slogan of “There is no way like the American Way.” It was a powerful depiction of the social discrepancy between the propaganda machine portrayal of American life and the economic troubles that were felt by poor African Americans. The photograph was shot by Margaret Bourke-White, was the first *Fortune Magazine* photographer and the first Western professional photographer who was authorized into the Soviet Union. Bourke-White was also the first female war photographer, and she was accredited to work in war zones during WWII. The photograph was printed in 1970 shortly before she passed away.<sup>56</sup>



**Figure 11.** During the 1950's America came out of a victorious war and a depression and entered the Golden Age. Accessed on 23rd April 2021 on <https://blogs.baruch.cuny.edu/his1005spring2011/tag/golden-age/> .

The legitimate evolution of the Civil Rights Movement and the fulfillment of African Americans' claims for equal citizenship were roughly related to white Americans' standpoints. The support of the white American population was vital for African Americans, who were a minority in terms of population ratio across

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<sup>56</sup> For detail, see Margaret Bourke-White (1904-1971) on <https://www.loc.gov/rr/print/coll/womphotoj/bourkewhiteessay.html>. Date of Access: 1st August 2022.

the United States, to prevent any possible perception operations under the Cold War conditions, or at the very least to detach the label of “evil communists.” Southern state education spending as a percentage of non-southern national funding increased from 41.1 percent in 1929-1930 to 58.1 percent in 1949-1950 and 69.2 percent in 1968-1969, because higher levels of white education have tended to correlate with greater racial tolerance, at least since the mid-century, the increasing education of the southern white populace exactly worked ill for Jim Crow's long-term survival.<sup>57</sup>

The challenges experienced in implementing the Supreme Court decisions throughout the country inspired the peaceful civil insurgents to take the initiative. The civil rights upheaval, more than any other development of the early 1960s, bolstered idealism, social equality, and awakening for fundamental rights that has galvanized many other groups and sparked off rethinking about social relations in the United States. In 1961, social change gained a new impetus. The civil rights movement reached a bloodier phase, with racists assaulting "freedom riders" who decided to seek to consolidate interstate travel: twenty-six civil rights employees were gunned down in the South between 1961 and 1965.<sup>58</sup> The following photograph which was shot in 1961 illustrated the members of the “Washington Freedom Riders Committee” which were constituted by young and old, black and white, men and women. In the spring and summer of 1961, they risked their lives by riding buses through the American South and North by the purpose of throwing down segregation in interstate transportation.<sup>59</sup> The slogan of “Enforce Constitution 13<sup>th</sup> , 14<sup>th</sup> and

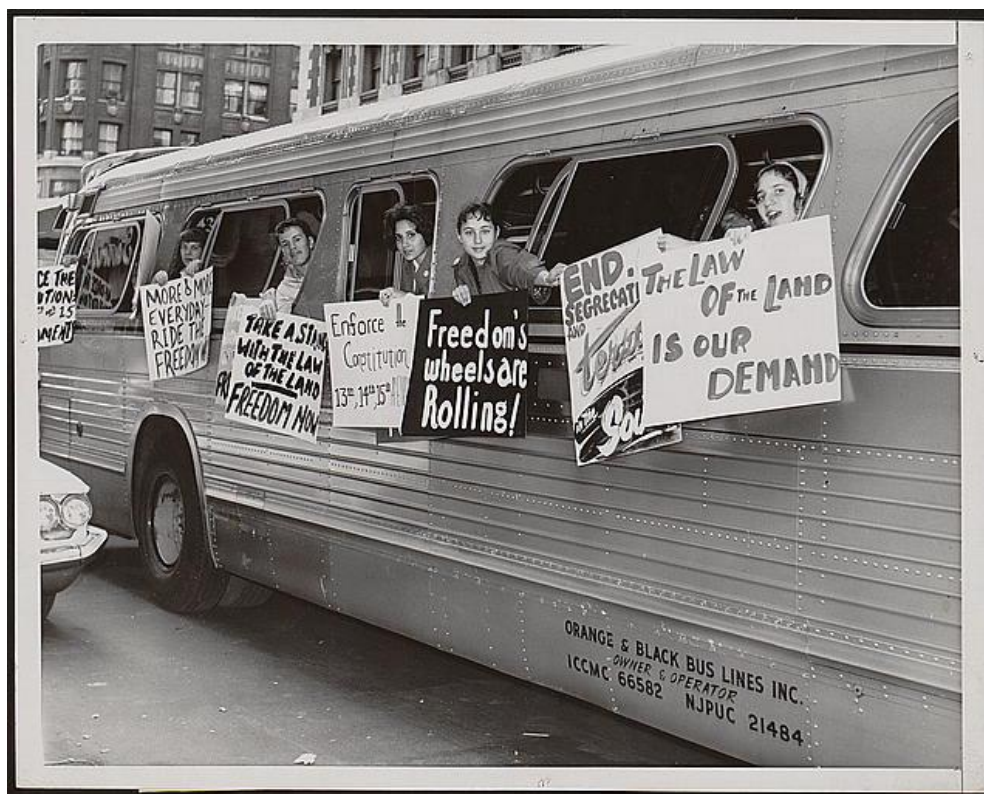
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<sup>57</sup> Bernard Caffrey, Simms Anderson, and Janet Garrison, "Change in Racial Attitudes of White Southerners after Exposure to the Atmosphere of a Southern University," *Psychological Reports* 25, no. 2 (October 1969), p.555.556.

<sup>58</sup> James Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p.443.

<sup>59</sup> For detail, see Freedom riders : 1961 and the struggle for racial justice by Raymond Arsenault on <https://archive.org/details/freedomriders1960000arse> . Accessed on 21st August 2022.

15<sup>th</sup> Amendments was indeed a summary of the demands of Civil Rights Movement.<sup>60</sup> At this point, the riders underlined the importance of abolishing of slavery or involuntary servitude, the equality of all people who were born in the US, and they underlined the voting rights by referring to those articles. Besides, the slogan of “The Law of Land Is Our Demand” brought up the immune of residence for all citizens. The members of the organization, on the other hand, had remarkable smiling faces and optimistic gestures.



**Figure 12.** Members of the 'Washington Freedom Riders Committee,' en route to Washington, D.C., hang signs from bus windows to protest segregation, New York, 1961. Copyprint. New York World-Telegram and Sun Collection, Prints and Photographs Division. Accessed on 23rd April 2021 on <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/civilrights/exhibit.html> .

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<sup>60</sup> For detail see The Constitution of the United States on <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/constitution>. Accessed on 1st August 2022.

During that time, the NAACP and SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) <sup>61</sup> collaborated to uphold the dynamics of the Civil Rights Movement in order to build up African Americans' cultural, traditional, and social ties. Despite their efforts to characterize a secular image, the spiritual realm of the Civil Rights Movement and the Christian agenda of equality, justice, and peace were impetuses.

While the SCLC acknowledged that the mood of black Americans was increasingly linked to cultural expression and the desire to legitimize an independent African American culture, it could not conceive of this culture without Christianity, which was the only culture able to protect the individual and the collective from the physical and spiritual ravages of segregation and white oppression. Where many Black Power advocates were arguing that embracing secular black cultural forms and practices was the answer to the psychological oppression imposed by white Americans, the SCLC maintained that a firm commitment to Christianity was just as important. <sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), secularist American organization headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia, originally formed in 1957 by Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. and other civil rights activists to integrate and facilitate local organizations working for African Americans' full equality in all aspects of American life. The organization mainly worked in the South and border states, implementing leadership development programs, citizen education projects, and voter registration drives. The SCLC was a major stakeholder in the 1963 civil rights march in Washington, D.C., as well as notable antidiscrimination and voter-registration campaigns in Albany, Georgia, and Birmingham and Selma, Alabama, in the early 1960s—campaigns that enabled in the passage of the federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. See Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) on <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/southern-christian-leadership-conference-sclc>. Date of Access: 1<sup>st</sup> August 2022.

<sup>62</sup> Joe Street, *The Culture War in the Civil Rights Movement* (University Press of Florida, 2007), p. 108.



**Figure 13.** Martin Luther King, Southern Christian Leadership Conference Headquarters, Atlanta, Georgia, February 1968. Accessed on 23rd April 2021 on <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.194796.html>.

The Organizations such as NAACP, and SCLC made African American traditions, lifestyle, faith, and national memory clear and visible nationally. In that way, the Civil Rights Movement increased its popularity and publicity. Because of the situation, the movement managed to avoid being marginalized, and confined to a small area, and it also built a kind of glass ceiling against racist attacks on African Americans. At this point, it can be argued that the movement fostered civil disobedience and nonviolent resistance by granting a nostalgic and spiritual reminder for African Americans. Reportedly, the most notable hindrance to the movement's marginalization was the NAACP itself, since the pioneering organization has advocated for the integration of African Americans into the white-dominated United States social and political structure while achieving their demands for freedom and equality.

The executive director of the NAACP, Roy Wilkins, was labeled one of the most powerful and dangerous Black men in America for his stewardship over

the group's demands for full integration of Blacks into American society. By the mid-1960s, however, Wilkins and the NAACP had become synonymous with the "establishment" and "plantation politics." With a tendency to micromanage local branches and singular emphasis on the primacy of the Southern struggle, the NAACP did not win many adherents among poor and lower-middleclass African Americans. The organization's conservative ideology and devotion to maintaining white support further alienated it from a growing number of blacks seeking alternative solutions.<sup>63</sup>

The Civil Rights Movement faced two major problems. The first primary objective was to justify the struggle against the U.S. hegemony by avoiding coercion; the second goal was to have a stable and reliable legitimacy in the eyes of the disadvantaged and stigmatized African Americans. At this point, it became completely obvious that African Americans had to mobilize. As the summer of 1963 came to an end, the United States hosted one of its monumental marches and rallies in the history. Approximately 200,000 marchers from across the country walked from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial steps, where national leaders addressed the crowd, and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered the iconic "I Have a Dream" speech, in which he tried to persuade the nation to fulfill the commitments of the Declaration of Independence.<sup>64</sup> Again, the following photograph was shot by Warren K. Leffler on 28<sup>th</sup> August of 1963 during the March on Washington. In general framework, African Americans were attributing the demands of equal rights, integrated schools, better housing, and the abolition of stereotyping. It was observed that women favored to wear in white.

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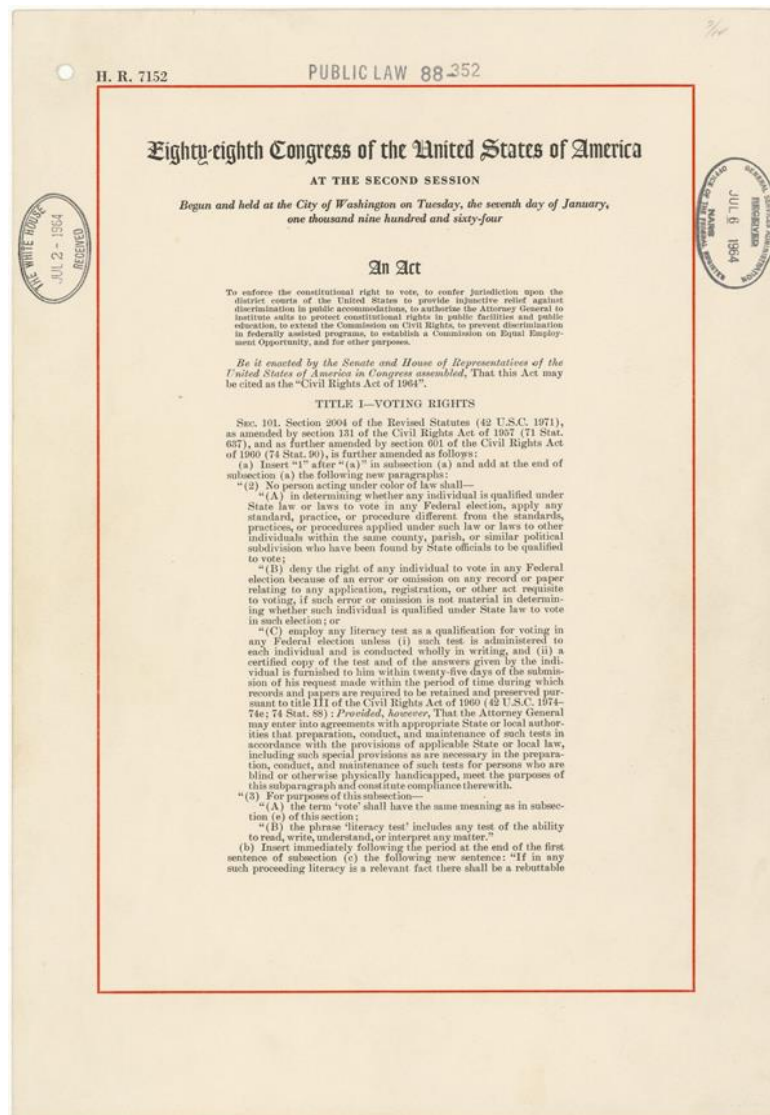
<sup>63</sup> Peniel E. Joseph, *Black Power Movement* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2006), p.169.

<sup>64</sup> Yohuru Williams, *Rethinking the Black Freedom Movement* (New York, Routledge, 2016), p. 38.



**Figure 14.** Civil rights march on Washington, D.C., 1963 Aug. 28. Accessed on 23rd April 2021 on <https://www.loc.gov/item/2003654393/>.

The March, which referred to the founding values of the United States, reiterated the belief in equal living conditions for African Americans, and compelled political leaders to take a concrete action. Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech was an invitation to challenge the status quo, and to attain equal requirements in the common homeland for all Americans, not even just African Americans.



**Figure 15.** *Civil Rights Act of 1964.* Accessed on 23rd April 2021 on <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/civil-rights-act>.

*The Civil Rights Act of 1964* was a watershed moment in American history, outlawing unequal treatment against at schools, public venues, and labor. The racist stereotyping was deemed illegal by the law, which was signed by President Lyndon Johnson on July 2, 1964. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which repealed the poll tax, crystallized the hard-won battles for racial equality into law. All whilst, desire to create racial balance at schools displayed an early commitment to put these changes into action through material legislative mobilization. Government-schedule and affirmative action programs to assist

women and African Americans at the job market offered somewhat policy solutions to centuries of political and economic inequality.

### **2.3. Martin Luther King Jr.: “Out of the Mountain of Despair, a Stone of Hope”<sup>65</sup>**

Martin Luther King Jr., the leader of the American Civil Rights Movement, fought not only against racism and inequality, but against traditional methods of resistance as well. His struggle and resistance program were an example of peaceful disobedience, not violence. The endeavors of King Jr. were essential to alleviate the tensions and concerns of a society that was living under the conditions of the Cold War. King Jr., who was the representative of a social, political and religious leadership, profoundly impacted the recent history of the United States with his principles and political outlook. King Jr.'s total social struggle under a peaceful atmosphere, was not just for the American society but for the rest of the world, and it's one of the most important developments of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Additionally, King. did not only put the African American struggle on the political front. To him, the movement had social and economic pillars. During that time, African Americans were facing discrimination and violence in the social arena, and King 's encouragement to civil disobedience was one of the key clues to comprehend the way and the spirit of the Movement. It could be argued that the Movement, which promoted civil disobedience, would open a door that would liberate not only African Americans, but also White Americans. King, who did not hesitate to use his religious leadership in almost every phase of social struggle, often preferred to use a spiritual and intangible rhetoric by the purpose of orchestrating equality and justice. While the style and method of the struggle aimed to build spiritual unity between White and African Americans, it made political breaking points more sensitive.

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<sup>65</sup> On August 28, 1963, in Washington, DC, he delivered the "I Have a Dream" address. The quote serves as the inspiration for the memorial's entire design, which incorporates the metaphorical mountain and stone. Retrieved from <https://www.nps.gov/mlkm/learn/quotations.htm> . Date of Access: 1<sup>st</sup> August 2022.

While King did not simply ignore the persistence of white racism, he did encourage his congregation to avoid the urge to paint all whites with the same brush: "The Negro who undergoes harsh and agonizing situations as a result of some absolutely obscene white person is tempted to glance upon all white persons as evil if he fails to look beyond his occasions." <sup>66</sup>

The phrase might be evaluated that King's religious rhetoric became a survival priority in order to maintain a destiny and a common homeland between African Americans and White Americans by keeping it on the agenda in order to minimize social inequality, injustice and racism. It could also be contended that King depended on religious values and established a tremendous social stigma to avert African Americans from fostering hostility against White Americans. Such a scenario can be regarded as a leadership effort to eradicate social racism and prejudice in order to prevent potential grievances. The Civil Rights Movement must be interpreted not only in terms of plot, but also of comprehension and divinity, which was King's favorite approach of merging African Americans while still not terrifying White Americans. By referring to *Brown v. Board of Education* of 1954, King Jr. claimed that On May 17, 1954, God spoke through the Supreme Court, and they evaluated the legal body of segregation and declared it constitutionally dead, and things have been evolving ever since.<sup>67</sup> According to King's methods and concepts, the Civil Rights Movement was not officially established on a secular understanding. Under the Cold War's harsh circumstances, King's path could be considered a keyway of curbing social inequalities and racism by accomplishing a reasonable goal. The goal displayed a portrait that did not ignore the fragile dynamics of American society and prioritized spiritual unity.

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<sup>66</sup> Troy Jackson, *Becoming King: Martin Luther King Jr. And the Making of a National Leader* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2011), p. 79.

<sup>67</sup> The Sermon of Discerning the Signs of History on June 26, 1955 in Alabama. See The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute on <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/discerning-signs-history#:~:text=If%20we%20are%20to%20discern,seed%20of%20its%20own%20destruction>. Date of Access: 1<sup>st</sup> August 2022.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
43 Exchange Place  
Atlanta 3, Georgia

April 24, 1962

Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison  
575 Madison Avenue  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Garrison:

For a long time we who are struggling daily in the South to eliminate the inequities and injustices of segregation have sought ways to supplement our work in areas we cannot fully reach.

The tasks of education in non-violent methods and philosophy, voting and registration campaigns, legal aid, techniques of community self-help, are but a few of the many needs still largely unmet.

I am pleased to announce that there is in formation a society which will seek public support for these ends. Under the leadership of Theodore W. Kheel, Harry H. Wachtel, and William Kunstler, the Gandhi Society for Human Rights is being established with corporate powers and for purposes which its counsel advises will entitle it to tax exemption.

This new agency will have many opportunities for service in fields opened up by the creative non-violent activities of the Negro in the South.

For example, support is needed to extend an historically new development which my colleagues and I are proud to have initiated. A Self-Improvement movement among Southern Negroes has been established during this past year. It has already founded ninety-five informal schools teaching illiterates to read and write and training talented individuals in leadership techniques of community organization. Its program is keyed to local voting registration requirements. Already it has added thousands to the voting rolls in several states. In addition, it has provided educational materials in the methods of non-violent persuasion, and has sent teachers into remote rural regions, as well as urban areas, to train others throughout the South.

We are deeply convinced that the attainment of Negro suffrage will remove not only the unlawful restrictions on the exercise of constitutional and civil rights of Negroes, but will, by broadening the base of voter participation, enhance the quality of representation to the advantage of all, Negro and white. Indeed, when the selection of Congressional representatives from the South is made by the majority of the people, and not merely by a tiny minority, the entire nation will benefit from an enriched democracy.

**Figure 16.** MLK to LKG, April 24, 1962. Retrieved from <https://etseq.law.harvard.edu/2013/01/852-rare-a-letter-from-martin-luther-king-jr/dscf1359/>. Date of Access: 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2021.

As the document indicated, Martin Luther King, Jr. wrote a letter to Lloyd K. Garrison in April 1962, welcoming him to participate on the board of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights. Garrison, the great-grandson of a–abolitionist and journalist William Lloyd Garrison, decided to continue his family's political activism for equal rights in favor of African Americans struggle to attain equal citizenship rights. In the letter, King Jr. especially focused on public support, segregation in education, universal suffrage and the continuation of nonviolence resistance, and he heralded L. Garrison about the formation of a new civic organization, which was called The Gandhi Society for Human Rights,<sup>68</sup> aimed to promote the rights and struggle of African Americans. As King Jr. mentioned

<sup>68</sup> For detail see Gandhi Society for Human Rights on The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute on <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/gandhi-society-human-rights>. Date of Access: 1st August 2022.

in the letter, the organization was declared by Theodore W. Kheel, Harry H. Wachtel and William Kunstler. Those three people were prominent arbitrators and lawyers during the Civil Rights Movement, and they were not African Americans. The letter was indeed significant because it illustrated the method and content of the American Civil Rights Movement in terms of King Jr.'s way. While gauging the cornerstones of African Americans' struggle for equal citizenship in this letter, Martin Luther King Jr. also underscored his belief in the massification of the struggle. The letter's emphasis on universal suffrage should be interpreted as a political message in order to maintain the existence of the Movement. The Gandhi Society for Human Rights was officially established in May 1962, less than a month after King's letter to Garrison. The initiative, which refers to India's national hero Gandhi, hints at the movement's principle of civil disobedience which gave priority to nonviolence, massification and legal struggle. In his address to the formed prestigious board members, King underlined the significance of 1962 as the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and the death of Henry David Thoreau. Thoreau's philosophy of civil disobedience influenced Mahatma Gandhi, who in turn affected Martin Luther King. Considering its content and the person to whom it was written, the above letter reveals that the Civil Rights Movement aimed to serve off the historical heritage of the United States. The letter, which addressed a prominent member of an anti-slavery family, may indicate that King Jr. was indeed attempting to build civil resistance by marking resilience from social memory.

During the Cold War, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. positioned his fight against racism, materialism, and militarism. At the time, King who created the antithesis of the Cold War, attempted to persuade the American state and society to embrace a joint peace.

He referred to militarism, materialism, and racism as the Giant Triplets: "giant" because of their tremendous corrosive power; "triplets" because their "lives" are so intrinsically tied that it is difficult to separate them. He was a critic of the United States' growing militarism and urged the country to aggressively pursue

peace and put an end to war as a means of conflict resolution. He advocated for economic justice and a guaranteed minimum living wage.<sup>69</sup>

King Jr.'s anti-materialism was closely linked to his religious beliefs. Simultaneously, his struggle for democratic values in a country entrenched in a warfare positioned him as an opponent of militarism. His stance against racism was largely determined by his implementations and conceptual struggle against white American supremacy. King 's abstention of solutions within the dominant system of state and society was one of his strengths and uniqueness. That's why in the 1950s, when the United States was implementing harsh war strategies under the shadow of the Cold War and went about anti-authoritarian movements as a real threat, King Jr. believed that equality could only be accomplished in a peaceful atmosphere. The achievement of global equality and justice, according to King, was a prerequisite for establishing domestic peace. The attitude of King Jr. alarmed the state agencies, which utilized militarist policies and war propaganda to preserve the survival of the order. As Jennifer J. Yanco stated in her book:

Dr. King was convinced that if nations continued to engage in warlike behavior, the fight for racial justice and economic equality would be futile. He was chastised for speaking out against US militarism and the Vietnam War. The FBI pursued him, the media chastised him, and he was threatened for "stepping out of his place" as a civil rights leader. Ending war and violence between nations is just as possible and urgent as ending poverty and racial injustice. He believed that there could be no justice without peace, and that there could be no peace without justice.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Jennifer J. Yanco, *Misremembering Dr. King: Revisiting the Legacy of Martin Luther King Jr.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), 20.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p.22.



**Figure 17.** The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. at an antiwar demonstration in New York in April 1967, with Dr. Benjamin Spock to his right. Credit...Agence France-Presse. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/04/opinion/when-martin-luther-king-came-out-against-vietnam.html>. Date of Access: 23rd April 2021.

The march, which was held in Chicago in 1967, in which King Jr. also participated, was intended to denounce the Vietnam War. There are two highlights in the photograph. First, King walks side by side with pediatrician Benjamin Spock and senator Mark Hatfield. Benjamin McLane Spock was a notable pediatrician and liberal activist in the United States. His books were major hits. The virtual support that he extended to Martin Luther King might be regarded as one of the elements of legitimacy in the struggle of African Americans in the eyes of Whites. Spock also championed abortion rights by participating in the 1972 presidential election.<sup>71</sup> Mark Hatfield, a Republican senator with a conservative political agenda, embodied the desire for peace and cooperation that was delivered to the American people. This photograph corresponds to King Jr.'s message of common homeland and common peace to the American people. Anti-war activism did not only increase White Americans' skepticism of the state's *status quo*, but it also opened new time and opportunity for African Americans to fight alongside the whites. The second important

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<sup>71</sup> For detail see Benjamin Spock: Pediatrician and Anti-War Activist on *National Library of Medicine* on <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3076385/>.

aspect is the banner which is held by the white American boy. The inscription on the banner illustrates that, as King Jr. had also frequently stated, a peaceful and egalitarian society embodies a future not only for African American children, but also for white American children. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. did not address the tense Cold War atmosphere by excluding the Civil Rights Movement. The areas of international conflict, in his opinion, were the factors that nourished significant areas of national conflict. The best way to end the war and violence between nations was just as possible and imperative as eliminating poverty and racial violence, King Jr. underlined.<sup>72</sup> All such mindsets transformed King from being a leader associated with the peace of the American citizens to an activist concerned with international peace.



**Figure 18.** Communist training school. Retrieved from <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/communism>. Date of Access: 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2021.

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<sup>72</sup> Martin Luther King, *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?* (Boston Beacon Press, 1967), p. 195.

This image, which was captured by American photographer Bob Fitch, who closely observed the Civil Rights Movement, reflected a manipulative attitude toward a meeting held at the Highlander Folk School in which King Jr. attended. An American Socialist Myles Horton founded the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee, in 1932. Originally, the school concentrated on labor and educational activities. Nevertheless, by the early 1950s, it had changed its emphasis to race relations.<sup>73</sup> Martin Luther King celebrated the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Highlander Folk School with the staff and participants of a leadership training conference on September 2, 1957. In his keynote speech, King hailed Highlander for its honorable goal and creative endeavor, as well as its commitment to the South, and Rosa Parks joined a Highlander workshop four months before rejecting to give up her bus seat, igniting the Montgomery bus boycott.<sup>74</sup> During the press meeting in 1965, King was asked about his involvement with Tennessee's Highlander Folk School, which was labeled as a "Communist training school" on billboards that appeared throughout Alabama during the Selma to Montgomery March and showed King attending a Highlander workshop. King defended the school, claiming that it was not Communist, and cited the support of "great Americans such as Eleanor Roosevelt, Reinhold Niebuhr, Harry Golden, and many others."<sup>75</sup> Because of those who were well-known figures in the general public and were honored by the American presidency. King's references to notable white Americans while expanding the defense mechanism reveals how difficult it was for African Americans to gain credibility. On the other hand, there's a clear implication in the report which was submitted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (the FBI) in March of 1968, and it was hidden from the public for many years that Martin Luther King Jr.

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<sup>73</sup> See Highlander Folk School on <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/highlander-folk-school>. Accessed on 1st August of 2022.

<sup>74</sup> See Highlander Folk School on <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/highlander-folk-school>. Accessed on 1st August of 2022.

<sup>75</sup> See Communism on Retrieved from <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/communism> . Accessed on 1<sup>st</sup> August of 2022. .

was commonly connected with communism. On the page 5 of this report, it was alleged that King was a fervent Marxist who had analyzed it, and appeared to believe in it, and consented with it, but did not attempt to publicly endorse for it because he was a minister of religion.<sup>76</sup> The communist label and demonization were attempted to minimize Dr. King 's objection to Vietnam War. Although King often emphasized the antagonism between Christian values and Communism, he suffered from black propaganda during his campaign Although he rejected communism's central tenets, he was sympathetic to Karl Marx's critique of capitalism, finding the "gulf between superfluous wealth and extremely poor poverty " that existed in the United States morally wrong.<sup>77</sup> However, instead of material concerns, King provided purpose and meaning through a mystic cycle to the life, and he did not accept Communism's view of general religious taboos because he saw the key principles of Christianity as the inspiration for the Civil Rights Movement. King criticized America's "sick of Communism" by arguing that it prevented Americans from adopting a revolutionary spirit and everlasting opposition to poverty, racism, and militarism.<sup>78</sup> Besides, King criticized communism's morality, which enabled evil and disastrous methods to serve a utopian goal.<sup>79</sup> King Jr., on the other hand, was opposed to the tactics that was implemented by the United States and the Western World to defeat communism and urged for the ideals of Christianity to be followed as an alternative. As he stated during the rally of United Church of Christ Convention in Chicago in 1965:

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<sup>76</sup> See Federal Bureau of Investigation , Subject: Martin Luther King Jr. , A Current Analysis, March 12, 1968. On <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/jfk/releases/104-10125-10133.pdf>. Date of Access: 22th July 2022.

<sup>77</sup> Martin Luther and Clayborne Carson, *Stride toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (London: Souvenir Press, 2011), p. 94.

<sup>78</sup> Martin Luther King, *Where Do We Go from Here Chaos or Community?* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2010), p. 190.

<sup>79</sup> Martin Luther King, *Strength to Love* (London u.a.: Collins, 1972), p.95.

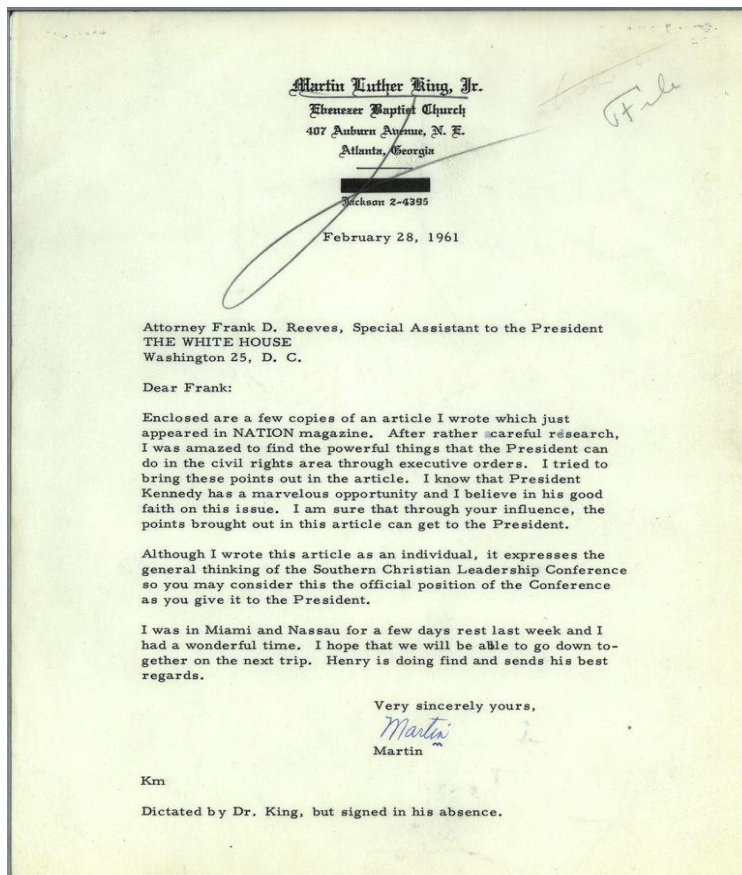
American society and Western civilization were "lost" on the basic questions of justice and morality that confronted the world. "There are few things more thoroughly sinful than economic injustice. We are gravely mistaken to think that religion protects us from the pain and agony of mortal existence. Life is not a euphoria of unalloyed comfort and untroubled ease. Christianity has always insisted that the cross we bear precedes the crown we wear. To be a Christian one must take up his cross, with all its difficulties and agonizing and tension-packed content and carry it until those very cross leaves its mark upon us and redeems us to that more excellent way which comes only through suffering .... Will we continue to march to the drum beat of conformity and respectability, or will we, listening to the beat of a more distant drum, move to its echoing sounds? Will we march only to the music of time, or will we, risking criticism and abuse, march only to the soul-saving music of eternity?"<sup>80</sup>

The predominance of religious rhetoric in King 's perspective of struggle had a substantial impact on his perception on social issues and contradictory concepts. The endorsement of spiritual integrity and stimuli in this context had vastly prevented potential racism among African Americans against White America. Accordingly, King 's approach to racial issues was chiefly social and economic in essence. King's comprehension of ethnicity was related to a concept of social, political, and economic power because the newly hegemonic ethnicity paradigm's interpretation of race questioned the basis of the segregated South, and King and the movement came to grasp the concept almost by definition.<sup>81</sup> It could be asserted that Martin Luther King's s mystical and morally compelling interpretation of tussle obligated him to encounter the American state's legitimate apparatuses. In fact, Dr. King Jr.'s moderate stance on racial issues made him a pleasant conversation partner in the eyes of the US government. This situation can be regarded as one of the key factors shoring up the Civil Rights Movement's hand.

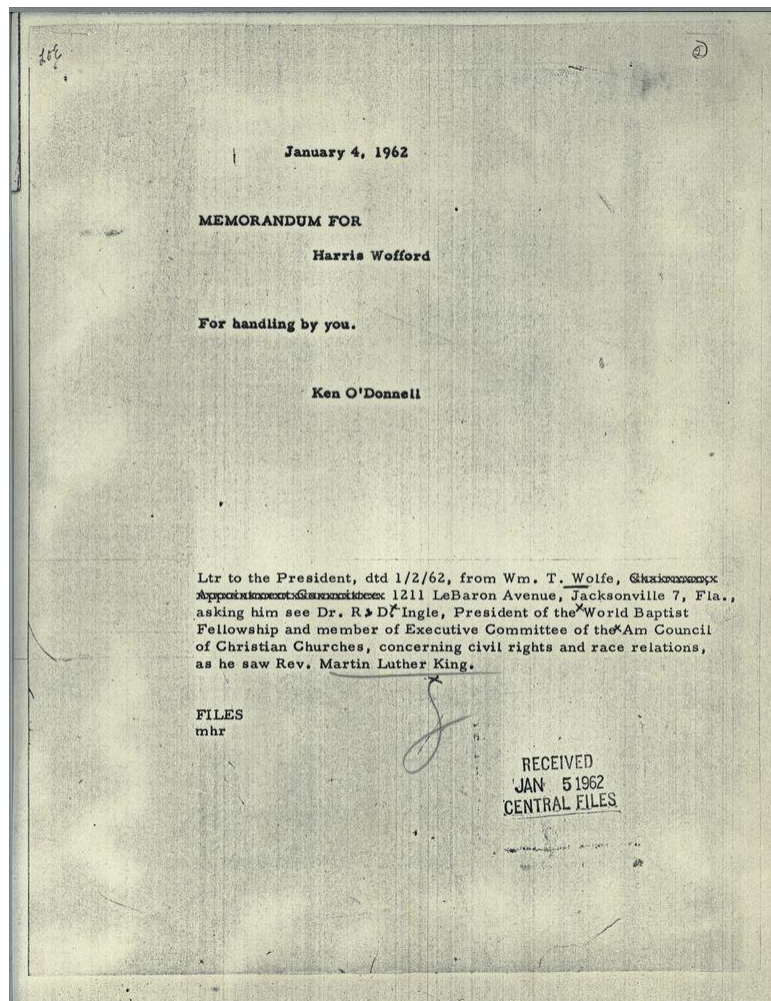
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<sup>80</sup> David J Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: Perennial, 2006), p. 532.

<sup>81</sup> Fredrik Sunnemark, *Ring out Freedom! The Voice of Martin Luther King, Jr. And the Making of the Civil Rights Movement* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), p.138.



**Figure 19.** Papers of John F. Kennedy. Presidential Papers. Retrieved from [https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKWHCNF/1478/JFKWHCNF-1478-015?image\\_identifier=JFKWHCNF-1478-015-p0001](https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKWHCNF/1478/JFKWHCNF-1478-015?image_identifier=JFKWHCNF-1478-015-p0001). Date of Access: 23rd April 2021.



**Figure 20.** Papers of John F. Kennedy, Presidential Papers. Retrieved from: [https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKWHC/NF/1478/JFKWHC/NF-1478-015?image\\_identifier=JFKWHC/NF-1478-015-p0001](https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKWHC/NF/1478/JFKWHC/NF-1478-015?image_identifier=JFKWHC/NF-1478-015-p0001) . Date of Access: 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2021.

The above telegrams, which were sent in 1961 and 1962, were drawn up between White House officials and Martin Luther King Jr. about some of the reported incidents that took place during the Civil Rights Movement. Dr. King Jr. called a meeting with President John F. Kennedy and spoke about fundamental human rights issues such as racist violence, the right to vote, and accommodation in Southern states. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., one of the most iconic figures in the struggle for civil rights and freedom without committing violence, and the legitimacy of the Movement grew day by day as a result of his political maneuverings as indicated in the content of the telegrams. As noted in the first telegram, King emphasized President Kennedy's positive attitude toward the

Civil Rights Movement and promoted his ability to interfere in the event through executive orders. King Jr. pointed out that President Kennedy had a great chance, and he did believe in his dedication to the Civil Rights Movement. Besides, King Jr. reiterated that members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference shared his views. The telegram was assigned to Attorney Frank D. Reeves, who was special assistant to the President. According to the second telegraph, religious leaders led by Martin Luther King asked to meet President Kennedy by communicating through Harris Wofford and Kenneth O'Donnell to discuss civil rights. Those were assistants of President Kennedy, and in the 1950s. Even, Wofford was an ardent follower of the Civil Rights Movement in the South, and he became a friend and unofficial senior advisor to Martin Luther King Jr.<sup>82</sup> According to the telegram, a request had been submitted to discuss the issue of race and civil rights, with reference to Martin Luther King Jr. to discuss civil rights. Martin Luther King Jr. was known for his moderate manner, yet he refused to negotiate African Americans' historical heritage and rebellious identity. Avoiding engaging in violence, he tried to define a national identity that reinforced both the United States and African Americans on their democratic achievements. In 1963, King Jr. pinned down an open letter from Birmingham Jail,<sup>83</sup> and he noted that African Americans could have survived under severe hardships in their 200-year heritage.

Abused and scorned though we may be our destiny is tied up with America's destiny. Before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth, we were here. Before the pen of Jefferson etched the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence across the pages of history, we were here. For more than two centuries our forebears labored in this country without wages; they made the cotton king; they built the homes of their masters while suffering gross injustice and shameful humiliation—and yet out of bottomless vitality they continued to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the

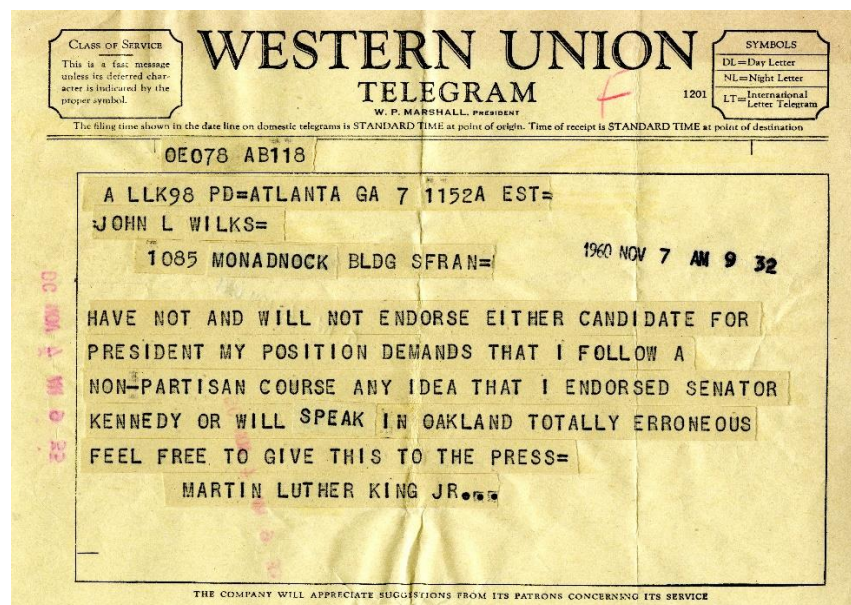
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<sup>82</sup> Jason Zengerle, "The Man Who Was Everywhere," *The New Republic*, November 21, 2014 on <https://newrepublic.com/article/120160/harris-wofford-20th-century-s-most-serendipitous-man>. Date of Access: 1<sup>st</sup> August 2022.

<sup>83</sup> The Letter will be discussed in *Chapter IV* in detail.

sacred history of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.<sup>84</sup>

During the John F. Kennedy era, Martin Luther King Jr. deliberately and painstakingly utilized political communication channels, although he preferred to remain nonpartisan or for the White Americans' campaign for political hegemony before the Presidential elections. The following telegram from the year was crucial, because it indicated King's neutrality towards daily politics of the US. On November 7, 1960, King Jr. issued the telegraph by denying any public rumors of sympathy for Kennedy's campaign.



**Figure 21.** Telegram sent by Martin Luther King Jr. when asked to endorse John F. Kennedy or Richard M. Nixon in the presidential election, 1960. Retrieved from <https://www.sos.ca.gov/archives/california-digital-archives/toward-the-fulfillment-of-the-dream>. Date of Access: 23rd April 2021.

Nonetheless, President Kennedy's democratic stances gave Martin Luther King enthusiasm for the Civil Rights Movement's survival. When King Jr. heard about President Kennedy's assassination, he delivered a dramatic speech regarding the future of the civil rights movement. His wife was the only one who could witness.

<sup>84</sup>Martin Luther King, Letter from Birmingham Jail (London: Penguin Books, 2018), 148.

He called downstairs to his wife, who was on the phone. "Corrie, I just heard that Kennedy has been shot, maybe killed." She joined him in front of the TV, and together they awaited more news. "While we were waiting and sitting," Coretta later recalled, Martin said, "Oh, I hope that he will live, this is just terrible. I think if he lives, if he pulls through this, it will help him to understand better what we go through." Then came the news that Kennedy was dead. King was quiet for a few moments, Coretta remembered, "but finally he said, 'This is what is going to happen to me. This is such a sick society.'"<sup>85</sup>

This speech, which included prejudice against the United States' privileged white hegemony by articulating the phrase "such a sick society", also marked the emotional approach on Kennedy. Dr. King aimed to inspire spiritual hope among his followers at such times of social upheaval. He asserted that they had the chance to transform the country and lead it to a stage where it would embrace their ideas. Jean M. White of the *Washington Post*, who was one of the first women to join the national office in the 1960s, and she published numerous on civil rights. While she was covering school desegregation in New Orleans in 1960, she was assaulted with eggs, was bewildered at King's contemplation in 1963 at the Lincoln Memorial, remarking that "Dr. King's comments had almost a melancholic tone to them," she reported, "a kind of nostalgia for the past."<sup>86</sup> By elucidating the struggle of African Americans against the legitimate apparatus of dominant white power over the last decade, Martin Luther King Jr. was attempting to underline a perseverance and conveying self-criticism. He declared that genocide had been committed against the black people, it was not a physical genocide, but psychological and spiritual genocide that they had not evaluated the depth of resistance in the white community to true equality.<sup>87</sup> For decades, ongoing segregation in public areas such as public transportation and education had been characterized as psychological genocide gadgets in King Jr.'s gaze. Probably that the past was referenced to the anti-slavery campaign in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>85</sup> David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: Perennial, 2006), p. 307.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p.598.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., p.598



**Figure 22.** On October 27, 1961, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. addressed a group of students, faculty, and members of the community at the McMillin Theatre (now Miller Theatre) at the invitation of The Columbia Owl, a then-weekly publication of the School of General Studies. Retrieved from <https://afamstudies.columbia.edu/news/remembering-martin-luther-kings-speech-columbia>. Date of Access: 23rd April 2021.

The newspaper report indicates that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was with a group of students, staff, and community members at the McMillin Theatre on October 27, 1961. According to a statement at the *Columbia Daily Spectator*, which was issued weekly by Columbia University, and championed Republican Party policies in general, King delivered brilliantly about two Southern Christian Leadership Conference campaigns, of which he was president. The first was a voter registration campaign in Mississippi, where black voters had been denied access to the ballot box for more than a century. The other was an attempt to urge US President John F. Kennedy issue an executive order outlawing racism in federal agencies and other sectors of American public life. There were political solutions to eliminate the ongoing racial attitude toward African Americans, but Dr. King tried to establish a transcendental unity by providing social consolidation. The American Civil War did not restore race relations absolutely, but it did shift oppression to segregation laws; the Civil Rights Movement

accomplished in abolishing these laws, but it cost a "tragic hero" in the manner of Martin Luther King, Jr., and he intended altering "people's souls." <sup>88</sup> In this sense, Dr. King had to use a moderate approach throughout his campaign.



**Figure 23.** Marchers with signs at the March on Washington, 1963, Retrieved from: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.37229/> . Date of Access: 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2021.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. declared his vision of a future that was based upon equality and justice for all Americans, not only African Americans, during the March on Washington on August 28, 1963. In his speech, Dr. King referred to the founding fathers to recall Americans about their history and to highlight the legitimacy of African Americans' campaign for social justice and equality. As Figure 21 depicted the March on Washington was a massive rally that declared equal voting rights to boost democratic participation of African Americans, and demonstrators were complained about police brutality. The photograph was recorded by Marion S. Trikosko, who was an American photojournalist who acted for The New York Times and U.S. News & World Report during the Vietnam War and the Civil Rights Movement. His photographs of civil rights

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<sup>88</sup> Russell P. Johnson, "Introducing Prophetic Pragmatism: A Dialogue on Hope, the Philosophy of Race, and the Spiritual Blues," *American Journal of Theology & Philosophy* 42, no. 3 (September 1, 2021), p.25.

leaders and panoramic shots of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom were well-known.<sup>89</sup> As could be observed in the photograph, white Americans also participated in the march to promote peace and equality by demanding voting rights, ending police brutality and job opportunities as the banners indicated. Besides, the march also included people of various ages and races. This picture displays King Jr.'s and the movement's burgeoning credibility in the eyes of the general public. As a result, the urgency of the common future to be built in the common country was addressed.

The Lincoln Memorial was frequently displayed in that video capture. It showed that when Martin Luther King Jr. said that he had a dream, "yes" noises were heard. The episode in which King Jr. mentioned about self-confidence and his own children drew a great deal of cheers from the crowd. Furthermore, children could be observed among the attendees. King Jr., on the other hand, referenced black men, white men, Jews, Gentiles, Protestants, and Catholics at the conclusion of his speech, highlighting a country where differences are allowed to flourish.<sup>91</sup>

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. spoke out against racial stereotypes and socioeconomic limitations to equality and social justice in this speech. He depicted a democratic homeland to be established with White Americans, while underscoring the oppression faced by African Americans in their daily life. The address was critical to enhance collective consciousness on Dr. King's nonviolent struggle and civil resistance.

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<sup>89</sup> For detail, see Marion Trikosko on [https://art.state.gov/personnel/marion\\_trikosko/](https://art.state.gov/personnel/marion_trikosko/). Date of Access: 1st August 2022.

<sup>91</sup> See "Watch Martin Luther King's iconic 'I Have A Dream' speech" on <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/martin-luther-king-i-have-a-dream-video-washington-dc-lincoln-memorial-civil-rights-movement-a8286926.html>. Date of Access: 1st August 2022.

## CHAPTER III

### TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN: THE BELOVED COMMUNITY AND NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE

Undoubtedly, the analyzing social, economic, and political implications of the Montgomery Bus Boycott and its behavioral effects on both African Americans and Whites requires evaluating Martin Luther King Jr.'s intellectual perspective. As covered in the previous chapters, Dr. King, who was the first spiritual leader of African Americans during the Cold War, had to deal with legal frustrations that were implemented by the authorities. Nevertheless, a key socio-psychological barrier to potential civil rights campaigns was the fear and tension that the Cold War political ideology in American society generated. At this point, one could argue that under the gloomy conditions of the time, Dr. King's path of civil disobedience and nonviolent resistance was the only viable option for any accomplishment. Since the boycotters could only gain equal rights by maintaining peaceful coexistence with whites. The concern virtually eliminated the option of violent rebellion in terms of African Americans. In this chapter, Martin Luther King's pieces, called *A Gift of Love: Sermons from Strength to Love and Other Preachings*, *Letter from Birmingham Jail*, *Stride toward freedom; the Montgomery story*,<sup>92</sup> will be analyzed, and the concepts of beloved community and nonviolent resistance will be attempted to grasp, as they profoundly influenced the path and action plan of the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

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<sup>92</sup> Those three publications feature Martin Luther King Jr.'s memories and recollections of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, as well as significant materials for analyzing the concepts of Nonviolent Resistance and Beloved Community.

The concept of beloved community, which was coined by American philosopher Josiah Royce (1855-1916),<sup>93</sup> conveyed the ideal social order in which inequality and hostility were annihilated. Royce's interpretation of the ideal civil society was molded by the basic tenets and principles of Christianity. On the other hand, some of Royce's disclosures were seemed to be directly or indirectly racist and standardizing of the community. He alleged that “Negroes” were behind the times due to their intrinsic mental capabilities.<sup>94</sup> Again, he voiced an objection on the total engagement of African Americans to public services which were administered by White.<sup>95</sup> At this point, one could argue that, while Royce's ideal American society inspired White supremacy that tolerated African Americans as second-class collaborators who must be tamed in order to establish order. Royce discussed social integration, conflict, and coexistence based on geographical and religious spurs in his work *Race Questions, Provincialism, and Other American Problems*, which was published in 1908. While Royce emphasized non-violence and social cohesion, he argued that Whites should have conveyed their superiority not through discourse but through their executive positions in public service, he pointed out:

For the Englishman, in his official and governmental dealings with backward peoples, has a great way of being superior without very often publicly saying that he is superior. You well know that in dealing, as an individual, with other individuals, trouble is seldom made by the fact that you are the superior of another man in any respect. The trouble comes when you tell the other man, too stridently that you are his superior. Be my superior, quietly, simply showing your superiority in your deeds, and very likely I shall love you for the very fact of your superiority. For we all love our leaders. But tell me that I am your inferior, and then perhaps I may grow boyish, and may throw stones. Well, it is so with races. Grant then that yours is the superior race. Then you can afford

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<sup>93</sup> Josiah Royce (1855–1916) had studied on ethics, social philosophy, and religion. He was regarded as one of the most important philosophers in American history. For detail see the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* on <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/royce/> . Date of Access: 11<sup>th</sup> August 2022.

<sup>94</sup> Josiah Royce, *Race Questions, Provincialism, and Other American Problems* (Bibliolife, 2011), 51.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 274.

to say little about that subject in your public dealings with the backward race. Superiority is best shown by good deeds and by few boasts.<sup>96</sup>

In some ways, the approach, which captured the traditional colonial perception, intended to generate a peaceful order through consent of the minority group and by adapting so-called racial superiority to social life. In this sense, ethnic equality and fundamental citizenship rights were underestimated. Royce had defined the term of the beloved community in his piece, called *The Problem of Christianity*, which was composed of a series of seminars he handed out in 1913 at Manchester College in Oxford. The piece displayed his intellectual analysis of Christianity's core concepts of society, sin, forgiveness, and saving mercy by illustrating their relevance to combination of world religions, and outposted his stance on a self-discovery into authentic devotion toward the society of the entire human family. In the following quotation, Royce highlighted the moral preaching of Jesus of Nazareth by referring to the Bible, and he regarded a flawlessly lived harmony of people who decided to join in a spiritual choir to establish a celestial society. Royce preferred to characterize the creditable social order with ideal behavior patterns utilizing historical myths and the spirituality of Christianity in the community, as he unfolded:

All morality, namely, is, from this point of view, to be judged by the standards of the Beloved Community, of the deal Kingdom of Heaven. Concretely stated, this means that you are to test every course of action nor by the question: What can we find in the parables or in the Sermon on the Mount. The central doctrine of the Master was: "So act so that the Kingdom of Heaven may come." this means: So act as to help, however you can, and whenever you can, towards making mankind one loving brotherhood, whose love is not a mere affection for morally detached individuals, but a love of the unity of its own life upon its own divine level, and a love of individuals in so far as they can be raised to communion with this spiritual community itself.<sup>97</sup>

As previously stated, the term "Beloved Community" was coined by Josiah Royce, but the concept was popularized by Rev. King. Nonviolent resistance and the existence of social tranquility were the two main pillars of his struggle

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p.275

<sup>97</sup> Josiah Royce, *The Problem of Christianity* Lectures Delivered at the Lowell Institute in Boston, and at Manchester College, Oxford (New York: Macmillan, 1914), 356, 357.

agenda. However, the narrow options of African Americans, who were treated as second-class inhabitants by the authorities, pinned down a long-term mode of struggle. The only way to eliminate the potential risks of a long-term action agenda, such as civil war, was to insist on peaceful solutions and ways. At this point, Martin Luther King Jr. was inspired by both Royce and Mahatma Gandhi, India's national hero.<sup>98</sup> Royce had already been accused of being racist, but he had an impact on King Jr., and the case could cover an explicit and intricate relationship, in addition to being exceptionally questionable. Considering King Jr.'s religious and spiritual sensibilities, his conceptual relationship with Royce could be grasped in some ways. Royce's rhetoric that encouraged White supremacy and encompassed racist approaches, on the other hand, calls into question to King Jr., who pioneered the greatest anti-racism movement of the twentieth century. Remarkably, Martin Luther King Jr. had never mentioned Josiah Royce's name in his literary works. It might be said that Dr. King did not endorse Royce's notion as content; somewhat more, he embraced it etymologically and put it into action. In this context, it might be worthy to note that Martin Luther King Jr. received his PhD in theology at Boston University, and the concept of "Beloved Community" was extensively covered in the curriculum of the department, in which 146 dissertations and thesis that referred to Josiah Royce directly or indirectly were written up until 1964.<sup>99</sup>

For African Americans, the concept of the Beloved Community legitimized their challenge as a highly pragmatic and functional concept. Because the civil rights movement, particularly the Montgomery Bus Boycott, compelled social peaceful coexistence and the role of culture of living together as the struggle of the

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<sup>98</sup> Mahatma Gandhi was an Indian lawyer, anti-colonial patriot, and political theorist who had favored nonviolent resistance to launch India's historic movement for independence from British rule and later triggered movements for civil equality and liberties around the world. For detail see the 150th Birth Anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi on *The Library of Congress* on <https://blogs.loc.gov/international-collections/2019/09/the-150th-birth-anniversary-of-mahatma-gandhi-1869-1948/> . Date of Access: 11<sup>th</sup> August 2022.

<sup>99</sup> See Dissertations and Theses (pre-1964) on <https://open.bu.edu/handle/2144/3722> . Date of Access: 11<sup>th</sup> August 2022.

minority within the qualified majority. Martin Luther King Jr. favored to capture the essence of the beloved community in dissent to racism, materialism and militarism, three significant polarization areas over the years. Racism, according to King, was an outrageous doctrine that bestowed historical enlightenment and progress on a single society, and it could even promote murder by increasing social alienation.<sup>100</sup> Despite having lived in the same country, African Americans and Whites mirrored an alarming level of social alienation. The racial segregation on the public transportation was a physical manifestation of social alienation, but there was no consent on how to build a shared future between African Americans and Whites. Thus, in the eyes of King Jr., the Beloved Community embodied the ideal of establishing a common American destiny by eliminating social alienation. Dr. King Jr. endorsed for nonviolent conflict resolution in the struggle against racism by reiterating that such conflict resolution could be vital on the path from conflict to peace.<sup>101</sup> It was clear that religious discourse played a key role in Martin Luther King's challenge against racism. When he was jailed in 1962, Dr. King wrote *A Gift of Love: Sermons From "Strength to Love" and Other Preachings* that occupied an important place in Christian literature, and by inspiring mythological and historical past he argued that the story of human being was based upon a sort of conflict between good and evil.<sup>102</sup> At this point, it could be argued that King Jr. saw the rebirth of the conflict between good and evil in America throughout the 20th century by means of a nonviolent struggle that was sparked by himself, and he contended that the resistance would ultimately lead to the good's triumph and the creation of the beloved community. In this perspective, King Jr. symbolized a religious awakening of absolute spiritual purity. He attempted to impose that religious

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<sup>100</sup> Martin Luther King, *Where Do We Go from Here Chaos or Community?* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2010), p. 74.

<sup>101</sup> Martin Luther King, *Letter from Birmingham Jail* (London: Penguin, 2018), p.6.

<sup>102</sup> Martin Luther King, *A Gift of Love: Sermons from Strength to Love and Other Preachings* (St Ives: Penguin Books, 2017), p. 80.

awareness was the sole criteria that could reinforce the idea of beloved community. As a result, Martin Luther King Jr. sought to eliminate any violent tendencies while bolstering nonviolent resistance.<sup>103</sup> According to King's perspective, the campaign for equality did not include any hostile attitudes toward White Americans. The standpoint ought not be regarded merely based on minority psychology. The only way to build the Beloved Community was to overcome White Americans' potential overwhelming objection, and he pointed out.

Time is cluttered with the wreckage of communities which surrendered to hatred and violence. For the salvation of our nation and the salvation of mankind, we must follow another way. This does not mean that we abandon our righteous efforts. With every ounce of our energy, we must continue to rid this nation of the incubus of segregation. But we shall not in the process relinquish our privilege and our obligation to love. While abhorring segregation, we shall love the segregationist. This is the only way to create the beloved community.<sup>104</sup>

The point of view might indicate that the struggle would be dependent on a long-term agenda and the campaign for equal nationality was not separatist in any way. On the other hand, whether African Americans were unintentionally subjugated on their way to the beloved community was unclear. The absence of mob violence among African Americans at that time could be attributed to King's beloved community campaign. The divinely inspired perspective aimed to break down the glass ceiling that African Americans faced in their secular affairs like public transportation or political participation. Martin Luther King endeavored, in some ways, to resolve the mundane paradoxes and dilemmas of African Americans by getting strength from spiritual standpoint. In 1959, his trip to India was an essential component of his agenda for the beloved community. Martin Luther King, Jr. described Mahatma Gandhi of India as the spiritual

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<sup>103</sup> Martin Luther King, *A Gift of Love: Sermons from Strength to Love and Other Preachings* (St Ives: Penguin Books, 2017), p. 135

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53

guide of his method of nonviolent social transformation.<sup>105</sup> He addressed that the common ground of minority and colonial peoples in America, Africa, and Asia that they were struggling to overcome racism and imperialism, it was the strongest link of brotherhood.<sup>106</sup> These statements emphasized that Martin Luther King's pioneering contribution in promoting the concepts of beloved community and nonviolent resistance to international awareness. The visit could be interpreted as political propaganda for both the African Americans' struggle for equality and King Jr.'s authority, but it was perilous for the United States' prestige under the atmosphere of the Cold War. In the *A Gift of Love: Sermons From "Strength to Love" and Other Preachings*, he pointed out:

My privilege of traveling to India had a great impact on me personally, for it was invigorating to see firsthand the amazing results of a nonviolent struggle to achieve independence. The aftermath of hatred and bitterness that usually follows a violent campaign was found nowhere in India, and a mutual friendship, based on complete equality, existed between the Indian and British people within the Commonwealth. I would not wish to give the impression that nonviolence will accomplish miracles overnight. Men are not easily moved from their mental ruts or purged of their prejudiced and irrational feelings.<sup>107</sup>

As the explanation indicated, the visit to India surpassed the purely theoretical aspect of the beloved community concept and embodied its practical significance in King Jr.'s mind. However, King Jr.'s effort to compare the partnership that referred between British and Indian society in the aftermath of Gandhi's passive resistance to the potential relationship between African Americans and American political authority could be problematic. Unlike the Indian national movement, African American liberation movement that led by Martin Luther King Jr. did not endorse for independence or separation. Furthermore, African Americans shared visible linguistic and religious traditions with the authorities that they

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<sup>105</sup> Martin Luther King, Clayborne Carson, and Tenisha Armstrong, *The Papers of Martin Luther King, JR* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2014), 231.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 233

<sup>107</sup> Martin Luther King, *A Gift of Love: Sermons from Strength to Love and Other Preachings* (St Ives: Penguin Books, 2017), p. 156-57

challenged. That's why it could be remarked that Gandhi and the Indian National Movement were guiding lights methodologically in the sense of African Americans and King Jr., however, there must have been discrepancies and dilemmas in content. It could distinguish African Americans' campaign for equal citizenship and Martin Luther King Jr.'s leadership.

*Letter from Birmingham Jail* was a democratic plea to both White Americans and African Americans, it was written by Martin Luther King Jr. in Birmingham jail in 1963. The letter had been deemed one of the most historically significant documents written by a contemporary political detainee by *Encyclopedia of Race and Crime*.<sup>108</sup> In response to the declaration that was issued by eight White clergymen in Birmingham, Martin Luther King Jr. drafted this letter. Those clergymen issued an ultimatum to the events in Birmingham<sup>109</sup> by blaming Martin Luther King Jr. of provocation and urged African Americans to pursue legal procedures.<sup>110</sup> King Jr. utilized religious rhetoric to bring attention to the inequalities that were faced by African Americans in his letter. He remarked that the way of nonviolent resistance became an integral part of the struggle as a result of the impact of the African American churches. In the letter, Rev. King Jr.

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<sup>108</sup> Helen Taylor Greene and Shaun L. Gabbidon, "Race and Crime: A Text, Reader," in *Race and Crime: A Text, Reader* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2012), 636.

<sup>109</sup> In May 1963, police in Birmingham, Alabama, deployed water cannons and guard dogs to disperse parading African American teenagers, since Birmingham prisons were already overcrowded with numerous civil rights demonstrators. For detail, see Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division. Courtesy of CBS News on <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/civil-rights-act/multimedia/birmingham-protests.html>.

<sup>110</sup> The statement, called *Call for Unity*, condemned the Civil Rights Movement and Martin Luther King Jr. for inciting additional violence in an irresponsible way. Those were signatories: C. C. J. Carpenter, D.D., LL.D., Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Alabama Joseph Aloysius Durick, D.D., Auxiliary Bishop, Catholic Diocese of Mobile, Birmingham Milton L. Grafman, Rabbi of Temple Emanuel, Birmingham, Alabama Paul Hardin, Bishop of the Alabama-West Florida Conference of the Methodist Church Nolan Bailey Harmon, Bishop of the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church. George M. Murray, D.D., LL.D., Bishop Coadjutor, Episcopal Diocese of Alabama Edward V. Ramage, Moderator, Synod of the Alabama Presbyterian Church in the United States Earl Stallings, Pastor, First Baptist Church, Birmingham, Alabama. See <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/sites/mlk/files/lesson-activities/clergybirmingham1963.pdf>.

referenced Christianity 17 times and nonviolence 18 times. It was entirely appropriate with his social identity. Martin Luther King Jr. remarked that unless African Americans' nonviolent resistance was respected and grasped, black nationalism would gain margin by culminating to an interracial catastrophe.<sup>111</sup>

There could be two ways to discuss the lesson. Firstly, Dr. King was suspicious of that any act of violence would constitute African Americans' struggle unjustifiable on the national and international scale. Secondly, he assumed that any act of violence initiated by African Americans would jeopardize his guidance. Moreover, King Jr. gave reference to some conflict zones among African Americans by the purpose of proving his legitimacy and moderate approaches. For instance, he pointed out that Elijah Muhammad's<sup>112</sup> Muslim movement was composed of people who had completely rejected Christianity, and the movement was bolstered by the frustration of African Americans with the perseverance of racial segregation.<sup>113</sup> It could be alleged that Christian Whites had occupied more favorable place than Muslim African Americans within the scope of the struggle in King Jr.'s way. In any scenario, the concept of the beloved community would be based on religious fraternity, and Christian Whites who endorsed African Americans' nonviolent resistance were potential allies.

Martin Luther King Jr., released his book in 1958, called *Stride toward Freedom*, and he discussed the harsh living conditions of African Americans in Alabama during the Montgomery Bus Boycott and, he talked about his ideological path to nonviolence resistance. Rosa Parks was mentioned only twice in the book. The

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<sup>111</sup> Martin Luther King, *Letter from Birmingham Jail* (London: Penguin, 2018), p.18.

<sup>112</sup> Elijah Muhammad (1897-1975), who had presided over the Nation of Islam as a religious leader, was African American separatist, and self-proclaimed Messenger of God. See *National Archive* <https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/black-power/nation-of-islam>.

<sup>113</sup> Martin Luther King, *Letter from Birmingham Jail* (London: Penguin, 2018), p.17.

book provides significant insights to the Montgomery movement and may be critical to grasp boycott strategies. In the book, he underlined that nonviolent resistance sought to unite the principles of consent and violence while eliminating both extremism and deviant behaviors.<sup>114</sup> Apparently, King Jr. claimed to portray the core of nonviolence and rationality by attempting to harmonize conflict and agreement. It was reasonable to infer that there might be some concern about the legitimacy of the struggle in his mind. According to King, the idea and inspiration for nonviolent resistance originated from Christ while tactics were derived from Gandhi, and through the city's African American churches, the rebellion could reach the masses.<sup>115</sup> As one could see, the role of the church expanded and became partisan during the Montgomery Boycott. The consistency between place and mentality was a key phenomenon for African Americans to come together at that era. Hence, in a sense, Christian teachings, which were articulated by King Jr. perpetually, were alive through nonviolent resistance. At this phase, he inevitably underscored his opposition to Marx and Lenin's revolutionary principles.

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<sup>114</sup> Martin Luther King and Clayborne Carson, *Stride toward Freedom* (Beacon Press, 2010), 208.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

## CHAPTER IV

### MONTGOMERY: A CITY THAT CHANGED UNITED STATES

Montgomery has been known as the "Cradle of the Confederacy,"<sup>116</sup> and the ancestral home of the Civil Rights Movement. With its roaring origins, the city has a rich history. According to the book, called *Alabama: The History of a Deep South State*, which was published in 2018 and gave a comprehensive overview of Alabama's vibrant, profound, and frequently controversial rounds in history, Alabama's potential role in the rivalry of European imperialism dated back to the 16th to the 19th centuries, and the naval forces and troops of England, France, and Spain battled one another for dominant position and property under the guise of mercantilism.<sup>117</sup> The state consequently had to deal with the primary social impact of the historical burden of imperial expansion over African Americans, namely slavery. Alabama's slave population rose by 270.1% between 1830 and 1860, and Only 171 % more white people (526,271) were appended to the community, 6.4 % of the white community owned slaves in 1860, when there were 437,271 of them controlled by 33,730 slaveowners, though it's likely that one-third of white Alabama households had slaveowners.<sup>118</sup> Alabama had evolved into a suited venue for social tensions and historical watersheds within this sociocultural order. Montgomery has been in Central Alabama, on the

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<sup>116</sup> Montgomery was declared as Alabama's capital in 1847 and grew rapidly as a river harbor and cotton industry. The city has been known as the "Cradle of the Confederacy." The Confederate States of America were established on February 4, 1861, by six southern states (South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana), shortly following the 1860 presidential election that endorsed of Abraham Lincoln, a pro-slavery abolitionist. For detail, see Coleman Hutchison, *Apples and Ashes: Literature, Nationalism, and the Confederate States of America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012).

<sup>117</sup> William Warren Rogers et al., *Alabama: The History of a Deep South State* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2018), 21.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., p.112

Alabama River. The area was first sparsely populated by Indians until 1716, when the first white settlers arrived.<sup>119</sup> The city was known after Richard Montgomery, a Continental Army lieutenant general who passed away during the American Revolution. It was officially established in 1819 and was marked as the state capital in 1847. Delegates from six southern states voted in 1861 to declare independence and constitute the newly formed "Confederate States of America." They chose Montgomery as the new the Confederate States' provisional capital during the Civil War. The city was only the capital only for four months, but it earned the nickname "The Cradle of the Confederacy."<sup>120</sup> The city's economic growth was enhanced as a direct outcome of the cotton industry. Even, with the money that they earned from cotton cultivation, landholders began to purchase African slaves.<sup>121</sup> While this loop was very beneficial in helping the city flourish, the historical legacy of segregation for African Americans did begin to become obvious. As a result, Montgomery, which became a symbol in the United States' integration and consolidation phase, gave the perception of a sociocultural developed city. During her visit to Montgomery in 1857, Barbara Bodichon (1827–1891)<sup>122</sup>, who was one of the most prominent vanguards of women's rights in the 19th-century, gave the following detail: Montgomery was a delightful town, where everyone appeared to be well-groomed and tidy, and where the churches and schools were as luminous and white as brand-new pennies.<sup>123</sup> Montgomery became a hub for

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<sup>119</sup> For detail, see W. Craig Remington, *The Metropolitan Montgomery Statistical Atlas and Data Abstract/Edited by: W. Craig Remington* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama, 1974).

<sup>120</sup> Wayne Greenhaw, *Montgomery: The River City* (Montgomery: River City Pub., 2002), 51.

<sup>121</sup> William Warren Rogers et al., *Alabama: The History of a Deep South State* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2018), pp. 95-96.

<sup>122</sup> For detail, see *Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon* on <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Barbara-Leigh-Smith-Bodichon>. Date of Access: 1<sup>st</sup> August 2022.

<sup>123</sup> William Warren Rogers et al., *Alabama: The History of a Deep South State* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2018), p. 191.

African Americans who struggled for equality and justice in the twentieth century as the formerly capital city of the Confederate States of America, which was established as a result of slavery system campaigning and conservative state balance and coordination.

Montgomery occupies a prominent place in the assessment of historical heritage. As a former capital city of Confederate States of America, Montgomery, which hosted one of the greatest nonviolent resistances of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it contextually illustrates the relationship between the Civil Rights Movement and the revival of the United States' founding principles. This city hosted the Montgomery Bus Boycott, which was one of the most notable events in recent United States history and helped to make the Civil Rights Movement more visible. According to American Census Bureau data from the 1950s, 68 % of the population in Alabama, in which the city was the capital, was White, and 32 % was Black.<sup>124</sup> Montgomery, in fact, was depicting social inequality and division. These unfavorable conditions existed in other cities in which African Americans lived. As maintained by Stewart Burns, in the 1950s, the approximately 50,000 African Americans living in Montgomery were divided by gender, education, and economic status.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States* (Washington, DC, 2002). No page. See table 15.

<sup>125</sup> Stewart Burns, *To the Mountaintop: Martin Luther King Jr.'s Mission to Save America 1955-1968* (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 2005), 21, 22.



**Figure 24.** Vacation Bible School graduation at the Salvation Army Citadel in Montgomery, Alabama. Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2022 on <https://digital.archives.alabama.gov/digital/collection/photo/id/26503> .



**Figure 25.** "One Man, One Vote" signs & watchful police, 03/17-18/1965, Montgomery. Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2022 on <https://blogs.loc.gov/folklife/2015/03/marching-in-montgomery-1965-reconsidered/>.

Figure 22, which was photographed by John E. Scott on June 13<sup>th</sup> 1952, depicts Vacation Bible School a school graduation ceremony in Montgomery. Vacation Bible School, which was also renowned as Sunday School or church school, was a crucial Protestant tradition that was typically held in the summer to provide religious education to children and adolescents.<sup>126</sup> General William Booth, a Methodist minister, did serve as the organization's pioneer when the Salvation Army was created in London, England, in 1865. A component of the church was evangelical in nature, and its objective was to spread the encouraging news of Jesus Christ, and over time it had expanded to be an international organization.<sup>127</sup> The total lack of African Americans in the photograph, although there were almost twenty students who were postured under the portrait of Jesus Christ, image could be seen as a projection of educational inequality in the United States in this city. Despite this available record, the Salvation Army turned down the allegations of racial segregation that was articulated against the organization in a statement that was issued on November 25, 2021 and presented the argument that racism refuted Christian doctrine.<sup>128</sup> On the other hand, Figure 23 was related to depicts a march for universal suffrage which was held in March of 1965 in Montgomery. On the placards, demonstrators underlined “One Man, One Vote to wipe out the hindrance before the suffrage. The 1965 Voting Rights Act marked a watershed moment in the history of African Americans in the South. The Voting Rights Act vetoed states from using literacy tests and other methods to deny African Americans’ right to vote. Previous to this, only around 23% of blacks of voting age were registered in the United States, but by 1969,

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<sup>126</sup> For detail, see Sunday School on <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Sunday-school>. Date of Access: 4th August 2022.

<sup>127</sup> Beth R. Crisp, *The Routledge Handbook of Religion, Spirituality and Social Work* (London: Routledge, 2019), 157.

<sup>128</sup> See the Topic of Racism on <https://www.salvationarmyusa.org/usn/story/the-salvation-armys-response-to-false-claims-on-the-topic-of-racism/>. Date of Access: 4th August 2022.

that graph had risen to 61%.<sup>129</sup> Some protesters were passing by the police station with their heads bowed, and the officials' assertive gaze could be observed. The march brought in attention to the consensus of White and Black Americans, and demonstrates that the solidarity after at the boycott can be interpreted as an outcome of the civil disobedience to that aimed to lessen social polarization. It's because like several other cities in the South, Montgomery became a city where African Americans acknowledged the legacy of struggle, built a nonviolent and result-oriented social struggle, and the more importantly, came closer to their White allies. As cooperation continued to increase, African Americans managed to gain more room to tussle and gain credibility. The path and cooperation revealed that African Americans just have had more room for maneuver in the pursuit of equality. Such a scenario, in turn, increased the capacity to organize.

Evaluating some demographic data will also provide important hints as to why Montgomery's role in the American Civil Rights Movement is considerable worth mentioning for African Americans. The comprehensive publication, which was compiled in 1963 by the government-run Montgomery City Planning Commission, sheds light on the city's social and economic aspects.

Population of the region: 1940, 1950 & 1960

Years	1940	1950	1960
The Region, including Montgomery	548,234	535,691	530,813
The Region, excluding Montgomery	433,814	396,726	361,603

**Figure 26.** The Comprehensive City Plan of Montgomery p.61. Accessed on 25 June 2022 on <https://www.montgomeryal.gov/> .

<sup>129</sup> See Voting Rights for African Americans on <https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/elections/right-to-vote/voting-rights-for-african-americans/>. Accessed on 4th August of 2022.

Trends in Non-Farm Employment in Montgomery Metropolitan Area: 1950-  
1960

Fields	Average	Average	Change
Manufacturing	5,900	6,992	1092
Trade	10,587	11,732	1,145
Transportation	4,092	3,640	-452
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	2,000	2,784	784
Construction	3,819	3,973	154
Miscellaneous Service	13,033	15,201	2,168
Government	6,908	9,134	2,226
Total	46,339	53,456	7,117

**Figure 27.** The Comprehensive City Plan of Montgomery p.61. Accessed on 25 June 2022 on <https://www.montgomeryal.gov/> .

While there was a limited decline in the total population in of Montgomery refers because of a well-balanced economy with a widening income base, and urban areas had risen in population at the time. The limited decline was derived from poverty, bad schooling, a lack of good employment, racial intolerance, political upheaval and an absence of leadership, and a decline in agriculture.<sup>130</sup> According to the data, the growth in the number of employees in the public and service sectors boosted the city's income level. Besides, yet the significant increase in non-agricultural labor force participation rates in production, trade, and public services brings more attention was also significant, as it is shown in the two tables demonstrate. In 1950, The urbanized area had a population of 106,525 people, of whom 63,755 (60%) were white and 42,445 (40%) were non-white in

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<sup>130</sup> William Warren Rogers et al., *Alabama: The History of a Deep South State* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2018),p.545.

Montgomery.<sup>131</sup> In this regard, Montgomery experienced the same socioeconomic trend that the United States faced following World War II. The 1950s to 1970s were often referred to be the “Golden Age” of American capitalism, and income per capita rose at a 2.25 percent over the period throughout those years, and abundance was broadened as a high portion of Americans attained the middle class.<sup>132</sup> According to the table, the percentage of middle — class people had also increased.

Percentage of the Total Black Labor Force of the U.S. Employed in Three Major Occupations for 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1981

Occupational Group	1950	1960	1970	1981
Professionals&Technical	3.33	5.16	7.52	13.10
Managers, Officials&Proprietors	1.77	2.13	2.11	5.90
Clerical & Sales	4.66	7.91	14.22	21.60
Total	9.76	15.20	23.85	10.60

**Figure 28.** Characteristics of the Population, U.S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics, 1960.<sup>133</sup>

According to this table, there was a relative gain in the economic standing of African Americans across the country between 1950 and 1960. The proportion of African Americans employed in professional occupations climbed from 3% to 5%. The share of African Americans who were managers and property owners, on the other hand, increased from 1.77 percent to 2.33 percent with very little

<sup>131</sup> US Bureau of the Census, 1950 US Census of Population, Table 55. Citizenship by Age, Color, and Sex, for the State and for Cities of 100,000 or More: 1950, 1950. Date of Access: 4<sup>th</sup> August 2022.

<sup>132</sup> For detail, see The Forces Making for an Economic Collapse by Thomas I. Palley on <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1996/07/the-forces-making-for-an-economic-collapse/376621/>. Accessed Date: 4th August 2022.

<sup>133</sup> Thomas J. Durant and Joyce S. Loudon, “The Black Middle Class in America: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives,” *Phylon* (1960-) 47, no. 4 (1986): p. 253, <https://doi.org/10.2307/274621>, 256.

change. African Americans in Montgomery, on the other hand, suffered harsher inequality and unfairness in terms of economic segregation. In 1950, the average household income in Montgomery's different neighborhoods ranged from \$2,353 to \$16,675, and 72 % of African Americans earned an average of \$2,353 per month, for white people, this was 16 %, additionally, just 0.7% of African Americans had a monthly salary of \$16,675.<sup>134</sup> According to the statistics, relatively few non-white people were middle-class or higher than their white neighbors. Those economic and social boundaries hindered the establishment of a democratic social order regardless of racial distinctions in Montgomery and Alabama. Hence, Montgomery emerged as one of the potential hub of the Civil Rights Movement due to the lack of fair society. The rise of the middle class is among the factors that contribute to the survival of a stable democratic order. As an outcome of the transformation of economic and social concerns, Montgomery became an important location for the future of the citizenship movement. Then, the surge in the number of employees in the public and service sector involved the social dynamics of the city and, most likely, generated a consideration for defending a democratic and stable order. One of the important reasons why the citizenship movement could gain a momentum in Montgomery was the existence of the middle class, which represented a moderate and balanced public reaction in the social hierarchy.

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<sup>134</sup> US Bureau of the Census, 1950 US Census of Housing, Block Statistics, Table 2. Characteristics of Housing by Wards, 1950 on <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1950/housing-volume-1/36965082v1p2ch01.pdf>. Date of Access: 4<sup>th</sup> August 2022.

### Employment Trends, State of Alabama 1950-1960

Persons	1950	1960
Non-Farm Employment	226,065	282,992
Trade	152,365	180,743
Government	38,162	59,119
Other	364,337	440,968
Non-Farm Total	780,929	963,822
Farm Employment	250,751	102,075
Total	1.031,680	1.065,897

**Figure 29.** The Comprehensive City Plan of Montgomery p.8. Accessed on 25 June 2022 on <https://www.montgomeryal.gov/> .

Besides that, the general social portrait framework of Alabama, of which Montgomery is the capital, can provide some indications about citizens' changing demands and expectations. The quantifiable growth of the non - agricultural employees embodies the formation of a state-level middle class. The rise in the number of laborers in production, trade, commerce, and public services in the 1950s, according to the table, indicates that the number of socially and economically free people expanded. However, based on previous statistics, people who experienced this transformation were mostly White Americans in the city. The process resulted in a more transparent and moderate large-scale mindset among the public opinion African Americans toward democratic ideas, political participation, and civil society struggle. According to American economist Edward Ludwig Glaeser, cities could also encourage the uprising by lessening the hazards for campaigners, and the costs of demonstrating or resisting as the number of protestors grows since bigger groups make it more difficult for police to target any particular protester.<sup>135</sup> In other words, the African American upsurge for equality that grew in Montgomery could not be evaluated purely in terms of campaign strategies and intimidations of the authority. Besides, the

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<sup>135</sup> Denise DiPasquale and Edward L Glaeser, "The Los Angeles Riot and the Economics of Urban Unrest," *Journal of Urban Economics* 43, no. 1 (1998): p.52  
<https://doi.org/10.1006/juec.1996.2035>.

general framework of the locale had played a crucial role at the dawn of the insurrection. Simultaneously, African Americans had also gained both functional and emotional allies as the city's socioeconomic conditions changed. These new allies were citizens whose economic income and lifestyle transformed, as well as their tacit support for the process of democratic institutionalization. The cooperation had been fostered by urban close vicinity, and upheavals necessarily required people to act and try to plan around each other. The tables above also show that educational opportunities, attaining economic well-being and retaining economic and social rights promotes promoted awareness of democracy and civic participation in terms of the process and outcomes of the Boycott.

According to Yohuru Williams, Montgomery was like so many Southern cities at the time, and the racial process was no more or less authoritarian than in other cities while the anger conveyed by the Black community was not entirely unusual.<sup>136</sup> There is no clear consensus on the institutional factors that affect movement implications, and agendas can help movement implications in a multitude of ways.<sup>137</sup> From this perspective, the following factors contributed to Montgomery's prominence in the Civil Rights Movement.

1. The social atmosphere in the city shaped by organizations and organizational behavior management
2. Leadership and wisdom that sprang up as a pure and direct reflection of the organizational behaviors
3. The impact of ordinary citizen attitudes and engagement in the organization's growth.
4. Deciding the boycott as a method of action, which was a nonviolent and passive form of social activism
5. The agenda for long-term and result-oriented struggle

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<sup>136</sup> Yohuru R. Williams, *Rethinking the Black Freedom Movement* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 21.

<sup>137</sup> David S. Meyer, Nancy Whittier, and Belinda Robnett, *Social Movements Identity, Culture, and the State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 107.

The items listed above will be discussed in the relevant sections of the chapter.

#### **4.1. Rosa Parks: Sitting for Awakening**

The event which took place in Montgomery on December 1, 1955, had a profound impact on the composition and path of the Civil Rights Movement. She left work and boarded the bus, and the driver strongly urged African Americans to give place for the Whites after six more White passengers boarded the bus at the Empire Theater station, however she refused to give up her seat.<sup>138</sup> Parks reacted that she had paid the same ticket price and would not get up when the bus driver asked if she was going to up.<sup>139</sup> The bus driver reportedly threatened to arrest Rosa Parks if she did not get up, and she refused again, so the bus continued to remain stable until two white police officers showed up, and Rosa Parks was detained and transported to jail by the officers.<sup>140</sup> Racial discrimination had been visible in the social realm across the United States. Despite several state-wide court issues,<sup>141</sup> there was phenomenal inequality and inclusivity between Whites and African Americans through basic civil rights such as education, transportation, and social utilities. Thus, African Americans suffered glass ceilings as a result of state-sponsored social racism, which also led the society to turn its back on common concerns.

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<sup>138</sup> Mary Hull, *Rosa Parks Civil Rights Leader* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1994), 4,5.

<sup>139</sup> Jeanne Theoharis and Brandy Colbert, *The Rebellious Life of Mrs. Rosa Parks* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2021), 63, 64.

<sup>140</sup> Anne E. Schraff, *Rosa Parks* (Irvine, CA: Saddleback Educational Pub., 2008), 27.

<sup>141</sup> *Briggs v. Elliott*, 342 U.S. 350 (1952), retained school segregation in Summerton, South Carolina, on plea from the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina. It was the first of five cases that was combined into *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the iconic case in which the United States Supreme Court ruled that segregated schools were illegal and unconstitutional by superseding the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause. For detail see *U.S. Reports: Briggs v. Elliott*, 342 U.S. 350 (1952) on *Library of Congress* on <https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep342350/>. Date of Access: 4<sup>th</sup> August 2022.

*Misc.*

POLICE DEPARTMENT  
CITY OF MONTGOMERY

Date 12-1-55 19

Complainant J.F. Blake (wm)

Address 27 No. Lewis St.

Offense Misc.

Reported By Same as above

Date and Time Offense Committed 12-1-55 6:06 pm

Place of Occurrence In Front of Empire Theatre (On Montgomery Street)

Person or Property Attacked

How Attacked

Person Wanted

Value of Property Stolen

Value Recovered

Details of Complaint (list, describe and give value of property stolen)

We received a call upon arrival the bus operator said he had a colored female sitting in the white section of the bus, and would not move back.

We (Day & Mixon) also saw her.

The bus operator signed a warrant for her. Rosa Parks, (cf) 634 Cleveland Court.

Rosa Parks (cf) was charged with chapter 6 section 11 of the Montgomery City Code.

Warrant #14254

THIS OFFENSE IS DECLARED:

UNFOUNDED ☐

CLEARED BY ARREST ☐

EXCEPTIONALLY CLEARED ☐

INACTIVE (NOT CLEARED) ☐

Officers F.D. Day  
D.W. Mixon

Division Patrol

Time 7:00 pm  
12-1-55

**Figure 30.** Police Report, December 1, 1955, Page 1 Civil Case 1147 Browder, et al v. Gayle, et. al; U.S. District Court for Middle District of Alabama. Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2022 on <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/rosa-parks> .

The police report which was issued on December 1<sup>st</sup> in 1955 told that the arrest of Parks was occurred in front of Empire Theatre that was located on Lewis Street. According to the police report, after the officers spoke to the bus driver it was informed that “colored woman” , namely Rosa Parks, sat down on the white section of the bus and remained there, and they took the statement down at roughly 6:00 p.m. on December 1, 1955. The police report tells that the event occurred on Lewis Street, and J. F. Blake, the driver, was the one who denounced Rosa Parks. More importantly, this police report revealed Rosa Parks' violation of Section 6 of 11 of the Montgomery City Code. This article required

that races must have sat separately on the bus and that they must have been obeyed police orders if they were warned.

POLICE DEPARTMENT	MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA
Date of Arrest 12-1-55	Arrested by Day + Mison
Charges Resisting a law officer & breaching Chapter 6 Sec. 11 of City Code	Residence 634 Cleveland Court Montgomery
Disposition \$10 + cost (app)	Place of Birth Luverge Ala.
Nationality Negro	Date of Birth Feb. 4 1913
Age 42 Height 5' Feet 3 Inches	Weight 140 Eyes Brown
Complexion Black	Hair Black
Build Med.	
Scars and Marks None	
Employed by Montgomery Fair	Occupation alteration shop
Relatives Husband, R. A. Parks 634 Cleveland Court	
Remarks:	
Case No. 44464	

**Figure 31.** Police Report, December 1, 1955, Page 2 Civil Case 1147 Browder, et al v. Gayle, et. al; U.S. District Court for Middle District of Alabama. Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2022 on <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/rosa-parks>.

On the second page of the report, there is information about Rosa Parks' personal and physical features. For instance, Parks was supposed to have brown eyes and black hair and to be about 160 cm in height and 63 weight. Parks' profession as a seamstress was also noted as alterationship. Parks' occupation offers valuable details about his financial circumstances. She did not own a car and relied on

public transportation and was earning only \$23 per week.<sup>142</sup> Additionally, the birthplace and date of birth of Parks were included in the police report. The following illustration that was released by the police station marked Parks' position when she refused to leave the bus seat.

The detainment of Rosa Parks was significant in terms of assessing the Civil Rights Movement's institutional and methodological attitudes. Likewise, Parks' detention urged a shift in perception in this movement, first locally and then nationally. Mrs. Parks was more than just a regular citizen; she was the secretary of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and she was also not the first person in Montgomery to stand up and protest the humiliation of bus segregation; several others had been arrested the previous year.<sup>143</sup> Claudette Colvin, a 15-year-old African American woman, had been convicted several months earlier for refusing to concede her seat to a white passenger, and Afro Americans would think the conviction were unfair, but because Claudette was pregnant and unmarried at the time, she was not regarded as a sympathetic public figure, and some worried that she would impact poorly on their struggle.<sup>144</sup> The NAACP maintained pragmatic stances in its efforts to bring bus segregation to the government's agenda. On the other hand, Mary Louise Smith, 18, was arrested on a municipal bus in October 1955, but the NAACP leaders considered she was no more qualified as a national appellant than Colvin had been, because Smith's father was an alcoholic.<sup>145</sup> Viola White and Mary Katie Wingfield were also prosecuted for refusing to

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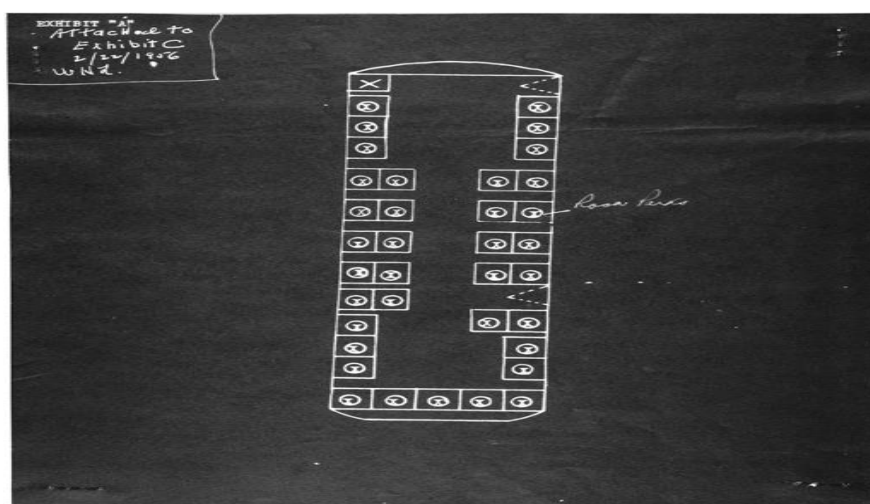
<sup>142</sup> Joyce Ann Hanson, *Rosa Parks: A Biography* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2011), 64.

<sup>143</sup> Robert Jerome Glennon, "The Role of Law in the Civil Rights Movement: The Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955–1957," *Law and History Review* 9, no. 1 (1991): pp. 59-112, <https://doi.org/10.2307/743660>, 62.

<sup>144</sup> Mary Hull, *Rosa Parks Civil Rights Leader* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1994), 11-12.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

give up their seats to white people.<sup>146</sup> Mrs. Parks' arrest ignited a public reaction since African-American activists saw regarded her specific instance as an appropriate vehicle for encouraging the society to seek alternatives towards the Jim Crow system. Consequently, several people seemed to think Parks' attitude was part of a conspiracy created by the NAACP. In fact, Rosa Parks' affiliation with the NAACP dated back to 1930s. Parks' participation had been bolstered by her husband Raymond's engagement in the initiative to liberate the "Scottsboro Boys"<sup>147</sup> in the 1930, and nine black teenagers were sentenced to death on nullified sexual assault charges.<sup>148</sup>



**Figure 32.** Illustration of bus where Rosa Parks sat. Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April on <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/rosa-parks>.

<sup>146</sup> For detail see Robinson Jo Ann Gibson, *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It* the Memoir of Jo Ann Gibson Robinson (Knoxville: Univ. Of Tennessee Press, 2011), p.21, and see *The Ladies Before Rosa* on <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1998/04/12/the-ladies-before-rosa/469bf82c-16c0-45c5-9991-812ac6a6005f/>. Accessed Date: 9th August 2022.

<sup>147</sup> Nine black teenagers were mistakenly charged with raping two white women on a cargo train in Scottsboro, Alabama, on March 25, 1931. Raymond Parks got to visit them in prison and covertly met with other black activists to collect donations for their defending. Within a month, eight of the nine youths were convicted and sentenced to death. See the *NAACP Records* on <https://www.loc.gov/exhibitions/rosa-parks-in-her-own-words/about-this-exhibition/early-life-and-activism/scottsboro-boys/>. Access Date: 22nd July 2022.

<sup>148</sup> C. Carson, "To Walk in Dignity: The Montgomery Bus Boycott," *OAH Magazine of History* 19, no. 1 (January 2005): pp. 13-15, <https://doi.org/10.1093/maghis/19.1.13>, 13.

The detainment of Rosa Parks had both social and personal consequences. Parks and her husband were not even in the middle-income level. Parks and his husband, Raymond Parks, were both fired as a result of the detention. The following official documents indicates that Raymond and Rosa Parks were reported as \$3,749 in total salary on this 1955 Federal Tax Return form. The couple's revenue was markedly smaller than the US average income by about \$5,000.

**FORM 1040**  
U.S. INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX RETURN  
For Calendar Year 1955  
or other taxable year beginning 1-1-55, and ending 12-31-55  
(Please print or print plainly)

NAME (IF THIS IS A JOINT RETURN OF HUSBAND AND WIFE, USE FIRST NAMES OF BOTH)  
**Raymond and Rosa Parks**

HOME ADDRESS (NUMBER AND STREET OR R.F.D., BOX, ETC.) (CITY OR POST OFFICE) (STATE)  
**434 Cleveland Court Montgomery 8 Montgomery Alabama**

YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY NO. AND OCCUPATION  
**414-27-8624 Barber**

WIFE'S SOCIAL SECURITY NO. AND OCCUPATION  
**414-22-7180 Seamstress**

**1. Check blocks which apply.**  
Regular \$600 exemption ☒ Yourself ☐ Wife  
65 or over at end of taxable year ☐ Yourself ☐ Wife  
Blind at end of taxable year ☐ Yourself ☐ Wife  
Enter number of exemptions checked **2**

**2. List names of your children who qualify as dependents, give address if different from yours.**  
Enter number of children listed **0**

**3. Enter number of exemptions claimed for other persons listed at top of page 2.**  
**4. Enter the total number of exemptions claimed on lines 1, 2, and 3.**  
**5. Enter all wages, salaries, bonuses, commissions, and other compensation received in 1955, before payroll deductions. Outside salesmen and persons claiming traveling, transportation, or reimbursed expenses, see instructions, page 5.**  
Employer's Name Where Employed (City and State) If wages, etc. Income Tax Withheld  
**Alma Barber & Sons Shop Montgomery, Ala.** \$ **1,101.15** \$ **40.70**  
**Montgomery Fair Co.** \$ **2,648.59** \$ **67.59**  
Enter details here **\$ 3,749.74** **\$ 108.29**

**6. Less: Excludable "Sick Pay" in line 5 (attach separate explanation).**  
**7. Balance (line 5 less line 6).**  
**8. Profit (or loss) from business (from separate Schedule C).**  
**9. Profit (or loss) from farming (from separate Schedule F).**  
**10. Other income (or loss) from page 3.**  
**11. ADJUSTED GROSS INCOME (sum of lines 7, 8, 9, and 10).**

**12. Enter tax from the Tax Table, or from line 9, page 2. Please check if you use Tax Table.** ☒ \$ **311.00**  
If income was all from wages, enter lines 13 through 16:  
**13. (a) Dividends received credit (line 5 of Schedule J).**  
**(b) Retirement income credit (line 12 of Schedule K).**  
**14. Balance (line 12 less line 13).**  
**15. Enter your self-employment tax from separate Schedule C or F.**  
**16. Sum of lines 14 and 15.**

**17. (a) Tax withheld (line 5 above). Attach Forms W-2 (Copy B).** \$ **108.29**  
**(b) Payments and credits on 1955 Declaration of Estimated Tax (page 13).**  
**18. If your tax (line 12 or 16) is larger than your payments (line 17), enter the balance here.** \$ **133.01**  
**19. If your payments (line 17) are larger than your tax (line 12 or 16), enter the overpayment here.**  
Enter amount of line 18 you want: Credited on 1956 estimated tax ☐ Refunded ☒

**20. If your wife (husband) makes a separate return for 1955?** ☐ Yes ☒ No **If "Yes," write her (his) name.**  
**21. Did you pay or agree to pay anyone for assistance in the preparation of your return?** ☐ Yes ☒ No **If "Yes," enter his name and address.**  
**22. Do you owe any Federal tax for prior years?** ☐ Yes ☒ No

**Taxpayer sign here**  
(Your signature) (Date) (If this is a joint return, wife's signature)  
**Raymond Parks** (Date)  
**Rosa Parks** (Date)  
**Preparer (other than taxpayer) sign here**  
(Individual or firm signature) (Address) (Date)

**Figure 33.** Raymond and Rosa Parks's 1955 Income Tax Return, 1956. Rosa Parks Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2022 on <https://www.loc.gov/exhibitions/rosa-parks-in-her-own-words/about-this-exhibition/the-bus-boycott/1955-income-tax-return/>.

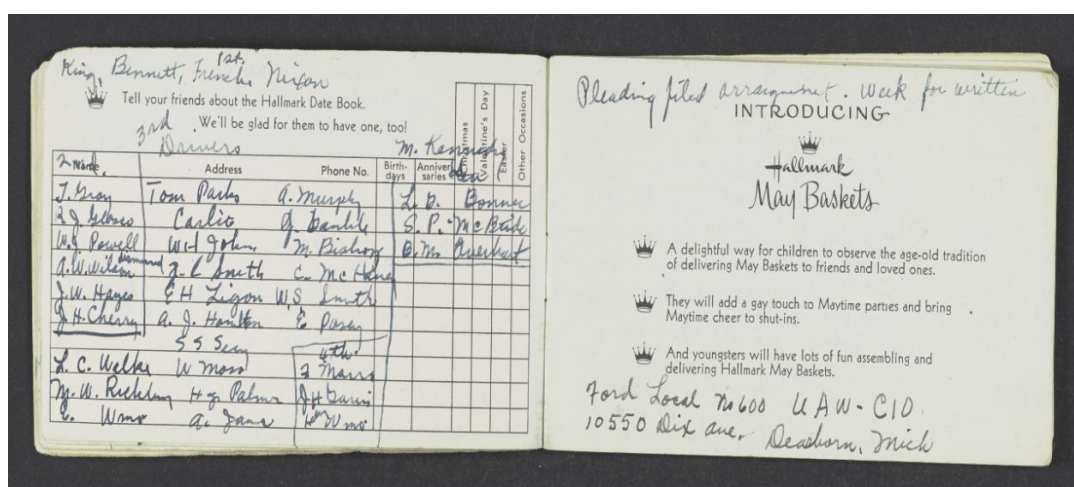
The Cold War-Era's increasing demonization and marginalization targeted Parks and African Americans once again. Some even claimed it was part of "the Communist-Jewish conspiracy."<sup>149</sup> Parks' imprisonment confirmed the polarization of the American society as well as the driving force behind hatchet jobs, which was a remarkable development. The detention of Rosa Parks resulted in the bolstering of community-oriented political means and implications in Montgomery. Prominent non-governmental organizations and civic leaders decided to act. Two non-governmental organizations managed to stand out in this context. The Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had also attempted to turn Parks' stance into mass and nonviolent resistance. On December 5, 1955, the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) was established in Montgomery, Alabama, to guide the black boycott of the city's segregated buses. Rosa Parks did serve on as the executive board members, and Martin Luther King, Jr. was the appointed leader. The MIA's primary objective was to assemble passive social opposition by initiating a long-term, result-oriented campaign. At this point, ordinary African American citizens who experienced challenges in their daily lives were distinguished as the target group of the association.

The pioneering cadre that decided to boycott the bus, notably the MIA, tried to take some precautions to ensure that the citizens of the city did not give up their right to for public transportation. A voluntary resilience was launched, and a communication network was rigged up. The identities of some of those who actively supported the resistance which was triggered by the MIA were listed in the following notebook. Dr. King's name was also referenced in the upper left corner of the note paper. Along with King Jr.'s name, the document also included the names of Edgar French, Edgar Daniel Nixon, and L. Roy Bennett. French and Bennett were prominent clergy in Montgomery, and Nixon was a former

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<sup>149</sup> Donnie Williams, *The Thunder of Angels the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the People Who Broke the Back of Jim Crow* (CDonnie Williams and Wayne Greenhaw (Lawrence & Wishart Ltd, 2007), 174.

president of the NAACP's Montgomery branch, and those four leaders coordinated the boycott as well as the Carpool action plan, which was sponsored by MIA.<sup>150</sup> This document would be eminent, because it highlighted the major impact of ordinary citizens' attitudes on the expansion of an organization during the Civil Rights Movement. To assure that the boycott did not disturb African Americans' mobility needs, the MIA established a transportation committee and developed a carpool system with particular drop-off and pickup stations for former black bus riders, and African Americans who possessed cars operated in particular zones, transported passengers to their destination for free.<sup>151</sup> Furthermore, the MIA's action plan across Montgomery in response to state-sponsored social discrimination demonstrated the movement's pledge to materialize results-oriented and nonviolent tussle. According to this perspective, the process that began with Rosa Parks' custody reached the level that threatened the authority and limited its zone of influence by the MIA.



**Figure 34.** Montgomery Fair date book, 1955–1956. Rosa Parks Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2022 on <https://www.loc.gov/exhibitions/rosa-parks-in-her-own-words/about-this-exhibition/the-bus-boycott/carpool-notebook/> .

<sup>150</sup> Mary Hull, Rosa Parks: Civil Rights Leader (Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 1993), 54.55.

<sup>151</sup> Joyce Ann Hanson, Rosa Parks: A Biography (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2011), 101.

As the book, titled *Social Movements: Identity, Culture, and the State* points out, protest can have an implication on authorities by having a sense of crisis, destabilization, or security risk, trying to persuade third parties, or generating sympathy for a movement's constituency or claims.<sup>152</sup> In fact, the Rosa Parks case displayed not only the ability of African Americans to persuade and manipulate state authorities, but also their ability to orchestrate one another. Because the NAACP and MIA have had occasionally endorsed alternative opinions and methods on this matter. The NAACP, which had a deeper history than MIA and sought to broaden the citizenship movement through legal means, was abstained more than MIA in the Rosa Parks case. According to Robert Jerome Glennon, the NAACP would no longer engage in a plea that addressed the credibility of racial inequality by soliciting only more tactful segregation.<sup>153</sup> Despite this, there was a chance that the Rosa Parks' tragedy would enable African Americans' emotional bonds to become pragmatic ones.

There were five well-known bus lines, which were called Capital Motor, Colonial Trailways, Continental Trailways, Greyhound Bus Lines and Montgomery City Lines in the city throughout those years, according to the Montgomery City Planning Council's report, and the commission report indicated that there were 138 buses in the city.<sup>154</sup> The accomplishment of the campaign and the building of alternative routes were depended on the social atmosphere of the city and the daily attitudes of the inhabitants due to the organization of the resistance against this massive transportation network. Under the leadership of the MIA numerous black entrepreneurs and dwellings in

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<sup>152</sup> David S. Meyer, Nancy Whittier, and Belinda Robnett, *Social Movements Identity, Culture, and the State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 108.

<sup>153</sup> Robert Jerome Glennon, "The Role of Law in the Civil Rights Movement: The Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955–1957," *Law and History Review* 9, no. 1 (1991): pp. 59-112, <https://doi.org/10.2307/743660>, 66.

<sup>154</sup> *The Comprehensive City Plan of Montgomery*, an official document that was published by City Planning Commission, on July 11, 1963. P. 20. Retrieved from <https://www.montgomeryal.gov/home/showpublisheddocument/7983/636111051008400000> . Date of Access: 4th July 2022.

Montgomery's downtown area were assigned as delivery and transfer terminals, and thousands of handouts were published, including a timetable and a map of Montgomery indicating the location of 48 dispatch and 42 picking stations.<sup>155</sup> During the racist process of bus segregation that hampered their transportation rights, African Americans faced a torrent of abuses and humiliations. Therefore, during the boycott campaign, city residents—especially those of African American descent—became passive resistance fighters. In her memoirs, Jo Ann Robinson, a prominent civil rights activist during the Civil Rights Movement, described the humiliation towards African Americans in the transportation network. She reminded that Black riders were frequently called "black nigger," "black bitches," "heifers," and "whores" by most of the drivers, and they would be troubled, nervous, exhausted, frightened, and outraged.<sup>156</sup>



**Figure 35.** During the boycott, many buses on the road had few passengers. (Photo taken in 1956 by Dan Weiner, accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2022 on <https://news.berkeley.edu/2020/02/11/podcast-montgomery-bus-boycott-womens-political-council/> .

The photograph that was taken by Dan Weiner in 1956 elucidated that many buses on the road were unoccupied during the boycott. A White woman sat alone

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<sup>155</sup> Mary Hull, *Rosa Parks: Civil Rights Leader* (New York: Infobase publishing, 2007), 67.

<sup>156</sup> Robinson Jo Ann Gibson, *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It the Memoir of Jo Ann Gibson Robinson* (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 2011), 36.

on the bus in the photograph. The women's gestures and body language expressed that she was trying to make sense of the boycott. Furthermore, the empty bus indicated the success of the Carpool action plan. During the implementation of the plan, the MIA maintained forty stations across the city, and drivers paid ten cents, similar to the bus, while passengers used the "V for victory" sign to identify themselves to riders and drivers, and the MIA adopted the "V" as its emblem on loyalty cards.<sup>157</sup> It implied that Afro-Americans who were agitated by Rosa Parks' attitude, accepted being the leading participants of social resistance by eliminating their economic concerns from everyday life. According to Doron Shultziner, the Blacks who took the buses in Montgomery were poor and mostly they were working in Whites' houses to increase their income.<sup>158</sup> The phenomenon embodied the results-oriented and long-term strategy of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, in which African Americans experienced an organized manner at high level. At the same time, it could prove that attitudes and priorities of ordinary citizens might smoothly change when their freedom zone eroded.

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<sup>157</sup> Jeanne Theoharis and Brandy Colbert, *The Rebellious Life of Mrs. Rosa Parks* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2021), 95.

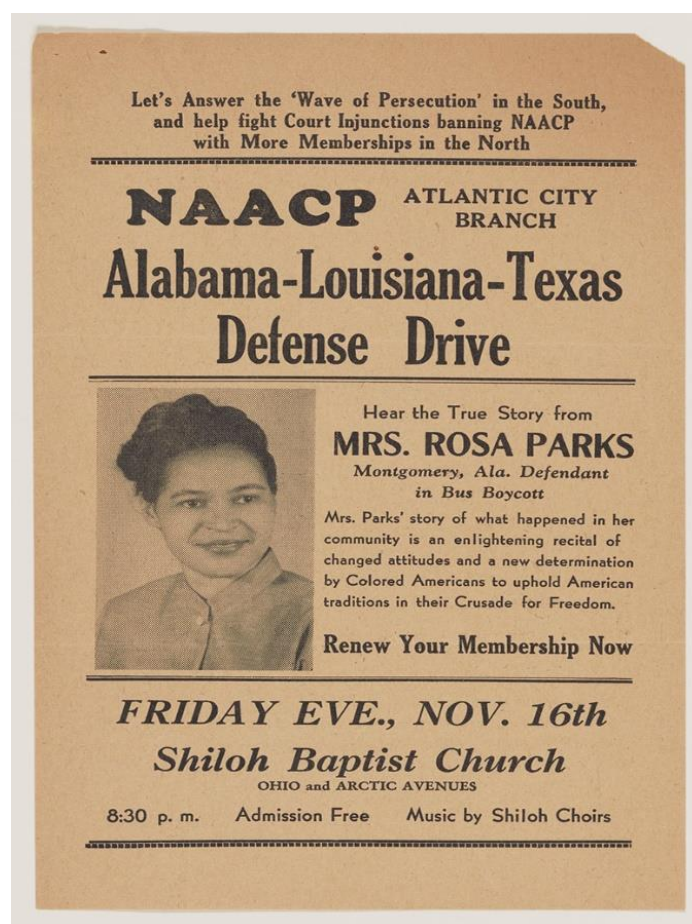
<sup>158</sup> Doron Shultziner, "The Social-Psychological Origins of the Montgomery Bus Boycott: Social Interaction and Humiliation in the Emergence of Social Movements," *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (January 2013): pp. 117-142, <https://doi.org/10.17813/mai.18.2.83123352476r2x82>, 126.



**Figure 36.** Rosa Parks Papers: Events. Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2022 on <https://www.loc.gov/resource/mss85943.001906/?sp=2&r=-0.536,0.061,1.933,0.945,0>

As the poster pointed points out, Rosa Parks was asked to appear at the NAACP event at a church in Baltimore in 1956. The thing that this is event, which was taken took place in the final days of the Bus Boycott, was held in the Sharp Street MethodistChurch, and it illustrated how religious rhetoric and venues served as a unifying theme among African Americans during the boycott in terms of assembling location and the performance of the church choir. The slogan of “Kick-off Mass Meeting could give a strong impression on the people to join the meeting. Besides, the involvement of a musical festival at the event may possibly marked to a theme on about which African Americans could share their common concerns and sufferings at that time. The fact that the event was being held in Baltimore, a city densely populated by African Americans, was significant in terms of displaying the boycott's persistence and consolidation

strategy. More to point, Baltimore was the headquarter of the NAACP as a triggering organization during the boycott.<sup>159</sup>



**Figure 37.** NAACP Atlantic City Branch flyer advertising a lecture by Rosa Parks, November 16, 1956. NAACP Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2022 on <https://www.loc.gov/exhibitions/rosa-parks-in-her-own-words/about-this-exhibition/the-bus-boycott/naACP-v-alabama-1958/>.

Following Parks' detention, the NAACP tried to hold events in different cities in a bid to unite African Americans. Rosa Parks became one of the icons of the Civil Rights Movement as illustrated by the poster above. The NAACP organized the event in issue on November 16, 1956, in a church, and it included a concert many other events that carried out similar goals. The NAACP opted for

<sup>159</sup> See National Association of the Advancement of Colored People on <https://www.britannica.com/topic/National-Association-for-the-Advancement-of-Colored-People>. Accessed 8th August 2022.

the term "Crusade for Freedom"<sup>160</sup> for this poster to reaffirm the distinctiveness of Parks' story. It was clear that the notion, which was one of the mottos of the United States' anti-communist propaganda agenda during the Cold War, was carried over the Civil Rights Movement. However, whether the term was used with a religious overtone was dubious. Although Rosa Parks was not an ordinary African American due to her activist self - image, she had also guided ordinary African Americans in playing a key role during the civic movement and had bolstered Martin Luther King Jr.'s leadership.

#### **4.2. The Boycott and Martin Luther King Jr.: Keeping Alive**

Martin Luther King Jr.'s leadership and attitudes during the Montgomery Bus Boycott will be discussed in this section by utilizing his memories and some historical documents from that time. The next chapter will be focusing on Dr. King's intellectual analysis in detail. Montgomery Bus Boycott held a special place in his life because it was the first time Dr. King had inspired a mass action in terms of the Civil Rights Movement. The boycott had included both legal and socio-political elements that impeded a long-term struggle, so it was not in the bag to materialize short-term measurable results and expectations. Dr. King's leanings, which favored nonviolence and passive resistance, were costly in such a social environment. Therefore, the Bus Boycott generated King, who was able to take a peaceful political stand during the hostile scene of the Cold War, but he was not the only one who conceived the boycott. Furthermore, the fact that Dr. King was actively involved in the establishment of the MIA and had an influence in the development of an alternative institution to the NAACP, it also bolstered his leadership. Neither did King foresee that the boycott that he vigorously led would have far-reaching outcomes in African American history.

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<sup>160</sup> From 1950 to 1960, the Crusade for Freedom was an American propaganda campaign. Its public primary aim was to secure funding for Radio Free Europe; however, it also continued to serve to cover up the CIA's financial support of Radio Free Europe and to accumulate international support for American Cold War policies. The phrase was also used to identify African Americans' struggle for equal citizenship on some propaganda posters. See : Martin Medhurst, "Eisenhower and the Crusade for Freedom: The Rhetorical Origins of a Cold War Campaign," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (1997): pp. 646-647.

On December 5, 1957, he delivered a speech at Holt Street Baptist Church and said that they had no idea that they were launching a movement of international extents, the boycott would have an impact on the world's nations and serve as a beacon of hope for oppressed minorities. and the boycott would ring in the ears of people from every nation, and bounce and mesmerize the abuser's imagination while having left a sparkling star of hope engraved in the midnight horizon of the oppressed.<sup>161</sup> The following below photograph that was taken by Ralph Abernathy in 1955, illustrated illustrates that Dr. King and Ms. Parks were participating in a boycott briefing together. In this respect, it should be remarked that Dr. King's prevalent engagement in boycott-related events, as well as his good communication with Mrs. Parks--, perhaps presumably the boycott's most important iconic figure, --impacted the boycott's destiny.



**Figure 38.** Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King Jr., and Ralph Abernathy, Ebenezer Baptist Church During Bus Boycott. Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2022 on [https://www.si.edu/object/rosa-parks-martin-luther-king-jr-and-ralph-abernathy-ebenezer-baptist-church-during-bus-boycott:nmaahc\\_2011.49.11](https://www.si.edu/object/rosa-parks-martin-luther-king-jr-and-ralph-abernathy-ebenezer-baptist-church-during-bus-boycott:nmaahc_2011.49.11) .

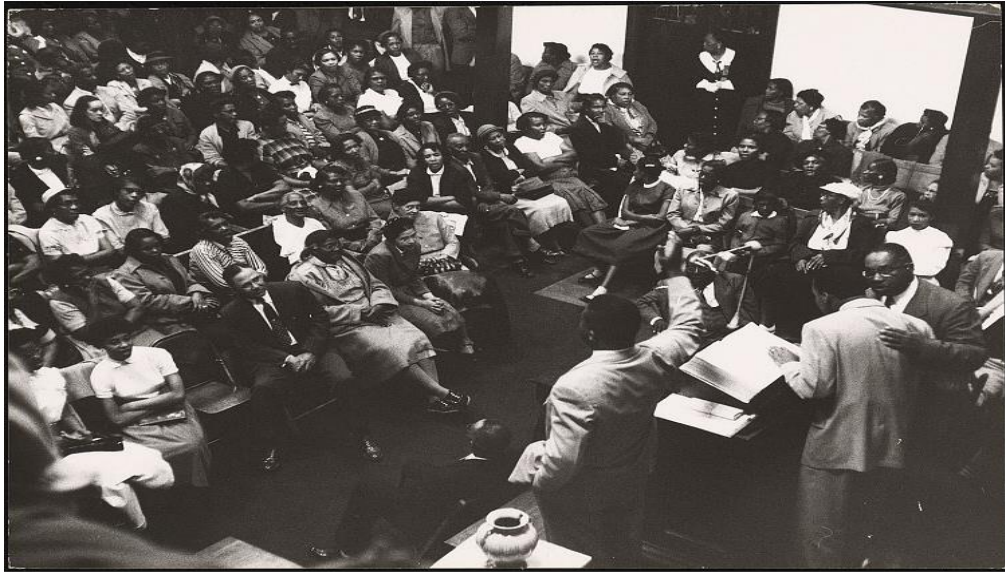
<sup>161</sup>Carson Clayborne, "The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.," *Symbol of the Movement, January 1957–December 1958*, vol 4 (2000): p. 329, <https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520341920-001>.

Dr. King defined his leadership experience during the Bus Boycott in his book *A Gift of Love: Sermons from Strength to Love and Other Preachings*, in which he analyzes the formation of political and social power. He remarked that he had not suffered life's challenges until he became a member of the leadership of the Montgomery bus protest, and that he began to receive threatening phone calls and letters in his house almost immediately after the campaign began. He noted that he was not faced with the trials of life until he became a member of the leadership of the Montgomery bus protest, and began to receive threatening phone calls and letters in his home almost immediately after the movement began.<sup>162</sup> At that juncture, the Bus Boycott was embodied by the mindset and the course of action that were set off by the Montgomery Improvement Association (the MIA) and Martin Luther King Jr. while Mrs. Parks was merely being turned into a kind of symbolic silhouette with the intention of sparking off the masses during the church engagements. For instance, Rosa Parks remained silent even at the Holt Street Church rally on December 5, 1955, the day the boycott commenced, despite the participation of thousands of people, King Jr. and Rev. French, on the other hand, delivered addresses in which they portrayed Parks as a victim of oppression and authoritarian principles.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Martin Luther King et al., *A Gift of Love: Sermons from Strength to Love and Other Preachings* (UK: Penguin, 2017), 110.

<sup>163</sup> Jeanne Theoharis and Brandy Colbert, *The Rebellious Life of Mrs. Rosa Parks* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2021), 92.



**Figure 39.** Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King, Jr. at mass meeting in local church. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2022 on [https://www.si.edu/object/rosa-parks-and-martin-luther-king-jr:npg\\_NPG.2009.4](https://www.si.edu/object/rosa-parks-and-martin-luther-king-jr:npg_NPG.2009.4) .

Dr. King and Mrs. Park were being captured on camera by Constantine Manos at a boycott meeting at Holt Street Baptist Church in Montgomery, and when Dr. King would be preparing to give a speech with the Bible in his hand, Edgar Daniel Nixon was trying to tell him. Rosa Parks was sitting in the front seat with humble and shy gestures. While it was apparent that the attendees were weary, the camera captured two people who were yawning. Additionally, most participants were female. It may be alleged that Dr. King's election as chairman of the MIA promoted him to a role of natural leadership, and he was able to encourage feelings of determination and patriotism among African Americans in the struggle. King Jr. also asserted that people regarded him as a leader and that if he was discouraged, the resistance would be undermined.<sup>164</sup> Dr. King's acceptance speech as president was considerable to display the general character of the boycott and the citizenship movement. Here, King Jr. reiterated equal American citizenship by trying to imply that the boycott was not compelled by a separatist agenda.

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<sup>164</sup> Martin Luther King et al., *A Gift of Love: Sermons from Strength to Love and Other Preachings* (UK: Penguin, 2017), 111.

We are here this evening for serious business. We are here in a general sense because first and foremost, we are American citizens, and we are determined to acquire our citizenship to the fullness of its meaning. We are here because of our deep-seated belief that democracy transformed from thin paper to thick action is the greatest form of government on earth. But we are here in a specific sense because of the bus situation in Montgomery. We are here because we are determined to get the situation corrected.<sup>165</sup>

During the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Dr. King made extensive use of religious rhetoric. He was using religious references to clarify his aspiration of peaceful protests and nonviolent resistance. He was inspired not only by religious references, but also by leaders of the universal freedom struggle, such as Mahatma Gandhi. Dr. King's book, *A Gift of Love: Sermons from Strength to Love and Other Preachings* (1963), in which he tried to synthesize Christian teachings and methods of social enlightenment, and it aimed to appraise the memories of the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

The Negroes of Montgomery, exhausted by the embarrassing memories they had forced to endure on the buses, conveyed their dedication to be free in a gigantic act of non-cooperation. They noticed that walking down the streets in dignity was ultimately more respectable than riding the buses in humiliation. The people asked me to be their spokesman at the start of the protest. Accepting this duty, my mind was drawn back to the Sermon on the Mount and the Gandhian method of nonviolent resistance, whether consciously or unconsciously. This principle had become our movement's beacon of light. Gandhi provided the method, while Christ provided the spirit and motivation.<sup>166</sup>

On December 25, 1955, Montgomery's top clergy and the MIA committee drafted a proclamation, called "To the Montgomery Public", to enlighten the townspeople and the American public opinion. On behalf of the MIA, Martin Luther King Jr. was among those who agreed to sign the declaration. The following statement, which has nine titles and three main sections, may clarify the boycott's primary goal and methods, furthermore, the document might demonstrate how impactful Doctor King's mode of struggle and ideology were

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<sup>165</sup> Randall Kennedy, "Martin Luther King's Constitution: A Legal History of the Montgomery Bus Boycott," *The Yale Law Journal* 98, no. 6 (1989), <https://doi.org/10.2307/796572>, 1021.

<sup>166</sup> Martin Luther King et al., *A Gift of Love: Sermons from Strength to Love and Other Preachings* (UK: Penguin, 2017), 126.

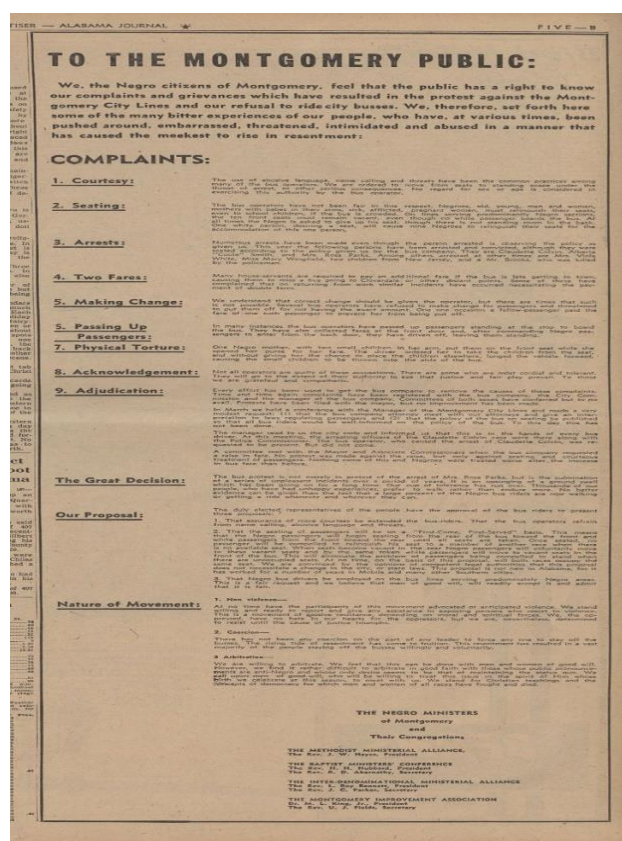
during the boycott. It was published on 25<sup>th</sup> December 1955 by seven African American ministers of Montgomery. Those were Joshua W. Hayes, Hillmon Hannibal Hubbard, Ralph David Abernathy, L. Roy Bennett, Joseph C. Parker, Uriah J. Fields along with King Jr.<sup>167</sup>. The petitioners, primarily Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., alluded to the humiliation that African Americans faced on the bus. While mentioning the discrimination that was exacerbated by the seating plan in the buses, not only racial segregation but also the rights and priorities of pregnant, female and elderly passengers were mentioned. Following a summary of the detentions and murders that were committed by bus segregation, a little baby's injury was indeed explained. According to the statement, Claudette Colvin, Mary Louise Smith Alberta Smith, Rosa Parks, Viola White, Mary Wingfield, and two children of New Jersey were arrested for challenging bus segregation, and a man named Brooks was also gunned down. In the meantime, the petitioners managed to avoid stereotyping and defaming their claims and assertions, instead, they preferred to glorify some bus drivers' fair and polite behaviors towards African Americans.

Dr. King and other partners participants noted that the boycott was a natural outcome of not only Ms. Parks' detention, but also of long-standing racial segregation against African Americans. The impacts of Dr. King were also comprehended in the section of the paper titled "The Nature of Movement." Here, while bringing up the moral grounds for the boycott, passive resistance and nonviolent struggle were also reiterated. The participants concluded the declaration by reaffirming their commitment for the democratic struggle and embodiment of Christian principles. The Montgomery Bus Boycott's objectives were inspired by the intellectual orientation of these Christian leaders,

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<sup>167</sup> Those were all Montgomery's most prominent community and political figures. They all played key roles in the Montgomery Improvement Association and the NAACP. After the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., Abernathy was elected president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. For detail see [http://crdl.usg.edu/people/h/hayes\\_joshua\\_w/?Welcome](http://crdl.usg.edu/people/h/hayes_joshua_w/?Welcome), <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/abernathy-ralph-david> and <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/minutes-montgomery-improvement-association-founding-meeting-u-j-fields>. Accessed Date: 9<sup>th</sup> August 2022.

particularly Dr. King Jr. Moreover, it could be asserted that directly referring to religious and moral principles was one of the most vital factors in promoting the legitimacy of the activity in the court of public opinion. Religion and the church, as representatives of people, must have played a critical role in obtaining achievements in the process of social transformation, according to King Jr.<sup>168</sup> Religion, for him, was an intrinsic element of society and the ultimate identity of his discourses.<sup>169</sup> For this reason, public meetings that were held in churches throughout the boycott campaign might be regarded a literal depiction of Martin Luther King Jr.'s mindset.



**Figure 40.** Notice to the "Montgomery Public" from "the Negro citizens of Montgomery" explaining their reasons for the Montgomery bus boycott. Alabama Digital Collections. Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2022 on <https://digital.archives.alabama.gov/digital/collection/voices/id/6470> .

<sup>168</sup> Fredrik Sunnemark, Ring out Freedom!: The Voice of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Making of the Civil Rights Movement (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 63.

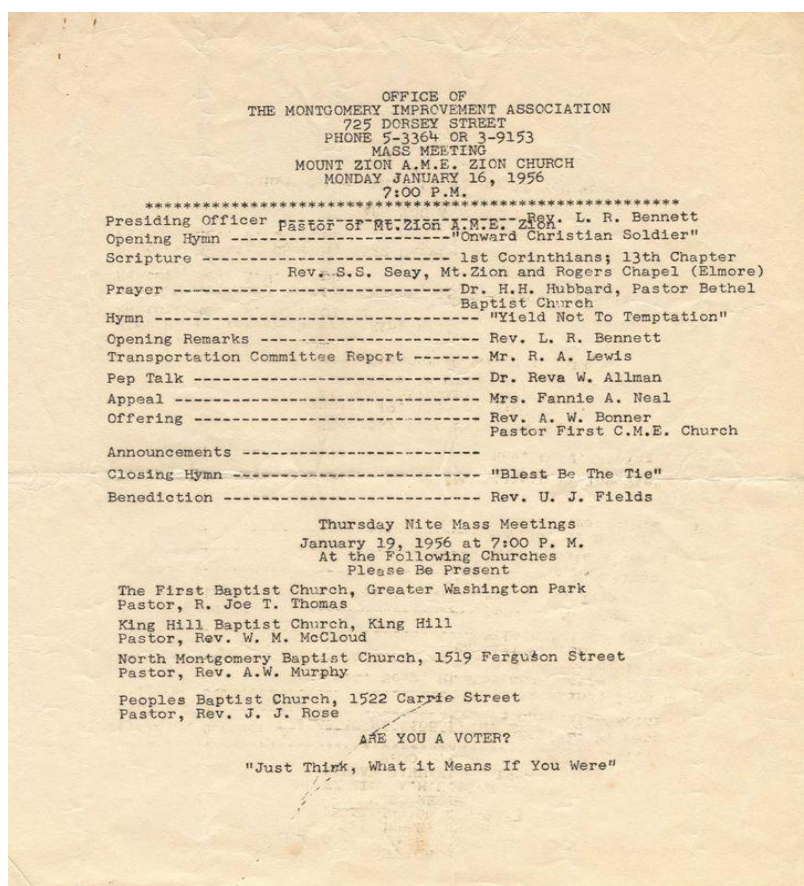
<sup>169</sup> Ibid., p.75

In order to encourage public engagement and draw up a budget, the Montgomery Development Association (the MIA), which launched the boycott under the auspices of Martin Luther King, conducted a membership campaign. The following "Join the 'Fight for Freedom,'" envelope indicated that the potential members were urged by the purpose of consolidating the Boycott and bolstering up the MIA, and membership fees spanned from \$0.50 for youth to \$50.00 for institutions. The MIA and Dr. King agreed to create initiate a voluntary movement in that way by taking in consideration of the social scene of the town and the involvement of ordinary citizens.

**Figure 41.** Envelope of the Montgomery Improvement Association membership campaign. Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2022 on <https://digital.archives.alabama.gov/digital/collection/voices/id/6403/rec/1> .

On January 16 and 19, 1956, the MIA held several parallel rallies in the city's churches at the onset of the boycott. The key aim of those same meetings was to foster the traditional and religious bonds among African Americans in order to keep the viability of resistance. Those rallies also mirrored the peaceful struggle and nonviolent resistance that were propagandized by Dr. King, and the meetings were including hymns that were performed, religious texts that were read. Likewise, religious leaders addressed, which reinforced the audience's enthusiasm and devotion. The calls for devotion and activism declared by religious leaders who became political figures during the Boycott, particularly Dr. Martin Luther King, created economic and social dilemmas regarding African Americans. In his book called *Stride Toward Freedom; the Montgomery Story*, --which gave facts about harsh living conditions of African Americans of Alabama,-- Dr. King Jr. pointed out that in Montgomery, 63 % of black women's

occupations were as domestic service, and 48 % of black men's jobs were as workers or domestic servants, and the average wealth of Montgomery in 1950 was \$1,730 for the approximately 70,000 White residents, and it was opposed to \$970 for the 50,000 black residents.<sup>170</sup>



**Figure 42.** Program for a mass meeting of the MIA at the Mount Zion A.M.E. Zion Church. Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April on <https://digital.archives.alabama.gov/digital/collection/voices/id/2021/rec/209> .

The Montgomery Improvement Association continued to hold church sessions to maintain African Americans' faith and resistance to the boycott. As the above document indicated, on January 16<sup>th</sup> of 1956, the MIA organized a massive rally at the Zion Church. The meeting's opening ceremony was scheduled to be delivered by Onward, Christian Soldiers. The hymn which encouraged believers to embrace suffering as the soldier of Jesus had been one of the most well-known

<sup>170</sup> Martin Luther King and Clayborne Carson, *Stride toward Freedom* (Beacon Press, 2010), 14.

Protestant anthems of all time.<sup>171</sup> It was asserted that the Bible's chapter on Corinthians glorified love and fraternity as fundamental human values and implicitly denounced slavery.<sup>172</sup> In addition to conveying sentiments of Christian love and brotherhood, the hymn of Blest Be the Tie was adopted for the closing ceremony.<sup>173</sup> The meeting's theme mirrored the boycott's agenda, which was built on nonviolence and pacifism. Those sessions, which took place in the city's African American churches, were led by local ministers, and their programs often included hymns, sermons, and Bible passages, in addition to speeches by King, Abernathy, and others, and they were held twice a week, on Mondays and Thursdays, during the outset of the boycott.<sup>174</sup> As a participant, John Robert Lewis was one of the founder and chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.<sup>175</sup> Uriah J. Fields was the secretary of the MIA, and John Bonner was one of the members of the executive committee of the organization as participants.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout, and Charles Reagan Wilson, *Religion and the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University, 1998), 413.

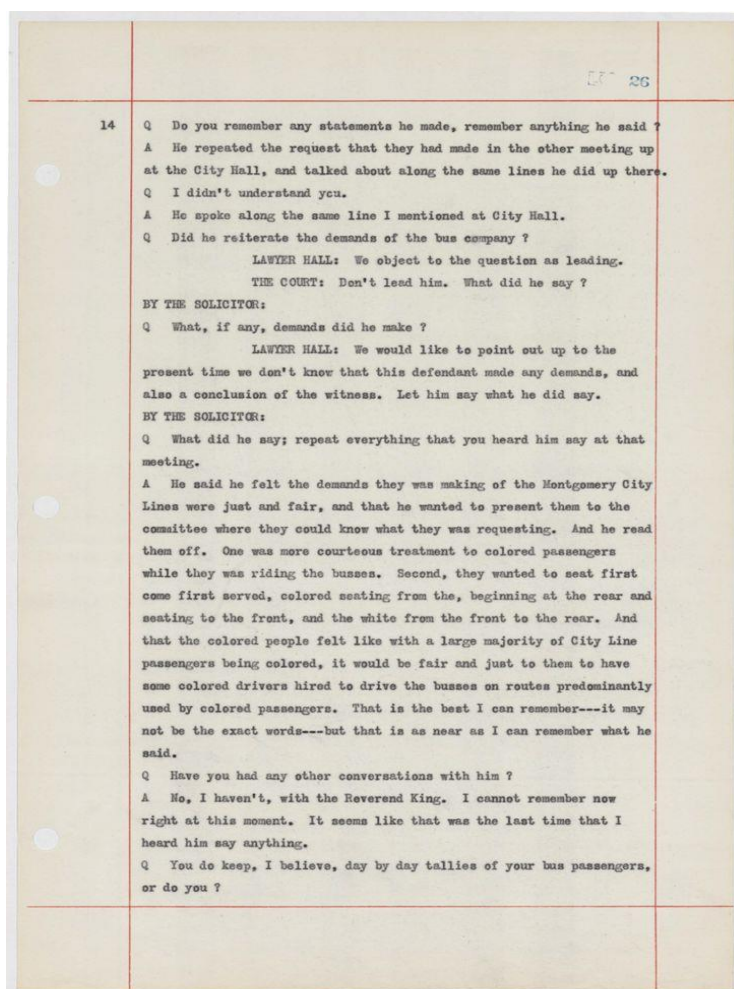
<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 43-44.

<sup>173</sup> See Blest be the tie that binds on <https://www.loc.gov/item/sm1879.05892/>. Accessed Date: 9<sup>th</sup> August 2022.

<sup>174</sup> Gary S. Selby, *Martin Luther King and the Rhetoric of Freedom: The Exodus Narrative in America's Struggle for Civil Rights* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2008), 75.

<sup>175</sup> See Lewis, John on <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/lewis-john>. Accessed Date: 9<sup>th</sup> August 2022.

<sup>176</sup> See Minutes of Montgomery Improvement Association Founding Meeting on <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/minutes-montgomery-improvement-association-founding-meeting-u-j-fields>. Accessed Date: 9<sup>th</sup> August 2022.



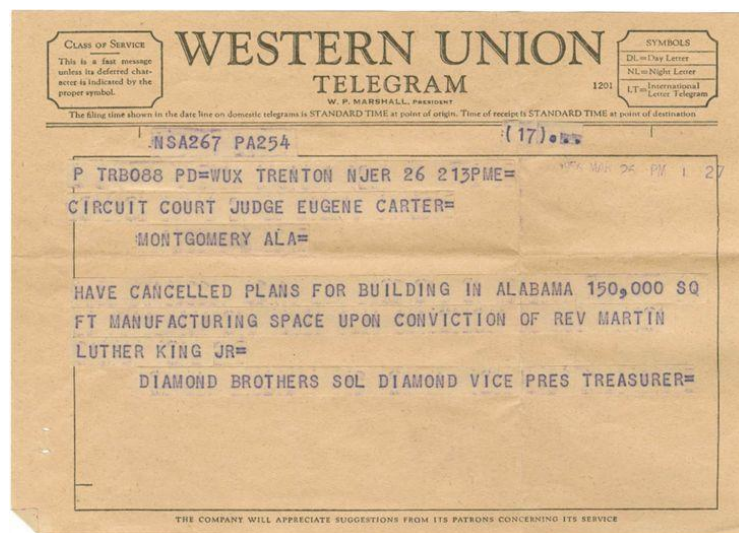
**Figure 43.** Copy of the transcript of *State of Alabama v. M. L. King, Jr., et al*, which was made for Attorney General John Patterson in preparation for an appeal of the verdict. Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2022.  
<https://digital.archives.alabama.gov/digital/collection/voices/id/16043/rec/214> .

Martin Luther King Jr. and others had been accused of violating a state anti-boycotting code in February 1956, during the Montgomery Bus Boycott.<sup>177</sup> Furthermore, white officials in Alabama launched two collective efforts to lawfully eliminate Martin Luther King, Jr. and the civil rights movement by convicting King for financial crimes.<sup>178 179</sup> The dialogue between the court board

<sup>177</sup> Martin Luther King and Susan Carson, *The Papers of Martin Luther King, JR*, vol. 5 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), 371.

<sup>178</sup> See *State of Alabama v. M. L. King, Jr.* on <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/state-alabama-v-m-l-king-jr-nos-7399-and-9593>. Accessed Date: 9<sup>th</sup> August 2022.

and the witness accounts regarding Dr. King was cited in the above investigation bulletin. The observer raised his concern on the legal proposals that Dr. King brought to the agenda to end bus segregation in the report in inquiry, amidst the jury's harsh tone. Moreover, the jury was teasing out Dr. King's conferences perpetually. The impartiality of the state institutions in that continuum was highly questionable. The court case, which ultimately led to Martin Luther King Jr.'s and his colleagues' guilty verdict, impeded the legal methods of struggle and prolonged the boycott. The allegations, which were articulated by Attorney General John Malcolm Patterson<sup>180</sup>, against King, according to him, were an effort to humiliate him for the involvement that he had undertaken in the civil rights campaign.<sup>181</sup>



**Figure 44.** Telegram from Sol Diamond, vice president and treasurer of Diamond Brothers in Trenton, New Jersey, to Judge Eugene W. Carter in Montgomery, Alabama. Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2022 on <https://digital.archives.alabama.gov/digital/collection/voices/id/1944/rec/218> .

<sup>179</sup> Martin Luther King and Susan Carson, *The Papers of Martin Luther King, JR*, vol. 5 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), pp.25-26.

<sup>180</sup> For detail see Ray Jenkins, "John Patterson, Alabama Governor Who Embodied Southern Defiance to Civil Rights, Dies at 99," *Washington Post*, June 5, 2021, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/john-patterson-dead/2021/06/05/3f0dd79a-c642-11eb-93f5-ee9558eef4b\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/john-patterson-dead/2021/06/05/3f0dd79a-c642-11eb-93f5-ee9558eef4b_story.html). Date of Access: 9th August 2022.

<sup>181</sup> Martin Luther King and Susan Carson, *The Papers of Martin Luther King, JR*, vol. 5 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), p. 371

The conviction of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.<sup>182</sup> elevated communal pressure on Alabama's authorities. The telegram pointed out that upon the jury's attempt to convict Martin Luther King Jr. in connection with the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Diamond Brothers Company<sup>183</sup> decided to throw by the plan to locate a home furnishings production plant in Alabama. It may be argued that such reactions that came from various layers of society by regarding social inequality and violations of human rights, which the official institutions were attempting to uphold through the judiciary, enhanced Dr. King's leadership and reshaped social dynamics in favor of boycotters. At this point, the people of the city were experiencing economic sanctions as a result of the rights violations which levelled off Dr. King. The episode was important because it highlighted that the boycott impacted both Whites and African Americans profoundly in their daily lives. For instance, when a group of around 600 protesters deployed nonviolent resistance to impede transportation and trade during the movement, White entrepreneurs pursued reconciliation King Jr.<sup>184</sup> Although Martin Luther King Jr. tried to motivate African Americans with the events that he held in churches by promoting religious values, he was in need of White, secular allies to eliminate or minimize the official barriers to the boycott, and the telegram could be argued in that way. Throughout the process, King Jr. emphasized that he would not

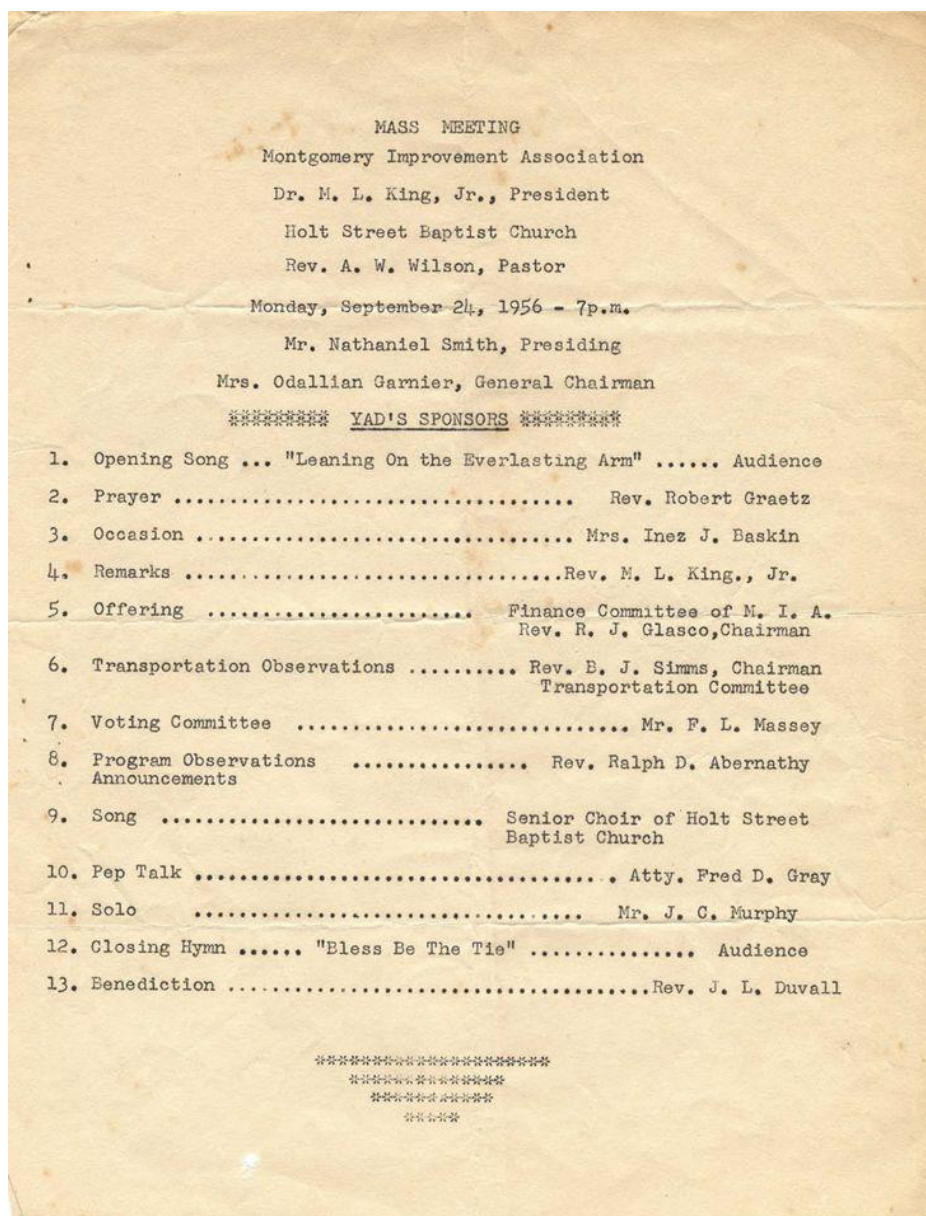
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<sup>182</sup> King Jr. was condemned of engaging in an unlawful boycott of Montgomery City Lines. Judge Eugene Carter fined King \$500 for legal expenses, but the jury suspended and postponed the penalty. For detail, see Martin Luther King and Coretta Scott King, *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2010), 138, and see *Testimony in State of Alabama v. M. L. King, Jr.* on <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/testimony-state-alabama-v-m-l-king-jr>. Accessed Date: 9<sup>th</sup> August 2022.

<sup>183</sup> Diamond Brothers Company was one of the leading jewelry manufacturers in the United States and was established in New Jersey. Despite being located in the North, it endorsed the boycott that erupted in the South and halted the investments in response to King Jr's verdict. This may be significant in comprehending the boycott's nationwide influence and its expanding legitimacy in the eyes of Whites. See Donnie Williams, *The Thunder of Angels the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the People Who Broke the Back of Jim Crow* (CDonnie Williams and Wayne Greenhaw (Lawrence & Wishart Ltd, 2007), 206.

<sup>184</sup> Gary S. Selby, *Martin Luther King and the Rhetoric of Freedom: The Exodus Narrative in America's Struggle for Civil Rights* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2008), 152.

tolerate any hatred attitudes toward Whites and that he would preserve the fraternity at all costs.<sup>185</sup>



**Figure 45.** Program for a mass meeting of the MIA at Holt Street Baptist Church. Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2022 on <https://digital.archives.alabama.gov/digital/collection/voices/id/2023/rec/221>.

<sup>185</sup> Martin Luther King and Coretta Scott King, *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2010), 168.

The MIA once more scheduled a mass rally on September 24, 1956. A remark was also delivered by Dr. King. However, what made the meeting significant was, in addition to giving to the boycott committee to the floor, addressing to voting rights. In 1954, Montgomery County had roughly 30,000 African Americans who were eligible to vote, but only a little more than 2,000 were registered.<sup>186</sup> Those meetings transformed the Montgomery Bus Boycott from a protest for the right to equal transportation to a metaphor of the struggle for the liberation of African Americans, and t. Through those meetings, Dr. King underwent a transformation from a position of being solely a religious leadership to that of a social and political pioneer by having burgeoning popularity. As Martin Luther King Jr. cited, Montgomery did not have an African American-owned radio station or a popular newspaper at the onset of the protest, and these twice-weekly reunions were vital forms of communication which could lead to a consensus building in the shade of Christian love among different sects of the community.<sup>187</sup>

Following the verdict of the domestic court in favor of African Americans, on November 13, 1956, the Supreme Court ruled, by holding the 14th Amendment, that bus segregation in Alabama was unconstitutional. Upon that legal victory, Dr. King claimed that God had spoken from Washington.<sup>188</sup> Dr. King Jr.'s approach could be evaluated as glorifying merely theological and spiritual justifications instead of appreciating the legal achievement which was derived from social uprising. During the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Martin Luther King Jr.'s way was tended to focus on mysticism and divine inspiration.

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<sup>186</sup> I Martin Luther King and Clayborne Carson, *Stride toward Freedom* (Beacon Press, 2010), p.17bid, p.16.

<sup>187</sup> Martin Luther King and Clayborne Carson, *Stride toward Freedom* (Beacon Press, 2010), Ibid, p.72

<sup>188</sup> Martin Luther King et al., *A Gift of Love: Sermons from Strength to Love and Other Preachings* (UK: Penguin, 2017), 67.

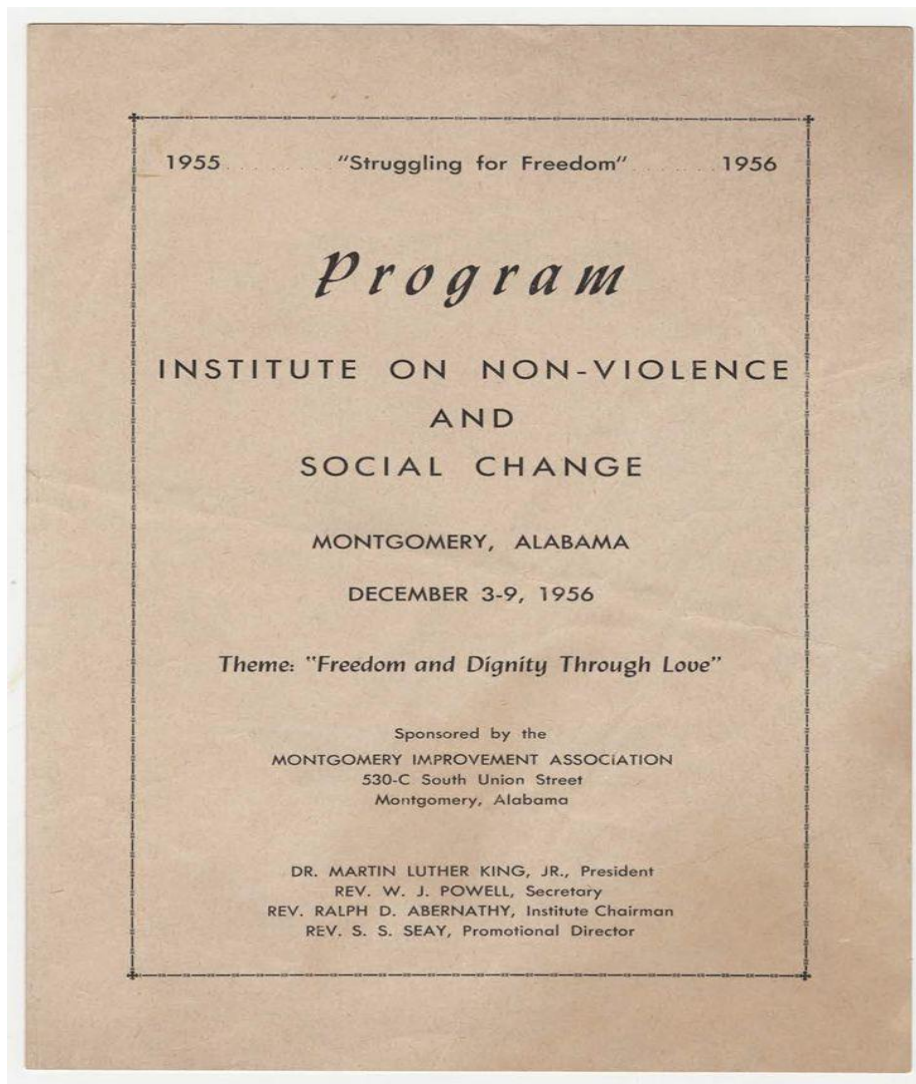
At the dawn of the struggle, Martin Luther King Jr. thought that principles of Christianity and religious affiliations could lead to common grounds between African Americans and their White fellow citizens, however he was misguided. The victory managed to gain legal bearing as a result of passive resistance, particularly of which was boosted by African Americans and King Jr. himself., It was not a reflection of common values between African Americans and the Whites. Dr. King preferred to criticize himself on this matter in an open letter that he drew up in Birmingham Jail in 1963.<sup>189</sup>

When I was suddenly catapulted into the leadership of the bus protest in Montgomery, Alabama, a few years ago, I felt we would be supported by the white church. I felt that the white ministers, priests and rabbis of the South would be among our strongest allies. Instead, some have been outright opponents, refusing to understand the freedom movement and misrepresenting its leaders; all too many others have been more cautious than courageous and have remained silent behind the anaesthetizing security of stained-glass windows.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> In April 1963, Martin Luther King Jr. was arrested on charges abusing the protest and march regulations. He reprimanded White clergy in his letter for neglecting to adequately support the civil rights movement and the boycott. For detail, see Letter from Birmingham Jail on <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/letter-birmingham-jail>. Accessed Date: 9<sup>th</sup> August 2022.

<sup>190</sup> Martin Luther King, *Letter from Birmingham Jail* (London: Penguin, 2018), 21, 22.



**Figure 46.** Program for the Institute on Non-violence and Social Change, the annual mass meeting of the Montgomery Improvement Association. Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2022 on <https://digital.archives.alabama.gov/digital/collection/voices/id/6401/rec/222>.

The favorable decisions which were called *Browder v. Gayle*,<sup>191</sup> declared by local and the supreme court regarding the Montgomery Bus Boycott, gave an

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<sup>191</sup> *Browder v. Gayle* was a case that was acknowledged by a three-judge committee of the Alabama State Court regarding state bus segregation laws in Montgomery and Alabama. By the decision, segregation on public transportation was declared unlawfully. W. A. Gayle was the governor of Montgomery at that time, and Aurelia Browder was a civil rights activist of the city. Aurelia Browder, Claudette Colvin, Susie McDonald, and Mary Louise Smith were the foremost defendants in the case. Colvin and Smith were previously mentioned. Aurelia Browder and Susie McDonald were prominent activists during the Civil Rights Movement, and they were also arrested for violating segregation laws. For detail see *Browder v. Gayle* on Mary Hull, *Rose Parks Civil Rights Leader* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1994), 76, and see *Browder v.*

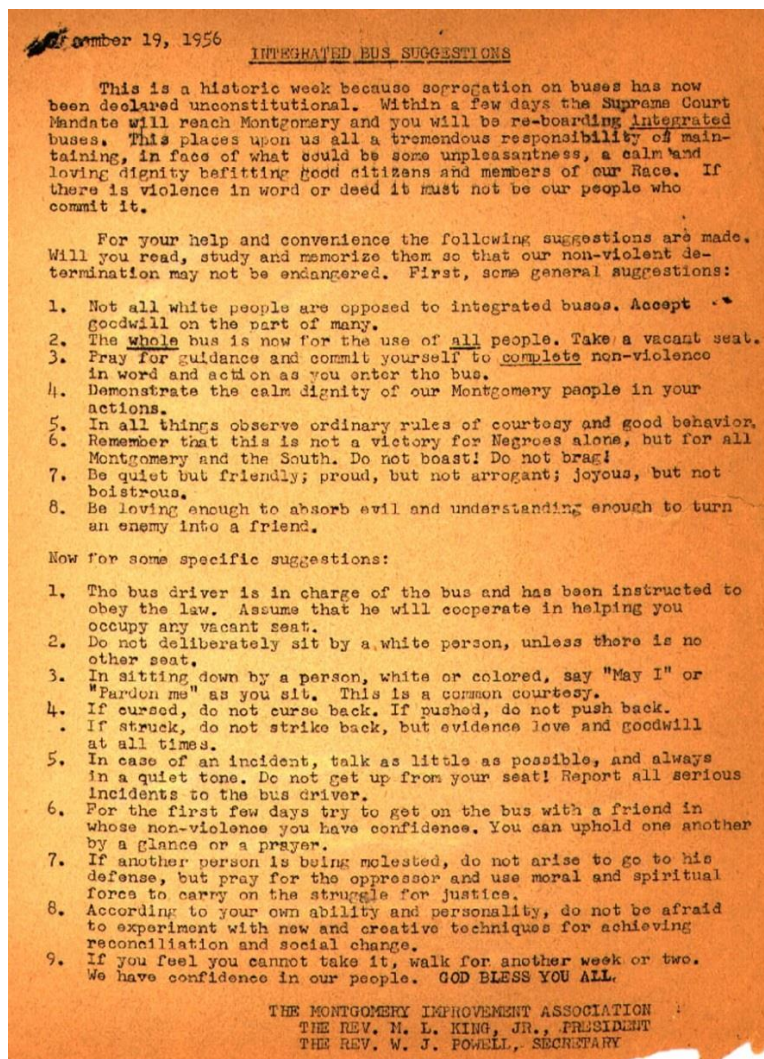
impetus to the activism of African Americans and the MIA. On November 13, 1956, the US Supreme Court affirmed the local court's decision, and the 381-day boycott came to an end.<sup>192</sup> As the one-year anniversary of the boycott was approaching, the MIA-sponsored a jubilee event that would reiterate divine love and its guidance in the pursuit of equality was held. By relying on Rev. King's intellectual agenda, it became clear, as in previous meetings, that nonviolent resistance would be a long-term struggle, and it would reshape the future for African Americans in the way of equal citizenship. In his memories Dr. King affirmed that the Boycott was the outcome of a long process, and Mrs. Parks' detention provoked the protest instead of being the origin of it, because the underlying issue was in a long history of similar inequities, and almost everybody could remember a tragic situation that he had witnessed or experienced.<sup>193</sup>

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Gayle, 352 U.S. 903 on <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/browder-v-gayle-352-us-903>. Date of Access: 9<sup>th</sup> August 2022.

<sup>192</sup> Mary Hull, *Rose Parks Civil Rights Leader* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1994), p. 77.

<sup>193</sup> Martin Luther King and Clayborne Carson, *Stride toward Freedom* (Beacon Press, 2010), 54.



**Figure 47.** Integrated Bus Suggestions, Inez Jessie Baskin Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History. Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2022 on <https://archives.alabama.gov/teacher/rights/lesson1/doc7.html>.

Following the Supreme Court's decision to abolish bus segregation, the MIA and Martin Luther King Jr. released a comprehensive report, titled Integrated Bus Suggestion. William Powell, the MIA secretary, and King Jr. both signed the document. Moreover, Rev. Glenn Smiley <sup>194</sup>, a White priest, accompanied King Jr. in crafting the document. <sup>195</sup> The declaration involved full use of words and themes

<sup>194</sup> Throughout the boycott, Smiley counseled both King and MIA. He sponsored dozens of rallies by endorsing nonviolent resistance. For detail, see Smiley, Glenn E. (1910-1993) on <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/smiley-glenn-e>. Date of Access. 9th August 2022.

<sup>195</sup> Martin Luther King and Clayborne Carson, *Stride toward Freedom* (Beacon Press, 2010), 157.

of goodwill, dignity, friendship, and nonviolence. The document, which was released on December 19, 1956, tried to guide African Americans on how to react in the city's new social order. To avoid generalization, Dr. King underlined the benevolence of some White Americans regarding the segregation. The above memorandum, which was an open letter to African Americans, recommended nonviolent attitudes on the bus ride and confirmed that the courtroom victory as it stood did belong not only to them, but to all city-dwellers. Nevertheless, the second article in the paper's "specific suggestions" section uncovered an extremely tragic social phenomenon. Here, it was laid stress that African Americans should not have sat next to the Whites in case of other vacant seats. Doctor King's alert clearly manifested the legal limitations on African Americans' struggle for equality. It was, however, anticipated that legal victory should not have led to racial strife. Martin Luther King Jr. remarked that he requested White clergy's cooperation in the peaceful implementation of integrated buses in order to foster Christian brotherhood, but many of them rejected it.<sup>196</sup> Dr. King Jr.'s and the MIA's prudent disposition shaped the overall tone of the action in that way. It can be contended that, although the Montgomery Bus Boycott crowned African Americans' struggle for equality and freedom, it also tamed them due to socioeconomic troubles and the glorification of passive resistance by Rev. Martin Luther King, who intended to become a political figure, --and temporarily halted the accomplishment of judicial improvements.

#### **4.3. The Boycott in the Newspapers: The Example of *Arizona Sun* and *Evening Star* (Washington Star)**

Newspapers have been crucial primary sources for analyzing historical events and facts. The headlines, illustrations, and numerous articles that have been published in newspapers could provide vital insights about a society's mentality and the authorities' approaches at the time of the event itself. Furthermore, a

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<sup>196</sup> Ibid., p.159.

comparative analysis of the newspapers might make it simple to convey an unbiased view of the event. The analysis of newspapers as a scientific research and evaluation method has also been critical in order to reflect the opinions of historical characters who have made the history itself. However, considering newspaper coverage was published by humans, it could generate objectivity challenges if reporters were biased by specific political and social agendas or sentiments. As a result, other first-hand and second-hand materials regarding the people and organizations were mentioned in the daily stories were utilized in this study. The advancement of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, which was rooted on long-term scheduling and citizen involvement, highlighted the significance of analyzing the actual publications from that timespan. In this respect, the online archive of the *Library of Congress* has been furnishing a consequential database. The two newspapers from different states have been selected to cover the consequences and general framework of the Montgomery Bus Boycott on nationwide. Secondly, it has been argued that the two newspapers in question might offer varying perspectives in the matter of the Boycott. Yet again, it has been deemed that there is too much content about either of these two newspapers on the online database of Chronicling America of *Library of Congress*. For this reason, this section aims to focus on evaluating the newspapers which was called, the *Arizona Sun* and the *Evening Star* by for the purpose of scrutinizing the Boycott by benefitting from the database. Almost all related pages of these two newspapers have been perused, and ninety issues which give reference to the Boycott are brought out and studied at length.

*The Arizona Sun*, which was begun publication in the early 1940s, intended to shed light on the issues that African Americans dealt with in their daily lives. The newspaper had marked considerable local and national publications while regarding social, economic, and political agendas of African Americans. Doc Benson, who was one of the newspaper's editors, was also the chairman of the Arizona Branch of the NAACP and ran for the election in the Democratic Party list in 1950. On the other side, *the Evening Star* (*Washington Star*), which was created established by William Douglas Wallach, who was a surveyor and

entrepreneur, was initially issued in the mid-19th century and published until the early 1970s and had a more conservative standpoint. The Evening Star, a newspaper published in the northern United States, might be remarkable in its assessment in a thesis engaging with a Southern city, Montgomery by the purpose of comprehending the national impact and the reflection of Martin Luther King Jr.'role during the Civil Rights Movement in the eyes of public opinion. Haynes Johnson (1931-2013),<sup>197</sup> one of the newspaper's outstanding reporters, was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in National Reporting for his exceptional coverage of the Civil Rights Movement in 1966.<sup>198</sup> Besides, in Alabama on March 8, 1965, Johnson interviewed with Martin Luther King Jr., who emphasized that the struggle for African Americans' freedom would continue despite harassment and inhumane treatment.<sup>199</sup> In this regard, a comparison and analysis of an African American newspaper and another newspaper, with a more conservative, which covered noteworthy and awarded news viewpoint might deliver a pivotal approach in order to comprehend the collective resonances and conflict zones of boycott, passive- nonviolent resistance, which were the hallmarks of the Civil Rights Movement.

The scope of this section was determined by reviewing the online archive of the Library of Congress. While researching related pages on the online archive, following 10 words and phrases were opted for attaining target materials:

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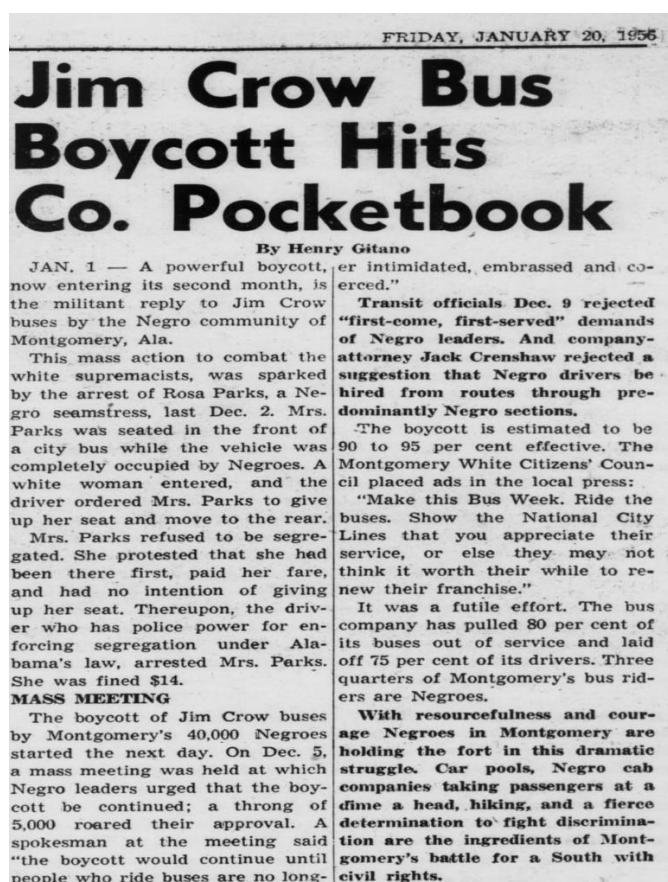
<sup>197</sup> Mr. Johnson's coverage of national issues in general, and of the capital in specifically, was widely praised over his 40 years in journalism. On July 26, 1965, he published a special report titled "Selma Revisited," which was released in *The Evening Star*. Mr. Johnson documented the concerns that had emerged among the city's African Americans as they found that their goals of equal opportunity, accommodation, and education were proving more difficult to accomplish than they had envisioned. For detail, see Margalit Fox, "Haynes Johnson, Journalist and Author, Is Dead at 81," *The Washington Post*, May 24, 2013, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/1979/07/24/in-search-of-black-progress/09310ff2-b558-43f9-9cd5-ad05bbfa8fda/>. Date of Access: 11<sup>th</sup> August 2022.

<sup>198</sup> See *Haynes Johnson of Washington Evening Star* on <https://www.pulitzer.org/winners/haynes-johnson>.

<sup>199</sup> See *Cross That Alabama River Again : Haynes Johnson's Selma Reportage* on <https://www.pulitzer.org/news/cross-alabama-river-again-haynes-johnsons-selma-reportage>. Accessed Date: 11th August 2022.

“Montgomery Bus Boycott”, “boycott”, “Rosa Parks”, “Martin Luther King Jr.”, “the NAACP”, “the MIA”, “segregation”, “transportation”, “Alabama”, “Montgomery”, and totally 20 newspaper clippings were specified as primary sources by the purpose of interpreting the era

#### 4.3.1. Arizona Sun

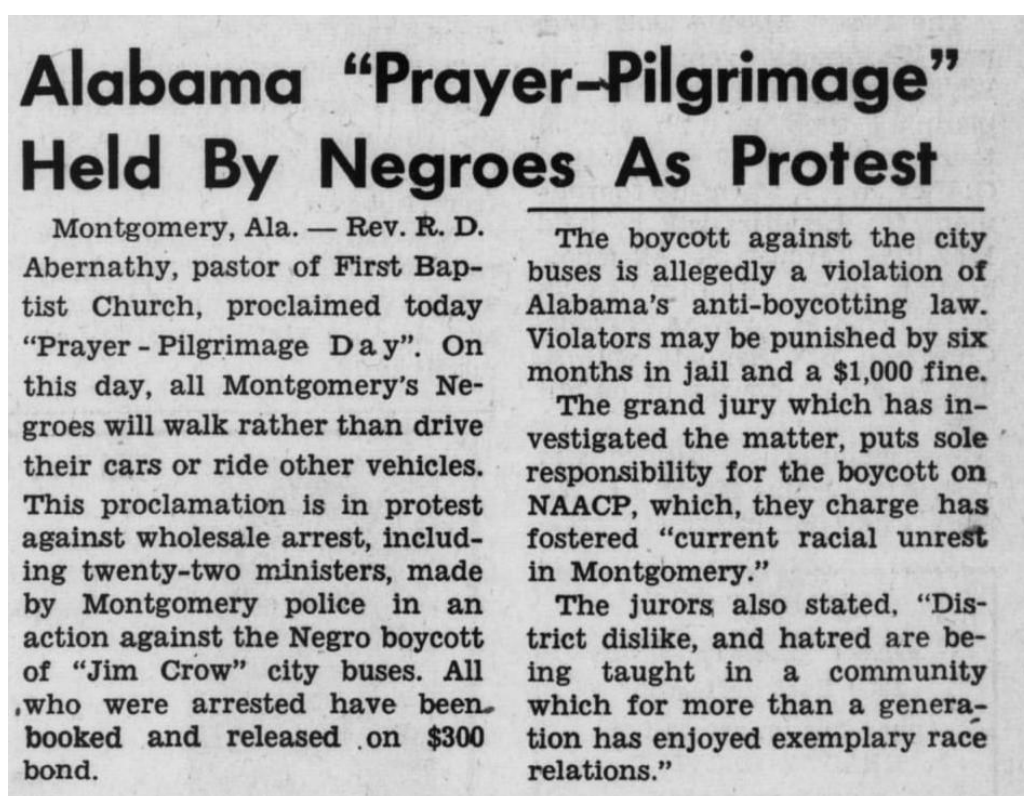


**Figure 48.** “Jim Crow Bus Boycott Hits Co. Pocketbook”, *Arizona Sun*, page 4, January 20, 1956

“Jim Crow Bus Boycott Hits Co. Pocketbook” was published in 4<sup>th</sup> page of *Arizona Sun* on January 20, 1956. Henry Gitano, who also contributed for the socialist-leaning journal *The Militant*<sup>200</sup>, penned this article. The whole financial

<sup>200</sup> The *Militant* was a socialist journal that first published in 1928. The American Socialist Workers Party and the newspaper have been closely related. For detail, see *About the Militant Newspaper* on <https://themilitant.com/about/>. Date of Access: 11<sup>th</sup> August 2022.

power of the boycott was underscored in the story. It was the article's most notable point that the Montgomery White Citizens' Council urged the riding of buses after the boycott decision by issuing newspaper advertisements. This development might reveal that White Americans, especially well-organized ones, did not embrace African Americans' civic goals and aspirations for the city. It was stressed, nonetheless, that the initiative was fruitless. According to the news, the boycott was 90 to 95% successful, and there were 75% of African Americans among Montgomery's bus drivers. The story also discussed how African Americans developed a transportation system using their own capabilities.



**Figure 49.** “Alabama “Prayer-Pilgrimage” Held by Negroes as Protest”, *Arizona Sun*, page 1, February 24, 1956

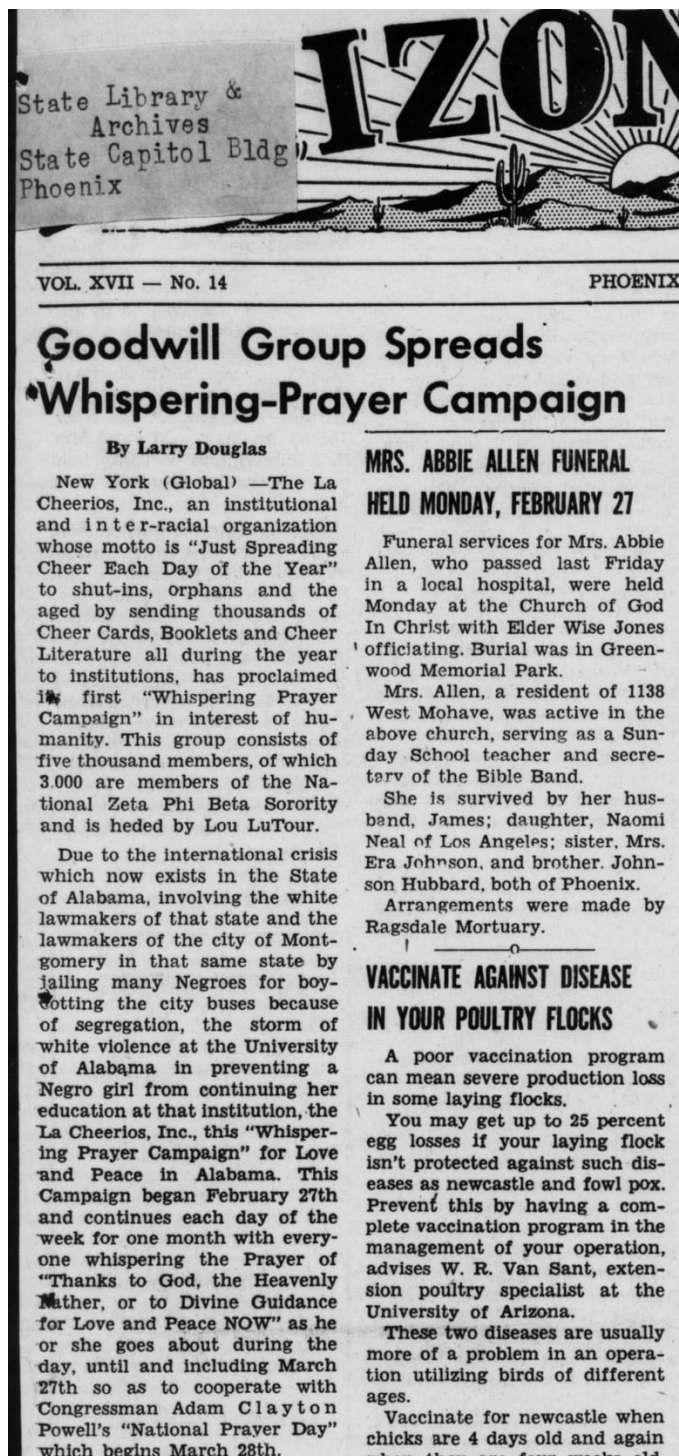
According to the story, the religious leaders of Montgomery, called Ralph David Abernathy (1926-1990)<sup>201</sup> were detained and fined \$300 for their remarks that

<sup>201</sup> Abernathy was considered to by Martin Luther King Jr. as a good friend, and he truly stood by King Jr. during judicial proceedings. For detail see, Martin Luther King and Clayborne Carson, *Stride toward Freedom* (Beacon Press, 2010), 97 and 120.

endorsed the boycott. Additionally, it was revealed that the authorities had charged the boycotters with a \$1,000 fine and six months in jail. The NAACP, which was one of the three main boycott entities along with the church and the MIA, had been charged with escalating racial tensions in the city. It was acknowledged that the clipping was important that the authorities regularly turned to economic legal consequences or sanctions to suppress the boycott and organized opposition and to discredit the organized passive resistance.

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Abernathy had played an active role in MIA and NACCP programs. In actuality, it was his idea to initiate the MIA. For detail, see Abernathy, Ralph David on <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/abernathy-ralph-david>. Date of Access: 11th August 2022.



**Figure 50.** "Goodwill Group Spreads Whispering-Prayer Campaign", *Arizona Sun*, March 1, 1956

The story outlined the non-governmental organization "The La Cheerios" and its campaign to lessen racial strife in Montgomery. The organization had adapted

into a voluntary institution that served both White and African Americans. The clipping indicated that the La Cheerios' slogan was "Just Spreading Cheer Every Day of the Year," and it has proclaimed itself the first "Whispering Prayer Campaign" in the cause of humankind by sending thousands of Cheer Cards, Booklets, and Cheer Literature to organizations throughout the year. This organization had many thousand members. Indeed, the event might have demonstrated that the boycott had a potential to generate distinct social behavior patterns or traditions. As a result, passive resistance had become more visible in the eyes of society. Again, it was grasped that religious discourse had evolved into a legitimate unifying factor. To encourage society through religious rhetoric, the association also showcased an act of violence that was initiated by white people in city school following the boycott. In this context, it was interpreted that the boycott went up beyond the right to transportation and spread to other public places.

## Open Letter To Civil Rights Assembly In Washington

By the Editors of The Militant

To the delegates at the Civil Rights Assembly gathered in Washington, D.C., March 4-6. Greetings!

This conference, representing the major organizations of the working people, Negro and white, is the most important gathering in the United States today. Some of you may know that we strongly urged the broadening of the conference to include mass delegations from every local union, Negro and minority organization in the country. We felt that a greater representation from the rank and file of the Negro and labor movements would have a stronger effect on the government and Congress. We thought Dr. T. R. M. Howard's ringing call for a million Americans to come to Washington to speak to the "deaf ear" of the powers-that-be was in tune with the needs of the times.

The officials of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights thought otherwise. Nevertheless, the conference as it is now constituted, representing as it does the NAACP, the AFL-CIO, a number of the most important international unions and a large number of fraternal, religious, veteran and civil rights organizations, is without doubt the voice of tens of millions of Americans who are determined to wage a united and effective fight to end the abomination of Jim Crow.

The express purpose of the Assembly is to influence this session of the 84th Congress to enact effective civil rights legislation. It is also the purpose of all the organizations in the conference to demand the enforcement of the constitutional rights of the Negro people by the federal government.

Neither the Congress nor the federal government, nor the two Big Business parties that run them, will be easily moved in this direction.

On the eve of the Assembly for Civil Rights, the President, representing the Republican administration of the federal government, finally awoke to the urgency of the civil rights issue and proposed — that the Congress set up a bipartisan committee to investigate the matter!

And the representative of the majority of Congress, presidential-aspirant Adlai Stevenson, author of the infamous statement, "we must be careful not to upset the habits and traditions of the South," proposed — that the President use his powerful office to take some decisive action.

What action? The same action proposed by the governor of Alabama — a meeting of "moderate," "gradualist" leaders of both races in the South to curb the "extremists" of both sides!

The "extremists" Stevenson refers to among the Negroes are the bus boycotters of Montgomery, Ala., Miss Lucy of Tuscaloosa and Representative Adam Clayton Powell in Congress. In other words — everyone and anyone who wants to act to implement the Supreme Court decision on desegregation is an "extremist."

That's where the leading spokesman of the Democratic party stands in this national crisis on civil rights. He has made it crystal clear that as president he would do no more than Eisenhower to enforce the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the Supreme Court decision in the South. And he has made it equally clear that he has no intention of calling on the leaders of his party in Congress to break their 8-year do-nothing record on civil rights.

The Civil Rights Assembly is thus faced with the task of projecting a program and a plan of action that will bring to bear the full power of the organized movement it represents to move Congress and the Administration into action despite the determined opposition of the two Big Business parties.

There are four urgent tasks confronting the conference: Organization of a national demonstration to rally support behind the civil rights fighters in Montgomery and Tuscaloosa, Alabama, and to protest the continued wave of terror against the Negro people in Mississippi and throughout the South.

Figure 51. "Open Letter to Civil Rights Assembly in Washington", *Arizona Sun*, page 4, March 15, 1956

On March 15, 1956, the Arizona Sun posted an open letter on the page four, titled "Open Letter to Civil Rights Assembly in Washington". Some suggestions were offered in the letter to the Civil Rights Assembly, which would meet in Washington D.C. It was stated in the letter, which criticized white political officials harshly, that federal and local authorities were trying to blame African Americans of militancy during the social attempts like the Boycott. It was emphasized that neither the Democratic nor Republican Parties were courageous

or resilient on the legal solutions for embracing civil rights, and the assembly was called for national organization to carry out legal actions and to boost resistances like the boycott. The letter might provide critical insights into the role of democratic participation and the legislative process in the passive resistance phase. Furthermore, the fact that the Montgomery Bus Boycott was one of the main policy goals of a conference that was held in the country's capital might have proved the political and social force of the resistance.

**Need \$3,000 A Week To Help  
In Car Pool Protest Movement**

**SPEAKER URGES REALITY OF  
BROTHERHOOD**

Delegates and their friends who attended the public meeting of the Far Western Regional Conference of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, last Sunday afternoon in the public library heard Mrs. Arnetta Wallace, guest speaker, talk on the conference theme "Making Ideals Realities". The charming speaker, who is supreme basileus of AKA Sorority asked "Where do we want to go with our ideals?" "Ideals are motivating influences, are not static but due to changes according to environment", she said, and added "Ideals are constantly flux according to changes. Listeners were urged "to translate ideals of brotherhood into reality".

Mrs. Wallace, an outstanding speaker, is from Knoxville, Tennessee.

★

**CLAYTON JONES RITES SATURDAY**

Clayton McNeal Jones, 26, was fatally injured alighting from a bus at 40th St. and Broadway March 24. Mr. Jones lived at 3831 E. Superior.

Surviving him are his wife, Mrs. Louise Jones, mother, Mrs. Lela Mae McAdams; foster mother, Mrs. Maggie Forge; sister, Mrs. Caddie Mae Wallace; two brothers, A. J. Huckabay and W. McAdams. All are of Texas.

Funeral services will be held Saturday, March 31 at 1 P. M. at Willow Grove Baptist Church, Rev. W. M. Hardison officiating. Interment will be in Double Butte Cemetery, Tempe. Webber's Eastlake Mortuary completed arrangements.

The following statement was issued by Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party:

The Montgomery Improvement Association, which is conducting the magnificent protest movement against Jim Crow segregation on the bus lines of Montgomery, Alabama, has issued an urgent appeal for funds.

The money is needed to keep their car pool going.

This pool of approximately 400 cars provides the Negro community of that city with transportation. Several thousand dollars is needed every week, to pay for gas, oil and repairs.

The bulk of this money was raised until recently by the underpaid Negro people of Montgomery through voluntary contributions of their nickels, dimes and dollars. The struggle has now found organized expression throughout the Negro community of the North and West. Some funds have been raised through mass prayer meetings on a nation-wide scale to help win the fight to "ride in freedom."

But the struggle to batter down color segregation on the bus lines of Montgomery is not the concern of the Negro community alone. On the contrary. It is a cause which is vital to all of the working people of this country and especially to the organized labor movement. The inspiring action organized and led by the Montgomery Improvement Association has done more to prepare the ground for the union organization of the open-shop South than anything the leaders of the combined AFL-CIO have done in the past decade.

**Figure 52.** "Need \$3,000 A Week to Help in Carpool Protest Movement", *Arizona Sun*, March 29, 1956

The following story reported that Farrell Dobbs, who was presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, called for financial support to keep going the bus boycott. The media coverage, which clarified the political implications of the bus

boycott, emphasized the value of economic cooperation in coping with authorities' measures and hindering for the sake of boycott's extension. Furthermore, it was asserted that the boycott would take a stronger and more result-oriented form, not only with philosophies but also with some productive assets. The appeal became a significant contribution and aid for the continuation of their actions for African Americans who were currently struggling economically at that time.

**By Farrell Dobbs**

**MONTGOMERY, Ala.**—The trial of Rev. Martin L. King, leader of the history-making bus protest in this Deep South city, has just closed with a verdict of guilty. Judge Eugene Carter sentenced him to a fine of \$500 or 140 days at hard labor and costs. The spirit of the Negro bus boycotters was typified by a statement I heard a Negro woman make as I left the courthouse. "I walk from now on," she declared, "if my feet give out, I will crawl." Rev. King was released on \$1,000 bond. All the other cases of the boycott leaders will be postponed pending the outcome of the appeal in King's case.

In full solidarity with the indicted leaders of their bus protest movement, the embattled Negro people of this city came in strength to the mass trial that opened here yesterday. Long before the second floor courtroom opened they packed the corridors and formed lines down the stairs toward the outside where waiting crowds gathered.

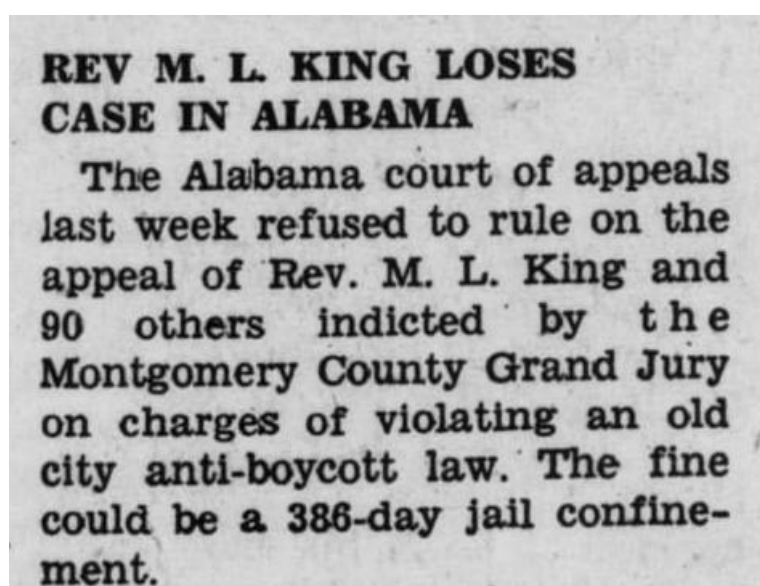
Few gained entry to the courtroom where the 90 defendants filled over half the spectators' seats. Those turned away went to an empty room in the adjacent wing of the U-shaped building where they crowded to the windows, peering across the area-way for a glimpse of the trial scene.

Apart from reporters, witnesses and bailiffs, few white people have appeared in the segregated courtroom. The handful present as spectators are seated inside the rail in the space usually reserved for lawyers, defendants and the press.

**Figure 53.** *Arizona Sun*, April 5, 1956

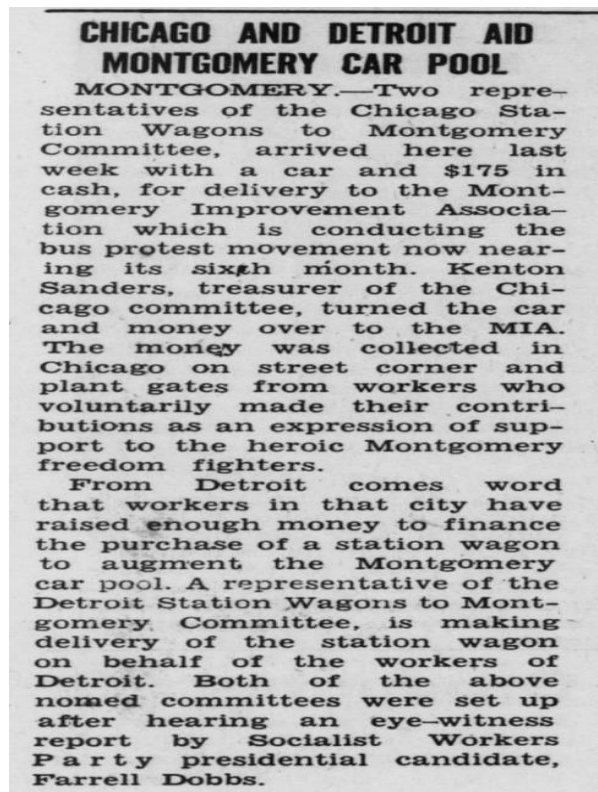
The emotional and reactionary rhetoric of the newspaper brings attention in the story, as it did in the previous ones. The audience's response to the court that found guilty Dr. King for allegedly violating the law by leading the boycott was

as following: “I walk from now on, if my feet give out, I will crawl.” As it was seen, judicial proceedings were the most significant lawful obstacle to African Americans in that phase. According to the story, racial discrimination was keeping at court hall, and Whites were sitting separately. It was significant in terms of illustrating interest of public. It was noted that several White Americans followed Dr. King's trial. Despite the city's white authorities' attempts to prevent the boycott, white citizens' curiosity about the protest leader might have been thought-provoking.



**Figure 54.** “Rev. M. L. King Loses Case in Alabama”, *Arizona Sun*, page 1, May 31, 1956

According the to the story, the domestic court decided to exploit the judicial process to crush the boycott's momentum by punishing the leadership. Even though the boycotters were subjected to the practical penalties that were converted into fines by the judicial process, the passive resistance were maintained. It was disputed that the court did not issue fair, however, everything was carried out in accordance with legal requirements. It was likely that the judicial, the most fundamental power in modern democracies, was forced to make these decisions by bracing up reluctance and retardation of the legislative and executive powers.



**Figure 55.** “Chicago and Detroit Aid Montgomery Carpool”, *Arizona Sun*, May 24, 1956

The above story might indicate how the Montgomery Bus Boycott had received national recognition and attention and its ability to inspire ordinary folks. The MIA which was persisting transportation mobilization to uphold the survival of the Boycott could receive cash and car aid from Chicago in which the boycott led to formation of a non-governmental organization called the Chicago Station Wagons to Montgomery Committee. The story also reiterated that the funding was being voluntarily collected. The report might illustrate once again that nonviolent and passive resistance could be the prevailing factor that crystallized civic engagement. The participants' involvement in the Socialist presidential candidate was confirmed here. It was presidential campaign season in the United States in 1956, and whether the Socialist politicians' participation in the boycott was pragmatic was arguable.

THURSDAY, JULY 19, 1956

ARIZONA SUN

PAGE THREE

# NAACP Convention Sidetracks Boycott Issue

By Roy Gale.

SAN FRANCISCO, July 1. — The 47th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ended here today with no new program of policy to fight discrimination.

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, laid special stress on the non-violent nature of the NAACP. While sharply criticizing President Eisenhower for his "do nothing" policy and his failure to intervene in the Southern school fight, Wilkins was careful to point out that "The NAACP is flatly opposed to all forms of violence."

**MAIN BUSINESS**

The main business before the 600 delegates at the convention, according to Wilkins, was the discussion of ways and means of further implementation of the

Supreme Court decisions of May 17, 1954 and May 31, 1955.

These are the two decisions that outlawed segregation in the public schools.

The NAACP still trusts the courts to outlaw segregation. On this front there is small hope of victory by 1963, the NAACP target date for complete integration of the Negro in American life. The Southern states boast that desegregation can be stalled for a hundred years if the fight remains in the court house.

**KEYNOTE SPEECH**

In his keynote speech to the convention, Thurgood Marshall further underlined that there would be no change in NAACP tactics in the fight for Negro equality.

He said that they have a series of more than 30 cases ready to be filed in the Southern states. Marshall stressed that the legal front was the main battlefield for the next year. He had great hopes of victory and cited his experience when a young lawyer handling divorce cases.

"Case after case, the men would scream they just would not pay alimony," he said. "They said they'd rot first, go to jail. Well I don't remember anybody actually going to jail. Beans aren't a good diet and jail isn't a very pleasant place. They all paid off."

Marshall expects the same results from his court cases in the South — capitulation of Southern white supremacists when their pocketbooks are hit. However, the parallel is a poor one because divorce cases concern private citizens. Southern state governments will saddle the taxpayer with court costs—including the Negro taxpayer who is trying to win his way to freedom and equality and smash segregation.

On another plane was the speech of A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and vice-president of the AFL-CIO who called for solidarity between Negro and white workers. "Separation of workers upon a basis of race and color, religion and nationality is an abnormal condition, since all workers have the basic interests: decent wages, improved working conditions and shorter hours of work," he said.

"Since well-nigh nine-tenths of Negroes are working people who must sell their labor in the market daily for wages with which to buy food, clothing and shelter, education and recreation, organized labor and the Negro have a natural basis for alliance," Randolph added.

On the political front Randolph correctly scored both the Democrats and the Republicans for their failure to "support and fight for civil rights legislation," but failed to offer an adequate alternative to voting for one or the other party. The best he could do was to call for "independent" votes for individuals.

Unofficial hero of the convention was the Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery bus boycott. He told the cheering delegates that "The story of Montgomery is the story of 50,000 Negroes who are all tired of injustice and oppression, and who are willing to substitute tired feet for tired souls."

In spite of the obvious success in the fight for equality, the NAACP convention was very chary of giving official support to the boycott. The most they would do was to pass a resolution to "examine" the feasibility of "passive-resistance" for the future. For the present all the past policies will be in effect and no new innovations in tactics will be used at this time. It was quite obvious that the courts would still be the first line defense and offense, while the secondary batteries would continue to be legislative lobbying and petitions.

**JUNIOR AMBASSADOR TO NORWAY**

NEW YORK. — Manhattan Borough President Hulan E. Jack is shown welcoming Miss Barbara Ann Crosby, 15, (1317 Burdett Avenue) Cincinnati, Ohio, in his office this morning (Thursday, July 12th) in the Municipal Building. Miss Crosby is enroute to Norway today as Junior Ambassador in a 26-nations project known as The Children's International Summer Villages as guest of Remington Rand who is financing her trip abroad. During Miss Crosby's visit with the Borough President she presented a goodwill token

from Mayor Charles Taft of Cincinnati. Mr. Jack paid tribute to the movement which established miniature world communities in which children advance world citizenship through working and playing together in cross national contacts.

**URANIUM WORLD WIDE**

In recent years the quest for uranium has become world wide. The 1956 Yearbook of The American Peoples Encyclopedia reports that evidence of deposits have been noted in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Israel, Italy, Uruguay and Spain.

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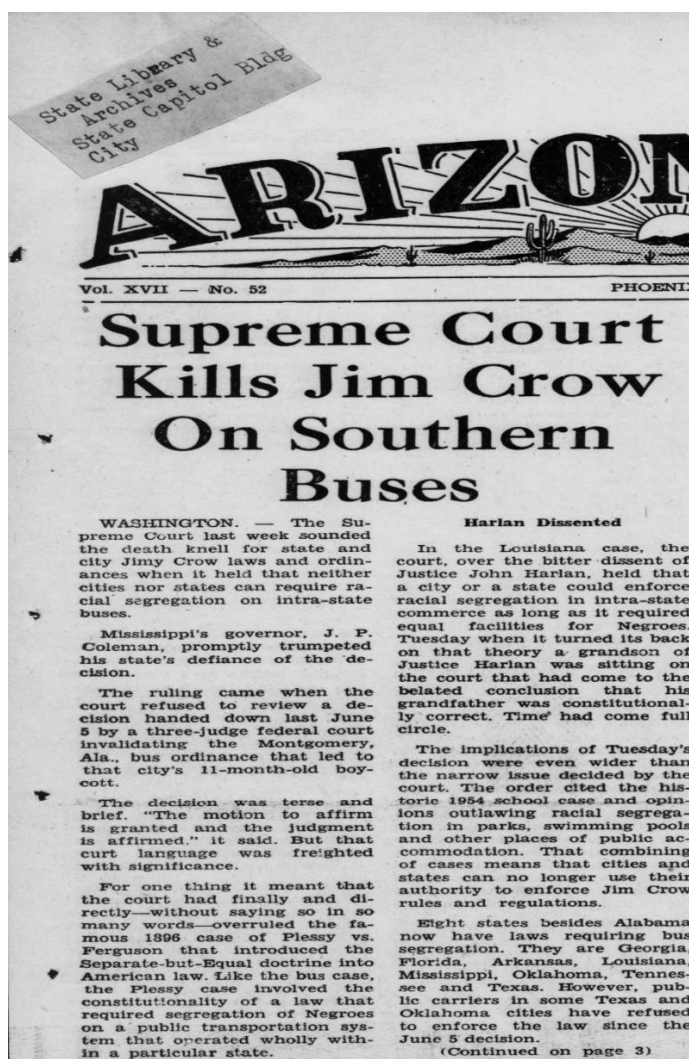
Who...

# HODGE'S

**Figure 56.** "NAACP Convention Sidetracks Boycott Issue", *Arizona Sun*, page 3, July 19, 1956

On July 19, 1956, *Arizona Sun* publicly denounced the NAACP, which was holding its annual convention in San Francisco. The NAACP, according to the newspaper, intended to fight for equality only in courtrooms. The newspaper also rebuked the judicial procedures for being tardily and inadequate and alleged that the NAACP convention overlooked the Montgomery Bus Boycott. In his keynote speech, Dr. King said that the story of Montgomery was the story of 50,000 black people who were sick of racial injustice and were willing to relieve tiredness for weary souls. The newspaper distinguished Dr. King as the convention's unofficial pioneer by asserting that the NAACP was reluctant to offer an official endorsement to the Montgomery Bus Boycott. As previously stated, the NAACP favored the credibility of judicial proceedings by underrating

the elements of the boycott during the movement. Rev. King and the MIA, on the other hand, preferred to expand the widespread resistance in action, as he stated in his speech at the convention. The case could embody a sort of antagonism between civic organizations of African Americans.



**Figure 57.** “Supreme Court Kills Jim Crow on Southern Buses”, *Arizona Sun*, November 22, 1956

The story on November 22, 1956, alerted readers that the Supreme Court had confirmed its previous decision and proclaimed the Jim Crow Laws on public transportation as unconstitutional. By referring to the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case that resolved and defined the doctrine of separate but equal in 1896, the newspaper underlined that segregation in public transportation was finally

abolished. From this viewpoint, it was abundantly obvious that the Montgomery Bus Boycott was an outstanding impulse behind the nullifying of judicially engaged official racism that had been on the carper for nearly five decades. The considerable distinction between the domestic court and the Supreme Court was also worth mentioning. In some ways, a conflict between legitimacy and legality had erupted. It should be remarked at this point that the Supreme Court did not achieve a unanimous verdict. The story also indicated that both domestic courts and local authorities in some cities were stolid in relation to federal decisions. The phenomenon illustrated how dubious the NAACP's urgency for court rooms and legal procedures was. Dr. King's stance that gave priority to mass mobilization, on the other hand, was proven to be accurate.

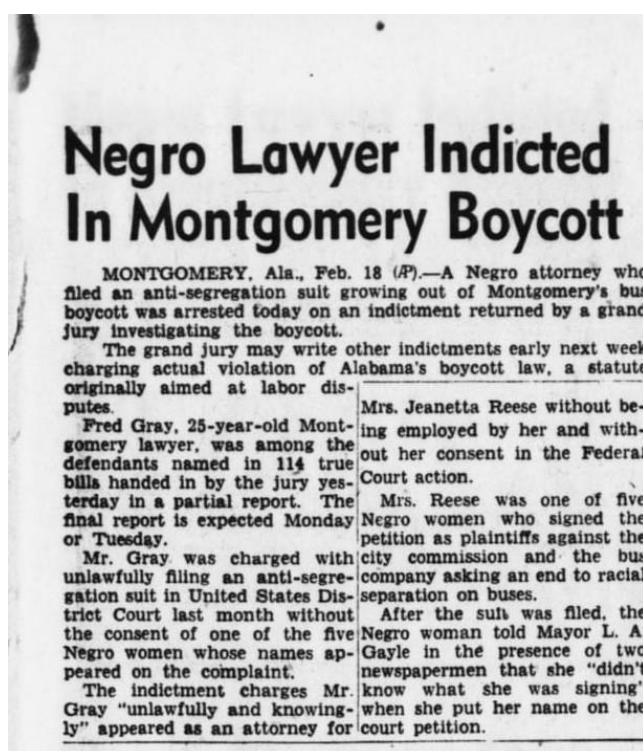
#### 4.3.2. Evening Star (Washington Star)



**Figure 58.** "Negro Minister's Home in Alabama Bombed", *Evening Star*, page A-9, January 31, 1956

As the boycott approached its second month, the first atrocity deliberately targeted Martin Luther King Jr., and his residence was burnt down, the story remarked. When the news' subtext was perused, it was evident that Dr. King Jr. dared to appease his followers through manipulating religious quotes. He said

that whoever lives by the sword will die by the sword by citing the Bible in his statement. It was obvious that King Jr.'s religious liability and social leadership were closely intertwined. In this sense, one could argue that the Montgomery Bus Boycott for equal citizenship did lack secular norms. Besides, King Jr. claimed that the major brushed aside the event, thereby challenged the political authority in front of the public opinion.



**Figure 59.** “Negro Lawyer Indicted in Montgomery Boycott”, *Evening Star*, page A-21, February 19, 1956

Not only leaders and civilians like King Jr. or Mrs. Parks were subjected to intimidation tactics during the boycott movement, but also lawyers. For instance, 25-year-old Fred Gray was accused of misconduct and alleged document fraud. According to the news, the incident, which was brought on by a plaintiff's wild claims, could reveal that there were concerns about legitimacy of the procedure roughly. The clichés and catchwords were not included in the story, unlike *Arizona Sun*. It could be maintained that a more rational and balanced news style was favored in this regard. On the other hand, the plaintiff, who was alleged of

modifying her assertion, had not been contacted for confirmation, and the news had not been accomplished. The scenario inevitably led to speculation in the minds of the public about the lawyer, who was a civil rights activist.



**Figure 60.** "Negroes in Alabama City Refuse to End Bus Boycott", *Evening Star*, page A-5, February 21, 1956

The boycotters reiterated that they would pursue their struggle despite the city authorities' pleas for mutual understanding, the story conveyed. To halt the boycott, authorities recommended some modifications, prescribing ten seats for white passengers in the front and ten seats for black passengers in the back, to bus seating arrangements. Although it was hold on the agenda with the intention of fostering reconciliation, the proposal could be seen as an expression of the

city's white officials' disdain for African Americans. It could be possible to argue that the envisaged political solution was a form of psychological warfare against the boycotters rather than any coexistence in social life. Again, the boycotters' dismissal of the authorities' reconciliation proposal at a meeting that involved approximately 4,000 people would indicate an increase in civic engagement and democratic capabilities among African Americans. The situation could be considered as a way of boycotters to avoid potential conflicts of legitimacy. Moreover, it might be argued that the passive resistance that was inspired by Dr. King was becoming progressively dominant by virtue of such democratic decision-making mechanisms. The notable piece of news was that after the boycott emerged, the city's transportation fee was raised from 10 cents to 15 cents. The outcome could display how African Americans retained economic impact over public services.



**Figure 61.** “Text of Negro Bishops’ Resolution on Boycott”, *Evening Star*, page A-3, February 26, 1956

By granting a statement at the end of February, the African Methodist Episcopal Council publicly endorsed the Montgomery Bus Boycott. While reiterating the virtues of Christianity, the bishops complained about the deterioration of

constitutional freedom of speech. The statement carried out an invitation for national reconciliation between Whites and African Americans by avoiding stigmatizing discourse. This statement, which appealed to the authorities and potential allies for a peaceful solution, was truly similar to Rev. King's agenda. As previously stated, the instrumental and informing way of African American churches, which were transformed into a social and political stratum during the boycott, could be behold in the news. The fact that churches did not remain apathetic to the boycott, and it could demonstrate the inclusive nature of Christianity, notably among African Americans. However, the statement also revealed how Christianity was being exploited to fulfill reconciliation between White and African Americans. The newspaper delivered Dr. King's appeal against violence in addition to capturing the major row in perspective that emerged among African Americans to the readers. Once more, an unbiased stance of the newspaper became visible.

# Church Groups Protest Negro Ministers' Arrest

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 28 (P).—A Negro minister indicted in Montgomery's bus boycott told a cheering throng at a mass meeting last night: "No city in the world can afford to make criminals out of 24 of its preachers."

This declaration by the Rev. L. R. Bennett came after church groups in other sections of the Nation expressed concern over the arrest of 24 Negro ministers here for leading the protest against segregation on city buses.

Mr. Bennett, pastor of the Mount Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church, and other indicted Negro clergymen spoke at a meeting marking the end of the boycott's 12th week. Cheering Negroes responded enthusiastically when their leaders promised to continue the protest movement.

**Prayer Session Called**

A group of Protestant pastors at Princeton, N. J., called for a prayer meeting there Friday restricted to ministers only. The Rev. William L. Tucker, president of the 10-member Princeton Pastors' Association, which includes three Negroes, said the service will conclude with an offering to be sent to Montgomery Negro ministers.

"The treatment of our fellow ministers in Alabama arouses both our indignation and our brotherly solidarity," Mr. Tucker said.

At St. Albans, W. Va., the West Virginia Council of Churches expressed "unhappiness" over the indictments here.

The council, representing 13 Protestant denominations with a membership of 350,000 persons, said in a letter to Mayor W. A. Gayle of Montgomery:

"We share widespread unhappiness over the current grand jury indictment of scores of your citizens. We feel that, even under your law, these citizens have a 'just cause' to uphold. Therefore, we cannot think they are guilty of a conspiratorial crime."

(At Miami, Fla., the religious leaders of 5 million Negro Baptists said in an interview that he was opposed to mixing

prayer with the bus boycott at Montgomery.

(Dr. Joseph H. Jackson of Chicago, president of the National Baptist Convention, said: "I don't quite see mixing prayer with an economic boycott. . . . I do not believe religion should be used as an economic boycott. Calling a halt to work is not in the Christian tradition. . . . There is no issue regarding a day of prayer.")

**Warns Against Violence**

While Negro leaders in Montgomery reaffirmed their intentions of continuing the boycott, they called for members of their race to continue to shun violence.

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., warned: "Anything that looks like violence will defeat our purpose."

He cautioned his listeners last night against any attempt at intimidation. He asked particularly that no "threatening calls" be made to Mrs. Jeanetta Reese, a Negro who withdrew from an anti-segregation suit after it was filed in U. S. District Court.

Fred D. Gray, Montgomery Negro attorney, who filed the suit attacking bus segregation laws, was indicted by the grand jury for unlawful practice three days before 100 other Negroes were charged with violating Alabama's anti-boycott law.

Mr. Gray's trial is set for Friday in Circuit Court. Mrs. Reese, one of five Negro women whose names appeared on the suit, later said the action was taken without her consent. Mr. Gray denied that.

**Tea at Hebrew Home**

The Business and Professional Ladies Auxiliary of the Hebrew Home for the Aged will hold a member-bring-member tea next Sunday from 3 to 5 p.m. at the Hebrew Home for the Aged, 1125 Spring road N.W.

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**Figure 62.** "Church Groups Protest Negro Ministers' Arrest", *Evening Star*, page A-10, February 28, 1956

The above news might be worth considering from two aspects. First, the judiciary opted for increasing burden on the pastors who led to the boycott, and twenty-four of them were arrested in the city. The pattern implied that political and social dominance of the church was intensifying day by day. Thus, Christianity was kicked about as an instrument of political agitation and preservation hectically. Secondly, Joseph H. Jackson, who represented rough five million African American Baptists, was opposed mass prayer to protest the detention of his colleagues and profiting by religion in favor of the Boycott, as the news indicated.

Despite massive detention and legal trouble, African Americans maintained their persistent in the boycott, the following news heralded from the church rally. Although the city's only bus company, called Montgomery City Lines, declared renouncing segregation, it could be noteworthy that the authorities did not reconsider their decisions. Although the bus company may have prioritized economic profits because of the decline in income, the city's political authorities would be unable to eliminate political concerns.

**Negroes Extend Bus Boycott**

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 27 (AP).—Angered by threats of arrest, Montgomery Negroes have committed themselves to continue their long boycott of city buses until public officials are willing to accept integration.

They thundered approval last night to a resolution pledging them to carry on the protest indefinitely. A minister put it like this:

"We will never go back to Jim Crow buses."

The resolution was adopted by the cheering, hymn-singing Negroes at a mass meeting at the Day Street Baptist Church. The congregation filled the main auditorium and the basement, where loudspeakers carried the

speakers' words, and spilled out into the street.

The resolution was critical of Montgomery's three city commissioners, who all belong to the pro-segregation White Citizens' Council. It was drafted by leaders of the Montgomery Improvement Association, a group organized to support the mass bus protest.

The resolution pointed out that Montgomery City Lines has ordered integration and that some other Southern cities also have abandoned their traditional separate seating arrangements. Montgomery City Lines, which operates the city's only bus service, has ordered its drivers to stop enforcing segregation, but city and State officials have promised enforcement of city and State law against any integration attempt.

Some Negroes have continued to patronize the bus line despite the mass protest, but there has been no reported effort to sit with white passengers. The Negroes have stayed in the rear of the buses where they always sat.

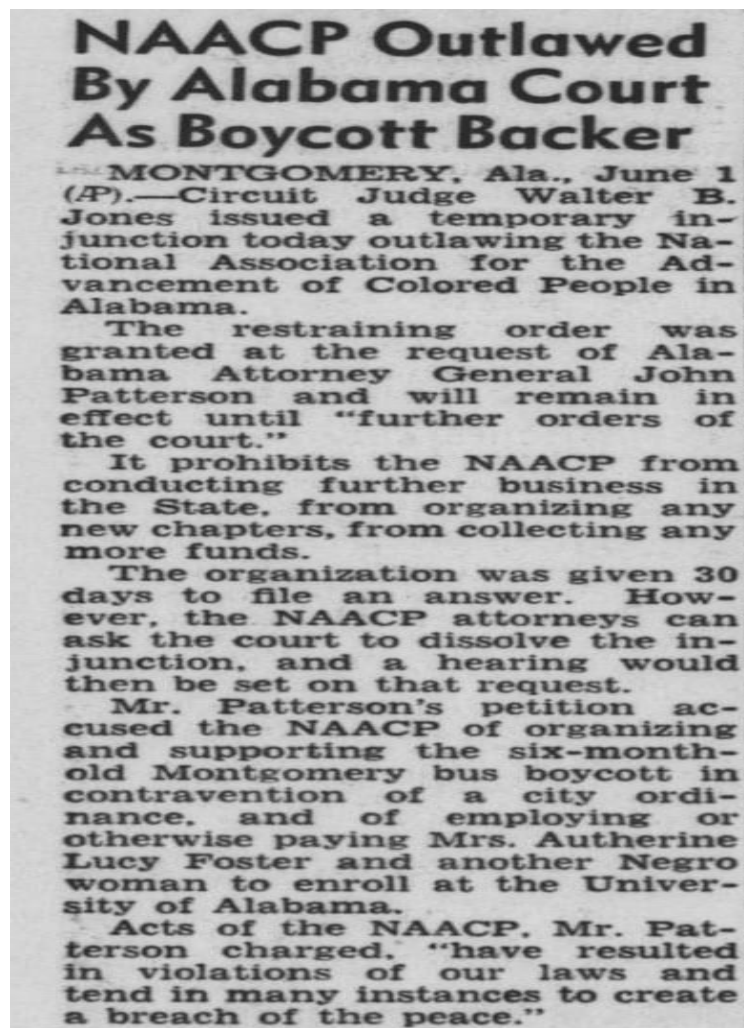
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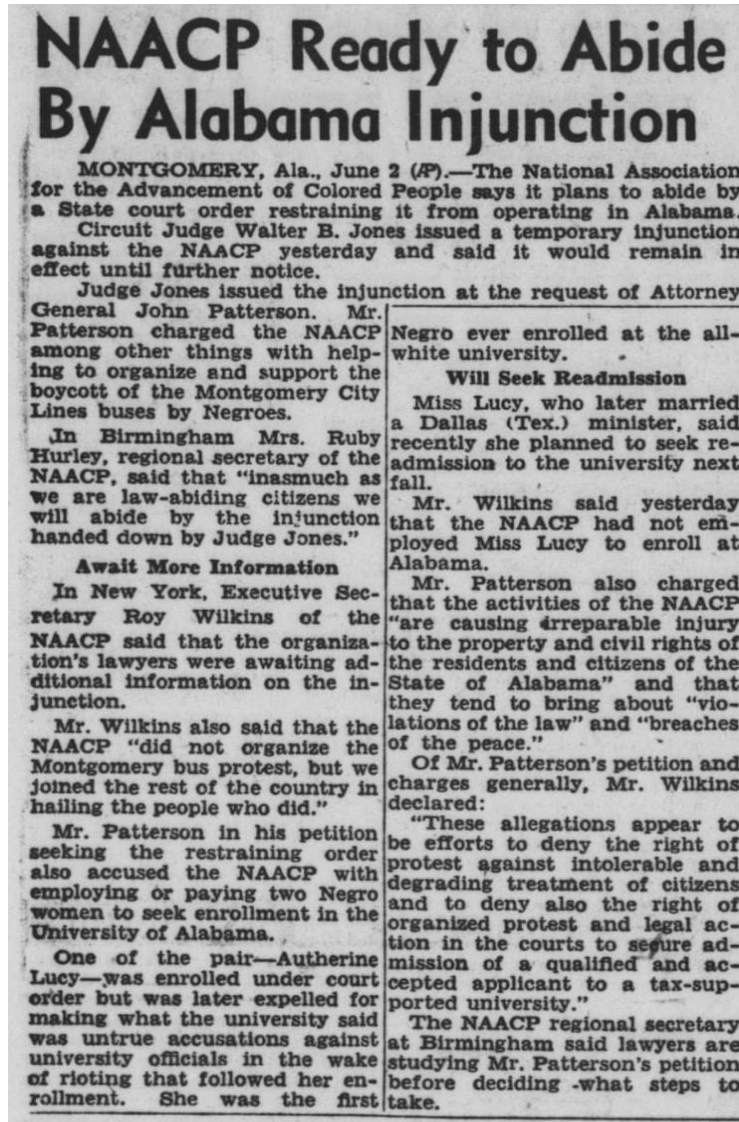
**Figure 63.** "Negroes Extend Bus Boycott", *Evening Star*, page A-16, April 27, 1956



**Figure 64.** "NAACP Outlawed by Alabama Court as Boycott Backer", *Evening Star*, page A-23, June 1, 1956

The NAACP, which upheld the legal struggle during the boycott and dissented the MIA in this context, was blacklisted in the city by a court verdict, according to the newspaper. It might be meaningful. On the contrary, *Arizona Sun* had ridiculed the organization, which was outlawed on the grounds that it impeded city order and stability by violating the law. Predictably, provincial and federal the NAACP officials publicly declared that they would obey the court order a day later, as following news indicated. Even, the NAACP's general secretary, Roy Wilkins, publicly stated that they did not commence the Montgomery Bus Boycott by remarking their appreciation for the laws. According to this two news, the NAACP did not take a prominent role during the bus boycott. Besides

that, the NAACP's abstentions from the mass mobilization in the streets were highly questionable when compared to churches and the MIA. Despite this, it had been the target of some official threats, because it was a massive organization that had evolved into a focal point for African Americans in terms of ensuring civic achievements.



**Figure 65.** "NAACP Ready to Abide by Alabama Injunction", *Evening Star*, page A-2, June 2, 1956

Local authorities and the federal court were still at odds over bus segregation in Montgomery, as following news pointed out. The news, which centered upon the

ambiguity and turmoil in the judicial proceedings, disclosed Rev. King Jr.'s statement as the head of the MIA. King Jr. clarified that MIA delegates and African American citizens of Montgomery would struggle to wrap up bus segregation until a final verdict was released. In comparison to previous news, the MIA and the NAACP had a distinct approach and comprehension of civil politics on the boycott.



**Figure 66.** "Bus Segregation Forces Have 9 Days to Appeal" *Evening Star*, page B-21, June 20, 1956

Fred Gray, who was a young lawyer for the boycotters and had previously been subjected to various challenges and bullying tactics, was enlisted into the army while he was trying to cope with legal obstacles, as the following news pointed out. Additionally, it was stated that after his enlistment in the army, only one African American lawyer would reside in Montgomery. In this regard, the truthfulness and humility of the boycott judgements was questionable, too. The

story could be regarded as another manifestation of the executive power's manipulative pressure on the judicial power during the boycott.

## Boycott Lawyer Gets Draft Call

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 7 (AP).—A young Negro attorney, whose draft status was changed after he became active in the Montgomery bus boycott, was ordered yesterday to report for military induction on August 16.

Fred D. Gray, 25, of Montgomery was drafted after the presidential appeals board in Washington turned down an appeal filed on his behalf by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Gray has represented the NAACP in court.

His departure will leave only one Negro lawyer in this city of 125,000, including approximately 50,000 Negroes.

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**Figure 67.** “Boycott Lawyer Gets Draft Call”, *Evening Star*, page A-20, August 7, 1956

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

In the United States, where multiculturalism and the multi-ethnic social structure remained, there was a mass movement of African Americans that demanded equal citizenship, especially in the second half of the 20th century. The legacy of World War II was clearly having an impact on American society. Critical social events took place in the United States throughout the postwar period, resulting in significant changes in the country. In this regard, the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s were years of anxiety, optimism, and change, particularly in the social realm. According to David R. Farber and Beth L. Bailey, the United States was the most prosperous and influential nation in the world in 1960, with 180 million people, and the nation had seen tremendous upheavals in the 15 years since World War II <sup>202</sup>. Local policies were involved substantially during those years, for example, the Civil Rights Movements redefined that politics were not only constituted of the authority and norms enforced by the state, but also of social and cultural dynamics that pervaded those days and the fate of the state. Another crucial feature was that the Civil Rights Movement heralded a social awakening among the people by emphasizing fundamental concepts such as freedom and equality in virtually all spheres. Hence, the years in question may be relevant for analyzing popular opposition and alienation by rebelling against the state. It might be argued that the United States experienced conflict as a result of a collision between founding principles and de facto circumstances. The Civil Rights Movement was an attempt to make the country's founding ideals valid across the nation. Segregation and isolation which were implemented by the social system and government afflicted African Americans in particular, and the Civil Rights Movement had a key impact on the development American society

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<sup>202</sup> David Farber and Beth Bailey, *The Columbia Guide to America in the 1960s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), p.3

by laying the groundwork for the crystallization of equality and freedom. The movement could be regarded as an antidote that wiped out racism and humiliation in the United States, especially symbolically but also mentally. Both arguments and affirmations associated with the civil rights movement centered on social and economic inequality, and demand for equality became even more established and entrenched in daily life. The inequality that was experienced by African Americans in public spheres such as education, public transportation, and political participation compared to the majority population, white Americans, is an important challenge in the history of the United States to examine.<sup>203</sup> Martin Luther King Jr.'s concepts of beloved community and nonviolent resistance are discussed in this thesis, which analyses the American Civil Rights Movement, one of the most prominent movements of the twentieth century, by centering on the Montgomery Bus Boycott. One of the prominent components of the struggle of African Americans for equal citizenship, the boycott led to the expansion of the Civil Rights Movement in a legitimate area.<sup>204</sup> When African Americans campaigned for freedom and equality, King Jr. was undeniably a prominent and compelling figure who expressed the oppressed people's aspirations and objectives. According to Ralph H. Hines and James E. Pierce, King's charisma initially became obvious during the Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955), and his commitment to endure strong personal ordeals in the pursuit of equality for the African American community enhanced

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<sup>203</sup> For Martin Luther King Jr., the fundamental disagreement was not about buses. However, he truly thought that if the tactic they had used in having dealt with equality in buses could completely eradicate oppression within the society, he would be attacking the origin of injustice, a person's resentment of a person. This can only be managed to accomplish by questioning the white community to reconsider its assertions. See Martin Luther King et al., *A Gift of Love: Sermons from Strength to Love and Other Preachings* (UK: Penguin, 2017), p.16.

<sup>204</sup> Martin Luther King Jr. also noted that the boycott was prompted by the African Americans' true self and the virtues that were defined by the Supreme Court through its 1954 ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*. See Fredrik Sunnemark, *Ring out Freedom! The Voice of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Making of the Civil Rights Movement* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), p. 18.

his mission.<sup>205</sup> As previously stated, Rosa Parks' personal circumstances boosted the legitimacy of the boycott in this context. Mrs. Parks was a delightful, delicate and tranquil individual with a sparkling personality on all occasions, additionally, her morality was spotless, and her commitment was persistent, and those traits merged to make her one of the most respected persons in the African American society. Parks' confident manner culminated in the demise of racial segregation. Besides, the boycott's long-term, non-violent, and peaceful discourse and agenda were epitomized by Martin Luther King Jr. As a result of his involvement in the bus boycott, King Jr. became the natural leader of the American Civil Rights Movement. In this perspective, King Jr.'s appreciation of organized and integrated society is an issue to reconsider. The role that both the NAACP and MIA played in developing the boycott formed a unifying pillar for African Americans. The NAACP championed families and children who were subjugated to racial segregation in public and educational venues, and they were prepared to face social exclusion in order to achieve their goals.<sup>206</sup> This organization's activities and policies were as effective as the MIA in carrying the boycott into daily life, and the struggle for survival among African Americans became widely known. The NAACP enhanced its national promotion apparatus and media accounts to portray Montgomery's African American citizens' strong endeavors to overcome the government and private elements defending segregated buses, and the slogan of the NAACP's initiatives was an appeal for funds to pay for the campaign's legal expenses.<sup>207</sup> Besides, under the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr., the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) was constituted by African American clerics and civic leaders, and the MIA was

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<sup>205</sup> Ralph H. Hines and James E. Pierce, "Negro Leadership after the Social Crisis: An Analysis of Leadership Changes in Montgomery, Alabama", *Phylon* (1960-), Vol. 26, No. 2, (2nd Qtr., 1965), p.169

<sup>206</sup> Jim Cullen, *The American Dream, A Short History of an Idea Shaped a Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 118.

<sup>207</sup> Gilbert Jonas, *Freedom's Sword: The NAACP and the Struggle against Racism in America, 1909-1969* (London: Routledge, 2007), 103.

instrumental in guiding the Montgomery bus boycott, which was a massive campaign that centered public attention on racial segregation in the South and propelled King Jr. into the public spotlight.<sup>208</sup> The MIA developed a framework for the local community that deepened the boycott process and gave hints to African Americans' long-term struggle capabilities. Martin Luther King Jr. stated that he would never forget Montgomery, because how could one neglect a bunch of participants who did take their enthusiastic urges and profound expectations, purified them through their souls, and molded them into an innovative protest that gave significance for those and captivated humans all over the nation and the world.<sup>209</sup> Due to Martin Luther King Jr.'s discourse and MIA's voluntary blueprint, the campaign had evolved into a nonviolent mass movement. Despite being long-term planning, the concepts of beloved community and nonviolent resistance managed to shield the Montgomery Bus Boycott from potential risks such as widespread racial clashes. Nonviolent Resistance and the Beloved Community as advocated by Martin Luther King Jr., sought to reconcile the realities of opposites, passivity and force, while shunning the extremities and moral failings of both.<sup>210</sup> Nonviolent resistance and the beloved community, which became the cornerstones of African Americans' campaign for equal citizenship, were the pillars behind the boycott's widespread adoption. According to Martin Luther King Jr., at the core of nonviolent resistance, it laid the notion of love, and a peaceful resister would maintain that for human dignity, disadvantaged people across the world must avoid the urge to become nasty or embark in backlashes in the campaign.<sup>211</sup> In the light of this, nonviolent

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<sup>208</sup> See Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) on <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/montgomery-improvement-association-mia>. Accessed Date: 9th August 2022.

<sup>209</sup> Martin Luther King, Clayborne Carson, and Susan Carson, *The Papers of Martin Luther King, JR*, vol. 5 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), 359.

<sup>210</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958), pp. 88,89.

<sup>211</sup> Martin Luther King et al., *A Gift of Love: Sermons from Strength to Love and Other Preachings* (UK: Penguin, 2017), 17.

resistance and beloved community were not confined to the boycott process, but rather embodied legitimate methods of struggle in recent U.S. history through fostering social integration. The Beloved Community also characterized a community in which everyone was pleasant, and no one was treated unfairly, and economic and social justice were the backbones that endorsed the concept. In this sense, it should be acknowledged that the Montgomery Bus Boycott, as one of the most considerable and lengthiest social resistance movements of the 20th century, did play a dovish and cohesive, rather than separatist, role respectively African Americans and White Americans. Subsequently, the bus boycott had been remarkable in mobilizing a substantial chunk of the African American community on a national scale and sparking a highly public struggle with local versions of Jim Crow.<sup>212</sup> The Montgomery Bus Boycott, which served as the core of the Civil Rights Movement, could be studied in this context through newspapers as primary sources. Analyzing the *Arizona Sun*, one of the South's most popular newspapers, and the *Evening Star*, which received attention due to their Civil Rights Movement coverage, culminated in a comprehensive and comparative analysis of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. The newspaper clippings that were presented could be a historical documentation of the bus boycott's social, political, and economic roots and outcomes. Moreover, those newspaper coverage generated details on African Americans' attitudes and activities throughout the boycott, as well as highlighted the practice of Martin Luther King Jr.'s leadership and the principles of struggle, namely the beloved community and the nonviolent resistance, that he championed. Focusing on two newspapers that had distinct leanings, could indicate an analytical storyline approach in documenting the complex sociocultural transformation that the boycott embodied, rather than confining the learning experience to merely second-hand sources. Furthermore, it was intended to carry out subtext reading through newspapers in order to visualize the dynamics of the boycott in order to grasp the echoes of the historical context in daily life. As a forerunner of the American Civil Rights Movement, Martin Luther King Jr.'s main routes of the

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<sup>212</sup> Gilbert Jonas, *Freedom's Sword: The NAACP and the Struggle against Racism in America, 1909-1969* (London: Routledge, 2007), 171.

challenge, the Beloved Community and Nonviolent Resistance, led to a significant collective action to alleviate racism and discrimination, and the struggle of African Americans for the sake of equality took on a widespread characteristic, and formed the boycott as a way of achieving equal rights. Nevertheless, Martin Luther King's leadership perspectives and struggle conceptions in the Montgomery Bus Boycott mirrored African Americans' yearning to be respectable citizens in the eyes of executive authority. For this reason, The Montgomery Bus Boycott, which succeeded in a legislative triumph after a collective effort, and Martin Luther King Jr.'s concepts which championed civil disobedience may offer a comprehensive research area for African Americans' civil rights to unfold the social dynamics of recent American history, especially in light of the current police brutality and racist discourse targeting African Americans in recent years.

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## APPENDICES

### A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

#### MARTİN LUTHER KİNG JR.’İN MİRASI: MONTGOMERY OTOBS BOYKOTU (1955), MUTEBER TOPLUM VE PASİF DİRENİŞ

Devlet ile birey arasındaki ilişkiyi hukuken tanımlayan vatandaşlık kavramı, tarihsel süreçte pek çok hak ve özgürlük mücadelesinin öznesine haline gelmiştir. Amerikan Devrimi (1765-1783) ve Fransız Devrimi (1789) sonrasında sosyal ve politik bağlamda kuramsallaşan ve kurumsallaşan yurttaşlık hakları yalnızca fonksiyonel üstünlüğü temsil eden devletin yüceliğine değil, aynı zamanda yurttaşların demokratik katılım sürecine ve ifade özgürlüğüne dayanmaktadır. Amerikan Bağımsızlık Bildirgesi (1776), tüm insanların eşit yaratıldığını ve onların yaratıcı tarafından verilen yaşama ve özgürlük gibi belirli devredilemez haklarını olduğunu vurgulamaktaydı. Söz konusu bildirge, bu hakları güvence altına almak için oluşturulan düzeni yurttaşların rızası ile ilişkilendirmekteydi. Herhangi bir hükümet söz konusu karşılıklı ilişkiyi aşındırmaya çalışırsa, onu değiştirmek veya ortadan kaldırmak yurttaşların temel hakkıydı. Bu kapsamda Birleşik Devletleri’nin kuruluş ilkelerinin geçerliliği ve uygulanabilirliği tartışmaya açıktır. Amerika Birleşik Devletleri’nin kurucu babalarından ve Bağımsızlık Bildirgesi’nin yazarlarından olan Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826), 1801 yılında, başkanlığının ilan edildiği konuşmasında eşitliğin önemini vurgulayarak çoğunluğa dayalı ve azınlığı elimine eden potansiyel hegemonyayı reddetmişti. Bu kurucu yaklaşımın aksine Amerika Birleşik Devletleri’ndeki Beyaz çoğunluk, Afroamerikalıların yurttaşlık haklarını uzun yıllar boyunca tanımayı reddetti. Özellikle, Soğuk Savaş döneminin kutuplaştırıcı siyaseti, devletin Beyaz üstünlüğüne dayalı hegemonik ideolojisini

özne haline getirirken, Afroamerikalıların eşitlik ve adalet temelli mücadelesini ikilemli ve kompleks bir sürece zorlamaktaydı.

Bu tez, yakın Birleşik Devletler tarihinin önemli olaylarından biri olarak Yurttaşlık Hareketi'ni değerlendirirken, Birleşik Devletleri'nin kurucu ilkelerini bu bağlamda muhakeme etme alanı açmaktadır. Çalışmanın özünü teşkil eden Montgomery Otobüs Boykotu, gerek yurttaşlık hareketine kitlesel ölçekte bir kimlik kazandırması gerek Martin Luther King Jr., ve onun mücadele konseptlerine uygulama alanı tanınması nedeniyle özgün bir örnek olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Boykot sayesinde görünürlüğü artan Yurttaşlık Hareketi, ırkçılığın sıradan insanların günlük yaşamlarının önemli bir parçası olduğunu gözler önüne sermiştir. Bir terzinin protestosu ulusal bir isyanı tetiklerken, King'in liderlik potansiyeli ilk kez halk tarafından sınandı.

Bu çalışma, King'in mücadelesinin temelini oluşturan “Muteber Toplum” ve “Pasif Direniş” konseptlerini tartışmaya açarak Yurttaşlık Hareketi'nin orta ve uzun vadeli kazanımlarını değerlendirmeye çalışmıştır. Birçok ikincil kaynaktan da geniş bir şekilde tartışılan bu mesele, tezde King'in manevi kimliği, epizodik çabaları ve söz konusu dönemin özgün koşulları bağlamında farklı sosyopolitik tandanslara sahip iki gazetenin boykotu referans alan haberleri analiz edilerek yeniden değerlendirilmiştir. Muhafazakar eğilimleri ile ön plana çıkan Washington Star ve Afroamerikalıların mücadelesinde adeta bir propaganda aracına dönüşen Arizona Sun gazeteleri dönemin zihniyeti, algı yönetimleri ve sosyal davranışlar hakkında bilgilendirici ipuçları sunmaktadır. Yanı sıra, çeşitli konuşma kayıtları, mektuplar, mahkeme tutanakları, resmi belgeler ve posterler birincil kaynak olarak tezde değerlendirilmiştir. Bu tez, boykotun gerekçeleri, dinamikleri ve sonuçları üzerine eğilerek, yakın Amerikan tarihinde sosyal ve politik mekanizmalar tarafından marjinalleştirilmiş ve ötekileştirilmiş sıradan insanların tarihin akışını değiştirici rollerini açığa çıkarmaya çalışmıştır. Bu bağlamda, King'in düşünsel mirasını ele almak, Birleşik Devletler tarihinin dönüm noktalarından birini oluşturan Yurttaşlık Hareketi'nin analizini kolaylaştırıcı bir etmen olacaktır.

Tezin ikinci bölümünde, Amerikan Sivil Haklarının tarihsel arka planına kültürel, sosyal ve politik yönlerden kısa bir şekilde odaklanılmıştır. Böylece, Yurttaşlık Hareketi’ni besleyen toplumsal güdüler açığa çıkarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu bölümde, ırkçılığı ve toplumsal ayrımcılığı muhafaza eden ve meşrulaştırılan birtakım yasal düzenlemeler ele alınmıştır. Birleşik Devletler’de toplumsal kutuplaşmaya neden olan ırk ayrımcılığı yasalarının Yurttaşlık Hareketi’ndeki yeri analiz edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Özellikle, Brown v. Board of Education olarak bilinen dava ve 1964 tarihli Yurttaşlık Hakları Yasası’na değinilmiştir. Bu bölümde, Güney Hristiyan Liderlik Konferansı, Pasif Direniş Öğrenci Koordinasyon Komitesi, Siyahi İnsanların Gelişmesi İçin Ulusal Birlik Platformu gibi demokratik kitle örgütleri, Yurttaşlık Hareketi bağlamında hem Martin Luther King’in rolünü hem de Afroamerikalıların örgütlenme becerilerini ele almak amacıyla incelenmiştir. Bu noktada, çeşitli propaganda afişlerinden ve fotoğraflardan yararlanılarak hareketi tetikleyen çeşitli sosyal, politik ve ekonomik dinamikler irdelenmiştir.

Üçüncü bölümde, Martin Luther King’in mücadele temel mücadele konseptlerini oluşturan “Muteber Toplum” ve “Pasif Direniş” King’in kendi kitaplarından yararlanılarak ele alınmıştır. Martin Luther King üzerindeki entelektüel etkisi aşikar bir biçimde ortaya çıkan Amerikalı düşünür Josiah Royce (1855-1916), King’in düşünsel ajandasını ele almak amacıyla incelenmiştir. Bu bağlamda hem muteber toplum tezinin kökeni hem de ve pasif direnişin aşamaları Afroamerikalıların eşit yurttaşlık mücadelesi açısından ele alınmıştır.

Tezin dördüncü bölümünde, Montgomery Otobüs Boykotu ayrıntılı olarak ele alınmıştır. Martin Luther King Jr.’ın rolünün ve toplumsal önderliğinin yanı sıra Claudette Colvin ve Rosa Parks gibi sivil itaatsizliğin ve pasif direnişin kilometre taşlarını döşeyen isimlere yer verilmiştir. Bu bölümde, yöntemi, içeriği ve uygulanan mücadele konseptleri açısından ele alınarak Montgomery Otobüs Boykotunun neden Yurttaşlık Hareketi üzerinde belirleyici ve dönüştürücü bir etkisi olduğu tartışmaya açılmıştır. Ayrıca, boykot sırasında demokratik kitle örgütleri ve Martin Luther King tarafından izlenen yol ve gündem getirilen

talepler ile Birleşik Devletler 'in kurucu ilkeleri arasında bir paralellik kurulmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu bölümde, gazetelerden alınan bir dizi haber, çeşitli konuşma kayıtları, mektuplar, kitle örgütlerine ait resmi dokümanlar ve mahkeme tutanakları karşılaştırmalı ve analitik bir bakış açısı sunmak amacıyla kullanılmıştır.

Yakın dönem Birleşik Devletler tarihinde önemli bir yer tutan Yurttaşlık Hareketi toplumsal, kültürel ve siyasal açıdan Amerikan toplumun çehresini değiştirmiştir. Bu süreç, Soğuk Savaş dönemi koşullarının etkisi ve gölgesi altında yaşanmasından dolayı özgün bir yer tutmuştur. Eşitlik mücadelesi ile yeniden gündeme gelen adalet ve özgürlük kavramları Birleşik Devletler tarihinde bir çatışma alanı yaratmıştır. Toplumsal, kültürel, ekonomik ve politik açıdan, Birleşik Devletler 'in 1948 ile 1968 yılları arasında tanık olduğu dönüşüm kuşkusuz Afroamerikalılar için yeniden doğuşu sembolize etti. Birleşik Devletler 'in 33. Başkanı Harry S. Truman (1884-1972) tarafından 1948'de imzalanan kararname Amerikan ordusunda ırk ayrımcılığını ortadan kaldırmayı amaçlıyordu ve bu karar Yurttaşlık Hareketi açısından adeta bir mihenk taşıydı. Ayrıca, 1968 yılında suikasta uğrayarak yaşamını yitiren Martin Luther King Jr. (1929-1968), özellikle Afroamerikalılar açısından manevi bir kurtuluş önderine dönüşerek eşitlik mücadelesinin uzun vadeli geleceğini belirledi. King'in entelektüel ve politik mirası onu sembolleştirirken Afroamerikalıları sonuç odaklı bir mücadelenin öznesine dönüştürdü. Afrikalı Amerikalıların mücadelesinin yükselmeye başladığı dönemde, Amerikan toplumu, II. Dünya Savaşı sonrasının hem endişeli hem de konforlu yıllarını yaşamaktaydı. Bu açıdan bakıldığında, Birleşik Devletler 'de yaşanan toplumsal değişim irdelenmelidir. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra artan kentleşme ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde artmakta olan orta sınıf popülasyonu ve renk, dil ve inanç temelli toplumsal ayrımcılığı eleştiren Yurttaşlık Hareketi bağlamında yeniden ele alınmalıdır. Soğuk Savaş yıllarında otoriter ve ataerkil bir modernleşmeye tanıklık eden Birleşik Devletler 'de Yurttaşlık Hareketi'nin ölçeğini ve etkisini tahmin etmek ya da somutlaştırmak epey güçtü, ancak toplumsal bilinç ve önderlik kadrosu illüzyonları elimine etmeye çalıştı. Soğuk Savaş koşulları

altında verilen eşitlik ve özgürlük mücadelesi Beyaz otoriteler tarafından devlet aygıtına ve kurulu düzene bir saldırı olarak ele alınarak şeytanlaştırılmaktaydı. Bu bağlamda Jim Crow yasaları, ırkçılığa dayalı bir sosyal kontrol mekanizmasına ve devlet otoritesi ile Afroamerikalılar arasında mütakabiliyete dayanmayan bir etkileşim aracına dönüşmüştü. Böylece, Afroamerikalıların devlet aygıtıyla olan manevi bağı kopma noktasına gelmiş, hukuki bağı zedelenmiş, toplumsal ilişkiler ise eşitsizliğe ve adaletsizliğe dayalı bir hal almıştı.

Jim Crow Yasaları, Amerikan halkının ortak çıkarlar, ortak bilinç ve ortak değerler etrafında birleşerek oluşturacakları geleceğin önündeki en büyük engellerden birini oluşturuyordu. Bu durum, Birleşik Devletler' in eşitsizlik ve ayrımcılık üzerine kurulu toplumsal yapısını temelli gerilimlere karşı savunmasız hale getirmiştir. Peşi sıra, Afroamerikalıların demokratik kitle faaliyetleri ivme kazanmıştır. Önde gelen kitle örgütleri olarak Güney Hristiyan Liderlik Konferansı (SCLC), Pasif Direniş Öğrenci Koordinasyon Komitesi (SNCC) ve Siyahi İnsanların Gelişmesi İçin Ulusal Birlik Platformu (NAACP) Afroamerikalıların sosyal ve kültürel alanlarda verdiği eşitlik ve özgürlük mücadelesinin gövdesini oluşturdu. Ayrıca bu kurumlar sivil itaatsizliği ve pasif direnişi güçlendirerek toplumsal bir mücadele ajandası oluşturmaya çalıştı. Sözü edilen örgütlerin yol ve yöntemleri Martin Luther King'in mücadele konseptleri ile birlikte ele alındığında, Soğuk Savaş'ın gergin politik ve toplumsal atmosferi altında Birleşik Devletler 'in Afroamerikalıların özgürlük alanını genişleten, yumuşak geçişe dayalı bir devrime tanıklık ettiği öne sürülebilir.

Amerikan Yurttaşlık Hareketi'nin lideri Martin Luther King, yalnızca ırkçılığa ve eşitsizliğe değil, aynı zamanda geleneksel ve alışılmış direniş yöntemlerine de karşıydı. Onun mücadelesi ve direniş konseptleri, şiddeti değil barışçıl bir itaatsizliği yüceltmektedir. Bu bağlamda, toplumsal ve politik bir dönüşümün temsilcisi olan King Jr. ve onun manevi liderliği, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin yakın tarihini derinden etkiledi. King Jr.'ın barışçıl bir atmosferde topyekûn vermeye gayret sarf ettiği toplumsal mücadelesi, sadece Amerikan toplumu için

değil, dünyanın geri kalanı için de bir örnek teşkil ederek yirminci yüzyılın en önemli safhalarından birini oluşturdu. Ayrıca King, Afroamerikalıların maruz kaldığı ayrımcılığı yalnızca politik bir kamplaşma ile değil toplumsal ve ekonomik çıkmazlarla ifade etti. Sivil itaatsizlik ve barışçıl direniş sadece Afroamerikalıları değil, dönemin gergin atmosferi altında tek tipleştirilmeye çalışılan ve ifade hürriyetleri kısıtlanan Beyaz Amerikalılar açısından da bir kapı araladı. Mücadele sathında eşitliği ve adaleti yüceltmek amacıyla dini retoriği elden bırakmayan Martin Luther King, güçlü bir konuma yerleşti.

Mücadelenin tarzı ve yöntemi inşa edilirken Beyazlar ve Afroamerikalılar arasında aşınmış olan manevi bütünlük siyasi kırılma noktalarını belirgin ve hassas bir noktaya taşıdı. Bu bağlamda, King'in materyalizm karşıtı görüşleri O'nun dini aidiyetleri ile yakından ilişkiliydi. Irkçılığa karşı verdiği mücadelede King, militarizmi de eleştirerek egemen Beyaz otoriteye karşı yeni bir mücadele alanı açmıştı. Bununla birlikte, King'in ajandası hiçbir biçimde siyasi bir bölünmeyi içermemekteydi. Bu yönüyle King, egemen Beyaz otorite ve toplumsal düzenin gözünde makbul olma kaygısı ve sistem içi çözümlerin oluşturduğu paradoksla yüzleşti. King'in düşünsel ve eylemsel planında, Soğuk Savaş atmosferinde verilecek bir mücadele ancak barışçıl bir ajanda kullanılarak başarıya ulaşabilirdi. King'e göre iç barışın tesisi, küresel çapta eşitlik ve adaletin sağlanması bunun için bir ön koşuldu. King'in perspektifinde somutlaşan Hristiyan değerlerinin ve manevi bütünlüğünün mücadelede sıkça vurgulanması Afroamerikalılar nezdinde Beyazlara karşı gelişecek potansiyel bir ırkçılığı büyük ölçüde engelledi. King, ırksal konulara sosyal ve ekonomik açılardan yaklaşmayı önceleyerek eşitliğe dayalı ortak bir geleceği yaratmaya çalıştı. Bunun en büyük örneklerinden birini 28 Ağustos 1963'te Washington'da yaptığı kitlesel konuşmada sadece Afroamerikalılar için değil tüm Amerikalılar için eşitlik ve adalet çağrısında bulunarak verdi. Buradaki konuşmasında Amerikalıların kurucu babalarına atıfta bulunan King, ortak geçmişi vurgularken aynı zamanda Afroamerikalıların makbul olma arayışını gözler önüne sermekteydi. Bu tutum, Yurttaşlık Hareketi'nin meşruiyetini güçlendiren bir etmene dönüştü. Afroamerikalılar yabancılaştırılmış ve izole edilmiş bir azınlık

olmalarına rağmen bir vatani paylaşmaya karar verdikleri Beyaz Amerikalılara nefret söylemi kullanmayı tercih etmediler. Yurttaşlık Hareketi bağlamında sergilenen bu tutum sayesinde mücadele hukuki bir kimlik kazanmayı başarırken kanlı bir iç savaşın önüne geçilmiş oldu. Bu vesileyle, Yurttaşlık Hareketi kamusal propaganda stratejilerine ve kitle iletişimine her zamankinden daha fazla ihtiyaç duymaktaydı.

Kuşkusuz, 20. yüzyılın en önemli sivil itaatsizlik eylemlerinden birine tanıklık eden Montgomery'nin toplumsal yapısının analizi hem boykotu hem de eylemin Afroamerikalılar ve Beyazlar açısından ortaya çıkardığı davranışsal etkileri görmek açısından tutarlı olacaktır. Bu bağlamda, Afroamerikalıların ve manevi bir öndere dönüşen King'in yasal engellemelerle ve gecikmelerle karşı karşıya kalması Montgomery'de başlayan Otobüs Boykotunun kapsamı ve yöntemi açısından belirleyici bir unsura dönüştü. Yine de potansiyel yurttaşlık hakları kampanyalarının önündeki en önemli duvar sosyopsikolojik bir korku ve gerilime dayanmaktaydı. Amerikan toplumunda, Soğuk Savaş'ın ürettiği siyasi ideoloji sivil itaatsizliği herhangi bir muhtemel başarı için geçerli tek seçenek haline getirmekteydi. Şiddete dayalı bir isyan seçeneğini ortadan kaldıran bu toplumsal atmosfer, Afroamerikalıların King'in önderliğinde muteber toplumu inşa etmek amacıyla meşru bir düzlemde bir araya gelmesine yol açtı. Son derece pragmatik ve işlevsel bir kavram olarak muteber toplum ideali sivil itaatsizliği yücelten ve besleyen bir mücadele konseptine dönüştü. Özellikle Montgomery Otobüs Boykotu, Afroamerikalıların barışçıl ve eşitlikçi bir çerçevede Beyaz Amerikalılar ile bir arada yaşama istencini ortaya koymaktaydı. Bu aşamada, King'in önderliği mutlak bir ruhsal saflığı simgelerken başta militarizm ve materyalizm olmak üzere iddia edilen toplumsal kutuplaşma alanlarını aşındırmaya gayret ediyordu. King'e göre toplumsal birliği oluşturacak olan muteber toplum idealinin yolu dini bir savunuyu ile açılabilirdi.

Birleşik Devletler tarihine bakıldığında, Montgomery'nin Afroamerikalılar için bir merkez haline geldiği görülecektir. Tarihsel miras açısından incelendiğinde, Amerikan Konfedere Devletleri'nin eski başkenti olarak, 20. yüzyılın en büyük

pasif direnişlerinden birine ev sahipliği yapan Montgomery, bağlamsal olarak Yurttaşlık Hareketi ile toplumun kurucu ilkelerin rehberliği altında yeniden inşa edilmesi arasındaki ilişkiyi göstermektedir. Amerikan Nüfus Bürosu'nun 1950'lerde yayımladığı verilere göre, kentin başkentlik yaptığı Alabama'da nüfusun %68'ini Beyazlar, %32'sini ise Afroamerikalılar oluşturmaktaydı. Rosa Parks (1913-2005)'ın otobüsteki koltuğunu bir Beyaza vermeyi reddetmesiyle gelişen olaylar, Montgomery'yi Yurttaşlık Hareketi açısından önemli bir merkeze dönüştürdü. Parks'ın tutuklanması kentte toplumsal mücadele odaklı mekanizmaların harekete geçmesi sonucunu doğurdu. King'in öncülük ettiği ve özellikle kentteki ırk ayrımcılığına karşı mücadele veren Montgomery'yi Geliştirme Derneği (MIA) ve Siyahi İnsanların Gelişmesi İçin Ulusal Birlik Platformu (NAACP) Bayan Parks'ın tutumunu kitlesel bir pasif direnişe dönüştürmek için çaba gösterdi. Bu noktada, sözü edilen demokratik kitle örgütlerinin birincil amacı ırk ayrımcılığına karşı toplumsal muhalefeti oluşturmaktı. Bu kampanya uzun vadeli ve sonuç odaklı bir ajandaya dayanmaktaydı. Bu noktada, Afroamerikalıların gündelik hayatlarında karşılaştıkları ayrımcılık ajite edilerek potansiyel kitle oluşturulmaya çalışıldı.

Kitle örgütleri, King'in öncülüğünde gönüllüğe dayalı bir platform oluşturarak ve bir iletişim ağı kurarak boykot sürecinde karşılaşılabilecek olası ulaşım mağduriyetlerini gidermeye çalıştı. Montgomery Otobüs Boykotu, King'in mücadele yaşamında kayda değer bir yer tuttu. Boykot, King'in Afroamerikalıların doğal lideri konumuna yükseltirken Yurttaşlık Hareketi'ni kitlesel bir eyleme dönüştürmeyi başardı. Boykot, yasal gecikmeler ve engellemeler karşısında kısa vadeli ve ölçülebilir sonuçları vermese de orta ve uzun vadede Afroamerikalılar açısından hem yasal hem de fiili başarılar açtı. Martin Luther King'in boykot sürecinde pasif direniş yönteminde ısrarcı olması toplumsal mücadelenin maliyetli bir aşamasını yarattı. Yanı sıra, Otobüs Boykotu, King'e yeni bir kimlik kazandırarak dini önderliğinin yanına politik önderliğini eklemledi. Montgomery'nin ırk ayrımcılığı altında betimlenebilecek toplumsal atmosferi ve demokratik kitle örgütlerinin eylemsel davranışları King'e politik önderliğini güçlendirebileceği bir alan açtı. Tutumlarını ve

davranışlarını dini retorikle güçlendirilmiş bir bilgelikle sunan Martin Luther King, boykotun uzun vadeli eylem planının hazırlanması sürecinde başat aktöre dönüştü. Sıradan kent sakinlerinin boykota karşı gösterdiği demokratik katılım, pasif direniş yönteminin geçerliliğini ortaya koyarken toplumsal aktivizm Afroamerikalılar arasında güçlendi. Boykot sürecinde kiliselerde organize edilen halk toplantıları ve forumlar King ve Afroamerikan toplumu arasındaki bağı güçlendirirken eylem planını uygulamayı kolaylaştırıcı kitlesel bir hareketi besledi. Sözü edilen toplantılarda, King mütemadiyen Beyaz yurttaşlara karşı herhangi bir nefret söyleminden ve ötekileştirici tutumdan kaçınılması gerektiğini salık vermekteydi. King, her ne kadar kilise toplantıları aracılığıyla Afroamerikalıları mücadele düzleminde motive etmeye çalışsa da ırk ayrımcılığını sona erdirmek için Beyaz Amerikalılar içinden müttefiklere ihtiyacı olduğunu farkındaydı. Dolayısıyla bu çıkışı, sistem içi çözümler ararken ortaya çıkan makbul olma kaygısına yönelik pragmatik bir tutum olarak ele alınabilir. Bu bağlamda, uzun vadeli bir eylemselliğe dayanan otobüs boykotunun ardından gelen yasal kazanımlar, Beyaz Amerikalılar nezdinde yurttaşlık haklarına yönelik herhangi bir çekimser tutum oluşturmama kaygısıyla gecikmeli bir biçimde uygulandı. Bu aşamada, King'in Beyazlar ve Afroamerikalılar paydaşlığında inşa etmeye çalıştığı ortak geleceği Hristiyan kardeşliğinde tasavvur etmesi belirleyici bir role sahiptir.

İfade edildiği üzere, tezin dördüncü bölümünde Montgomery Otobüs Boykotunun toplumsal yansımalarını irdelemek ve farklı eğilimlerin bakış açılarını gözler önüne sermek amacıyla gazete haberlerinden yararlanılmıştır. Gazeteler, tarihi olayları ve gerçekleri analiz etmek için açısından önemli birinci el kaynaklar arasında yer almaktadır. Burada yayımlanan manşetler, illüstrasyonlar ve çok sayıda makale, toplumun zihniyeti, davranışları ve otorite sahiplerinin yaklaşımlarını irdelemek açısından hayati bilgiler sunmaktadır. Dahası, döneme doğrudan tanıklık eden gazetecilerin aktardıklarını ele almak karmaşık konuları kavramak açısından kolaylaştırıcı bir yol sunmaktadır. Bilimsel bir araştırma ve değerlendirme yöntemi olarak gazetelerin incelenmesi tarihsel bir olayın çerçevelendirilmesi ve tanıkların görüşlerini yansıtmak

açısından kritik bir öneme sahiptir. Böylece, tarihi sadece yazan değil yapan karakterleri de ele alma fırsatı doğacaktır. Fakat, not edilmelidir ki, gazetede yayımlanan haberler herhangi bir görüşün, eğilimin ya da kişinin propagandasını yapmak misyonuyla yazılmış olabilir. Bu çerçevede, olası objektivite sorunları ile karşı karşıya kalınabilir.

Bu bağlamda, Montgomery Otobüs Boykotunun toplumsal yansımaları, Amerikan Kongre Kütüphanesi'nin çevrimiçi arşivinden yararlanılarak iki gazete üzerinden incelenmiştir. Arizona Sun ve Washington Star adlı gazetelerin veri tabanları ele alınarak boykot hakkında yayımlanan önemli haberler taranmıştır. Boykota referans veren yaklaşık doksan sayı incelemeye tabii tutulmuştur. Bu noktada, Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks ve Montgomery Geliştirme Derneği'ne atıf yapan sayılara özellikle odaklanılmıştır. 1940'ların başında yayımlanmaya başlanan Arizona Sun, adeta Afroamerikalıların kitlesel bir propaganda aracına dönüşerek onların maruz kaldığı toplumsal, ekonomik ve politik ayrımcılığa ışık tutmaktaydı. Hatta, gazetenin önde gelen editörlerinden olan Doc Benson, NAACP'nin Arizona şubesinde başkan olarak görev yapmaktaydı. Yanı sıra Benson, 1950 seçimlerinde Demokratik Parti listesinde yarışmıştı. Öte yandan, bir araştırmacı ve girişimci olan William Douglas Wallach tarafından kurulan ve 1970'lere kadar yayımlanan Washington Star, daha muhafazakar bir yayın çizgisini takip ediyordu. Bununla birlikte, gazetenin tanınmış muhabirlerinden biri olan Haynes Johnson (1931-2013) Yurttaşlık Hareketi sürecinde yaptığı haberlerden ötürü Pulitzer Ödülü ile taltif edilmişti. Martin Luther King, 1965 yılında Johnson'a verdiği röportajda tüm aşağılayıcı ve insanlık dışı tutumlara rağmen Afroamerikalıların hürriyet için verdiği mücadelenin devam edeceğini vurgulamıştı. Söz konusu gazetelerden seçili haber metinleri incelendiğinde boykotun önderi haline dönüşen Martin Luther King'in açıklamalarına geniş bir biçimde yer verildiği gözlemlenirken, eylemin konseptini ve mücadele kapsamını şekillendiren MIA ve NAACP'nin adının sık sık geçtiği görülmüştür. Ek olarak, kiliselerde düzenlenen halk toplantıları ve boykota ilişkin yasal süreçler de söz konusu haberlerde yer bulmuştur.

Çok kültürlülüğün ve çok etnikli toplumsal yapının süregeldiği Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde, özellikle eşit vatandaşlık hakları talep eden Afroamerikalıların Montgomery Otobüs Boykotu ile kitlesel bir kimlik kazanan mücadelesi, İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında oluşan küresel sosyopolitik iklimden bağımsız düşünülmemelidir. Savaş sonrası dönem ele alındığında özellikle 1950'ler ve 1960'ların ilk yarısı, toplumsal hayatta endişe, iyimserlik ve değişim yıllarıydı. Yurttaşlık Hareketi bir bakıma, eşitliği ve toplumsal paydaşlığı yücelten ülkenin kuruluş ideallerini tüm dünyada geçerli kılma girişimiydi. Siyasi hegemonyanın araçları tarafından Afroamerikalılara uygulanan toplumsal tecrit politikası büyük bir dönüşüme yol açarak Birleşik Devletler sathında özgürlük ve eşitlik idealinin kristalleşmesine ön ayak oldu. Bu bağlamda, Montgomery Otobüs Boykotu, yakın Birleşik Devletler tarihinde süregelen ırkçılığı ve kitlesel aşağılamayı sadece sembolik olarak değil aynı zamanda fiili ve mental olarak ortadan kaldırmayı amaçlayan bir panzehir olarak kabul edilebilir. Gündelik hayatın fırsat eşitsizliklerini kavramsallaştıran ve çerçevelendiren hareket, geniş toplum kesimlerine hitap edebilmiştir. Bu açıdan yaklaşıldığında, Martin Luther King'in örgütlü ve ortak paydalarda buluşmuş bir toplum düzeni çağrısı yeniden ele alınmalıdır. Sözü edilen demokratik kitle örgütlerinin ve sık sık düzenlenen halk forumlarının Afroamerikalılar nezdinde hem makbul vatandaşlık arayışını hem de ulusal aidiyetlerini güçlendirdiği öne sürülebilir. Bunun ışığında, muteber toplum ve pasif direniş konseptleri Afroamerikalıların politik ve toplumsal statüko tarafından maruz kalacağı potansiyel meşruiyet kısıtlamalarının önüne geçmiştir. Aksine, sosyal bütünleşmeyi teşvik ederek yakın Birleşik Devletler tarihindeki kırılmaları yaratan söz konusu konseptler ortak geleceği inşa edecek ulus bilincinin ve Amerikalılık nosyonunun güçlenmesinde etkili olmuştur. Dahası, 20. Yüzyılın en uzun süren toplumsal direniş örneklerinden biri olarak Montgomery Otobüs Boykotu, pasif direniş ve muteber toplum konseptleri tarafından karakterize edilen içeriği ve yöntemi sayesinde Afroamerikalılar ve Beyazlar arasında ayrılıkçı değil birleştirici bir rol üstlenmiştir. Bu durum, farklılıklara dayalı bir toplumsal yapıdan teşekkül eden Birleşik Devletler 'de sosyal entegrasyonu motive edici bir unsur olarak dikkat çekmektedir. Bu çerçevede, boykotun yarattığı toplumsal iklimde Martin Luther King'in ikame

ettiđi konseptler sayesinde yeni kimliđine eriřen Yurttařlık Hareketi, Birleřik Devletler sathında son yıllarda Afroamerikalıların karřı karřıya kaldıđı çifte standartlar ve ayrımcılıklar göz önüne alındıđında tarihsel bir olguya dönüşmüřtür. Ötekileřtirilmeye ve marjinalleřtirilmeye çalıřılan kitle, yakın ABD tarihinin řekillenmesinde oynadıđı rolün yanı sıra gelecekte de Amerikan toplumunun yerleřeceđi sosyopolitik düzlemde belirleyici bir tarihsel misyon üstlenecektir.

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