Talk Delivered by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. At Villanova University on January 20, 1965

I need not pause to say how very delighted and honored I am to be here tonight and to be a part of this very significant lecture series.

I guess there are several reasons why I am happy to be here. I noticed on leaving Atlanta, Georgia earlier in the day that we had some pretty bad weather conditions and flying on through Washington and on the Philadelphia it was a little choppy and turbulent in the air, and I am always happy to get on the ground after the rather turbulent flight. Now I don’t want to give you the impression that I don’t have faith in God in the Air, it is simply that I’ve more experience with him on the ground. But in all seriousness I am delighted to be here because it is always a rich and rewarding experience to take a brief break from the day to day and even minute to minute demands of our struggle for freedom and human dignity, and to discuss the issues involved in that struggle with College and University students and people of good will all over this nation and all over the world. So I’m delighted to share this platform and to share this experience with you.

I’d like to have you think with me on the subject of integration and I’d like to use as a basic theme for our thinking together, the point that we have come a long, long way in the struggle for racial justice in the United States, but we still have a long, long way to go before the problem is solved. Now let us notice first that we have come a long, long way and I’d like to begin this point by stating that the Negro himself has come a long, long way in re-evaluating his own intransigent world.

Now in order to illustrate this a little history is necessary. You will remember that it was in the year 1619 when the first Negro slaves landed on the shores of this nation. They were brought here from the soils of Africa. Unlike the Pilgrim Fathers who landed at Plymouth a year later, they were brought here against their will. Throughout slavery, the Negro was treated in a very inhuman fashion. He was a think to be used, not a person to be respected. The famous Dred Scott decision of 1857 well illustrated the status of the Negro during slavery, in this decision, the Supreme Court of our nation said in substance that the Negro is not a citizen of the United States. He is merely property, subject to the dictates of his owner—and it went on to say that the Negro has no rights that the White man is bound to respect.

With the growth of slavery it became necessary to give some justification for it. It seems to be a fact of life that human beings cannot continue to be wrong without eventually reaching out of some rationalization to cloth an obvious wrong in the beautiful garments of righteousness.
This is exactly what happened during the days of slavery even religion and the bible were misused in order to justify the status quo and so from some pulpits it was argued that the Negro was inferior by nature because of Noah’s curse upon the children of Ham. The Apostle Paul’s dictum became a watchword, “Servants be obedient to your master.” One brother had probably read the logic of the great philosopher Aristotle—and you will remember that Aristotle died a great deal to bring into being what we now know as formal logic in philosophy. In formal logic there is a big word known as the syllogism, and the syllogism has a major premise and a minor premise and a conclusion; and so this brother decided to put his argument of the inferiority of the Negro into the framework of an Aristotelian syllogism. He came out with his major premise; all men are made unto His image. Then came his minor premise, god, as everybody knows is not a Negro, therefore the Negro is not a man. This is the kind of reasoning that prevails.

Living with the conditions of slavery and then later segregation, many Negroes lost faith in themselves; many came to feel that perhaps they were less than human. This is the tragedy of slavery—this is the tragedy of segregation, not only what it does to one physically, but what it does to one psychologically, segregated as well as the segregator. It gives the segregator the false sense of superiority, while leaving the segregated with a false sense of inferiority. This is exactly what happens.

Then something happened to the Negro. Circumstances made it possible and necessary for him to travel more. The coming of the automobile, the upheaval of the two world wars, the great depression—and so his rural plantation background gradually gave way to the urban industrial life—even his economic life was gradually rising to the growth of industry, power of the organized labor, expanded educational opportunities—even his culture life was rising through the steady decline of illiteracy. All these forces conjoined to force the Negro to take a new look at him.

The Negro masses all over began to re-evaluate themselves. The Negro came to feel that he was somebody. His religion revealed to him that God loves all His Children and all men are made in His image—that the basic thing about man is not his specificity but his fundamentals, not the texture of his hair or the color of his skin but his eternal dignity and worth....and so the negro could not unconsciously cry out with the elegant poet, “fleecy locks and black complexion cannot forfeit natures claim-skin may differ but affection swells in black and with the same-Would I shall call as to reach the pole or to grasp the ocean at a span-I must be measured by my soul, the mind is the standard of the man.” With this new sense of dignity and this new sense of self-respect a new Negro came into being with a new determination to struggle and suffer and sacrifice in order to be free. So in a real sense we have come a long, long way since 1619.

But, if we’re to be true to the fact, we must go and mention another point—not only have we come a long, long way in re-evaluation our own intransient work but the whole nation has made strides by extending he frontiers of civil rights. We are turn to the fact—we must admit this 50-years ago and even 25 years ago, a year hardly passed when numerous negroes were not brutally lunched in the South by some vicious mobs.
About peace today, I figure the fact that now we have approximately two million Negroes registered to vote in the south. By the the turn of the century there were very few. By 1948 that number had reached 750,000. By 1950 it had reached to a million, two hundred thousand and since that time we’ve added more than 800,000 new Negroes as registered voters in the south. Far from what it ought to be, but it does represent progress. In the economic area, we have seen some strides---the average negro wage-earner of today (who happens to be employed) earns 10 times more than the average negro wage-earner of 12 years ago-the annual income of the Negro is now more than 28 billion dollars a year.....which is more than all of the exports of the United States, and more than the National Budget of Canada. This reveals that we have come a long, long way-probably more than in an other areas. We have come a long, long way in the sense that in our day in in our age we have seen the system of Negro segregation gradually crumble. Now we all know the Negro history of this unjust system had its beginning in 1896 when the supreme court of our nation rendered a decision known as the Plessy vs. Ferguson decision, which established the doctrine of separate but equal as the law of the land. Of course we know what happened as a result of the Plessy doctrine....there is always the strict enforcement of the separate, without the slightest intention to abide by th3e equal. The Negro ended up being conned into the abyss of exploitation, and he experienced the bleakness of maddening injustice. Then in 1954, a new decision came into being....the Supreme Court of our nation examined the legal body of segregation and pronounced it constitutionally dead. It was on May 17 of that year, the Supreme Court said in substance that the old Plessy doctrine must go; that separate facilities are inherently unequal, that segregating a child on the basis of his race is to deny that child equal protection of the law. As a result of this decision, we’ve seen numerous changes. Not only that, just last year on July the 2nd, had President Lyndon Johnson signed into law comprehensive and strong Civil Rights bill. This Civil Rights bill came as something of a second Emancipation Proclamation...and I’m happy to report that all across the South we have seen surprising and extensive levels of compliance with the Civil Rights Bill, particularly the Public Accommodations section of that Bill. And I’m convinced that, as the months unfold, we will be able through hard work, to implement that Bill in sections all across the South. And so this reveals to us, that we have come a long, long way and I’m convinced and more convinced than ever before that the system of segregation is on its deathbed today and the only think uncertain about it is how costly the segregationists will make the funeral. We’ve come a long, long way since 1896.

Now it is a fact that we have come a long, long way but to tell the truth, we’ve got to add the other side and I’m afraid if I stop at this point, I will leave you the victims of a dangerous optimism-I will leave you the victims of an illusion wrapped in superficiality-and so in order to tell the truth, it is necessary to move on-not only to say we’ve come a long, long way but we have a long, long way to go before this problem is solved.

I don’t think I need to stress this too much, we need only to open our newspapers every day almost, turn on our television and we see with our own eyes, this problem is still with us. We can look around in our own communities and we’d see it. I mention the fact that lynchings have about ceased but other things are happening just as tragic. We cannot overlook the fact; four beautiful innocent Negro girls were brutally murdered in the Church of God on Sunday morning in Birmingham, Alabama. We can
never forget the brutal murder of Medgar Evers in Jackson, Mississippi; we can never forget that three civil rights workers were brutally murdered in Philadelphia, Mississippi, not too many months ago.

Violence is still a reality in so many sections, particularly the black belt counties of so many Southern States, And down in miss, now, it seems that they have developed a new motto concerning church worship. It is no longer worship in the church of your choice, but it seems to be burn the church of your choice. Week after week, almost, churches are burned or bombed. Since last May more than forty-five churches have been burned down in the State of Mississippi. This reveals too, that we have a loin, long way to go.

I mention the fact that we have made strides in voter registration, I mention the figure two million—that sounds pretty good. I guess. Let us look at the other side before we become too optimistic. More than ten million Negroes still live in the South. Out of this number some six million—better than six million are of voting age. That means about four million Negroes of voting age in the South are not registered. It isn’t the cause of apathy, it isn’t the cause of complacency only, I’m convinced that the vast majority of these negro citizens of the South are not registered because all types of conniving methods are still being used to keep negroes from becoming registered voters. Complex literacy tests are still being given with questions that a Ph.D. in his field could not answer or a person with a law degree from any great law University of our country could answer...to the even more difficult question of How many bubbles do you find in a bar of soup? They tell me occasionally in Mississippi, they ask question like this.

Then there are other methods, bordering on violence and sometimes moving to the realm of outright violence. So often Negroes, too sick to register are threatened with violence and often they are the victims of actual violence. They are faced with economic reprisals. And in my organization, The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, working in Selma, Alabama and all over the State of Alabama in the next three months, we will go all out to get the laws in Alabama, so that negroes can register to vote without facing the obstacles that they have faced in so many counties in that State. And I think about the fact that on Monday we had more than 800 Negroes who had never been able to register before in their lives walk down to the courthouse. The sheriff of Dallas County herded them into an alley as if they were beasts and not a single one the whole day long was able to register. Yesterday the same thing happened, they were greeted by the sheriff of arrest, simple because they said we want to go into the courthouse to register, This afternoon more than 175 were arrested simply because they walked down to that same courthouse trying to register, trying to vote as citizens—and this tells us what we have a long, long way to go. At the rate that Dallas County registers negroes now, it will take exactly 132 years for half of the negroes eligible to vote to get registered in that County and this is true in so many of the counties in Alabama and Mississippi. And so in spite of the progress that has been made, if democracy is to be a reality, we have much work to do in that area,

I mention economic justice and there again I mention the big figure, twenty-seven billion dollars, twenty-eight billion dollars and someone unsure is tempted to say that this in a real sense means that economic justice is a reality for the negro and other minority groups. Before becoming too optimistic about that, let me give you some more figures....42% of the negro families of our Country still earn less
than $2000 a year, while 16% of white families earn less than $2000 a year. 21% of the negro families of our Country earn less than $1000 a year, while just 5% of the white families earn less than 10000 a year. 88% of the Negro families of America earn less than $5000 a year while 58% of the white families earn less than $500 a year and so as our consolation we must be able to bridge this tragic growth.

The problem is becoming even more serious today. Because of discrimination in educational opportunities, because of the denial of apprenticeship training in so many instances, the Negro has been confined in skilled and unskilled labor, because of automation there are jobs that are passing away now. Automation must be a great blessing for our society, but it is temporally a curse for the Negro.

If this problem is to be dealt with, there must be massive training. All people of good will must support massive public works programs and programs that grapple with this problem-and that is economic island of poverty in the mist of aplomb or in the vast mist of material prosperity, they will wind up in so many instances frustrated, bewildered and disillusioned. There is nothing more tragic than to build a society with a segment in that society-still that have nothing to lose and so often the myths begin to mount concerning arguments against integration. There are those who say, if you integrate the schools, you integrate other areas of life, you will pull the white race back a generation. And they go on to say that the Negro is a criminal and he has the biggest crime rate in any community. The arguments go on ad infinitum. Individuals who set forth these arguments never go on to say, that if there are lagging standards in the Negro community (and there certainly are), they lag because of segregation and discrimination. Economic and social isolation, poverty, ignorance, grief, crime, whatever the racial group may be-and it is prosperous logic to use the tragic results of segregation as an argument for the continuation of it.

It is necessary to go back and deal with the cause of Saul and I think we are challenged more than never before to grapple with the economic problem, the economic injustices which are still alive in our nation.

I mentioned a few minutes ago, that we've been able to live in this gradual demise of legal segregation. There again, I would not want to mislead you. We must face the facts that segregation is still with us. It may be true as I implied figuratively speaking, that old man segregation is on his deathbed, but history has proven that social systems have a great last minute breathing power and the guardians of the status quo are always son had with their oxygen tents to keep the old order in line.

So Segregation is still with us today. It is with us, in points in a more difficult sense, a more subtle dimension. The job ahead will not be a job of just integrating a lunch counter; I will be the job of dealing with the hard core elementary segregation expressed in joblessness, the house in problem, de facto segregation in the public schools (which happens to grow out of discriminatory housing conditions). These are the great and massive problems that we will confront in the days ahead and so we still have some dimensions for the Negro segregation in the South We still have elements of De facto segregation all over the North.
As I stand before you tonight, I would like to say that I am convinced, that if democracy is to live, segregation must die. Segregation is the cancer in the body politics. I must be removed before our moral health can be realized. We must set out to solve this problem not merely to meet the communist challenges as important as that happens to be, not merely to appeal to Asian and African peoples as important as that happens to be. We must uproot segregation and discrimination from American Society because they are morally wrong. Segregation is morally wrong and sinfully wrong. To use the words of the great Jewish philosopher Martin Buber, “Because of substitution, I-it relationships for the I-thou relationship” or to use the thinking of St. Thomas Aquinas-segregation is wrong because it is bases on human laws that are out of harmony with the eternal, moral and natural laws of the Universe. Somewhere the great theologian Paul Tillich said that sin is separation…and what is segregation but an existentialist expression of man’s tragic estrangement. It is also selfishness, its terrible sinfulness, and all over this nation we must come to see that segregation is not only politically unsound, it is not only sociologically unsound but it is morally wrong and sinful. And we must get rid of it not only because it will be diplomatically expedient to get rid of it but because it is morally compelling…and this is the job ahead with all people of good will.

Now let me suggest, if we are to solve this problem, to go this additional distance in the days ahead, it will be necessary to develop massive action programs in order to remove the last vestiges of segregation and discrimination from our society. The problem will not work itself out; it will take action, meaningful creative, determined action. Now in order to develop action programs, we’ve got to get rid of one or two false notions that are discriminated myths that are circulated all over our nations. One is the myth of time. I ’m sure you have heard this. there are those individuals who argue that time can solve the problem that we face in civil rights…and so they say to the Negro and his allies in the White communities, be nice and patient and continue to pray in in 100 or 200 years the problem will work itself out because only time can solve the problem. I think there is an answer to that myth. That is: that time is lucid. It can be used either constructively or destructively-and I have to say to you tonight, I feel that after noticing so manly developments in the last decade, that the people of ill-will have used time much more effectively than the people of good will. The extreme right which the individuals committed the negative in, have used time much more effectively than the people committed the positive in. It may well be that we will have to repent in this generation, not merely for the vitriolic and the violent actions of the bad people who will bomb a church in Birmingham, Alabama but for the appalling silence and indifference of the good people who sit around and say wait on time. Somewhere we must come to see that human progress never rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. Some feel tireless efforts and the persistent work of dedicated individuals who are willing to be coworkers with God, without this hard work, time itself becomes an airline of the primitive forces of social stagnation and so we must help time and realize that time is always right to do right.

Now there is another myth that is circulated a great deal. We heard it during the recent election of this year. And that is the notion that legislation can’t solve the problem in civil rights and human relations. You must change the heart of these individuals which say you can’t change the heart to legislation. Now I guess the people who utter this idea are at least uttering a half-truth. I would at least agree with them that if we are to solve the problem ultimately, every person of good will must search his soul and look
down deep within to see that prejudices are removed, if we are to have a great and just society. Every white person in the United States of America must grant civil rights to the Negro, not merely because the law says it but because it is natural and right and because the Negro is his brother. If we are to solve the problem ultimately, men must not merely obedient to that which can be enforced by law. They must rise to the majestic heights of being obedient to the unenforceable.

I’m willing to admit all of this, then after saying this I must go on and give the other side which tells me that this is a basic myth. It may be true that morality cannot be legislative but behavior can be regulated. It may be true that you cannot legislate integration but you can legislate segregation. It may be true that the law cannot change the heart but it can restrain the heartless. It may be true that the law cannot make a man love me but it can restrain him from lynching me, and I think that is pretty important also. And so while the law may not change the heart, it does change the habits of men. When you change the habits of men, pretty soon the hearts and the attitudes will be changed. And so it is necessary constantly to develop a meaningful civil rights legislation. The present times every State in our Union should have legislation grappling with the problem of housing discrimination. There should be legislation grappling with the problem of de facto segregation in schools, so that we can move on. The quality of integrated education, all of these areas are important in every community, because the problems are alive in almost every community. And these are the issues we must grapple with in legislation and play a great role in grappling with these problems and there is a need for additional Federal legislation to deal with the problems I mentioned earlier….mainly the denial of the right to vote in so many places in the South.

The day must come when Federal registrars will be sent into every county of the South, where there has been absolutely too few to register individuals. And some set-up must be brought into being where individuals can go right through the Post office and register; if they are not registered by the local registrars, they are constantly finding obstacles in their path and so something must be done to remove these barriers because be removing these barriers we will be able to liberalize the political carnate of the South. We will be able to bring into being a new South. We will be able to send the sacred halls of Congress, men who will not find a Southern manifest but men who will love mercy, and do justly and walk humbly with their God. This must come into being and this day must come if we are to build a greater nations.

Now along with getting rid of these two myths, an in order to develop an action program, we must continue to engage in direct action in order to expose the devils that dramatize the injustices of our various communities. And this program of direct action must be with a philosophy. And that philosophy is a philosophy of non-violent resistance...and I’d like to say just a work about his method of this philosophy since it has played such and important role in our struggle of the last few years. First let me way that I will believe that non-violence is the most potent weapon available to impress people in their struggle for freedom and human-dignity. It has a way of becalming the opponent. It exposes his moral defenses. It weakens his morale and at the same time it works on his conscience. And he just doesn’t know how to handle it. If he doesn’t beat you, wonderful, if he beats you, you develop the quiet courage of accepting blows without retaliation. If he doesn’t put you in jail wonderful—nobody innocent loves to go to jail, but if he puts you in jail, you go in that jail and transform it from a dungeon of shame to a
haven of freedom and human dignity. Even if he tried to kill you, you develop the inner conviction that there are some things so dear, some things so precious, some things so eternally true that they are worth dying for. If a man has not discovered something that he would die for, he is not fit to live. The non-violent discipline says this, that it is possible to stand up against an evil system, even risking life itself, in order to around the confidence of the community not engaged in violence and hatred in the cause of it. It gives the individual ways to bring into being moral ends to a moral means.

One of the great debates of history has been on the whole question of ends and means. There have been those who argue that the end justifies the means. Non-violent discipline says in substance that in the long run of History, destructive means cannot bring about constructive ends, because the end is pre-existent in the means, The means represent an ideal in the making and the end in progress. And it is a wonderful thing to have a method of struggle where you recognize that means and ends must cohere. The means that you use must be as pure as the end that you see, And this is what I think we have in following the way of non-violence, in order to reach the noble end of a just and integrated society. The other things, that the non-violent discipline at its best, places the love that we have for sinners and I think this is the most difficult aspect of non-violence to understand. People ask me over and over again-what do you man when you say love those who are oppressing you, that is impossible? Well I must always say that I’m not talking about emotional talk, I’m not talking about sentimentals or an affectionate emotion. It would be nonsense to urge oppressed people to love their violent oppressor in an affectionate sense. I think the Greek language comes to our mind when we try to see the meaning of love.

There are three works in Greek for love. One is the work Eros, Eros is sort of aesthetic love. Plato takes about it a great deal in his Dialogues-“The Yearning of the soul for the realm of the Divine.” He sums up sort of romantic love and so in this sense we have experience Eros-read about it in all the beauties of literature, I a sense Edgar Allan Poe talked about Eros, when he talks about his beautiful Annabelle Lee with the love surrounded by the halo of eternity. In a sense Shakespeare was talking about Eros when he said...”which alters love, is not love when it alteration finds, binds with the mover to remove, it is an ever fixed mark that looks on tempest and is never shaken.” “It is the star to every wandering bard.” This is Eros. And in the Greek language comes the work agape. And agape is much more than aesthetic love or romantic love. Agape is much more than friendship. Agape is understanding, creating good will for all men. It is an overflowing love which seeks nothing in return. Theologians would say, this is the love of god operating in the human heart and when one rises to love on this level, he loves everyone because God loves them. And he rises to the position of loving the person who does the evil deed while hating the deed that the person does. I believe it was what Jesus meant when he said, “love your enemies.” I’m Happy that He didn’t say like your enemies. It is pretty difficult to like some people and I Must confess that it is difficult to like some people and I must confess that it is difficult to like some things that Senator Stennis, Sen. Eastland, Sen. Thurmond and many of them are doing to us down there in Washington. I find it pretty difficult to like that, but Jesus said love them and love is greater than like. Love is understanding, creative good will for all men. It is a demanding love, a love that demands justice; it is a love which is based on the knowledge of the fact that you are your bothers keeper. And I believe it is a kind of love that will take us through the spirit of transition, to bring us to the day off understanding
and so in our most difficult moments, it hasn’t’ been easy. We’ve been able to stand the far most
violent opponents and say in substance, we will not feel capacity to inflict suffering by our capacity to
endure. We will meet real physical force with soul force. Do to us what you will and we will still love
you. We cannot in all good conscience obey your unjust laws because non-cooperation with evil is as
much moral obligation as is cooperation with good. So throw us in jail and we will still love you. Send
your hooded perpetrators of violence into our communities at midnight hour and drag us out on some
wayside road and beat us and leave us half dead and we will still love you. But be you assured, that we
will win our freedom. We will not only win freedom for ourselves, we will so appeal to your heart and
your conscience that we will win you in the process and our victory will be a double victory. I believe
this is the way. I believe this is the way to solve this difficult problem. By following this way those of us
that have been on the oppressed end of the old order will be able to go into the new order with the
right attitude, not the attitude of paying back or retaliation, with the determination to forgive, not with
the attitude of rising from the position of disadvantage to one of advantage, thereby subverting
justice...not with the idea of substituting one tyranny for another. We will know that adoption of the
black supremacy is as dangerous as adoption of white supremacy. And men brown men and yellow men.
God is interested in the freedom of the whole human race and the creation of a society where all men
will live together as brothers and everyman will respect the dignity and worth of human personality.
This is the society that we seek. The great challenge is to work passionately and unrelentlessly for this
society to go ahead and achieve wand to make the American dream a reality.

This problem will not be solved until enough people develop a sort of a divine discontent. Thus many
words, technical words, which in every academic discipline would soon become stereotyped clichés.
Every academic discipline has a technical nomenclature. Modern psychology has a word which is
probably used more than any other word in psychology it is the work maladjusted. And certainly we all
want to live a well-adjusted life in order to avoid neurotic and schizophrenic personalities. I must say to
you as I move to my conclusion that there are some things in our world, that ere are something alive in
our nation, which I’m proud to be adjusted....which I call upon men of good will everywhere to be
maladjusted. I must honestly confess that I never intend to become adjusted to religious bigotry; I never
intend to adjust myself to economic conditions that will take necessities from the many and give luxury
to the few. I must honestly say to you that I will never adjust myself to the madness of militarism and
the self-defeating effect of physical violence. And in the day when sputniks and explorers throughout
outer space and guided ballistic missiles are causing highways of death of the stratosphere-No nation
can win a war. It is not longer a choice between violence and non-violence. It is either non-violence or
non-existence. The alternative to disarmament, the alternative to a greater suspension of nuclear tests,
the alternative to United Nations and thereby disarming the whole world may well be that civilization
comes to an abyss of annihilation. It may well be that we need a new organization in our world...The
International Association for the Advancement of Creative Maladjustment, men and women who will be
maladjusted, men and women who will be as maladjusted as the prophet Amos, who could stand amid
the injustices of his day and cry out in works across the centuries....Let justice roll down like water and
righteousness like almighty stream. As maladjusted as Abraham Lincoln, who had the vision to see that
this nation could not survive half slave and half fee, as maladjusted as Thomas Jefferson who in the
midst of an age, amazingly adjusted to slavery... we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are
created equal, That they are endowed by their Creator by certain inalienable rights, among these, life liberty and the pursuit of happiness...as maladjusted as Our lord and Master, who could say to the men and women around the hills of Galilee. “He who lives by the sword will perish by the sword’ and again “Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that use you. With such maladjustment, we will be able to emerge for the bleak and desolate midnight....of man’s inhumanity to man and to the valiant glittering daybreak of freedom and justice. May I say I still believe that we can and we will solve this problem we have the resources to solve it and I believe we’re developing the will to solve it in the nation. We are developing a kind of coalition of confidence which I believe ultimately will bring about solution.

There will be difficult days ahead till the victory is won. Some will have to suffer a little more. We have a song in our movement. And I can still sing it night after night in the midst of the stress of the day in agonizing moments because I believe we shall overcome. We shall overcome deep in our hearts; I do believe we shall overcome. Until this is done some of us will have to go to jail some more but we shall overcome. Before the victory is won some will have to stirred up a little more, but we shall overcome, till the victory is won, maybe somebody else will have to face physical death, but if physical death is the price some must pay to free black children and their white brothers from an eternal desolate spirit, then nothing can be more redemptive. Till the victory is won, some may lose a job here and there, but we shall overcome, we shall overcome because the arc of the moral universe is long.

We shall overcome because Carlisle is right.... No life can live forever, we shall overcome because Wm. Cullen Bryant is right...his is to rise again. We shall overcome because there is something in the very structure of the cosmos that justifies James Russell Lowell in saying ...”Truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne, yet that scaffold sways the future an behind the unknown stands God within the shadows, keeping watch over his own.

At this stage we will be able to adjourn the councils of despair and bring into being a new a great day. Till this day we will be able to somehow transform the dangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. We will be able to speed up the day when all of God’s children, all over this Nation, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants will be able to join hands and sing in the works of the Old Negro spiritual....free at Last, Free at Last, thank God Almighty, Free at Last.

Retyped by Noreen Cameron, not thoroughly proofed as of 1/16 2015 at 8:00pm on a Friday night and because I am very hungry and want to go home.