

**Martin Luther King in Newcastle: The African American
Freedom Struggle and Race Relations in the North East of
England**

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Research in Progress

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Chapter One

“Happy and Honored to Accept”: Bringing King to Newcastle

On March 8, 1967, the University of Newcastle upon Tyne issued a rather low-key press release announcing several forthcoming events. Alongside news of a symposium on “Liquid – Liquid Extraction” organized by the Department of Chemical Engineering and word that Mr. Brian Hackett, Reader in Landscape Architecture, had agreed to deliver a centennial lecture at the University of Illinois, was the simple announcement that “An Honorary Degree will be conferred on the following at a special Congregation to be held in November in the King’s Hall of the University: D.C.L. Martin Luther King, Jr.”¹

Martin Luther King, Jr., since the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955-1956, the pre-eminent leader of the campaign for African American civil and voting rights and a globally recognized champion of freedom and justice, had accepted the University’s invitation to come to Newcastle to receive an Honorary Doctorate in Civil Law. It was a major coup for the University, which became the first and only institution in the United Kingdom to honour King in this way. Securing King’s agreement to come to Newcastle had not, however, been an entirely trouble-free process – and there would be a few more heart-stopping moments before the civil rights leader, accompanied by Rev. Andrew Young, his friend and lieutenant in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), arrived safely in Newcastle on November 13, 1967 for a brief but historic visit.²

King was first proposed for an honorary degree on November 3, 1966, at a meeting of the University’s Honorary Degrees Committee.³ According to

a pencilled comment in the margins of the agenda for that meeting, it was Lord [William] Wynne-Jones, then professor of chemistry and pro-vice chancellor at the University, who originally suggested his name. Wynne-Jones's personal motivations in nominating King are unclear, but the local Labour party activist, who had been made a life peer in 1964, certainly had a keen interest in matters American. In 1967, for example, Wynne-Jones, Maurice Goldsmith of the London-based Science of Science Foundation, and former Newcastle City Council leader and Chair of the North East Economic Planning Council T. Dan Smith visited the United States to examine the "Research Triangle" created in North Carolina by Governor Luther Hodges, hoping to emulate it in the North East through a Regional Science Committee.⁴ At the next meeting of the Honorary Degrees committee, on November 28, 1966 it was confirmed that King would be invited to accept an honorary DCL at a congregation scheduled for May 17, 1967.⁵

Beyond Wynne-Jones's personal involvement, several other factors help to explain why the University chose to honour King at this time and in this way. Indeed, Wynne-Jones may simply have put his name forward because protocol required that somebody had to be named as *the* nominee; the invitation to King was probably a genuinely collective decision, with the University's first Vice-Chancellor, Charles Bosanquet, at the helm. Some context here is useful. The University of Newcastle upon Tyne had only become an independent institution in 1963, when Armstrong College and the former King's College of Durham University merged and a new University charter was granted. This put Newcastle in the curious position of being technically a "new" university, while still being widely thought of as an

“old” university thanks to its links to Durham, founded in 1832, and after Oxford and Cambridge the third oldest of all English universities.

Vice-Chancellor Bosanquet was certainly eager to demonstrate that Newcastle was a dynamic modern civic University, actively engaged in the major social issues of the day. Writing to senior University officials in late 1965, Bosanquet outlined his plan to use honorary degrees to raise the institution’s profile by aligning itself with individuals who had made outstanding contributions to the economic, political, social and cultural life of the city, region, or broader national and international communities. Honorary degrees, Bosanquet explained, would help the University to publicize its mission and values to the general public: “...The objectives [of honorary degrees] would be two; the first is to give to the influential people of this region a better understanding of what this University does, in addition to the teaching of students; the second would be to give to the interested public at large a correct impression of the freshness and vigour of this University.”⁶

This last point was very important in the 1960s when British universities, particularly some of the newer institutions, were often hot-beds of progressive ideas and social activism. This was not really the case at Newcastle, where the student body, dominated by the products of grammar and public schools, was rather conservative. While there were conspicuous exceptions, Newcastle students tended to eschew political protest. C.B. “Nick” Nicholson, president of the Students’ Representative Council in 1967, told Francis Glover that “Newcastle was not an especially radical campus, especially compared to LSE [London School of Economics].”⁷ Historian Sylvia

Ellis came to a similar conclusion in her study of British student activism against the Vietnam War. Newcastle students were usually a half-step behind their peers around the country in mobilizing around the great social causes of the day.⁸

Counter-intuitively, in an era when most University administrations were desperate to keep a lid on escalating student protests against a wide range of societal and campus ills, Bosanquet may have been trying to stimulate a greater sense of political engagement and social activism among Newcastle students that would match his vision for the newly independent institution. As Nick Nicholson recalled, Bosanquet was quite open and “happy to attend forums” to address student problems and broader issues of concern.⁹

In sum, awarding honorary degrees to major public figures such as King allowed Newcastle to establish a distinctive sense of identity, demonstrate a commitment to progressive social ideas and, always a concern for University administrations, compete with other institutions for students, funds, and publicity. As Bosanquet put it, “In the last three years so much publicity has been obtained by new universities (such as Sussex) that the public are in danger of thinking that we, and the other, older Universities are ‘stuck in the mud’ and that we have less to offer that is relevant to the needs of the second half of the twentieth century.”¹⁰ From the University’s perspective, a visit from a renowned international figure such as King would simultaneously raise its public profile and reflect its desire to fulfil what Bosanquet called its “corporate responsibility” to demonstrate its relevance beyond the walls of the academy.¹¹ Bosanquet’s personal sense of

urgency on this matter may have been heightened by the fact that he was closing in on retirement, eventually standing down on September 30, 1968.¹²

Another figure who probably exerted a crucial influence behind the scenes was Bosanquet's wife, Barbara, an American from a family of Christian philanthropists. According to the Bosanquet's daughter Kathleen Potter, her mother's family had helped to raise funds for the Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes, two of the oldest Historically Black Colleges in the United States. It is not too much of a stretch to surmise that, even if the idea to honour King did not emanate from Barbara Bosanquet, she was fully supportive of it. Potter believed that her mother and father shared "a keen interest in social justice and the civil rights movement."¹³

Whatever the precise circumstances of the nomination, the University Senate unanimously accepted the Honorary Degrees Committee's recommendation to award King a DCL. On December 14 1966, the University Registrar, E.M. [Ernest] Bettenson wrote to inform King of the honour and invite him to attend the University's May congregation.¹⁴ This, however, is where plans began to unravel.

Bettenson addressed his initial letter to King at 454, Dexter Avenue, Montgomery, Alabama. This was the site of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church where King had arrived, still working to complete his Doctorate in Theology from Boston University, in 1953. But King had left Montgomery in January 1960 to join his father as co-pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in his hometown of Atlanta. It was the first sign that, while the University's leadership was undoubtedly sincere in its desire to recognize King's

accomplishments, it sometimes struggled with the details and logistics. Fortunately, Bettenson's mis-addressed letter was forwarded to the Atlanta headquarters of King's SCLC; unfortunately, it arrived in mid-December 1966, while King was in the Caribbean working on his book *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?*. Dora McDonald, King's secretary at the SCLC and destined to become the main link between King and the University, wrote back to acknowledge receipt of the invitation and promising to show it to King on his return to Atlanta.¹⁵

There followed a long and, at the Newcastle end, nervous silence that was finally broken on January 7, 1967 when Bettenson wrote to Dora McDonald once more requesting "an early reply about whether Dr. King will be able to accept the degree." Suspecting that King himself might still be unaware of the University's invitation, Bettenson asked McDonald, "is it at all possible for you to forward my letter or in some other way communicate with him?"¹⁶ More silence. On January 17, as the University's deadline for announcing its honorary degree recipients for May approached, an increasingly anxious Bettenson splurged £2.19.6 on a telegram to McDonald in Atlanta: "Grateful reply possibility Dr. King able to accept honorary degree. University being pressed to make announcement."¹⁷ Still more silence.

Bizarrely, despite the fact that Bettenson was now in direct contact with McDonald at King's organizational base in Atlanta, he continued to send a succession of missives to King at the Montgomery address the civil rights leader had not occupied for seven years – and then wondered why King seemed slow to respond. On February 23, for example, the Registrar

wrote again to King in Montgomery and asked innocently, “We wonder whether there has been some failure of communication so that either you have not received my letters or we have not received yours since the letter which Miss McDonald wrote on the 23rd December. We have to announce that honorary degrees are going to be conferred on the others invited for the 17th May. This announcement makes no difference to our hope that you might be able to come on 17th May or some other day in 1967.”¹⁸

By coincidence, on the same day that Bettenson sent this letter to King at the wrong address, King had personally cabled the Registrar to inform him that he “Would be happy and honored to accept honorary degree in November when I will be in England. Regret that it is not possible to be there in May. Please advise if November is satisfactory for special convocation.”¹⁹ This was the first personal communication from King and Bettenson was both delighted and relieved. Although King’s inability to travel to Newcastle in May meant that the University would have to organize a special ceremony, Bettenson immediately wrote back to King, that it was “a real pleasure to know that we can see you in November.” He asked for further details of how long King would be able to stay in Newcastle and expressed the University’s hope “that you will be accompanied by Mrs. King.”²⁰ He then proceeded to send this critical confirmation letter to the redundant address in Montgomery.

By this time, the occupants of 454, Dexter Avenue in Montgomery were apparently getting rather fed up with the steady stream of letters from Newcastle. Bettenson’s confirmation was sent back across the Atlantic via the local US Mail office with the words “Moved not forwardable” scrawled on

the envelope. One can only guess at the extent of Bettenson's panic when, on March 23, he found his own unopened letter to King among his post. He was, he admitted, "horrified to receive it back."²¹ His anxiety was exacerbated by the fact that the University had already issued its March 8 Press Release publicly announcing King's visit. Closer scrutiny of that Release reveals Bettenson was not the only one at the University struggling with the details of King's whereabouts and affiliations. In the Release, King is gnominically described as a "pastor, Baptist Church, Alabama, U.S.A. since 1954," which not only missed the fact that King had been at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta since 1960 but also implied that there was only one Baptist Church in the whole of Alabama—and that Alabama was a city or town, rather than a state. In what was clearly a bad day in the press office, the Release also mis-named the SCLC, substituting Council for Conference.²²

Ever dutiful, Bettenson hurriedly wrote to King again, incorporating a copy of his original boomeranging letter in the new text. "Misfortune seems to dog our correspondence," he commented ruefully. But at least he had discovered the magic formula, adding at the end of his latest missive, "I am sending this letter to the Atlanta address with sincere regrets for any inconvenience which the delay has caused."²³

Thereafter, preparations went relatively smoothly for a while. On September 2, Dora McDonald telegraphed to confirm that "Dr. King finds it possible to be with you Monday November 13 1967 to receive honorary degree. Please let us know if this date is satisfactory." Bettenson, taking no chances, replied by both telegram and letter, expressing the University's

delight that King was coming and once again requesting details of King's other engagements and preferences regarding the timing of the degree ceremony.²⁴ At this point, the plan was for King to arrive in Newcastle from London by train on either Saturday, November 11 or Sunday, November 12. Bosanquet wrote personally to King, advising him against trying to fly north in November "as there is more risk of fog." On behalf of himself and his wife, the Vice-Chancellor offered their home at 15, Adderstone Crescent, near the picturesque Jesmond Dene, as a place to stay while King was in Newcastle. He also repeated his hopes that Mrs. King would be able to accompany him on the trip and told King that he hoped to be able to host "a dinner party in your honour on the evening of Monday, November 13," after the degree ceremony. The following day, the schedule was for King to leave Newcastle, either heading back to London or taking a trip up to Edinburgh in Scotland.²⁵

King had long been interested in Edinburgh. The prospect of a visit may even have been a factor in his decision to accept Newcastle's invitation. In November 1950, while still a student at Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, King wrote to Professor Hugh Watt at Edinburgh University, expressing a desire to study for a PhD there. King requested "an application form, a catalogue of the Divinity School, and any information that would be valuable to me at this point." Six weeks later, King was accepted by Edinburgh University, but chose instead to go to Boston University for his doctoral studies.²⁶

15 years later, in May 1965, shortly after the campaign for Voting Rights in Selma, Alabama, where the terrible official and unofficial violence

that greeted peaceful protestors made headlines around the globe, King had received a letter from a precocious Edinburgh University postgraduate, Lord James Douglas-Hamilton. The President of Debates at the University and subsequently a Tory Member of Parliament and Baron Selkirk of Douglas, Douglas-Hamilton invited King to the University to participate in a debate on the motion “That legislation cannot bring about integration.” King was to be pitted against someone Douglas-Hamilton intriguingly described as “a prominent and effective British reactionary.” Douglas-Hamilton made a strong pitch. He noted that Edinburgh was “a cosmopolitan city” and that the University could boast “many international students” – neither of which Newcastle or its University could confidently claim in the 1960s. Moreover, Douglas-Hamilton explained to King that while President of the Oxford Union as an undergraduate he had helped to organize the series of televised debates, several on apartheid and race relations, that included the black nationalist Malcolm X and the esteemed African American author and activist James Baldwin among its participants. King received hundreds of similar invitations from around the globe and turned most of them down, as he did the invitation from Douglas-Hamilton.²⁷ Of course, this begs the question of why King would accept the invitation to come to Newcastle, when he rejected so many other similar and potentially even more attractive propositions – a question to which we will return in Chapter Three. As we shall also see, when he did arrive in Newcastle in November 1967, the motion that Douglas-Hamilton had wanted him to debate, about the role of the law in helping to create a harmonious and integrated society, had

become even more urgent thanks to developments in British race relations. It was a theme King would discuss extensively during his visit.

Arrangements for King's Newcastle trip continued to go relatively smoothly in the early Autumn of 1967. Suddenly, however, plans were thrown into chaos once more when on October 30 King was jailed in Bessemer, Alabama, convicted on a contempt of court charge that dated back to the Birmingham civil rights campaign of 1963. On Good Friday, April 19, 1963, King had defied a temporary court injunction that prohibited civil rights demonstrations in Birmingham. He spent Easter weekend in the city jail, where he composed his celebrated "Letter from Birmingham City Jail," perhaps the most powerful expression of his commitment to nonviolent direct action protest tactics and a philosophical defence of his willingness to disobey what he deemed to be unjust and immoral racist laws. When he stood trial, King and ten of his co-defendants were found guilty of criminal contempt, sentenced to five days imprisonment and fined \$50, although the sentences were to be held in abeyance while appeals were heard. It was not until October 9, 1967, when the Supreme Court issued a final order denying King and his co-defendants a rehearing on their convictions, that King had finally exhausted all legal options. On October 30, King, accompanied by fellow SCLC leaders Wyatt Walker and Ralph Abernathy, went to jail in Bessemer.²⁸

King had been jailed many times during his civil rights activities. Never before, however, had news of his incarceration generated such an instantaneous expression of concern at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne. On November 1, a telegram was sent in the Vice-Chancellor's name –

mercifully to the SCLC's Atlanta offices – asking for confirmation that King would still be able to make the trip: “Regretfully understand Dr. King now imprisoned and plans possibly upset. Essential we know whether he will be in Newcastle November 13th. Grateful reply soonest.”²⁹ Later that day, Dora McDonald responded reassuringly that “Dr. King will arrive Newcastle by train morning of November 13th as planned. Departing same afternoon at 4pm. Regret inability to spend more time at university.” The message was that King would still come, but for a severely truncated visit.³⁰

Despite Miss McDonald's assurances and press reports that the prison sentence would only last for five days, there was still understandable concern that King might not be able to make the trip. On November 3, Bettenson wrote to the secretary of the Lord Mayor of Newcastle, outlining the arrangements for the special congregation to which members of the City Council had been invited, but confiding, “Quite unofficially, everything is a little extraordinary because I cannot avoid a slight doubt in my mind as to whether the honorary graduand will actually turn up!”³¹ Bettenson expressed similar caution in a letter the following day to the Duke of Northumberland, Chancellor of the University, who had agreed to preside over the degree ceremony. “Personally,” Bettenson admitted, “I am still keeping my fingers crossed and am promising all concerned that I will let them know if we have a last minute cancellation.” From his ancestral home in Alnwick Castle, the Duke replied that he would “attend the Lunch as well as the Congregation on Monday 13th – that is assuming that Dr. King has been released from gaol!”³²

Persistent doubts as to whether King would make the trip did not prevent the University continuing with essential preparations. Two first-class reservations were made for a 1 a.m. train out of London's King's Cross Station on the morning of Monday, November 13. King and Andrew Young, who Dora McDonald had explained would accompany King, were to spend Sunday afternoon and evening at the Hilton Hotel in London, before catching the overnight "Tynesider" to Newcastle. The two men were also booked onto the 16:08 return train from Newcastle to London. Vice-Chancellor Bosanquet, who played an increasingly active role in arrangements as the date of the visit approached, authorized the University Cashier to provide £21.12.0 in cash so that the tickets could be bought in advance and mailed to the Hilton for King and Young to collect.³³

Elsewhere within the University, an unlikely hero emerged in the person of George R. Howe, the Chief Clerk. In late September, before King's imprisonment, Howe had diligently ensured that all the necessary rooms were booked: the King's Hall in the Armstrong Building, where the ceremony would take place; the Gallery in the Percy Building, where a reception would be held; the refectory, where lunch was scheduled.³⁴ Howe joined Bettenson who, notwithstanding nagging doubts about whether King would show up, had a huge personal investment in making the event a success, to sort out the nitty-gritty details of what would actually happen on campus. Close examination of those arrangements reveals much about the social and political dynamics of the University and the broader Tyneside community in the late 1960s.

On November 3, Bettenson had un-crossed his fingers sufficiently to write to the entire staff of the University, plus external members of the University Court, Council and Senate inviting them to attend a “Special Honorary Degree Congregation,” for Martin Luther King, Jr. scheduled for 2.30pm on November 13. Those wishing to attend the ceremony were asked to return a form, indicating if they also wished to walk in the academic procession before the ceremony, “not later than first post on Saturday, 11th November 1967.” Bettenson was not sure how many people would be interested, but he reassured staff that “If there are clear signs that the King’s Hall will not hold all who wish to come it may be possible, given early warning, to arrange for the Ceremony to be relayed by closed circuit television to a lecture room.” He added that, “It is not proposed to issue tickets though seats will be reserved for a limited number of University guests.”³⁵

The same day, Bettenson sent a separate letter to members of the University Senate inviting them and their wives to a reception in the Gallery of the Percy Building at 12.15pm. The Senators were asked to complete a form that was in some ways a classic of bureaucratic redundancy. For some reason, there were separate questions for “(a) I hope to attend” and “(b) I shall not attend.” Even more striking was the fact that the Senate was obviously exclusively male. The reply form invited Senators to indicate “(c) I shall be accompanied by my wife” or “(d) I shall not be accompanied by my wife.” The implication was not only that this was an all-male preserve, but that everyone on the Senate in 1967 was heterosexual—at least publicly just a few months after homosexual acts between consenting adults had been

decriminalized—with a wife available to bring or not bring. The University may have taken a bold step to align itself with the cause of racial equality by honouring King, but like most universities of the day it was still a long way off the pace when it came to matters of gender equality and sexual orientation.³⁶

Vice-Chancellor Bosanquet took personal responsibility for contacting student leaders. He asked Nick Nicholson, President of the Students' Representative Council and Paul Brooks, President of the Union Society, to gather “some of our students,” for “an informal meeting over coffee” with King at 11 a.m. The young men were urged to try to include “students from overseas,” by which he doubtless meant students of colour.³⁷ As things transpired, Paul Barry, the mixed-race photographic editor on *The Courier* student newspaper, may have been the only person of colour in attendance.³⁸ Eventually, about 30 students were present for an unforgettable audience with King in Committee Room A of the Union Building.³⁹ Nicholson was also asked if he would carry the ceremonial mace and lead the academic procession into the King's Hall, which he gladly agreed to do, having first checked with Bettenson about the dress code. “Dark lounge suit and gown, and in your case, hood,” was the correct attire, the Registrar told him.⁴⁰

Once the necessary invitations had been sent, George Howe moved impressively into top gear. He wrote to Mr. Rickerby of Messrs Gray and Sons in Durham to order academic dress for King, asking Rickerby to come to the ceremony early at 2pm “to assist in robing various Members of the Academic Procession.”⁴¹ He wrote to his colleague Miss Sanderson in the

Bursar's Office to make sure room 214, upstairs in the Armstrong Building, was set aside for robing purposes. And he began to make provisional plans in case the King's Hall could not accommodate all those who wished to attend the event. "In the event of closed circuit television being used to relay the Ceremony will you please advise which lecture theatres are suitable and available for this purpose," he asked Miss Sanderson.⁴²

In all universities, the pomp and circumstance surrounding degree ceremonies have their own strict set of rules. At Newcastle, one of the rules was that the University Bedel led the academic procession and carried the ceremonial mace, apparently receiving an honorarium for discharging these duties. Howe's diplomatic skills were tested by the Vice-Chancellor's decision to invite Nick Nicholson to have that honour. Again, Bosanquet's motivations are not entirely clear. However, given the personal efforts he made to set up a meeting between King and student representatives, it reflected his belief that exposure to King and what he stood for would be of special interest and benefit to Newcastle students. Happy though he was to reap the publicity that King's visit guaranteed, Bosanquet wanted to use King's visit to inspire and empower a younger generation. In any event, on November 6, George Howe delivered the bad news to the Bedel, Mr. J. Stapylton, that he would not be leading the procession. Howe sweetened the pill by reassuring Stapylton, "I hasten to add that this is without prejudice to your fee." Stapylton was asked to ensure that the mace and the supports upon which it rested during the ceremony were ready and instructed to make appropriate signage available around the campus and especially in the

Armstrong Building: “Academic Procession; Silence Ceremony in Progress; Arrows; No Smoking, etc.”⁴³

As the big day approached, Howe was fastidious in his attention to detail. He wrote to T. Spence, a calligrapher in Whitley Bay, apologizing for the short notice, but asking him to prepare a parchment to be given to King at the ceremony, stipulating that he should have it in hand “by not later than Saturday 11th November.” Determined to head off any possible disruption to the smooth running of the day or King’s enjoyment of the event, he contacted Professor Petch of the Department of Metallurgy asking him to “arrange for the Foundry and Fume Extractor Plant not to be in operation during the hours 2.00p.m. to 4.00 p.m. on Monday, 13th November,” lest the noise interrupt the ceremony.⁴⁴ In a similar attempt to control external noise, Howe wrote to the University’s Estates Manager to make sure that construction work in the inner quadrangle outside the Armstrong Building was suspended for the duration of the ceremony and to ask that all the University’s flags should be “flown at full mast from 9.0 a.m. to 5.0 p.m.”⁴⁵

Howe was especially eager to ensure that campus, especially the King’s Hall, was looking its best on November 13. He wrote to the Clerk of Works, asking him to help lay fresh carpet and to “install the ceremonial dais in the King’s Hall,” while suggesting that the dais could do with some repairs. “Will you please ensure that the dais is retouched in the parts which have been damaged since the last ceremony,” he wrote. On the Friday before the Monday event, Howe was still not happy with the way things looked in the Hall. Noting that “the inspection cover in the panelling behind

the dais is again hanging by one hinge,” he asked the Clerk of Works, “Will you please as a matter of urgency repair this inspection cover in time for the Ceremony on Monday afternoon.”⁴⁶

Howe’s concern for the comfort of the University’s distinguished guests knew no limits. The Head Porter in the Armstrong Building, Mr. McLaren, was asked to “ensure that the forecourt is swept, toilets cleaned...that all screens are removed from the entrance and placed over the usuall (sic) eye-sores,” as well as setting up 356 seats in the King’s Hall, with another 50 placed in reserve for use in the gallery.⁴⁷ He even wrote to the University’s chief heating engineer, not only asking Mr. Blair to “ensure that the temperature in King’s Hall is at a comfortable level at 2.0 p.m. on Monday 13th November,” but also advising him on precisely how this might be done. “I would suggest that you turn off the radiator behind the Registrar’s table (at the left of the dais looking at the dais).”⁴⁸ Such precautions were only sensible given the vagaries of the Newcastle weather. Although November 13 turned out to be chilly but fine, Howe was taking no chances. Not only were there to be “hat and coat stands at the top of the Philosophy corridor in the Armstrong Building,” Howe also secured “a supply of umbrellas” in case of rain.⁴⁹

In the final days before the visit, Howe drafted a series of briefing notes for the University staff who were to act as marshals and ushers at the ceremony. Remarkably, given King’s stature, Howe indicated that “The Ceremony will not be relayed by closed circuit television,” as there was apparently insufficient interest in the occasion among the wider University community to warrant it. Nevertheless, he was compelled to cram 80, not

50, extra chairs into the gallery, in addition to the 356 seats on the floor of the King's Hall.⁵⁰

The same briefing also contained what would subsequently become an important clue in the search for the contents of the impromptu speech King gave that day. Twenty seats in the gallery overlooking the main body of the Hall were reserved for members of the press, while Howe warned that Assistant Registrar Mr. G. Ashley, who served as Senior Marshal for the day, "may be called to attend to the members of the Press and T.V. Engineers."⁵¹ Although for the next quarter of a century, the University lamented that King's remarks had gone unrecorded, in the days leading up to the Congregation, George Howe was busy making arrangements to accommodate television cameras. A handwritten check-list shows that Howe arranged for engineers from "TTT" - Tyne Tees Television, the North East service of the commercial Independent Television network - to come into the King's Hall at 10 a.m, to check lighting and microphones and set up their cameras in the gallery.⁵²

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of all these preparations was the security operation. It was, to say the least, low-profile. Several staff members were detailed to mill around the door at the north end of the King's Hall, in the impressive lofty marble lobby just inside the main entrance to the Armstrong Building from the Queen Victoria Road. From there they directed members of the Academic Procession up the staircase to the Robing Room in the Department of Naval Architecture, while other guests were ushered towards the West Door. Once the ceremony was underway, a solitary porter was assigned to guard the North Door.

Elsewhere, a member of the administrative staff, Miss Christie, was charged with supervising the seating of guests who entered the King's Hall via the West Door. During the ceremony itself, Christie was dispatched to guard that door. Another administrator, Mr. Read, patrolled the South Door, but at least he had a porter to assist him. This door was the point of entry for the Academic Procession: the two men were responsible for closing the door after the Procession had entered the Hall and opening it again after the ceremony was concluded so that the Procession could leave. The South Door porter was also instructed that he "must not leave his post on any account," and that he was "responsible for maintaining silence during the ceremony."⁵³ As things turned out, the only unscheduled voice heard during the ceremony belonged to Martin Luther King. Inside the Hall itself, there was no additional security, although marshals were obviously expected to be vigilant. In one of his briefing documents, George Howe explained that Mrs. Kell would be on duty in the Gallery, from where she could "keep an eye open for the undesirable characters with toilet rolls and/or soft fruit."⁵⁴

As should be clear by now, George Howe was a "belts and braces" sort of man who left nothing to chance. The deployment of Mrs Kell as his main security force suggests that he thought the threat to King's well-being while on campus was minimal; but it was clearly not entirely out of the question that some elements in Newcastle might wish to protest against his presence. Howe certainly felt concerned enough to arrange for police assistance, though the fact that he only asked for two officers reflects his assessment of the risk level. One policeman was on duty outside the Percy Building while King was at the reception with staff. The officer then accompanied the

luncheon party on its short walk to the University Refectory, where he loitered until they transferred again to the nearby King's Hall. A second officer was stationed outside the Armstrong Building from 1.45pm until the ceremony was over.⁵⁵

That was it. Security was essentially left to two policemen, two porters, and three marshals whose real jobs were in University administration – including the redoubtable Mrs. Kell, with her keen eye for fruit and paper weaponry. Intriguingly, several people who met King on campus or who witnessed the degree ceremony later recalled seeing some kind of black bodyguard, maybe guards, accompanying him.⁵⁶ It is just about possible that King picked up a security detail in London, maybe courtesy of the US Embassy. Yet, the documentary record from the Newcastle end, which is remarkably complete, makes no mention of any additional security; nor does the less voluminous, yet still plentiful correspondence from Atlanta. Neither the photographs nor the film shot that day shows any evidence of this extra security.

What there is, however, is plenty of evidence that some people in Newcastle struggled to work out exactly who Andrew Young was – he certainly was not Mrs. King – or why he was there. In his letter inviting the Duke of Northumberland to preside over the Honorary Degree Ceremony, Vice-Chancellor Bosanquet had erroneously referred to King's travelling companion as "(I think) his son, the Reverend Andrew King."⁵⁷ Dorothy Booth, wife of Norleigh Booth, a partner in the firm of Watson and Burton, the University's solicitors, was present at the lunch in the Refectory and at the Ceremony. She remembered King being accompanied by "a young man,

his secretary I think,” adding that he “was a devoted admirer of the Doctor.”⁵⁸ Certainly, there seems to have been a good deal of confusion in Newcastle regarding Young’s status and it is just about conceivable that some people thought he was a personal bodyguard.

In fact, Young was a major civil rights leader in his own right in 1967. Just three years younger than his friend and colleague King, Young would go on to become a Georgia Congressman and later still the Mayor of Atlanta. In between time, he served as the US Ambassador to the United Nations during the presidency of another notable Georgian with a connection to Newcastle, Jimmy Carter. In May 1977, Carter won the hearts of local Geordies when he stood outside the Civic Centre and began a speech with the rallying cry of fans of Newcastle United Football Club, “Ha’way-tha-Lads!”⁵⁹

Although Martin Luther King was one of Carter’s heroes, the President made no reference to King’s visit to the city less than a decade earlier. The chances that Carter knew anything about it are negligible. What is perhaps more surprising is that nobody from the City Council appears to have made the link to King’s visit either. The sad truth is that by 1977, King’s visit had been all but forgotten in Newcastle, just as it had been in the University that had honoured him and where he had given his last ever public speech outside the Americas.

But all that was still to come. In November 1967, there was no mistaking the excitement that took hold in the University as the day of King’s visit finally dawned. And while, given the multiple snags that had plagued the preparations for King’s visit, it might make for a better story to

be able to report that chaos and confusion reigned on Monday, November 13, 1967, the truth of the matter is that Bosanquet's enthusiasm, Bettenson's dogged courtship of King and Howe's meticulous planning paid off handsomely. Everything went precisely according to plan. King and Young arrived at Newcastle Central Station shortly before 6am. As was agreed, they stayed in their sleeper compartment until 8 a.m. when they were greeted by the Vice-Chancellor and taken to his lodge on Adderstone Crescent. There they met with Barbara Bosanquet, breakfasted and freshened up. Before leaving for the University, they also chatted with the family of Laurence Kane, who worked as Steward at the Vice-Chancellor's residence from June 1962 until he retired in January 1977. The Kane family lived upstairs in the capacious lodge and, before leaving for campus, King signed an autograph for Mrs. Edna Kane and for Barbara Bosanquet. Edna Kane was also the recipient of a very special gift. King gave her the dress handkerchief from the pocket of his suit jacket. It was a peculiarly intimate gesture of thanks for the warm welcome he had received at the Lodge, in keeping with the graciousness that, according to those who met with him in Newcastle, King displayed throughout his visit. Although only a young teen at the time, the Kanes' son Peter was well-aware that his parents were thrilled to encounter this great man in their home.⁶⁰

Once on campus, the tightly packed schedule—the coffee with students, the sherry reception with staff and university senators, a seated buffet lunch, where King was placed between The Duke of Northumberland and his notional sponsor Lord Wynne-Jones, a snatched conversation with the local press, and finally, at 2.30pm the ceremony itself—also went off

without a hitch. Mrs. Kells was not called into action. Shortly after the conclusion of the ceremony, King and Young were whisked away to Central Station and, less than 11 hours after they had pulled into Newcastle's Central Station on the Tynesider, the two men were safely aboard the 4.08 p.m. train back down to London. After one day in London, they flew back to the States.

Back in Newcastle, it was business as usual for George Howe. The day after King's visit he wrote to the Bursar's Office to communicate a complaint that the special congregation had made it impossible for the porters to discharge their regular duties without incurring overtime. "There was a general complaint yesterday that the porters in the Armstrong Building were not given sufficient time to clear up after the Congregation and reset the King's Hall for the choir practice today," Howe wrote. "Will you please as a matter of policy in future allow the day after the Congregation to give the staff a chance to remove chairs, etc., and to rearrange for other functions, as on this occasion I understand a considerable amount of overtime will be involved." It may have been a unique moment in the life of the University and the city, but it had brought with it all-too-familiar work-a-day-problems for Howe and his staff.⁶¹

Chapter Two

“Barbs and Arrows”: Why Did King Come to Newcastle?

Perhaps the two most remarkable aspects of Martin Luther King’s visit to Newcastle were that he initially accepted the invitation and then bothered to make the trip given all that was going on in his life in November 1967. He was hardly short of similar invitations and, although he racked up at least eighteen honorary doctorates during his lifetime, he could not hope to keep up with all the requests to accept awards, make appearances, or give speeches and interviews that came flooding in from all around the world, including Britain. In early October 1966, for example, King was courted by David Bilk on behalf of the British National Union of Students. Bilk, the brother of popular trad-jazz clarinettist Acker Bilk and co-director of a London-based talent agency, proposed a tour of ten “larger British Universities” for February-March 1967 when King could explain “the past, present and future of your own movement in the US and how you see this in context of world race relations.” In addition to covering travel and accommodation, Bilk offered King a “cash guarantee (either for each lecture or for a period of ten to fourteen days) plus an appreciable percentage of revenue taken, this to be disposed of by yourself in any way you think fit.” Bilk suggested that the BBC might be interested in covering some of the tour and that this was another “potential source of financial revenue.” Since King routinely channelled his speaking fees into Movement coffers, there was little for him to gain personally from this tour in financial terms. Still, the revenue may have been tempting for the perennially cash-strapped SCLC.⁶²

King took a while to respond to Bilk, mostly because, like the first letters sent to him from Newcastle, they arrived while he was in Jamaica working on *Where Do We Go From Here?*. It probably did not help expedite matters that Bilk had also written to not one but two incorrect addresses, sending copies to both the NAACP's New York office and the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery. Eventually, on February 7, at precisely the same time as he was weighing up whether or not to accept Newcastle University's invitation, King replied to Bilk, politely declining to sign up to his ambitious plan. "My schedule for the next academic year," he noted, "is so heavy that it will be impossible for me to come to Britain for such a tour." However, he did express the hope that "my schedule will soon ease up so that I can accept more of the invitations that come across my desk."⁶³

King's hopes of a lighter work load during the final year of his life proved fanciful. Nevertheless, it may be that Bilk's invitation, with its promise of large enthusiastic British audiences – "It goes with saying that practically everyone in this country is deeply interested in your work," Bilk had gushed – inclined King to try to fit in a shorter trip, capped by the personally gratifying Newcastle Honorary Doctorate, if at all possible.⁶⁴ Of course, when he formally accepted the Newcastle invitation, he also had plans to visit Edinburgh. As events transpired, those plans were scrapped and his trip much compressed. King's revised schedule required him to fly overnight from Chicago to London on Saturday November 11 into Sunday November 12, make his way from Heathrow Airport to the Hilton Hotel at Park Lane in central London, and from there to King's Cross Station for the 274-mile train journey on a sleeper train to Newcastle, returning to London

immediately after a hectic day on campus that culminated in the Honorary Degree ceremony, and then flying back to the States the following day. In all, King and Andrew Young spent less than forty-eight hours in England and barely more than eight waking hours in Newcastle. This was an amazing gesture just to pick up the latest in a succession of honorary doctorates, this one from a provincial British university whose precise whereabouts at first eluded King and his staff. Dora McDonald's letter to the University on September 27 1967 had asked innocently if Newcastle was a plane ride away from London or whether King and Young could just get a taxi.⁶⁵

That King should have come at all was even more startling given the specifics of what he had on his mind and on his calendar at the time. He had just been in jail and was still not particularly well when he was released on November 4. He had been transferred from jail in Bessemer to another in Birmingham during his internment so that he could receive better treatment for a virus.⁶⁶ Once free, King had no opportunity to recuperate. On November 5, he was back in Atlanta to present his regular Sunday sermon at Ebenezer Baptist Church. From Atlanta, he travelled north to Cleveland, where he campaigned for Carl Stokes in his bid to become that Ohio city's first black mayor. On election day, November 7, King was out in the streets, bars, and shopping malls frequented by black Clevelanders, rallying support. When Stokes triumphed, King felt snubbed because he received no call to express gratitude for his efforts and was not invited to join the victorious candidate on the rostrum at the celebration party. This sense of grievance may partly explain King's rather unenthusiastic response to a question posed at the coffee morning with Newcastle students. The

Students' Union treasurer, Tony Sorenson, asked King to comment on the significance of the election of black mayors in both Cleveland and Gary, Indiana, where Richard Hatcher had also recently won. "I think it would be foolish to make too much out of these results," King explained, "because both these men were Democrats in Democratic strongholds and their majorities were not very high."⁶⁷

On the day after the Cleveland election, King met with reporters to discuss the SCLC's plans for a Poor People's Campaign, which King hoped would unite the dispossessed of all races in acts of massive civil disobedience focused on Washington, but which would also incorporate a nationwide series of paralysing demonstrations. During the week before his departure for England he was busy planning this campaign with his aides. On Saturday, November 11, he flew to Chicago to address an anti-Vietnam rally hosted by the National Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace. In preparing his remarks, there is evidence that King's imminent trip to England was on his mind. His speech focused on the domestic impact of the Vietnam War. In particular, King lamented the toll it was taking on America's ability to focus financial and creative resources on President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programmes to alleviate poverty, expand opportunity, and create a more equitable society in the United States. Thus, King yoked together the triple themes of war, poverty and racism that would be the centrepiece of his remarks in Newcastle. In his notes, he drew attention to a recent resolution by the British Labour Party "calling upon its labour government to 'Disassociate itself completely from U.S. Policy in Viet Nam,'" and to lobby the US government to end the bombing of North

Vietnam immediately and unconditionally.⁶⁸ He finished his speech in mid-afternoon and flew overnight to London. Barely two days later, he was back home, arriving in Atlanta to record some speeches for the Canadian Broadcasting Company. Small wonder that in Newcastle, Andrew Young had confessed to Dorothy Booth “that he was rather exhausted on this trip as Martin Luther King was indefatigable and never stopped working.”⁶⁹

Why, then, did King bother to honour such an inconvenient and relatively inconsequential engagement at a time of poor health and in the midst of so many other pressing commitments? In the circumstances, few people would have been surprised if King had cancelled or postponed his visit. The simplest answer is that King had made an undertaking to attend and was merely honouring it in the same way that he honoured most of his other appointments. There is doubtless some truth in this, but there was also something rather more revealing and significant in King’s willingness to make the gruelling journey to Newcastle. This is apparent if one considers, not just the sheer volume of his workload, but the precise nature of his intellectual, social and tactical preoccupations in late 1967 and, just as crucially, his psychological condition and general morale during the last months of his life.

The Martin Luther King of 1967 and 1968 was not the confident and generally optimistic King of the early civil rights movement when the main objective had been to end the flagrant civil and voting rights abuses rife in the segregated South. The successes of that movement, as measured by the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960 and, most crucially, 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 had effectively outlawed statutory discrimination. The

legislation had, however, left in place obstinate institutional and informal, systemic and practical, barriers to black advancement across the United States, while at the same time raising black awareness of, and determination to, destroy those barriers. In August 1965, just days after President Lyndon Baines Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act into law, rioting broke out in the Watts district of Los Angeles, eventually claiming 34 lives and causing damage estimated at \$40 million. The riots offered a bloody wake-up call to those who thought that African American grievances had been addressed simply by the passage of legislation outlawing the kind of formal segregation and disenfranchisement that had characterized the Jim Crow South.

Throughout the entire United States, there was ample evidence that racial prejudice, discrimination and economic disadvantage continued to restrict black opportunities. As frustrations with the rate and extent of real progress grew, elements within the African American freedom struggle became far more radical. In June 1966, civil rights leaders, King among them, continued a “March Against Fear” started in Mississippi by James Meredith—an iconoclastic black activist who had come to public attention in 1962 when he desegregated the University of Mississippi and precipitated a white riot that was only quelled by federal troops—after he had been shot and wounded. As the march reached Greenwood, the cry of “Black Power” competed with and sometime drowned out more familiar chants of “Freedom Now.” Militant new Black Power organizations such as the Black Panther Party emerged in Oakland, California and had chapters in many cities. Often these new groups embraced the right of armed self-defence, offering a

militant brand of black nationalism and sometimes black separatism that looked and sounded very different from the nonviolent tactics and integrationist agendas of the early civil rights movement.

As the cry of Black Power became louder, King and other advocates of nonviolent direct action were left groping for a viable strategy by which to challenge persistent prejudice and continued discrimination throughout the United States. In particular, King's chastening experiences in Chicago in 1966, when he struggled to organize the sort of massive nonviolent protests that had been so successful in the South and confronted the full and violent fury of northern white racism, had given clear notice that new tactics were needed to promote an effective campaign against nationwide patterns of racial oppression.

King's response to this challenge was to interpret black oppression, less in terms of an exclusively black problem and more as part of an intersecting, mutually reinforcing pattern of racial and class-based inequality. Although he consistently resisted the specific terminology of Marxism and roundly rejected the atheism that often accompanied it, King moved towards an analysis of the African American predicament which saw it as part of a global struggle of the oppressed against the triple evils of poverty, racism and imperialism, the last a force that manifested itself most tragically in wars between nations. It was a view that had much in common with Marxist theory in its emphasis on the corrupt and oppressive nature of unmoderated capitalism.⁷⁰ As he explained to the 11th annual conference of the SCLC, just three months before he repeated the same sentiments in Newcastle, what was needed was a fundamental re-evaluation of the values

of western society. He insisted that “the problem of racism, the problem of economic exploitation, and the problem of war are all tied together. These are the triple evils that are interrelated.”⁷¹

Exorcising these evils, King believed, required some form of peaceful social democratic revolution that would direct governmental action in more enlightened and progressive directions. He wanted to build an interracial alliance of all the working men and women of America, all the marginalised and disadvantaged in order, as he had put it years before in an address to the 1960 SCLC annual conference in Shreveport, to “Redeem the soul of America.”⁷² By 1967, King was convinced that the vehicle for this crusade for racial and economic justice should be a Poor People’s Campaign, not a Poor *Black* People’s Campaign. This was an ambitious effort to “bring the social change movements through from their early and now inadequate protest phase to a stage of massive, active, nonviolent resistance to the evils of the modern system...Let us not therefore think of our movement as one that seeks to integrate the Negro into all the existing values of American society.” Rather King wanted to recalibrate those core values. “The Movement must address itself to the restructuring of the whole of American Society,” King explained to the SCLC staff at a retreat in Frogmore, South Carolina on November 14, 1966.⁷³

This was not quite the radical departure in King’s thinking that some at the time assumed and many subsequent commentators have claimed. Many years previously, as a student at Boston University in 1951 King had written that he believed “Capitalism has seen its best days.” By 1967 he was publicly stating his belief that “The evils of capitalism are as real as the evils

of militarism and evils of racism.”⁷⁴ This public radicalism made him a new collection of enemies to add to those who had always opposed and often threatened him. It alienated some of the white liberals who felt that the civil rights struggle had effectively ended in victory with the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965 and the establishment of *de jure* equality; such people viewed King’s continued agitation for *de facto* equality of opportunity as at best wanton troublemaking at worst as dangerously radical. After April 4 1967, when King used a speech at the Riverside Church in New York, to make public his longstanding private opposition to America’s military involvement in Vietnam, King’s anti-war stance had similarly angered many former allies, including President Johnson. Partly as a consequence of his increasingly sour relations with King, Johnson frequently cut King out of White House discussions of racial matters, preferring to deal with Roy Wilkins, chairman of the NAACP. Johnson also allowed the FBI a free hand to extend efforts to spy on, harass, and generally discredit King that had begun under the Kennedy administration.⁷⁵

Influential sections of the media also turned against King, branding him unpatriotic on Vietnam and hinting that only Communist ties or sympathies could explain his new preoccupations with capitalism, imperialism and democratic socialism. Even some black commentators and activists, among them Carl T. Rowan and King’s long-time friend and key advisor Bayard Rustin, vocally disapproved of King’s public opposition to Vietnam: the former as part of a steady stream of attacks on what was characterised as King’s new subversive socialist, communist and internationalist doctrines; the latter because he genuinely felt that it was a

mistake to divert energies from the black American struggle into the realm of foreign affairs, particularly if it risked losing the support of those white liberals with whom Rustin thought King should be seeking to forge progressive political alliances.⁷⁶

At the same time, as the FBI tried to undermine the African American freedom struggle and make political capital from King's extramarital dalliances, King himself was engaged in an intense bout of self-scrutiny and doubt. As he struggled to understand the psychological coordinates of his own personality, he guiltily confronted what he referred to as the "schizophrenia ... within all of us." On several occasions he made public testimony of his own all-too-human failings and brooded on his own sense of unworthiness and failure. "I make mistakes tactically. I make mistakes morally and get down on my knees and confess it and ask God to forgive me," he told his Ebenezer congregation in October 1967.⁷⁷

King, then, was under enormous political and personal strain in 1967. He suffered from periodic, but intense, crises of confidence and poor self-esteem during which he struggled to retain his clarity of vision and sense of purpose. Occasionally, he felt so thoroughly overwhelmed by the sheer intractability of the problems he confronted in America that he lurched between an ever more radical vision and simple despair. "The whole thing will have to be done away with," he told his friend Rev. D. E. King the day before he flew to England. "I have found out that all that I have been doing in trying to correct this system in America is in vain."⁷⁸ He was especially frustrated by his inability to harness the energies of young northern blacks, energies which he saw dissipated in the urban violence of the long hot

summers of 1966 and 1967. Perhaps most crucially he was increasingly sceptical about his own potential to offer further leadership to the movement. "I'm tired now," he told local ministers in Atlanta, when they called on him to head new demonstrations against continued racial injustice in that city. "I've been in this thing for thirteen years now and I'm really tired." People still expected him to have answers, but, he confided to his wife, he no longer felt that he had any.⁷⁹

In short, King in late 1967 was strategically, emotionally and physically exhausted by his years at the forefront of the freedom struggle. "It was," suggested Andrew Young, "really gettin' him down."⁸⁰ Although the initial plans for the Poor People's Campaign had temporarily rekindled his optimism about the possibilities of effecting significant change, he remained rather depressed by the state of the movement for civil rights and social justice in America and was thoroughly disillusioned by the constant criticism and lack of support for his new social and economic initiatives. White folksinger Joan Baez, a veteran of countless benefit concerts for King and the Movement, overheard him in October 1967 confessing "that he just wanted to be a preacher, and he was sick and tired of it all."⁸¹

It was in this context of frustration, anxiety and creeping despair at home that recognition of his efforts from abroad assumed a special significance and therapeutic value for King. This had certainly been the case when he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. The announcement of that award had come at another time of personal trial. He was in the St. Joseph Infirmary in Atlanta at the time, according to his wife Coretta Scott King, "completely exhausted, tired and empty." The Prize provided a

tremendous lift to King after a disappointing civil rights campaign in St. Augustine, Florida and his loss of face at the 1964 Democratic Convention in Atlantic City, when he was widely criticised for supporting a compromise proposal to seat just two token members of the integrated delegation from the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party rather than ousting the entire whites-only delegation of Mississippi Democratic Party regulars.⁸² King had described the Nobel Prize as “the foremost of earthly honors” and interpreted it as, in the words of historian David Garrow, “not simply a personal award, but the most significant endorsement possible of the civil rights struggle.” Moreover, the prize had restored King’s appetite for the struggle and reassured him of the importance of his own contribution to it.⁸³

The Nobel Peace Prize also encouraged King to take more seriously his role as an international leader engaged in a global fight for human freedom, dignity and peace. Biographer David Lewis suggests that King’s acceptance speech in Oslo featured “some of the first public words on the subject of world peace, and ... clearly portended further pronouncements on international peace.”⁸⁴ King had actually signalled this shift—in truth, the amplification of themes that he had spoken of often—in England, en route to Norway to collect the Prize in December 1964. King had stopped off in London where he spoke before 1300 people at St. Paul’s Cathedral. His international perspective was clear as he spoke of how, “God is not interested in the freedom of white, black, and yellow men, but in the freedom of the whole human race.”⁸⁵

While in London Bayard Rustin and local Caribbean Quaker community organizer-activist Marion Glean also arranged for King to meet

with representatives of British immigrant organisations. King told them, “More and more I have come to realize that racism is a world problem.”⁸⁶ On December 7, many of those representatives heard him give another globally-inflected address at the Westminster City Temple Hall at a meeting sponsored by Christian Action where, in addition to talking extensively about US race relations, he called for a boycott of South African goods to force an end to apartheid. He denounced the “madness of militarism,” explaining how, “in a day when Sputniks and explorers are dashing through outer space and guided ballistic missiles are carving highways of death through the stratosphere, no nation can win a war. It is no longer the choice between violence and nonviolence; it is either nonviolence or non-existence.”⁸⁷

At Temple Hall, King also took the opportunity to speak at greater length on the changing face of British race relations as immigration by non-white Commonwealth citizens rose. Foreshadowing some of what he would say in Newcastle less than three years later, King insisted that “the problem of racial injustice is not limited to any one nation. We know now that this is a problem spreading all over the globe,” before homing in on the British situation and casting America as a cautionary tale:

And right here in London and right here in England, you know so well that thousands and thousands of colored people are migrating here from many, many lands—from the West Indies, from Pakistan, from India, from Africa. And they have the just right to come to this great land, and they have the just right to expect justice and democracy in this land. And England

must be eternally vigilant. For if not, the same kind of ghettos will develop that we have in the Harlems of the United States. The same problems of injustice, the same problems of inequality in jobs will develop. And so I say to you that the challenge before every citizen of goodwill of this nation is to go all out to make democracy a reality for everybody, so that everybody in this land will be able to live together and that all men will be able to live together as brothers.⁸⁸

As he spoke, King got a rude confirmation of just how hard that might be to achieve in an increasingly diverse Britain. Members of the white supremacist League of Empire Loyalists heckled King and shouted “Keep Britain White” before being evicted by ushers.⁸⁹

Shortly after meeting with King in London, Glean was among those who formed the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD). A bi-racial umbrella association made up of many organisations, CARD was chaired by West Indian David Pitts, who in 1959 had been the first black British parliamentary candidate when he failed to win a seat for the Hampstead constituency, and who subsequently became leader of the Greater London Council and eventually, as Baron Pitt of Hampstead, a Labour Party peer. The Pakistani writer Hamza Alavi initially served as vice chair. CARD modelled itself closely on American civil rights precedents, though perhaps with more debts to the NAACP’s legal and propaganda campaigns for equal rights than to the direct action protests of the SCLC and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Initially focusing on efforts to repeal the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act, which Pitts complained

“makes racialism respectable in Britain. Its inspiration and application is racist. It makes immigrants second-class citizens,” CARD, like King and the early US civil rights movement that inspired it, also sought to expose and outlaw “discrimination in housing, employment, advertising, insurance, public places, education, credit facilities, clubs offering public facilities, Government departments and bodies receiving Government grants, subsidies and licences.”⁹⁰ Nationally, CARD was notable, in the words of sociologist Kalbir Shukra, as “the first substantial postwar attempt of black and white activists to intervene in national British politics on the ‘race’ question.”⁹¹ It was also responsible for nurturing one of Newcastle’s most charismatic and dedicated black activists of the late 1960s and early 1970s, Chris Mullard.

King’s appreciation of the global dimensions of the struggles for peace, economic justice and racial equality in which he was engaged intensified over the next few years. “A Christian movement in an age of revolution cannot allow itself to be limited by geographic boundaries,” he explained in a speech prepared on the eve of a 1965 trip to Europe. “We must be as concerned about the poor in India as we are about the poor of Indiana,” he urged.⁹²

Perhaps, then, King’s extraordinary willingness to keep his appointment in Newcastle is best explained in terms of his own burgeoning sense of international responsibility and solidarity as well as a means to bolster his self-esteem and restore some measure of confidence that his efforts were appreciated and valuable at a time of grave personal doubt. Certainly, these twin impulses were apparent in the speech he gave after

accepting his degree. As he had done on receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize, King accepted his award from Newcastle as the representative of a much larger movement. “In honoring me today,” he explained to those gathered in the King’s Hall, “you not only honor me but you honor the hundreds and thousands of people with whom I have worked and with whom I have been associated in the struggle for racial justice. And so I say thanks, not only for myself but I also thank you for them and I can assure you that this day will remain dear to me as long as the cords of memory shall lengthen.”⁹³

King also revealed the personal inspiration and resolve he drew from this international recognition. Again, the sentiments – even the phrasing – echoed how he had greeted news of his Nobel accolade in 1964 by declaring that, “it will give me new courage and determination to carry on in this fight to overcome the evils and injustices in this society.”⁹⁴ In Newcastle, he assured his hosts that their honour was of “inestimable value for the continuance of my humble efforts. And although I cannot in any way say that I am worthy of such a great honor, I can also assure you that you give me renewed courage and vigor to carry on in the struggle to make peace and justice a reality for all men and women all over the world.”⁹⁵ Andrew Young felt this international recognition was important, not just to King as an individual, but to the Movement in which he was the most renowned figure. “He didn't need to fly all the way over there to get recognised by Newcastle, and yet he did,” Young reflected later. “I think it gave an extra prestige to our movement to have the international support that we had.”⁹⁶

Back in Atlanta in January 1968, faced by a resumption of hostilities from his many opponents, King finally found time to write, with unusual poignancy, a personal letter of thanks to Vice-Chancellor Bosanquet:

This is a belated note to say that one is always humbled on the occasion of receiving an honorary degree from such an outstanding University as Newcastle upon Tyne, and, yet, in the course of constant criticism and malignment of one's best efforts, the recognition by an institution of higher learning of the historic significance of one's work in the ministry is a tremendous encouragement, far overshadowing the barbs and arrows from the daily press.⁹⁷

King was slightly mistaken to think that the degree had much to do with his work in the ministry or as a theologian where, in formal terms, his original intellectual contribution, as opposed to his genius for the practical application of a socially engaged theology, was modest.⁹⁸ According to Ralph Holland, a member of the Honorary Degrees Committee which had recommended King, a Doctorate of Civil Law, rather than a Doctorate of Divinity or Theology, "was deemed appropriate as he was certainly regarded as a political rather than a religious leader."⁹⁹

In formally presenting King for the degree, the University's public orator, J. H. Burnett, referred to both aspects of King's career, describing how King had been "nurtured not only in the tradition of the 'Bible Belt' but in the home of a distinguished pastor, a deeply Christian environment where high thinking, eloquent expression and a social conscience were his daily

inspiration.” In a smart summary of King’s protest methods, Burnett described his “unique weapon” for social change as “an amalgam of Christian precepts, the solid rock of the Negro religious traditions, the social and philosophical ideas of [Walter] Rauschenbusch and [Georg] Hegel and the Gandhian technique of non-violence.” He concluded his introduction by asking the Chancellor, “both as a symbolic gesture and as the highest mark of distinction this University can afford, to confer upon Martin Luther King, Christian pastor and social revolutionary, the degree of Doctor of Civil Law, *honoris causa*.”¹⁰⁰ Ultimately, while nodding respectfully towards the faith that underpinned King’s activism, the University was principally acknowledging the international significance of King’s social and political achievements. At a time when few in his homeland were doing the same, King had gratefully accepted the invitation to come to Newcastle, a city where his efforts had already attracted a good deal of press and public attention.

Chapter Four

The Speech

That Martin Luther King visited Newcastle was mainly due to the vision of Charles Bosanquet and the persistence of Ernest Bettenson, coupled with the fact that the University's invitation came at very particular moment in both the African American freedom struggle and in King's public and private life. That he spoke in the King's Hall at the end of the degree ceremony, however, was almost entirely due to the charm of Vice-Chancellor Bosanquet, coupled with King's basic decency and genuine gratitude to the University. It was certainly something of a coup, since all the correspondence in the preparations for the visit had indicated that he would not speak. "We are assuming that Dr. King will not be expected to speak when he receives the honorary degree," wrote Dora McDonald in late September 1967. Bosanquet wrote directly to King on October 3, confirming that, "we would not expect you to speak when you receive the honorary degree," although he tentatively added that, "if on the other hand you would like to say anything to the assembled company (either after the congregation or after lunch), this would greatly please all of us. But I impress on you that this is entirely for you to decide."¹⁰¹

As November 13 approached, however, the Vice-Chancellor predictably found himself inundated with requests from various individuals and organisations within the University to be allowed to meet with, or at least to hear, King. The Rev. B. Ingliss-Evans, the University's Baptist chaplain, asked if a personal audience might be possible, while Alan Booth, the Convenor of Debates in the Union Society, asked if King's "schedule

would allow for him to address the students in the University” in addition to attending the small informal coffee morning. R. H. Pain of the Department of Biochemistry spoke for many when he wrote that, “it would be a pity for the University to lose the opportunity of hearing him speak to as large an audience as possible,” and suggested the University’s St. Thomas’s Church at the Haymarket as a suitable venue.¹⁰²

Bosanquet responded to all these requests in much the same manner. He politely pointed out that King’s visit was to be very short and that, “It is quite impossible to arrange for any other public meeting to be held, and in any case, it was a condition of his coming that he should not be involved in speech making.”¹⁰³ Yet Bosanquet clearly felt obliged to try to persuade King to say something to the University. In his reply to Dr. Pain, the Vice-Chancellor explained that he had written to King, “to tell him that a large body of staff and students want to hear him, and to ask him whether he would be willing to speak for a few minutes at the conclusion of the Congregation.” He admitted that he would not know if King was willing to address the King’s Hall audience until the two men actually met in Newcastle just a few hours before the ceremony.¹⁰⁴

Bosanquet’s letter to King was waiting for him at the London Hilton Hotel on Sunday, November 12. “You asked me earlier whether you would be expected to give any address and I replied that in view of the pressure upon you we would not ask you to do this,” Bosanquet wrote. “But I want to leave you in no doubt that there are a large number of our Faculty and our student body who would wish both to show their support for you by their presence and to receive a message from you. If you would be willing to do

this, the opportunity would be at the end of the Congregation but if you would prefer to say nothing, all of us would entirely understand.”¹⁰⁵

Courted by such a tactful invitation, it is hard to imagine King refusing. But Bosanquet and the university certainly did not presume that he would consent. Thus, as the Vice Chancellor admitted in his *Annual Report*, published after King’s assassination, the University had made no provision to record the events. “It is a matter of profound regret,” Bosanquet wrote, “that because we did not expect him to speak no tape recording of his address was made. The terrible tragedy of 4th April in Memphis has greatly increased our sadness that we have only photographs and our memories of that moving scene in the King’s Hall.”¹⁰⁶ For the next 25 years, Newcastle University responded to enquiries about King’s visit with the information that, “he made an unprepared speech and unfortunately we do not have a copy.” Anyone hoping to find more information was advised to “contact *The Guardian* which carried a report of his address.”¹⁰⁷

In fact, although it had slipped out of institutional and popular memory, in 1992 I discovered that King’s speech had been filmed by the same Tyne-Tees Television crew that George Howe had been at such pains to accommodate in November 1967. Clues that the speech might have been recorded were not only peppered across Howe’s checklists and briefing papers, but were also to be found in some of the photographs taken on November 13. Some show what appear to be a reporter with a microphone and bundles of cables leading to a clunky reel-to-reel tape recorder hovering next to King as he added his signature to the Honorary Degrees Book. Those images indicated the presence of staff from television or radio, alongside

print journalists. It was while searching for more photographs of the occasion in the Newcastle University audio-visual collection, housed at that time in the Medical School, that I found a 16 mm film taken in the King's Hall. The 9.50 minute film was quickly spliced to a separate soundtrack tape and then transferred to video: it contained a substantial portion, roughly one third, of King's speech, a short clip of the Academic Procession into the Hall, and part of the speech by J.H. Burnett, the Public Orator, as he formally recommended King for his Honorary Doctorate. This fragment appears to have been a remnant of the original footage of King's speech, some of which aired locally on the Tyne Tees 6.05 newsmagazine show on the evening of his visit.¹⁰⁸

As all historians appreciate, the past is never static; history is never truly over and there are always new perspectives to apply to old topics; always more research to do and more evidence to unearth that offer new insights into the past. And so it was in 2015 when, as part of the preparations for Freedom City 2017, additional, probably un-broadcast, film from King's visit came to light. This tiny fragment, just 1.48 minutes long, shows King seated in what appears to be an empty classroom in the Armstrong Building being asked his opinions on the causes of the escalating urban violence in the United States and whether there were any lessons Britain could learn from the American situation. Another noteworthy feature of this new discovery was the identity of his interviewer. Clyde Alleyne's presence adds another fascinating layer to the whole story of King's visit.¹⁰⁹ In Spring 1967, Alleyne had become the first regular black television news reporter in the nation, when he was hired to co-host Tyne Tees's 6.05.

Moreover, news of the former Trinidad and Tobago radio announcer's breakthrough appointment had even made the African American press pay attention. In May 1967, *Jet* magazine hailed Alleyne as "England's first Negro television announcer."¹¹⁰

The *Jet* story was another example of how news and ideas about race and race relations were rapidly relayed across the Atlantic, especially after the launch of the Telstar, the world's first telecommunications satellite, in 1960. Although the direction of that flow was largely from the United States to Great Britain, it was not one-way traffic. Whether viewed positively (as with Alleyne's appointment) or negatively (as when the African American press bemoaned racial discrimination in British unions and employment practices, reported on Klan and Klan-like activity, or compared the Nottingham and Notting Hill race riots to events in Little Rock) developments in British race relations were regularly covered in the American, especially the African American, press. Moreover, American civil rights leaders such as King and Malcolm X were compelled by their experiences in Britain—and elsewhere beyond the United States, of course—to refine their understandings of how race and racial oppression worked in a global context. Both men, at the premature ends of their respective lives, arrived at an analysis of racism that down-played the exceptionalism of the American racial situation and linked it to the workings of modern global capitalism and the operation of various kinds of colonial and neo-colonial power that were often maintained through military force. Although there remained fundamental differences between the two men, not least around religion, the role of whites in a black freedom struggle, and nonviolence versus armed

self-defence, in the final year of their respective lives both men embraced broadly international socialist solutions to the problems of war and social, economic and racial injustice around the world.¹¹¹ In Martin Luther King's case, many of these ideas were evident in what he had to say during his trip to Newcastle.

King's speech at the end of the Congregation demonstrated his superb technique as a public orator. He stood behind a simple lectern, resplendent in his scarlet academic robes, flashed with white silk sleeves and facings, on his head a soft black velvet square cap, topped with a white tuft. One hand was thrust into his trouser pocket, but occasionally it emerged to join the other hand in making gentle emphatic gestures, or to move across the face of the lectern, as if he were tracing the outline of a written text. That text was actually in his memory. King expertly quilted together a speech from his own extensive back-catalogue of stock rhetorical phrases, occasionally internationalizing themes he had previously dealt with principally in American terms and folding in timely remarks on British race relations. The result was something uniquely tailored to the occasion. It was a masterpiece of improvisation, recycling, and responsiveness that made good use of both his training as a Baptist minister and more than a decade as a civil rights leader well-used to making unscripted comments. Delivered in his distinctive, deeply resonant voice, there was a contemplative, measured, almost sombre, quality to the speech. Knowing just how exhausted he was and the gruelling journey he had made to get to Newcastle, it is difficult not to detect some signs of physical weariness in the surviving footage. Yet, as his speech gathers momentum, King's words seem to transcend such

constraints. As the *Courier* student newspaper reported, he captivated a hushed King's Hall "for over half an hour with a magnificent speech, delivered in the clear, relaxed, yet fervent tones of a master orator."¹¹²

Substantively, King said little at Newcastle that he had not said or written elsewhere. A partial exception were his comments on the racial situation in Britain which, not surprisingly, seem to have been the portions of his speech selected by Tyne Tees for broadcast on 6.05 and which were, therefore, cut from the original film of the speech and are, at present, lost to us. Fortunately, we can reconstruct much of what else he said and glean more of his thoughts about British race relations and its parallels with and divergences from the American situation, from the accounts of print journalists and from the surviving fragment of his conversation with Clyde Alleyne.

In the body of his Newcastle speech, King redeployed language and invoked themes that he had used many times before. For example, he drew nervous laughter in the King's Hall from his quip that, "Well, it may be true that morality cannot be legislated but behaviour can be regulated. 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!" That line was an old favourite. It had played equally well with British audiences in London's City Temple Hall on December 7, 1964, when he explained his opposition to those, such as the recently defeated Republican presidential candidate and states' rights champion Barry Goldwater, "who believe that legislation has no place" in the quest for civil rights and racial equality.¹¹³

Even this was hardly the first outing for a phrase that King had carefully filed away in his rhetorical playbook years before. He had written much the same thing in his 1957 article “Facing the Challenge of a New Age,” for the journal *Phylon* and said virtually the same thing in a June 1962 Commencement Address at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, and another at Cornell College, in Mount Vernon, Iowa, four months later.¹¹⁴

Notwithstanding the major court room victories and legislative triumphs of the 1950s and 1960s, King was eager to impress that the struggle for racial and social justice in America was far from over. His experiences had shown that converting statutory rights into actual rights often required mass protest. “Only when the people themselves begin to act are [they] able to transform a law which is on thin paper into thick action,” he told SCLC staff at a retreat in Frogmore, South Carolina in November 1966. For all their successes in ending Jim Crow laws in the South, King lamented that “these legislative and judicial victories did very little to improve the lot of millions of Negroes in the teeming ghettos of the North”; these “were at best surface changes”—a necessary preface to the even tougher battle for more fundamental changes that would finally slay what King called the “monster of racism.”¹¹⁵ It was with a similar sense of just how far was left to go on the journey to freedom and justice, rather than of how far African Americans had travelled, that King told his Newcastle audience that the plant of freedom was “still only a bud, not a plant.”¹¹⁶ Three months earlier, with the Detroit riots still reverberating, King had told the Annual Meeting of the SCLC in Atlanta that, “The deep rumbling of

discontent in our cities is indicative of the fact that the plant of freedom has grown only a bud and not yet a flower.”¹¹⁷

Fragments of many of King’s previous essays and speeches resurfaced in Newcastle, either verbatim or in close paraphrase. At the Frogmore retreat, King had spoken of how black and white destinies were bound closely together at least in part to distance himself and his avowedly integrationist organizations from the separatism of some Black Power advocates. “There is no separate Black path to power and fulfilment that does not intersect with white roots (sic). And there is no separate White path to power and fulfilment short of social disaster that does not share that power with Black aspirations to freedom and human dignity,” he said to his SCLC colleagues. Just one day short of a year later, he repeated virtually the same mantra towards the end of his speech in the King’s Hall. “There can be no separate black path to power and fulfilment that does not intersect white routes and there can be no separate white path to power and fulfilment short of social disaster that does not recognise the necessity of sharing that power with coloured aspirations for freedom and human dignity.”¹¹⁸ Yet the context changed the meaning, or at least made it more ambiguous, more complex, even as the words remained much the same. In Britain, notwithstanding the rise of Black Power sentiment among some minority leaders and organizations, the main target for such Jeremiads was not primarily would-be black separatists, but those in the white British community who refused to respect or recognize black rights and ambitions.

At another point in his Frogmore speech, King had slipped into philosophical mode to dismiss the “empirical” foundations for pervasive

notions of black inferiority. He argued that “racism is at bottom based on an ontological affirmation – the affirmation that the very being of a people is inferior.” In Newcastle, he similarly denounced racism as the “myth of the inferior race; it is the notion that a particular race is worthless and degraded innately and the tragedy of racism is that it is based not on an empirical generalisation but on an ontological affirmation. It is the idea that the very being of a people is inferior.” He declined, however, to add the chilling observation he had shared at Frogmore that “the ultimate logic of racism is genocide.”¹¹⁹

Above all, in Newcastle King drew attention to what was, by late 1967, a familiar theme in much of his public speaking and writing and a clear expression of his socialistic analysis of contemporary society and its shortcomings: the “three urgent and indeed great problems that we face not only in the United States of America but all over the world today ... the problem of racism, the problem of poverty and the problem of war.”

According to the *Courier*, in Newcastle, King “illustrated his themes by incident (sic) from his own life – the prejudice he had found in America, the poverty in India, and the world-wide threat of a nuclear holocaust.”¹²⁰ King had been yoking together these elements at least since the Frogmore retreat of November 1966, although there had been some subtle shifts in emphasis and vocabulary over the year. At Frogmore, for example, he had explained that “There is (sic) three basic evils in America: the evil of racism, the evil of excessive materialism, the evil of militarism.” While “war” and “militarism” were used fairly interchangeably by King in his speeches and writings, the switch from a critique of rampant materialism to an indictment of poverty

was perhaps more significant. It represented, at least in part, a move from a subjective moral judgement on consumer culture to a more hard-nosed, empirically grounded assessment of what he saw as one of its tragic bi-products: the poverty that flourished amid plenty. Of course, an obvious factor behind the change of language and emphasis was that by November 1967 King was immersed in planning for the Poor People's Campaign, which by definition prioritized poverty.¹²¹

It is worth pondering King's preference in Newcastle for "problems" over "evils" to characterize the triumvirate of racism, poverty and war. In other expressions of similar ideas he tended to prefer the more dramatic, emotive, somehow less clinical word "evils." For example, in a speech to the Atlanta Hungry Club six months earlier, an address which the one at Frogmore, he seems to have intuitively drawn on in Newcastle, he had also excoriated "the continued existence in the world of three major evils – the evil of racism, the evil of poverty and the evil of war" as "America's Chief Moral Dilemma."¹²² Maybe the change reflected King's sensitivity to the more secular nature of British society: he may have felt "evils" carried with it the suggestion of sins before God, rather than man-made and man-judged wickedness and was therefore less appropriate for a British audience.

As at Frogmore, the Hungry Club and elsewhere, so in Newcastle, one of King's goals was to emphasize how racism and poverty were inextricably linked to war in an increasingly avaricious, competitive and unregulated world. After a protracted public silence on Vietnam, the last of those themes, war, had become an increasingly pressing matter for King since he spoke out against US involvement in South East Asia at a rally in Chicago on

March 25, 1967 and again, more famously, in a speech at New York's Riverside Church on April 4, 1967. Although not an absolute pacifist, in the sense that he acknowledged the right of self-defence and believed there was such a thing as a "just war", King had become a passionate advocate and courageous practitioner of nonviolence who was staunchly against American intervention in Vietnam and implacably opposed to the nuclear weapons that cast such a terrifying shadow over the Cold War world. In December 1957, he had written in answer to a question in *Ebony* magazine that, "I definitely feel that the development and use of nuclear weapons should be banned. It cannot be disputed that a full-scale nuclear war would be utterly catastrophic." He was convinced that "the principal objective of all nations must be the total abolition of war. War must be finally eliminated or the whole of mankind will be plunged into the abyss of annihilation."¹²³

Such beliefs had long linked King to international peace activists, including those in Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). One of the co-founders of CND, Canon John Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral, had unsuccessfully tried to get King to participate in a four-day mass march from Aldermaston, the site of Britain's Atomic Weapons Establishment, to London, scheduled for Easter 1964 and "modelled on the Washington Civil Rights March." Knowing of King's abhorrence of nuclear weapons and rejection of war more generally, Collins believed that his presence "would give a great boost to the Peace Movement in Britain."¹²⁴

In the Spring of 1967, as plans for King's visit to Newcastle were coming together, and as America sunk ever deeper into the unwinnable quagmire of Vietnam, another leading British peace and CND activist Peggy

Duff tried unsuccessfully to lure King to a World Conference on the war being organized by the International Conference for Disarmament and Peace (ICDP), of which she was General Secretary, scheduled for later that summer in Stockholm.¹²⁵ She also wrote inviting him to an event planned by a coalition of Danish peace activists in Copenhagen on July 4, 1967.¹²⁶ Duff had met King in London in December 1964 and played a role in arranging some of his engagements on that visit. Perhaps it was this personal connection that explains why he took time to call Duff about the proposed 1967 European events and arranged to meet her in San Francisco in late May, when Duff was visiting the United States.¹²⁷ Although King was unable to attend any of the events she initially proffered, Duff was apparently encouraged by their face-to-face meeting and continued to write to King on behalf of the ICDP. She certainly saw his forthcoming trip to Newcastle, which he apparently discussed with her in San Francisco, as an opportunity. On September 13, she wrote to ask if King could add an extra day to his trip and visit West German peace activists. She added that “the ICDP would itself very much appreciate the opportunity to organise a meeting for you in London while you are here.”¹²⁸

Although his November 1967 schedule proved too tight to shoehorn in any other British events, it was clear that King’s credentials as a campaigner for peace and against nuclear weapons were becoming as well recognized overseas as his work against racism. Talking briefly to the press in Newcastle after the Degree Ceremony, King reiterated his opposition to American involvement in Vietnam and his fear that the conflict could escalate into a nuclear war “which can destroy millions of people and

everything we know as civilization.” King called on President Lyndon Johnson to admit that the whole adventure was a mistake, ¹²⁹

King would have found a sympathetic audience for this message on campus. In October 1965, the Union held a vigorous debate on the motion, “America should get out of Vietnam now.” The motion was narrowly defeated, primarily on the grounds that it was impractical to demand US withdrawal as a precondition for peace negotiations, but there was widespread sentiment against the “morality of America’s action.” A month later the *Courier* reported that “one of the most enthusiastic forms of protest by students in recent years has been that involving nuclear disarmament.” Among a relatively conservative, temperate student body, the Vietnam War and nuclear weapons were consistent and rising topics for concern by the time King arrived in Newcastle to condemn both.¹³⁰ Indeed, across the city and region, there were lively branches of CND, many of them involving people who need little persuading that somehow racial oppression, economic inequality and militarism were inextricably tied together. “I was a serious and politically aware youngster, involved in the movements of the time, including the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the Young Socialists and the Anti-Apartheid Movement,” remembered Fiona Clarke.¹³¹

Speaking to the Hungry Club in Atlanta in May, King had referred to racial injustice as “still the Negro’s burden and America’s shame.” Tweaking the language in Newcastle, King deftly internationalised his basic point, describing racism as “still the coloured man’s burden and the white man’s shame.” He also ended his speech in Newcastle, just as he had done at the Hungry Club, and as he did on many other occasions, with a favourite quote

from the Old Testament prophet Amos and his stirring vision of “the day when all over the world justice will roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.”¹³²

For many who heard King’s Newcastle speech, it was a profoundly moving experience. Dorothy Booth, for example, remembered “being quite spellbound by his speech,” while the Vice Chancellor described it as “an unprepared but unforgettable address.” Ken Jack, a professor of chemistry at the University and a member of the Honorary Degree Committee, clearly appreciated the significance of the award in the context of King’s domestic tribulations. “In a time of great difficulty and stress for him, I was very pleased that the University was courageous enough to honour him.”¹³³

Pleasure at the award was almost universal, with the only documented expression of dissent taking the form of a bizarre letter advising that, in the light of the FBI’s and, by extension, the United States government’s hostility toward King, the decision to honour him would effectively prevent any Newcastle graduates finding employment in America. “One cannot slap the face metaphorically of the FBI and get away with it,” Edwin Fenwick warned in a letter to the Vice-Chancellor. Although the extent of the FBI’s surveillance and harassment was not public knowledge at the time, the British press had reported J. Edgar Hoover’s characterization of King as “the most notorious liar in the country,” shortly after the civil rights leader’s nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize. Again, it appears as if King’s travails in the United States were no secret to North East observers.¹³⁴ Unphased, Bosanquet wrote back, thanking Fenwick for his “original thoughts about the possible consequences of the action of this

University in conferring the honorary degree of DCL upon Dr. Martin Luther King,” and tartly adding that “this action has given very great satisfaction to many citizens of the United States which remains a free country.”¹³⁵

Looking back after nearly 50 years, another of those in attendance on the day, Peter H. Woodhead, put his finger on the enduring power of King’s speech, particularly in its recognition of the intersecting evils of racism, poverty and war: “What an analysis, and what foresight, for these words might have been spoken yesterday, and yet right true across the world today. Did he die in vain? I hope not, as his inspiration still lives on, in me for one.”¹³⁶ Meredyth Bell (née Patton), the deputy president of the Students’ Representative Council, had met with King over coffee earlier that morning and been deeply impressed by both his presence and his humility—and by the lovely mohair suits King and Young wore. “I don’t think he was a terribly tall man,” she recalled, “but he seemed it...he seemed to me quite a force to be reckoned with. Yet when you spoke with him he was a very gentle man.” King, Bell explained, had the rare ability to make everyone he spoke to seem as if they were the sole focus of his attention. In the King’s Hall, however, as he eased into his “awesome” speech, King seemed “like a different person.” Bell was particularly struck by the richness of King’s language, especially when he concluded his remarks with a vision of transforming “the jangling discords of our nation, and of all the nations of the world, into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood.” As she remembered, “Because he spoke slowly and meaningfully, you hung on every word. And as his speech developed he had the entire audience rapt.” Moreover, few could miss the central

message. “He wanted the end of poverty, the end of war, and the end of racism. That was what his speech was about,” said Bell.¹³⁷

Paul Barry, the *Courier* photographer who took some of the best informal images of the day, was similarly in awe of and inspired by King’s speech. “When he did the ceremony and gave his speech,” Barry remembered, “the atmosphere was electric...He had a sort of slow manner; he was not delivering his words hurriedly, but he put some sort of meaning into every syllable.” Already interested in the US civil rights movement and CND, Barry responded immediately to King’s call “for all men of good will to work passionately and unrelentingly to get rid of racial injustice, whether it exists in the United States of America whether it exists in England, or whether it exists in South Africa, wherever it is alive it must be defeated.” Barry joined the campus anti-apartheid movement which sought to end sporting links between the University’s rugby team and those at South African universities. When they failed to halt a proposed tour by South African teams, Barry was among a small but dedicated group of demonstrators from Newcastle and Durham Universities who protested at and temporarily disrupted the first match against Orange Free State University.¹³⁸

Half a century later, King’s words in Newcastle retain their analytical bite – who would argue that racism, poverty and war are not still among the greatest challenges the world face? – and their inspirational and emotional power. Moreover, that power, doubtless affected by our knowledge that this was the last time King would give a public address outside of North America and that not six months later he would be felled by an assassin’s bullet in

Memphis, transcends the boundaries of time and place. In other words, it is not just a legitimate regional pride that makes this such an enduring statement of King's vision of a pathway to a fairer, more compassionate and peaceful world. "You can tell the occasion meant a great deal to him and you can see he was exhausted. You could hear it in his voice," commented Kasim Reed, the Mayor of Atlanta, when shown film of King's lost Newcastle speech by BBC journalist Murphy Cobbing in 2014. "If you are an excellent orator - and I think he was one of the very best that ever lived - then the occasion will change you and it clearly changed that speech and made it special." Other Americans to whom Cobbing showed the footage were similarly moved. "It was vintage Martin Luther King Junior - riveting, eloquent and penetrating," purred Raphael Warnock, one of King's successors as Pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta. "One of the things that strikes me is the way his words are so incredibly relevant all of these years later," Warnock continued. "Here's a man who had a schedule busier than many heads of state and I think it was important for him even in the midst of a dogged schedule to make his way across the pond to help the people in that audience, to raise their consciousness around those issues so the reverberations of the movement would continue."¹³⁹

And yet, while King's Newcastle speech retains its astonishing power to move and motivate, to inform and inspire across oceans and generations, it was very much a product of its time and many of its most significant contemporary resonances were certainly a function of place. In other words, to understand better the full import of King's words and the deeper historic significances of his visit to Newcastle we need to go back, not just to 1967

and a particularly volatile moment in the history of British race relations, but much further back into the history of North East race relations, to the story of the region's interest in and connections to the African American freedom struggle, and to related histories of political radicalism and peace activism in the region.

Chapter Four

“God Bless the Policy of Emancipation!”: The North East and the 19th Century African American Freedom Struggle

In the summer of 1838, the same year that Earl Grey’s Monument was completed, the apprenticeship system in British colonies set up by the 1833 Abolition of Slavery Act finally ended. Many in the North East had campaigned against “the sufferings of the so called Negro Apprentices,” and petitioned “for their immediate and unconditional emancipation,” as the record of a January 1838 anti-slavery meeting at Newcastle’s Hood Street Salem Chapel, featuring George Thompson as the keynote speaker, put it.¹⁴⁰ Consequently, its demise prompted another round of celebrations on Tyneside, at Salem Chapel and in the Turks Head Long Room on the Bigge Market.¹⁴¹ But while slavery in the British Empire was over, the institution continued elsewhere, not least in the United States of America, which provided a new focus for abolitionist activities in the North East. Many of those most actively involved in abolitionist circles were also at the forefront of North East peace activism, recognizing, as King would a century later, that war, racism and economic injustice were often interconnected and always did violence to the possibility of a just and harmonious world.

A Newcastle Auxiliary to the national Peace Society (formally called the London Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace) was founded in 1817. After a period of relative inactivity, the Auxiliary grew in the 1830s, when it became increasingly militant in its absolutist rejection of any attempt to justify war. In its 1831 report, the Auxiliary urged “fellow-townsmen” to embrace the peace movement, believing “that the day is not

very distant when the sublime precepts of the Lord Jesus Christ to his disciples, 'Love your enemies, do good to them who hate you,' will be clearly seen to be incompatible with war, how specious soever may be the pretext on which it is undertaken."¹⁴² Six years later, the Newcastle Auxiliary stated its intention "simply to shed light on the abstract principles of justice and mercy" for all peoples of the world. It pledged "to place these principles prominently before the view of men of every rank, and colour, and clime; that all men may see and feel that an appeal to the sword, whether individually, as in the case of duelling; or on a more fearfully extended scale, as in national warfare, is as utterly subversive of the eternal principles of right and wrong..."¹⁴³

In 1842 the Newcastle Peace Society separated from the national Peace Society to become an independent entity for eight years. Once more Quakers and other religious Non-Conformists were to the fore, with the Peases in Darlington and the Richardsons in Newcastle especially prominent until mid-century. Another Quaker, Gateshead-born lawyer and subsequently secretary and then president of the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, Robert Spence Watson was a leading light from the 1860s. There was even more overlap between the peace and anti-slavery movements in their shared emphasis on publicity through pamphleteering and the press, and in the transatlantic nature of their activities. *The Advocate of Peace*, the official organ of the New York-based American Peace Society, carried notices from the London-based British *Herald of Peace*, including accounts of an 1835 lecture tour by Rev. James Hargreaves that took in Stockton, Gateshead and Newcastle.¹⁴⁴ Acutely aware of the value of

publicity for peace work, Anna Richardson edited *The Olive Leaf*, a magazine especially aimed at children. She also edited *The Slave* – an abolitionist periodical she founded with her husband Henry – and *Monthly Illustrations of American Slavery* which from 1847 served as a kind of international news distribution service on slavery for hundreds of newspapers.¹⁴⁵

The focus on the United States among North East abolitionists increased steadily between 1833 and 1861, the year in which southern slaveholding states seceded from the Union to create the Confederate States of America and precipitated four years of bitter and bloody Civil War. Mid-19th Century interest in American slavery was further stimulated by the constant stream of black and white American abolitionists and entertainers visiting the region, in addition to appearances by British anti-slavery campaigners who had toured the United States. Indeed, the very number and calibre of these visitors reflected the North East's status as a centre of British anti-slavery activity. Cumulatively, these visits consolidated a regional sense of solidarity with the struggle for African American freedom. Meanwhile, North East abolitionists worked hard to cultivate transatlantic connections and networks, hoping to generate international pressure to end the institution or at least to oppose its extension into new territories and states as the United States expanded westwards.

Arguably the most important American involved in the campaign to court British support in the middle third of the 19th Century was William Lloyd Garrison, founder-editor of *The Liberator*. Garrison especially targeted female anti-slavery groups in Britain. An advocate of women's suffrage as well as of an immediate end to slavery, Garrison first visited England,

though not the North East, between May and August 1833. He reported on the extent of British women's involvement in the anti-slavery cause, hoping to inspire similar efforts in the United States. His British colleagues Charles Stuart and George Thompson conducted a reciprocal tour of the United States in 1834 and worked tirelessly to promote international exchanges of information, ideas and sometimes financial support. In Darlington, for example, the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society led by Elizabeth Pease responded to an appeal by the Ladies' Association of New England, itself prompted by a visit from Thompson, to publish a declaration of solidarity with their American abolitionist sisters that was reproduced in many anti-slavery newspapers. In April 1836, the Newcastle Ladies' Emancipation Society was organized following Thompson's March 30 appearance at the Newcastle Friends' Meeting House on Pilgrim Street, probably accompanied by the indefatigable Pease. Following in the footsteps of their Darlington colleagues, the Newcastle Ladies' Emancipation Society also sent a widely circulated expression of support to America in December 1836.¹⁴⁶

Elizabeth Pease, whose father Joseph had founded the national Peace Society in 1817, combined an unflappable commitment to peace, temperance, and Chartism with anti-slavery activism. Initially concentrating on her work with the Darlington Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, in June 1840 she travelled to the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London and met with leading American campaigners, including Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Delegations to the conference were also sent from the anti-slavery societies in Newcastle, South Shields and Sunderland.¹⁴⁷ The organizer of the Convention was Birmingham-based Quaker Joseph Sturge who used the

occasion to promote the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society he had launched in April 1839. At a time when women's participation in such public political events was still widely frowned upon, Sturge declared that Pease and the handful of other women delegates would not be allowed to take part. It mattered little to Sturge that Pease and her Darlington Ladies had been instrumental in helping him establish his Central Negro Emancipation Committee in 1837.

Male opinion on the ruling was split. Lewis Tappan, William Lloyd Garrison's main rival in American abolitionist circles, opposed the involvement of women. A gradualist, Tappan actually questioned the legitimacy of political protest, rather than educational and propaganda efforts, on the slavery issue. He had been hostile to the initial open invitation from Sturge and supported a second call for delegates in February 1840 that stipulated only "gentlemen" need attend. In America, this controversy deepened the rift between more radical, immediatist Garrisonians and supporters of Tappan, who broke away to form their own American and Foreign Slavery Society in May 1840. As it transpired most of the American delegates who did show up in London in June, including Wendell Phillips, Henry B. Stanton and Garrison himself, vehemently supported the women's right to participate. In the end, however, a shoddy compromise saw Pease and her fellow female delegates seated in a segregated section, away from the main arena of discussion and debate. It was a reminder of how the struggle for African American freedom and equality was connected to other struggles against prejudice and discrimination, in this case based on gender.¹⁴⁸

Differences of opinion over the place of women in British abolitionism provided just one source of tension within a movement which was never wholly in agreement on tactics, timetable or rationales for ending slavery. Garrison appealed to British abolitionists to support his radical, immediatist American Anti-Slavery Society as part of a global struggle against the evil institution. In response, in 1836 British abolitionists founded the national Universal Abolition Society, dedicated to aiding American anti-slavery activities and opposing foreign participation or complicity in the slave trade.¹⁴⁹ North East abolitionists, many still bristling at both the “apprenticeship” provisions and the compensation paid to planters under the Abolition of Slavery Act, followed suit.

Generally speaking the North East region followed Garrisonian calls for immediate emancipation and supported a boycott of slave-produced goods.¹⁵⁰ In Newcastle, on March 31, 1836, the leading local anti-slavery group was ambitiously renamed the Society for Abolishing Slavery all over the World, with anti-slavery veteran John Edward Swinburne as President, Thomas Wentworth Beaumont, MP and Robert Ormston among its Vice-Presidents, and the redoubtable Rev. William Turner on its committee. George Thompson spoke at the Brunswick Place Wesleyan Chapel meeting when the Society adopted its new name and passed a motion that took direct aim at “the cruel and abominable system of Slavery at present existing in several of the United States of North America.” The Society recognized, however, that racial prejudice and discrimination was not only evident in the slaveholding southern states. It excoriated “the vile and odious distinction of colour obtaining in them all” and noted how the

mistreatment of African Americans contravened the tenets of the much-admired American Declaration of Independence, with its affirmation that “all men are created equal—and that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights—that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” Slavery also flouted “the golden rule of the Divine Founder of Christianity, which enjoins, ‘Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them’.” In Newcastle, then, religious conviction fused with the typically enlightenment commitment to individual rights enshrined in the Declaration of Independence. This potent blend of political ideology and religiously rooted moral conviction was similar to Garrison’s own passionate brand of urgent abolitionism. Indeed, the initial resolutions of the Society ended with an expression of sympathy for its transatlantic “brethren in the cause of universal freedom in America, under the persecutions to which they are subjected.”¹⁵¹

Garrison first visited the North East in 1846 and discovered a hotbed of abolitionist fervour. Accompanied by George Thompson, Garrison arrived in Darlington on Wednesday October 15 for a meeting with the ubiquitous Elizabeth Pease. From Darlington, Garrison and Thompson travelled to Newcastle, arriving on October 17 to address what Garrison later described as “the most densely crowded and enthusiastic meeting I have yet encountered on this side of the Atlantic.” A public breakfast followed the next day, hosted by the Unitarian minister of the Hanover Square Chapel, Rev. George Harris, while the Mayor of Newcastle, Thomas Emerson Headlam, presided over a public meeting.¹⁵²

Before leaving Newcastle, Garrison met briefly with the mother and sister of Harriet Martineau, another important British abolitionist with close connections to the North East. Her mother, Elizabeth Rankin Martineau, was the daughter of a Newcastle grocer and, ironically given Harriet's staunch opposition to slavery, sugar refiner. Although Harriet was born in Norwich in 1802, she moved back to the region for health reasons in late 1839. After spending 6 months living in Newcastle at 28, Eldon Square with her sister Elizabeth and brother-in-law, the eminent doctor Thomas Michael Greenhow, on March 16, 1840 Martineau relocated to 12 Front Street, in Tynemouth. She stayed for five years, developing a fierce loyalty for the coastal town. In February 1843 she teasingly rebuked her friend Fanny Wedgewood for suggesting she lived upstream in urban Newcastle rather than in the small but prosperous town at the mouth of the Tyne. Martineau wrote excitedly of how the move had done wonders for her condition: "I am sure that the general effect on my health must be very great," but she also admonished, "Shall I once more say (for the sake of not losing your letters) that we live *not* at *Newcastle* but at *Tynemouth*: and that we have no more to do with Newcastle than with York?"¹⁵³

Martineau's health remained fragile in Tynemouth, but she continued to be a prolific writer, astute analyst of social structures, and formidable champion of many progressive causes. Indeed, Martineau was already something of a radical celebrity by the time she returned to her North East roots. In particular, her three volume *Society in America*, published in 1837, was a pioneering work of sociological observation, which condemned, among many other American shortcomings, the nation's neglect of women's

education and civil rights, and acceptance of slavery.¹⁵⁴ The following December, Martineau published *The Martyr Age of the United States*, her report on the travails of contemporary American abolitionists. The essay, which originally appeared in the *London and Westminster Review*, was quickly republished by various anti-slavery organizations in Britain and the United States, including the Oberlin Institute, a pioneering bi-racial educational facility for men and women in Ohio. Martineau greatly admired Oberlin and, in 1840, authorized a reprint of *The Martyr Age* by the Newcastle upon Tyne Emancipation and Aborigines Society that raised £500 for the college.¹⁵⁵

Another famous, if more fleeting visitor was Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of the 1852 international best seller *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Like much of Britain, the North East had succumbed to "Uncle Tom Mania." The anti-slavery novel was favourably reviewed and then serialised in the *Chronicle* from later October to Christmas 1852. The paper also advertised an "Uncle Tom's Cabin Almanack." This was "an Abolitionist Memento" whose "contents will demonstrate the Truth of the Scenes depicted in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, as drawn from the Lives of celebrated Individuals once in Captivity as Negro Slaves."¹⁵⁶ Four years later, Stowe visited Newcastle and attended Durham Cathedral in October 1856 while on tour to promote her new novel, *Dred: A Tale of the Dismal Swamp*.¹⁵⁷ In December 1857, *Dred* was adapted for the stage and performed at Newcastle's Theatre Royal and Sunderland's New Lyceum, where the book's abolitionist themes were specially enhanced for the region's enthusiastic anti-slavery audiences by the addition of a new character, Jane, a fugitive slave.¹⁵⁸ By this time, however, the North East

had little need for dramatic impersonations of runaway slaves; the region was getting very used to welcoming the real thing.

While there was plenty of racial condescension in some of the language used to exhort whites to support emancipation and, as we shall see in Chapter Seven, the North East was hardly devoid of racist attitudes or racial conflicts, visits from black abolitionists helped to establish the basis for some measure of racial tolerance and understanding in the region. It was during this period that much of the groundwork for the cultures of welcome that would later be widely attributed to and proudly claimed by the region was laid. Crucial in this process, was the procession of charismatic African American anti-slavery activists, many of them fugitive slaves, some of them consummate performers with memoirs to hawk and stage shows to promote, who passed through the region. These visitors challenged racist stereotypes and made anti-slavery pleas on a variety of ethical, political and religious grounds, not least a sense of shared humanity.

One of the earliest and most significant of these black visitors was Olaudah Equiano, known in his lifetime as Gustavus Vassa. Historians continue to debate whether Equiano was born a slave in South Carolina, or as he claimed in his oft-revised autobiography, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, the African*, captured as a child from the Eboe province in the south of modern Nigeria and shipped first to Barbados and then to colonial Virginia. What seems certain, however, is that Equiano ended up working as a barber-cum-valet-cum-deckhand for a prosperous Quaker shipping merchant, Robert Kay, who allowed him to work for himself on the side and supported his efforts to

improve his education. In 1767, Equiano purchased his own freedom and settled in England, although he spent much of the next 20 years at sea.

In the 1780s, Equiano became increasingly involved in anti-slavery campaigns. He became a friend and colleague of Granville Sharp, informing the Durham-born abolitionist about the 1781 Zong massacre in which 133 slaves were murdered by the crew of a slave ship en route to Jamaica. The slaves were thrown overboard to save dwindling water supplies after a series of navigational errors had sent the ship off course. The massacre took place partly to save the lives of the ailing crew and some of the human cargo, but mainly to enable the ship's Liverpool-based owners to file an insurance claim for loss of property, which would have been impossible had the slaves reached land before they died. Between them Equiano and Sharp made this sordid tale, and the 1783 court cases over the insurance claim by the slave-trading syndicate that sponsored the voyage, a rallying cry for abolitionists across the country. Although the legal proceedings ended on appeal with a ruling that the insurers were not liable to pay compensation, the fact that there was no punishment for those who had killed the slaves helped to galvanize anti-slave trade sentiment.¹⁵⁹

The Zong affair marked Equiano's emergence as a major, rather exotic figure in British abolitionist circles. Inevitably, given the North East's burgeoning reputation as a bastion of anti-slave trade agitation, he made his way to the region. The 1789 first edition of his memoir was readily available in Newcastle, where in 1791 it featured among the 5,416 texts available for loan from R. Fischer's Circulating Library to the literate and relatively well-heeled patrons who paid its 12s annual membership fee. That September,

Equiano advertised the latest edition of his autobiography in the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* and gave a series of lectures in Newcastle, lodging at Robert Darnton's bookshop opposite the Turk's Head public house in the Bigge (sic) Market.¹⁶⁰ He also visited St. Anthony's Colliery, where he went under the River Tyne to experience the cramped and dangerous conditions endured by northern miners.¹⁶¹ It was the sort of gesture that helped to create the idea, not wholly fanciful, if often far too simplistic, of an affinity between the white working-class in the North East and other victims of economic exploitation and political powerlessness; an affinity that might transcend racial differences.

Equiano, like many who followed him to the North East a generation later, appreciated the hospitality—and book sales—he enjoyed in the region. After his departure, he wrote to the *Chronicle* offering:

warmest thanks of a heart growing with gratitude to you, for your fellow-feeling for the Africans and their cause. Having received marks of kindness, from you who have purchased my interesting narrative, particularly from George Johnson, Esq. of Byker, I am therefore happy that my narrative has afforded pleasure in the perusal; and heartily will all of you every blessing that this world can afford, and every fullness of joy which divine revelation has promised us in the next.¹⁶²

In the mid-19th Century, as the sectional crisis in the United States between free and slaveholding states worsened, the procession of black

abolitionists arriving in Britain and making their way to the North East lengthened. The Ladies Negro Friend and Emancipation Society in Newcastle sponsored visits by abolitionist Charles Lenox Remond, the son of free Massachusetts blacks, and Dr. James Pennington, a Brooklyn-based minister and abolitionist who had escaped slavery in Maryland in 1827 when he was 19 years old and later become Yale University's first African American student.¹⁶³ The Society also paid £25 towards bringing Henry Highland Garnet from New York to England, where he travelled the country, lecturing against the evils of slavery and for a boycott of slave-produced goods. Garnet helped to revitalize the ethical consumerism associated with the North East's "Free Produce Movement" that often had Quakers at the helm.¹⁶⁴ Remond alone may have inspired the formation of as many as 13 new anti-slavery, pro-boycott societies in the region.¹⁶⁵ Again Anna and Henry Richardson were at the heart of things. They welcomed the entire Garnet family into their home, then at 89, Blanford Street in Newcastle, and arranged an event at the city's Independent Chapel in which a succession of speakers denounced American slavery and in particular the Fugitive Slave Act.¹⁶⁶ This much-reviled Act was part of the Compromise of 1850 that temporarily arrested the slide into Civil War. However, it did so at the cost of appeasing southern slave power by allowing slavery in some of the new western lands secured by the United States during the Mexican War of 1846-8 if it was the will of the majority of the people in those territories. Even more odiously, the Act supported the right of slave-owners to pursue their escaped "property" throughout the entire United States.

The Compromise of 1850 was directly responsible for the presence on Tyneside of another escaped slave. James Watkins, originally known as Sam Berry and born on a plantation in Maryland in 1821, had escaped in 1844. Like so many others in his situation, Watkins was “thrown into the greatest disquietude and peril, by the enactment of the ‘American Fugitive Slave Law’” in 1850. In 1851 he sought sanctuary in England and the following year published his memoirs, which explained the particular threat of the new Fugitive Slave Law for British readers. “This atrocious and abominable law makes it a great crime, punishable with heavy fines and imprisonment, to be either directly or indirectly a party to the escape of a slave. It also appoints Commissioners and Assistant-Commissioners throughout the so-called Free States, to see after catching the fugitives, and returning them to their owners.”¹⁶⁷ As Watkins pointed out, the Fugitive Slave Act required officials and citizens of free states to cooperate in the return of runaway slaves to their lawful master. On both sides of the Atlantic, this Act intensified abolitionist opposition to slavery. By implicating the North and federal authorities in the perpetuation of slavery, it ensured that in Britain, neither slavery nor the racial prejudice and discrimination upon which it rested, were seen as exclusively southern problems.

James Watkins was somewhat sceptical about those radicals he encountered in England who glibly proclaimed a common experience among the labourers of the industrial north and the slaves of America. “Since I have been in England,” he wrote in 1852,

I have often been surprised to hear working-men declare, that they, too, know what slavery is. They argue, that they are compelled to work very hard and long, for little pay, and this they call 'slavery,' forgetting all the while, that they can, at any time, give a fortnight or month's notice to their employers that they are going to leave, and then, they are at liberty to improve their circumstances, if they can. All this is very different to being placed on the auction block, and knocked off to the highest bidder, with the same case and as little consideration as a piece of old furniture is done in any English marketplace....When I hear people talk thus, I fear they don't comprehend the subject....I prize my freedom above every earthly blessing.¹⁶⁸

In Newcastle, in October of the same year, the *Chronicle* had also dismissed simplistic analogies between industrial labour and slavery. "In our minds there is no parallel whatsoever; for however hard our working populations have to toil for their daily bread, at all events they are not bought and sold like cattle." Grim though conditions and remunerations were for most British factory and agricultural workers, they had a measure of freedom, a range of possibilities for improvement, and certain protections at law from violence and abuse that slaves and their families simply did not enjoy.¹⁶⁹

By the time Watkins prepared the 23rd edition of his popular autobiography, this time for publication in Newcastle in 1864, he was highly attuned to British racial attitudes. On one hand, he recognized from

personal experience white susceptibility to the seductive pull of racial stereotyping, which allowed whites to be simultaneously titillated, fascinated and appalled by the imagined characteristics of non-whites. "Through the ignorance and the prejudice of a certain portion of this community, we coloured people have been calumniated, and ideas have been disseminated in relation to us, which have no foundation in fact, but have only originated in the malice of people who have made it their business to misrepresent us; thus, for instance, we often hear English mothers and servants threaten a naughty child with being handed over to "Black Sam," or "The Black Man," & c."¹⁷⁰

On the other hand, Watkins joined many of his fellow fugitives in celebrating the warmth, generosity and genuine support he received from many sections of the British public:

Whilst I have had the honour of being cordially received by the higher classes, and by some of the nobility of this country (and for the encouragement they have given me I am deeply grateful), yet I would not forget the thousands and tens of thousands of the poorer classes, or, as they are called, the 'lower orders,' who have received me with unexampled kindness, and have so nobly rallied round the cause which I advocated, and have shown, in a most decided and unmistakable manner, their abounding sympathy for the slave, and their utter detestation of the slave's oppressor.

Here again was an invocation of a community of feeling, of interracial solidarity which progressives in the North East would frequently celebrate as indicative of the region's relatively good race relations and dominant cultures of welcome. As Watkins continued, "Though these people are spoken of as the 'working' and the 'lower classes,' I have never found their sympathies less warm, their generosity less cheerful, nor the instincts of their hearts less noble, than those who are far above them in worldly wealth and influence."¹⁷¹

Another notable African American visitor who became even more enamoured of the region was William Wells Brown. An ex-slave and author in 1853 of *Clotel, or the President's Daughter*, the first novel published by a black American, Brown believed there was real warmth and sincerity in the reception he received on Tyneside. "Of the places favourable to reformers of all kinds, calculated to elevate and benefit mankind, Newcastle-on-Tyne doubtless takes the lead," he wrote. "In no place in the United Kingdom has the American Slave warmer friends than in Newcastle."¹⁷²

Brown first visited Darlington and then Newcastle in November and December 1849 on what turned out to be a three year-long speaking tour of Europe. His sojourn included a visit to the August 1849 Peace Convention in Paris as a member of the American Peace Committee for a Congress of Nations, again indicating the intimate connection between international struggles for peace and those for racial justice. Using Newcastle as his base for extensive touring in the north of England, Brown was another guest of Henry and Anna Richardson, by this time living at 5, Summerhill Grove.

While in Newcastle, he wrote a new introduction to the fourth, British edition of his *Narrative of William W. Brown, An American Slave*, a best-selling memoir of his experiences of slavery and his escape to freedom initially published in Boston in 1847.¹⁷³ In Newcastle, he also arranged with J. Blackwell, publisher of the *Newcastle Courant*, to produce a British version of *The Anti-Slavery Harp*, a compendium of abolitionist songs suitable for use at anti-slavery meetings that would “bring before the English people, in a cheap form, a few spirited Melodies against Chattel Slavery.”¹⁷⁴

Blackwell’s role here, like that of other abolitionist Tyneside publishers and newspaper proprietors, including Brown and Green, J. Clark, and Joseph Cowen, indicates how the emergence of progressive politics on Tyneside in general and of anti-slavery activism in particular, depended heavily on a vibrant print and reading culture in the city. Enlightened views in an enlightenment city relied on an informed citizenry. One key to Tyneside radicalism was an expanding, literate population and widely available material for it to read, whether in elite, subscriber institutions like the “Lit and Phil” and the Assembly Rooms, or in public libraries, or via a dynamic local press and pamphleteering culture that, as early as the mid-17th Century, had already earned the city a national reputation as a centre of printing. It has been estimated that between 1626 and 1860, some 1,700 people across the counties of Northumberland and Durham were employed in some aspect of the book trade.¹⁷⁵

To keep himself alive as well as to raise consciousness and support for the anti-slavery cause, Brown sold copies of his books and gave many

speeches to packed audiences in the region, particularly in Darlington, where he was a guest of the Pease family, and in Newcastle, where his first lecture, at the Nelson Street Lecture Room on December 11, 1849, was filled to overflowing. Brown “was received with loud cheers,” and there was unanimous support for a resolution that offered the meeting’s “warmest and most cordial congratulations” to Brown, on his visit to the region. Moreover, in a genuinely radical insistence on full equality for non-whites, those assembled repudiated “the doctrine of the inferiority of the African race, and regarding Mr. Brown as a representative of this oppressed people...unreservedly recognise his right to perfect social, political and religious equality, a right received from the hands of his Creator.”¹⁷⁶

Between 400 and 500 people also attended a public tea at the Music Hall on January 3, 1850, when Brown received a specially sewn purse containing 20 sovereigns raised by the local community.¹⁷⁷ In October and November of the same year, again with the support of the Richardsons and some shrewd advertising in the local press, Brown held the first exhibition of an elaborate panorama which used some of his own sketches and paintings, augmented by the work of others to depict the evils of American slavery alongside episodes from his own life at the Commercial Sales Room near Grey’s Monument.¹⁷⁸ In mid-December 1850, The same month, Brown presented his Panorama at the Seaman’s Hall in South Shields and a couple of years later again at the town’s Central Hall.¹⁷⁹

Around the same time, Brown also welcomed William Craft to Newcastle, where they shared the spotlight at a March 13, 1851 Anti-Slavery Meeting in the Nelson Street Lecture Room, when Craft explained how he

and his wife Ellen had made a particularly daring escape from slavery in Georgia with Ellen posing as a white master to William's black slave.¹⁸⁰ Although abolitionists had rallied to protect the couple in Boston after the Fugitive Slave Act, they sought refuge first in Canada and then in England. On arrival in Liverpool in late 1850, Ellen was taken ill, but William travelled to meet Brown in Newcastle.¹⁸¹ Brown, who often appeared at public events alongside the Crafts, acted as a mentor to the couple. So, too, did Harriet Martineau. Following a meeting with the Crafts and Brown at her new Lake District home in Ambleside, Martineau arranged for them to go to Ockham School in Sussex to undergo intensive lessons in reading and writing. Martineau believed this was necessary to prepare them for a life as effective abolitionist propagandists.¹⁸²

The Crafts eventually spent 18 years in Britain, finally returning to the United States in 1868. Before that, however, in August 1863, with the US Civil War raging, William Craft had returned to Tyneside to engage representatives of the British so-called scientific community in one of the most dramatic assaults on racist stereotyping of the century. On August 27, 1863, renowned British scientist and anthropologist Dr James Hunt presented a paper to the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Newcastle. In his talk on "The Physical and Mental Characteristics of the Negro" Hunt presented a range of physiological "evidence," especially around the thickness of black skulls, to support his argument that people of African descent were congenitally inferior in intelligence and higher physical functions when compared to whites. When Hunt finished, Craft rose to mercilessly mock and systematically refute the

anatomical evidence upon which it was based. If blacks did, indeed, have thicker skulls, Craft teased, God had doubtless arranged this to protect them from the kind of racist fallacies peddled by Hunt and many other scientists in 19th Century Britain; without thick skulls, he suggested “[our] brains would probably have become very much like those of many scientific gentlemen of the present day.”¹⁸³

As he filleted Hunt’s decidedly fishy argumentation, Craft paused to offer homilies (“Englishmen were not all Shakespeares”) and amusing anecdotes, drawing applause and laughter from the audience. Above all, Craft insisted that circumstances, environment and opportunity, not genes, blood, and bone structure were what determined the achievements of different races, at different times, in different places.¹⁸⁴ This was precisely the argument that “A Free Born Briton” had made when urging North East support for abolitionist candidates in the 1826 elections and that Martin Luther King would make in Newcastle in 1967 when he dismissed racism as the “myth of the inferior race; it is the notion that a particular race is worthless and degraded innately...It is the idea that the very being of a people is inferior.”¹⁸⁵ Taking on Hunt’s accusation that the stooped posture of “negroes” was evidence of their closer proximity to a simian past, Craft sparked cheers of approval by comparing them to local white farm labourers: “As to the [N]egro not being erect, the same thing might be said of agricultural laborers in this country.” Back-breaking field work, not hereditary traits, were the crucial factors here. As one report of the encounter described, Craft even reminded his audience that “When Julius Caesar came to this country, he said of the natives that they were such

stupid people that they were not fit to make slaves of in Rome (laughter).” He reflected that “It had taken a long time to make Englishmen what they now were,” adding that there was ample evidence to show that, once free of the bonds of slavery “negroes... made very rapid progress when placed in advantageous circumstances.” At the end of his speech, Craft was cheered by an audience who heard in his eloquent, informed and witty performance living refutation of Hunt’s theories.¹⁸⁶

Other influential black visitors to the region similarly challenged the myths of inherent black indolence, childishness, primitivism and ignorance that permeated a lot of white European thinking about peoples of African descent. Collectively and individually these visitors provided an important counterweight to racist ideas that circulated throughout elite political and mass popular culture and helped to shape and sustain British imperial policies and ambitions. After all, the rise of the abolitionist sentiment in Britain and the fascination with African American visitors took place as the nation expanded its Empire in Africa, Asia, Australasia and the Caribbean in an imperial adventure that often involved the subjugation of non-white populations. As historian Vanessa Dickerson puts it, “a century that saw the nation colonize other, often darker-skinned people...also saw Britain contribute its share of so-called empirical evidence to the European underwriting of biological determinism and scientific racism.” In other words, Britain was complicit in constructing precisely the kinds of Eurocentric racist myths that African American visitors and their white allies were working to dismantle.¹⁸⁷

This was no easy task. In the mid-19th Century, black-face minstrelsy, with its broad caricatures of black life and demeaning portrayals of black intelligence, became the most popular entertainment form in the Atlantic World. Sam Watkins had decried the vogue for minstrelsy for precisely these reasons. “We have public exhibitions in pot-houses and low singing rooms of men who black their faces, and perform such outlandish antics as were never seen amongst the negroes, and who profess to imitate, but who in reality only caricature men of my race.”¹⁸⁸

Victorian Tynesiders enjoyed minstrelsy. Following an enormously successful British tour in 1836 by Thomas Dartmouth (“Daddy”) Rice, the creator of the staple blackface minstrel character Jim Crow, who would subsequently lend his name to the system of racial apartheid in the US South, and then in 1843, by the Christy Minstrels, Newcastle ballad and broadsheet publishers W. & T. Fordyce and W.R. Walker published collections of minstrel tunes. The Fordyce company’s *Jim Crow’s Song Book* even included a song called “Jim Crow’s Visit to Newcastle,” while Walker’s firm, based in Newcastle’s Royal Arcade, put out *The Banjo Songster* featuring songs such as “Dere’s Someone in De House Wid Dinah” and later published a particularly vile piece of racial caricature involving graphic violence, callous murder and wanton promiscuity called “Miss Lucy Neal.”¹⁸⁹

Throughout the 19th Century and well into the 20th Century, minstrel shows and other stage presentations further exposed Tynesiders to stock stereotypes about African Americans – perpetually happy, superstitious, ignorant, and full of childish mischief – often enjoying life in an idyllic Old South. In Newcastle, Cobb and Chapman, self-declared “Delineators of

Negro Life,” appeared at the Victoria Music Hall in 1861; William Ceda’s “Troupe of Negro Minstrels” played the Oxford Music Hall in 1868; in September 1893, the vogue for burnt-cork minstrelsy during the summer prompted the *Newcastle Courant* to declare “the present season has been essentially a Nigger’s season”; when the revue *In Dixieland* played at the Empire Theatre in February 1914, it was praised for “embodying southern songs, southern dances, and impersonations of Southern characters – a lifelike picture of the Negro as he and she is”; *The Sugar Baby* musical revue ran at the Empire in early 1918, featuring the “negro eccentrics” Harry Scott and Eddie Whaley.¹⁹⁰ Although Scott and Whaley were Kentucky-born African Americans, they performed in Newcastle and Sunderland very much in the blackface minstrel tradition.¹⁹¹ Indeed, they would later become stalwarts of the BBC’s popular radio show, *Kentucky Minstrels* that ran from 1933 to 1950 and even starred in a 1934 film of the same name (possibly the first blacks to star in a British feature film).¹⁹² Thus, they joined a succession of blackface performers who helped to weave one distorted thread into the tapestry of British ideas about race and attitudes towards peoples of African descent. Fortunately, there were other, rather different threads in that tapestry.

Away from the stage, fugitive slaves and abolitionists passing through the North East helped to discredit the idea that there was anything sunny about life in the Old South. Their presence also counteracted the stereotypes about African Americans that were central to minstrelsy and white racial assumptions and prejudice. Charles Lenox Remond had initially accompanied William Lloyd Garrison to the World Anti-Slavery Convention

in London in 1840. Sponsored by the Newcastle Ladies Negro Friend and Emancipation Society, Remond's lengthy speaking tour of Britain and Ireland included a week-long stay with Elizabeth Pease in the Spring of 1841. In Darlington he gave three lectures, in addition to a talk before what he described as "a very large and intelligent assembly in the Flag Lane Chapel, Sunderland." He also spoke in Durham, Gateshead, North and South Shields, and Newcastle, where he was yet another guest of Anna, Henry and Ellen Richardson.¹⁹³ On May 2, Pease wrote enthusiastically to *The Liberator* of how Remond "is exciting a warm interest in the question of American slavery, by his powerful and convincing appeals."¹⁹⁴

A decade later, Henry "Box" Brown blurred easy distinctions between entertainment and education on the issue of slavery. Brown toured Britain to promote the first English edition of his autobiography with a stage show that told the remarkable tale of how he had literally mailed himself to freedom in Philadelphia in a box. Brown was not averse to shipping himself around Britain in what he claimed was the very same box in order to drum up publicity for his performances. Brown's "Panorama of Slave Life," ran for a week in Newcastle in October 1852 and the following month in North and South Shields. It combined harrowing depictions of slave life with the uplifting story of Brown's own ingenious escape from a Virginia plantation to simultaneously stir support for the abolitionist cause and stimulate sales of his memoir.¹⁹⁵

The most significant of the African American abolitionists who came through the North East was Frederick Douglass, who had escaped slavery in 1838 and spent 19 months in Britain starting in 1845. Throughout this

period he toured Britain and Ireland extensively spending a considerable time on Tyneside where he stayed with the Richardson family. He spoke in the region on at least seven separate occasions at venues in Darlington, Newcastle, North Shields, and Sunderland, leaving an indelible impression on many who heard him. Among his fans was the radical journalist and politician Joseph Cowen, who was destined to play a major role in promoting Tyneside support for the Union and against the Confederacy during the American Civil War.¹⁹⁶

When Douglass returned to the US in April 1847, it was as a free man. The Richardsons had raised the money to purchase his freedom. Working through abolitionists Ellis Gray Loring and Walter Lowrie in Boston and New York respectively, on December 12, 1846, Hugh Auld, brother of Thomas Auld, Douglass' "master" registered the bill of manumission that formally made Frederick Baily, as Douglass was known, a freeman. The cost was \$711.66, or about £150. The decision to purchase Douglass's freedom was not without its critics. After all, the purchase legitimized the very notion that human beings could ever be owned by other human beings, to be treated and disposed of just like any other item of property.

While the propriety and ethics of his purchase were being earnestly debated in both American and British Abolitionist circles, Douglass concluded his lengthy sojourn in Britain. Despite the fatigue caused by an endless round of speaking engagements, he continued to impress, inspire and influence. On the last day of 1846, he spoke again in Newcastle, encouraging supporters that there were an estimated 3 million abolitionists in the US, with at least 40 periodicals dedicated to the cause.¹⁹⁷ On the eve

of his return to the United States, Elizabeth Pease wrote to *The Liberator*, giving thanks for finally getting the chance to meet with and listen to Douglass. “Much had I longed to see this remarkable man, and highly raised were my expectations; but they were more than realized,” Pease gushed. She added that Douglass was “A living contradiction...to that base opinion, which is so abhorrent to every humane and Christian feeling, that the blacks are an inferior race.”¹⁹⁸

In fact, anti-slavery sentiment was by no means incompatible with a strong sense of white racial superiority and a reluctance to accept the possibility, let alone the desirability of full black social or political equality. Opinions about the innate and irreversible genetic inferiority of peoples of African descent and related doubts about their suitability for full citizenship rights even complicated the relationship of some American Quakers to the rights of those who were sometimes considered “fit for freedom but not for friendship.” British Quakers like the Richardsons and Peases were appalled at tales of segregated Friends Meetings in the United States. Indeed, Pease was instrumental in spreading word of the so-called “Negro pews” by publishing a pamphlet in Darlington decrying the racial discrimination and prejudice demonstrated by American Quakers, notwithstanding their opposition to slavery.¹⁹⁹

Pease’s widely circulated pamphlet offered insights into a world in which, though slavery was considered beyond the pale, racism flourished. A few weeks after Pease finally met with Frederick Douglass, he sailed home from Liverpool aboard the *Cambria*. He was forced to travel in steerage despite having a first-class ticket paid for by his friends in Britain and

Ireland, including his sometime host in Newcastle Henry Richardson. It was a salutary reminder that racism and racial discrimination were not wholly dependent on the institution of slavery; both would have a long and ignominious history, on both sides of the Atlantic, long after slavery was dead.²⁰⁰

Douglass came back to the North East on two other occasions. In February and March 1860, he gave speeches in Newcastle, Hexham, Morpeth and North Shields, often taking time to defend the actions of the militant abolitionist John Brown. In December 1859, Brown had been executed for leading an October raid on a government armory at Harper's Ferry in Virginia, from which he hoped to secure weapons for an armed slave revolt. Douglass was only in England in the early 1860s because letters to him from Brown had been discovered, courting his support for the raid and a slave rebellion. Although Douglass wanted no part of the plan, which he thought was doomed to failure, he defended Brown's actions. Douglass was convinced that there was already a war raging in the United States over slavery—thereby justifying Brown's actions—and that moral suasion may have outlived its usefulness. Sounding remarkably like the martyred Brown, Douglass proclaimed in Newcastle that what was needed now was a rebellion involving an army of slaves and their abolitionist comrades to forcibly overthrow slave power. This was not quite what his pacifist Quaker friends were expecting. It is, however, an indication that there were always alternatives to the peaceful, non-cooperation, political and legislative approaches to social change that dominated Tyneside's anti-slavery campaigning, just as a century later there were always those who

questioned the efficacy of Martin Luther King's nonviolent direct action strategies to make freedom and equality of opportunity a lived reality for African Americans.²⁰¹

When Douglass returned to Britain for the final time in 1886, on a trip he admitted "was in some respects sentimental," he was particularly keen to meet once more the "two ladies who were mainly instrumental in giving me the chance of devoting my life to the cause of freedom. These were Ellen and Anna Richardson, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne...without any suggestion from me they...bought me out of slavery, secured a bill of sale of my body, made a present of myself to myself, and thus enabled me to return to the United States, and resume my work for the emancipation of the slaves."²⁰²

The final act in that long struggle for emancipation had begun when the Republican Abraham Lincoln, a man opposed to the expansion of slavery, was elected President. In January 1861, seven southern slaveholding states seceded from the Union. In April, South Carolina secessionists attacked a federal government fortress at Fort Sumter, just off the coast of Charleston, sparking Civil War. North East abolitionists were broadly supportive of the Union against the Confederacy, which eventually included 11 slaveholding states. Yet this was not always an automatic or simple choice. Growing opposition to slavery co-existed with considerable admiration for the South and many of its perceived values. The region's emphasis on community and a stable social structure—albeit one that rested on the awful reality of human bondage—was often contrasted with the rampant individualism, social frictions and avarice associated with the more urban, industrialized and competitive North. There was also an acute

awareness that British trade, industry and consumption depended heavily on commerce with the South. The Confederacy worked hard to attract support and possibly even intervention from European powers by presenting itself as the aggrieved party, as victims of an unresponsive and unrepresentative Republican administration headed by Lincoln that was operating in direct contradiction to southern—that is *white* southern—interests. Just as the 13 American Colonies had once felt compelled to rebel against Britain to secure their rights and establish a representative government, so the Confederacy courted international support by casting secession as the only honourable response to the tyranny of the North, where industrialists, free-soilers and abolitionist zealots directed a hostile federal policy against the beleaguered South.²⁰³

In the North East, anti-slavery sentiment had always intersected with a distrust of centralized and unaccountable governmental power. Agitation for an expansion of the franchise had continued after the Great Reform Act of 1832, helping to create the pressure that led to the Second Reform Act of 1867. In this political climate, southern arguments found some traction. There was a good deal of elation at the early military success of the plucky underdog South against the mighty Union forces. The South's appeals to transatlantic racial solidarity also earned some support as the Confederacy positioned itself as a white Anglo-Saxon bulwark against the unfathomable horrors of a newly freed black population of millions. Put simply, in the North East at the start of the war, elites generally supported the South; radicals were initially torn between their loathing of slavery and suspicion of Union motives, which included a sense that Lincoln may have overstepped

legitimate authority in his treatment of the region; between these two poles, the general population vacillated. Its dilemma was crystalized and then shattered by two crucial events.

On October 7, 1862 the Liberal government's Chancellor of the Exchequer William Gladstone came to Newcastle and spoke about the War at the Town Hall. Although his family's fortune derived principally from slavery, Gladstone was a long-time opponent of the institution. Yet, as for most Liberals, slavery was not really central to his initial analysis of the Civil War or its ramifications for Britain. Rather, he used his speech to acknowledge that the Confederate President Jefferson Davis had not just created an army and a navy, but also "a nation." The emergence of an independent South was, he suggested—prematurely and erroneously as it happened—a "certainty." Regardless of the Confederacy's commitment to slavery, Gladstone implied that it should be welcomed into the community of nations.²⁰⁴ Gladstone's speech galvanized local radicals and abolitionists who were adamantly opposed to the entire notion of a slave nation, let alone British recognition of the Confederacy as a legitimate new country. Gladstone's Newcastle speech moved the slavery issue much closer to the heart of regional and national debates over which side to support in the American Civil War.

One person for whom such matters appeared to be of little immediate consequence was William George Armstrong. An entrepreneurial Newcastle engineer and armaments manufacturer, Armstrong happily supplied both the Union and the Confederacy with state-of-the-art weaponry made in his Elswick factory. It was Armstrong, in some ways a rather enlightened and

philanthropic industrialist, who in 1871 founded Armstrong College (initially called The College of Physical Science), a precursor to Newcastle University. There was a deep irony in the fact that Martin Luther King should receive his Honorary Doctorate and rail against the horrors of war in a building named after a man whose wealth was in large part built on a genius for developing new technologies of mass killing.²⁰⁵

By happenstance, on the same day that Gladstone spoke in Newcastle, the first news reached Britain—although probably not Gladstone himself—of a second event that also pushed slavery to the forefront of discussions about the Civil War and turned the tide of British public opinion against the South. On September 22, Abraham Lincoln issued his Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, later formalized with his signature on January 1, 1863. All slaves were to be freed if Confederate forces did not cease hostilities. In the wake of these events at home and abroad, the South's fight was increasingly viewed in Britain as an unpalatable and indefensible attempt to preserve slavery rather than as a principled fight over states rights and popular sovereignty. As historian Peter O'Connor summarizes, after the Emancipation Proclamation "Although it was still possible to advocate the South through prewar notions of politics and ethnicity...the complexities of the prewar South were eroded, to be replaced with a simple slavery-versus-freedom dichotomy—a choice that, for most of the British population, was no choice at all."²⁰⁶

In Newcastle, news of the Emancipation Proclamation was greeted by a massive celebration at the Nelson Street Music Hall, with crowds overflowing into adjacent streets. Partly responsible for the popular

jubilant was the crusading radical journalist and later (from 1874 to 1886) Liberal Member of Parliament for Newcastle, Joseph Cowen. Cowen played a crucial role in rousing opposition to the Confederacy and inspiring a new wave of anti-slavery zeal on Tyneside. Although Cowen's later enthusiasm for British imperialism sometimes sat awkwardly with the views of his fellow parliamentary Liberals, his anti-slavery activities, in conjunction with his support for universal suffrage, better working conditions for the region's miners, expanded working-class education, and free public libraries, placed him at the centre of the region's radical politics. In 1859, Cowen had also purchased what quickly became one of the most influential provincial newspapers in the country: the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*.²⁰⁷

Cowen used the *Chronicle* to launch repeated attacks on the Confederacy and stir popular support for its defeat and emancipation. Most radical of all, he and his staff agitated for full acceptance into American society of the freed slaves. As they railed against the South and its heinous institution, Cowen and his principle journalists, W.E. Adams and Richard Reed, helped to change the tone and focus of anti-slavery rhetoric and campaigning, influencing debate on the War and slavery far beyond the North East. The cautious and sometimes condescending approach of some elite and middle-class white reformers, for whom notions of social equality between the races had often been problematic even as they denounced slavery, was replaced by a more militant, populist brand of abolitionism. Ideas flourished promoting both racial equality and a community of interests among black and white workers, united against exploitation and disenfranchisement by masters, bosses and political elites. The Civil War, in

other words, encouraged some in the North East to adopt a more progressive approach to race relations alongside their rejection of slavery itself. In the hands of Cowen, his colleagues and his supporters, the War, coupled with the continuing presence of black and white abolitionists in the region during the early 1860s, inspired a renewed emphasis on a class-based solidarity that could potentially transcend racial differences.²⁰⁸

The most widely circulated expression of this wartime Tyneside radicalism was an 1863 pamphlet, *The Slaveholders' War*, written by W.E. Adams. A Chartist, radical journalist and subsequently editor of the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, Adams was among the co-founders, with Cowen and Rev. M. Miller from Darlington, of the Union and Emancipation Society of the North of England, headquartered in Manchester. The pamphlet's sub-title, *An Argument for the North and The Negro*, signalled how closely a Union victory had become aligned with the idea of freedom for American slaves. After starting with a lengthy discourse on the illegality of southern secession from the Union, which made Confederates "to all intents and purposes, rebels—rebels moreover to a Government which they themselves had helped to set up," Adams offered a brief history of the succession of sectional crises over the expansion of slavery that had ultimately led to war. He dismissed all pretence that southern slaveholders had any other objective in seceding than the "permanent establishment of all the evils that slavery has brought upon the world," an institution that he argued was the basis of the region's entire culture, not just its economy. For the Confederate slaveholder, he insisted, slavery "has more than a mere commercial values in his eyes; it is part of his morality to believe in it, of his

philosophy to justify it, of his religion to maintain it. Nay, it is not only the true and just system of society for the South; he holds that it is the only true and just system of society for all the world.”²⁰⁹

Perhaps most strikingly, Adams explicitly linked the fight for abolition and black rights in the United States to the battle for political rights in Britain. On October 16, 1863, in a talk at the Church of the Divine Unity in Newcastle, the visiting Boston-born socialist reformer and abolitionist Rev. William Henry Channing had painted the Civil War as a struggle for democratic accountability and political rights. Appealing for British support against the Confederacy, he described the War as a clash “between an oligarchy based on the institution of slavery, and a people possessing free institutions.”²¹⁰ Adams also felt the American conflict over slavery could be pressed into the service of the campaign for greater political rights in Britain. Having pilloried those, notably some associated with the London *Times* newspaper, who continued to try to “defend slavery on the grounds of a biblical sanction”—an effort he derided as having “the effect, not of exalting slavery, but of degrading the Bible”—Adams reminded his readers of the fear and hostility that had greeted Earl Grey’s Great Reform Bill of 1832. The “same foolish forebodings are indulged in now whenever a further extension of the suffrage is asked and advocated,” he complained. Nodding to similar forebodings about the impact of freeing millions of slaves, he concluded that “Fear is the great obstacle to progress, as daring is the great redresser of wrongs.” The story here, Adams suggested, was not simply the truism that those in power seldom give up their power without a struggle; it was also an acknowledgement that fear and fear-mongering invariably stalks

any effort to enact progressive reforms that might empower previously marginalized or powerless sections of society.²¹¹

Sitting at the centre of this radical network, Joseph Cowen's influence was considerable and international. When William Garrison could not contribute his usual editorial for *The Liberator* in August 1864, the Boston abolitionist paper simply reprinted a glowing endorsement of Garrison that Cowen had penned for the *Chronicle* on August 22. The piece was prefaced by a short biography in which Cowen's newspaper was described as "the exponent and advocate of the most advanced and radical opinions in England." Cowen, the paper assured its readers, "takes a deep interest in the great struggle for universal freedom and republican principles which now agitates America."²¹²

Garrison himself visited Newcastle for the final time between July 6 and 10, 1867. He stayed with Newcastle Town Council member John Mawson. Writing after getting shocking news of Mawson's death in a nitro-glycerine explosion in December the same year, Garrison described his friend and fellow abolitionist as "one of the most affectionate, loving, magnetic persons I ever knew, and had one of the most charming homes at Gateshead into which I have ever entered." Garrison was greeted rapturously on Tyneside. On July 9, "the apostle of negro emancipation," as the *Chronicle* described him, was feted at what Garrison later described as a "grand reception" in the Assembly Rooms. "In honouring such a man," the newspaper commented, perhaps a little smugly, though not without some justification, "Newcastle has honoured itself."²¹³ There was also a second

welcoming address, from the North Shields Reform League, read by Cowen himself.²¹⁴

By this time, the American Civil War had ended and Lincoln had been assassinated. Whatever initial doubts radicals in the North East might have harboured about the late President's handling of the secession crisis were forgotten in an outpouring of grief that emphasized his role as "the Great Emancipator." In early May 1865, letters of condolence flooded into the office of Charles Adams, the US Ambassador in London, from city councils in Berwick, Darlington, Morpeth, Newcastle, South Shields and Sunderland. In Newcastle, on May 3 representatives of the Borough Council adopted a resolution proposed by Joseph Cowen "to give utterance to the feelings of grief and horror with which it has heard of the assassination of President Lincoln." The following day, a specially convened public meeting in the Town Hall unanimously agreed to send a similar message to Charles Adams, "for transmission to his Excellency the President of the United States, Mrs Lincoln, and the Hon. W.H. Seward" (Lincoln's secretary of the treasury, who was also hurt in the assassination attack). The resolution was proposed by Rev. W. Walters and seconded by Garrison's abolitionist stalwart Councillor John Mawson.²¹⁵

Across the region, similar resolutions were submitted, all expressing shock and supporting Lincoln's commitment to, as the President had put it in his Gettysburg Address, a "rebirth of freedom" in a United States rid of slavery. "We have ever felt towards him while alive a personal friendship," wrote J. Martin, pastor of the United Methodist Free Church in West Hartlepool, "and now that he is no more of this world we love his

memory...We have faith in the future of United States, and we say God prosper and bless the American people! God bless the policy of Emancipation.”²¹⁶ A mass meeting at Darlington’s Central Hall unanimously resolved to express “to the President and People of the United States its horror and detestation of the crime,” adding its prayers “that this awful event may strengthen their determination to uproot and utterly destroy the Slave Institution, and to re-construct and consolidate their Union upon the basis of Free Labor (sic) and Political Liberty.”²¹⁷ Here, in distilled form, was the ideological crucible in which the North East’s popular support for African American freedom and for Lincoln’s brand of Republicanism was forged: regardless of moral or humanitarian concerns, slavery affronted a widespread commitment to both the rights of labour and the right to political representation.

Following Lincoln’s death, Andrew Johnson assumed the presidency and the United States embarked on a period of Reconstruction. Initially, Reconstruction saw considerable advances for southern black civil and voting rights thanks to a combination of federal legislation, notably the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, and the protection offered against white supremacist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan by federal troops stationed in the region. By 1877, however, Reconstruction was over and, with the withdrawal of federal protection, always precarious African American rights began to disappear. By the time the United States Supreme Court legitimized racial segregation in its 1896 *Plessy vs Ferguson* decision, most black voters had already been purged from the electoral rolls in the South. Terror, custom, laws, and economic oppression combined in a

poisonous mix that defined the Jim Crow era for millions of African Americans. Many sought a better life in the cities of the north and west during several major migrations in the early 20th Century. Beyond the South, some found greater opportunity and there were fewer overt, legally sanctioned prohibitions on movement, work and voting. In truth, however, America was a Jim Crow country, with deep reservoirs of racism and discrimination that crimped black lives and stymied black aspirations throughout the entire nation. As Martin Luther King pointed out in his “I Have a Dream” speech, one hundred years after the end of slavery, the promise of freedom and justice for all Americans articulated in the Declaration of Independence and reaffirmed by Abraham Lincoln in his Gettysburg Address remained unfulfilled for African Americans. It was in order to confront this world of denied or abridged citizenship rights, racial violence and economic marginalization that the civil rights movement emerged in the 1950s and 1960s.

The post-Civil War travails of African Americans during the periods of Reconstruction and Jim Crow never quite captured the imagination or stirred the indignation of a mass of North East citizens in the way that abolitionism once had, or in the way that the civil rights campaigns of the 1950s and 1960s would do once more. Yet, the region was neither wholly ignorant of, nor indifferent to, the state of race relations in the United States. Return visits by the likes of Fredrick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison kept the ongoing African American struggle for equal rights firmly in view during the decades after Emancipation. The region also hosted appearances by the Fisk Jubilee Singers as part of a “gospel invasion” that

swept Britain in 1873, when their visit coincided with an extended mission by American evangelist Dwight M. Moody and his musical collaborator Ira Sankey.²¹⁸ The Singers from the black Fisk University in Nashville specialized in concertized spirituals and were extraordinarily effective ambassadors for their University and for the African American cause more generally. In November 1873, they worked in the North East alongside the Moody and Sankey Revival, giving concerts in Sunderland and Newcastle, where the enthralled audience included the Congregationalist Minister Henry Thomas Robjohns. As one of the Singers noted, Robjohns “had so thoroughly worked up the public interest that every seat was sold.” As the Minister himself recalled, “The Jubilee Singers had been specially prayed for. A moment’s pause, and there went up in sweet, low notes a chorus as of angels.”²¹⁹ Appeals by the Fisk Jubilee Singers for support for their institution and for black education more generally helped raise public awareness of the challenges faced by newly-freed African Americans.

Among those challenges was the terrible violence meted out by some white southerners who resorted to terrorism and lynch law to keep black freedmen firmly in their place at the bottom of society. In September 1868, Tynesiders could read about the “Thirty Negroes Killed in a Riot” in Camilla, Georgia when white Democrats had rounded on newly enfranchised black Republican voters. Reports on further race riots in Georgia and Louisiana followed in October.²²⁰ In spring 1871, the *Newcastle Journal* described “Anarchy in the Southern States” as federal authorities struggled to halt the spread of racist violence across the region.²²¹ Two years later it reported on “something like a war of the races” at Colfax, Louisiana, where armed whites

killed as many as 150 African Americans in the wake of a disputed election for Governor. According to historian Eric Foner, this was the “bloodiest single instance of racial carnage in the Reconstruction era.”²²² In some ways, however, worse was to follow.

When Reconstruction ended, federal government abrogated virtually all responsibility for protecting the rights of southern black citizens against a rising tide of Jim Crow laws that were underpinned by the perpetual threat of white violence, particularly violence directed against black men accused of sexual crimes against white women. In 1892, the *Newcastle Courant* reported on a “shocking lynching scene” in Texarkana, Texas, when a crowd of numbering at least a thousand – and according to some estimates five or six times that number – assembled to watch Mrs. Henry Jewell set fire to Edward Coy, an African American accused of assaulting her. Coy had been captured and taken to jail, but a vigilante posse decided that no trial was necessary. Coy was tied to a stake and doused with oil before Jewell was invited to apply the torch. It subsequently emerged that Coy and Jewell had been in a consensual relationship for at least a year prior to the lynching. In the toxic environment of the Jim Crow South, such liaisons were both illegal and taboo. If discovered, interracial sex often meant lethal retribution against black men and perpetual shame and social ostracism for white women. In this climate, the discovery of illicit interracial relationships between white women and black men often sparked false accusations of rape as women sought to save face. Although it was by no means the only or even the main reason why more than 4,000 black men, women and children were lynched between 1880 and 1950, the dread

spectre of interracial sex haunted the white imagination and underscored a ferocious commitment to segregation.²²³

The celebrated African American anti-lynching campaigner Ida B. Wells focused on this racial-sexual dynamic when she came to Newcastle in April 1894, following in the footsteps of the black abolitionists and fugitive slaves who had regularly put the North East on their itinerary a generation earlier. Wells, “a bright, intelligent, young lady ‘colour’,” according to the *Newcastle Daily Leader*, came “bearing a message from Frederick Douglas (sic), whose freedom from slavery,” the paper was keen to remind readers, “was bought by Newcastle friends.” Speaking at the Wesleyan Chapel in Brunswick Place and two days later at Ryehill Baptist Church, Wells told of her own horrendous experiences of racial violence in Memphis. Wells had attempted to use her *Free Speech* newspaper to expose and bring to justice the whites who had lynched three of her friends, apparently because their increasingly successful grocery business had aroused the resentment and anger of rival white businessmen. Wells’s newspaper had been suppressed and she was forced to flee her hometown in fear of her own life. Thereafter, she became an internationally renowned, if perpetually frustrated, champion of anti-lynching legislation. In Newcastle, as in many other British cities, she horrified audiences with gruesome tales of how whites, especially in the South, tortured and killed African Americans without fear of punishment. In 1893 alone, Wells explained, at least 158 men and four women had been lynched. As the *Daily Leader* noted, southern white men sought to justify their actions “by declaring lynching to be a necessity because the honour of their women and children was violated by black men.” Moreover, the paper

echoed Wells's concern that lynching "mania" was spreading to all parts of the US. Wells, the report explained, had come to Britain, and to Newcastle, appealing for "justice and money" and hoping "to get the press, the pulpit and the public to cry out against these lynchings." Confident that the city's cultures of welcome were still alive, the paper had "no doubt many humanitarians will, in Newcastle....help the stranger in her cause."²²⁴

Tynesiders were shocked and appalled by the lack of due process and the sheer barbarity of the lynchings described by Wells and reported in the local press, which continued to cover outrages such as the January 1914 lynching of five men, "hung from a single tree," in Sylvester, Georgia, and the extra-legal murder of two "Negroes burned at the stake" in Sulphur Springs, Texas, in August 1915.²²⁵ Nevertheless, as we shall see in the next chapter, white, especially male white, hostility to relations between non-white men and white women, coupled with stereotypes of predatory black males, also had their toxic counterparts in the North East of England.

The postbellum period saw continued efforts to compare and contrast the plight of African Americans with that of local workers. As early as December 1864, with the Civil War entering its final stages, journalist George Julian Harney championed the cause of the North and lambasted the neutrality of Lord Russell's British government, but also pondered the long term implications of the war for the extension of the suffrage, among blacks and whites, on both sides of the Atlantic. Harney shared his thoughts with the readers of the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* in a series of "American Matters" and "American Notes and Boston Notions" columns. From 1864 to 1888, the radical Tyneside Chartist leader and staunch republican wrote

from his new home in Boston. Never was he more enthusiastic than when describing the sight of free blacks voting alongside white citizens; yet he pointedly compared this exercise in democracy, in which “the Negro is equal to the White man ‘before the law’,” with the continued denial of working-class voting rights in Britain.²²⁶

While the scare quotes around the phrase “before the law” are not easy to interpret, there is a sense, or at least a possibility, that Harney was making a clear distinction between ideas of legal equality and social equality. The former proposition was relatively easy for Harney and his Tyneside readers to accept. The whole campaign against slavery had been, in part, a battle to address and destroy an abhorrent legal anomaly that allowed one human being to be owned by another; the denial of political rights could also be viewed as primarily a legal, constitutional matter. By contrast, the idea of a genuine social equality that transcended racial differences would prove a harder pill to swallow for many whites on both sides of the Atlantic.

In August 1865, just four months after the end of the Civil War and Lincoln’s assassination, Harney reported on an abolitionist meeting where Wendell Phillips, Charles Burleigh, Stephen S. Foster, Abby Kelly Foster, Andrew T. Foss, Tyneside favourite William Wells Brown, “and a coloured lady, Mrs F. W. Harper,” all spoke and issued a resolution about the conditions under which the former Confederate states might be readmitted to the Union. Far from resting on their laurels with the end of slavery, these abolitionists insisted that “any organisation of the rebel States which does not rest on the principle of the absolute equality of every man before the law,

and the recognition of the full civil rights of every citizen as a practical surrender of the North to the South; and that viewing such reconstruction as the essential triumph of the slave power, we pledge ourselves to agitation to crush it..." Harney urged Tyneside readers "to remember that if 'slavery is dead,' the spirit of slavery still lives, and the Abolitionists and friends of equal rights and equal laws in this republic have still claims on the sympathy and cooperation of the good and true of every land."²²⁷

Harney continued to monitor the struggle of freedmen to secure and protect their civil and voting rights amid rising agitation in the North East in support of another round of political reform. "Negroes voting in Virginia," he reported in March 1867, alongside news that "A meeting of blacks and whites has been held at Charleston to organise a Republican Party in the city."²²⁸ He invoked the enfranchisement of African Americans (men only, of course) and their enthusiastic embrace of politics to agitate for further expansion of the franchise at home. In Britain, he explained, "Our interest in American politics has been mainly that of a desire to see the disenfranchisement of an oppressed and cruelly wronged race." Characterizing this as a hard-won "victory for humanity," as opposed to simply a victory for enslaved African Americans, he hailed the six years since Lincoln's election as nothing short of a "revolution." But, he asked, at the very moment when the Second Reform Act was making its way through Parliament, "Will the British working man occupy as proud a political position as that now held by the Negroes of the States, within six years to come? There is a stinging humiliation for us Englishmen in the very question."²²⁹

One hundred years later Martin Luther King came to Newcastle and added his voice to those in Britain who, like Harney, continued to use America's racial troubles to argue for stronger legislation to protect the rights of coloured British citizens. But Harney had also used a transatlantic comparison to insist on the need to extend and protect the rights of British whites. In 1967 there were those in Britain, including some in the North East, who followed Harney's example by looking closely at the escalating racial tensions and violence in the United States to argue passionately for immigration restriction, sometimes for repatriation of racial and ethnic minorities, and often for moves to preserve white privilege against the perceived threat of growing numbers of non-white citizens. In this respect, they tapped into a far more parochial and reactionary tradition within North East race relations. It was a tradition in which the United States regularly functioned as a cautionary tale, a horror story evoked to support the idea that racial differences were insurmountable and that a racially, ethnically, or religiously diverse population imperilled a kind of "Britishness" that was, despite historical realities to the contrary, conceived as fundamentally white and Christian.

Notes

Guide to Abbreviations

AT	Anti-Slavery Tracts, Local Studies Centre, City Library, Newcastle upon Tyne
<i>Chronicle</i>	<i>Newcastle Chronicle</i> (1793-April, 1858); <i>Newcastle Daily Chronicle</i> (May 1, 1858-July 29, 1922)
<i>Courant</i>	<i>Newcastle Courant</i>
<i>Courier</i>	<i>The Courier: The Newspaper of the Students of Newcastle</i>
DM	<i>Daily Mail</i>
DT	<i>Daily Telegraph</i>
<i>E-Chronicle</i>	<i>Evening Chronicle</i> (Newcastle: November 2, 1885-present)
<i>Guardian</i>	<i>The Manchester Guardian</i> (to 1959); <i>The Guardian</i> (1959-present)
HCWF	Honorary Congregations Working File, April and November 1967, Special Collections, Robinson Library, Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne.
HDC	Honorary Degrees Correspondence, 1961-1974, Special Collections, Robinson Library, Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne.
<i>Journal</i>	<i>Newcastle Journal</i> (i. April 7, 1739-April 1788; ii. January 12, 1832-present, with name change to <i>The Journal</i>).
JtJOHP	Journey to Justice Oral History Project, http://journeytojustice.org.uk/projects/oral-history-project-sharing-heritage/
L&P	Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle upon Tyne
LLD	Letters on the Death of Abraham Lincoln
LSC-SS	Local Studies Collection, Central Library, South Shields
LSC-N	Local Studies Centre, City Library, Newcastle upon Tyne
LT	Local Tracts, Local Studies Centre, City Library, Newcastle upon Tyne

MLK-Dup	Dr. Martin Luther King, Jnr, Honorary Degree, 13.11.67, Duplicate File, Special Collections, Robinson Library, Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne.
MLK-Lect	Martin Luther King Lecture File (at the time of writing held in The Registry, King's Gate, Newcastle University, though likely to be deposited in Special Collections, Robinson Library, Newcastle University)
MLK-Reg	Registrar's File: Martin Luther King, Newcastle University, Special Collections, Robinson Library, Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne.
MLK-VC	Vice-Chancellor's File: Martin Luther King, Special Collections, Robinson Library, Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne
MS	<i>Morning Star</i>
NSG	<i>North & South Shields Gazette</i>
NG	<i>Newcastle Guardian and Tyne Mercury</i>
Times	<i>The Times</i> (London)
Reg	The Registry, King's Gate, Newcastle University
TWA	Tyne and Wear Archives, Discovery Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne
W-Chronicle	<i>Newcastle Chronicle, or General Weekly Advertiser</i> (March 24, 1764 – 1793); <i>Newcastle Weekly Chronicle</i> (1864-April 5, 1953)

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1. G. Ashley (Assistant Registrar), "Press Release," March 8, 1967, HCWF.
 2. There are many fine biographies of King available. Of particular use in preparing this book were the trilogy by Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988); *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963-1965* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998) and *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years, 1965-68* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006); Adam Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul*

of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr. (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1987); David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1986); Thomas F. Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human Rights: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Struggle for Economic Justice* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); John A. Kirk, *Martin Luther King Jr* (Harlow: Pearson, 2005); Peter J. Ling, *Martin Luther King* (2nd ed. Abingdon: Routledge, 2015).

3. "Document B of the Agenda of the Honorary Degrees Committee Meeting," November 3, 1966, MLK-Reg.

4. For Lord Wynne-Jones, see the obituary in *London Times*, November 17, 1982, p.12; T. Dan Smith, *An Autobiography* (Newcastle: Oriel Press, 1970), pp.130-33.

5. "Report of the Honorary Degrees Committee," November 28, 1966, MLK-Reg.

6. C.I.C. Bosanquet (Vice-Chancellor) letter to Prof E.S. Page; Prof. J.H. Burnett; Prof. J. Baddiley; Prof. A.F. Burstall; Prof. R.L. Russell; Prof. K. Rowntree; P. Brenikov; The Bursar; Dr. W.S. Mitchell; Dr. D.J. Smith; Dr. W. Muckle; Mr. N. Shott; Wardens of Embleton; Garnett and Gurney Houses; Prof. S.K. Runcorn, November 29, 1965, HDC.

7. Nick Nicholson, telephone interview with Francis W. Glover, April 2014, quoted in Francis W. Glover, "Newcastle's Forgotten King: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 13th November, 1967," BA dissertation, Northumbria University, 2013, pp.36-37.

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8. Sylvia Ellis, "A Demonstration of British Good Sense?: British Student Protest During the Vietnam War," in Gerard DeGroot, ed., *Student Protest: The Sixties and After* (London: Longman, 1998), pp.58-9.
 9. Nick Nicholson, quoted in Glover, "Newcastle's Forgotten King," p.17.
 10. Bosanquet, letter to Page et al.
 11. C.I.C. Bosanquet, "Address at the Memorial Service For Dr. Martin Luther King," April 26, 1968, MLK-VC.
 12. "Dr. Miller, next V.C.. New man faces a huge task," *TC*, January 24, 1968, p.1
 13. Kathleen Potter, interview with Murphy Cobbing, for *Martin Luther King: A King's Speech*, BBC Radio Newcastle, broadcast, January 1, 2013.
 14. E.M. Bettenson, letter to M.L. King, December 14, 1966, MLK-Reg.
 15. Dora McDonald letter to E.M. Bettenson, December 23, 1966, MLK-Reg.; Martin Luther King, Jr., *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967). On the circumstances surrounding the writing of King's book, see David J. Garrow, "Where Martin Luther King, Jr., Was Going: *Where Do We Go From Here* and the Traumas of the Post-Selma Movement," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 75 (Winter 1991), pp. 719-36.
 16. E.M. Bettenson, letter to Dora McDonald, January 7, 1967, MLK-Reg.
 17. E.M. Bettenson, telegram to Dora McDonald, January 17, 1967, MLK-Reg.
 18. E.M. Bettenson, letter to Dr. King., February 23, 1967: MLK-Reg.
 19. Martin Luther King, telegram to E.M. Bettenson, February 23, 1967, MLK-Reg.
 20. E.M. Bettenson, letter to Dr. King, March 1, 1967, MLK-Reg.

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21. E.M. Bettenson, letter to Dr. King, March 23, 1967, MLK-Reg.
22. Ashley, "Press Release."
23. E.M. Bettenson, letter to Dr. King, March 23, 1967, MLK-Reg.
24. Dora McDonald, letter to E.M. Bettenson, September 2, 1967; E.M. Bettenson, letter to Dora McDonald, September 13, 1967; E.M. Bettenson, letter to Dora McDonald, September 19, 1967, all in MLK-Reg.
25. C.I.C Bosanquet, letter to Martin Luther King, Jr, October 2, 1967, MLK-Dup.
26. Martin Luther King, letter to Professor Hugh Watt, November 5, 1950, in *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr., Volume 1: Called to Serve, January 1929-June 1951*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp.333-334.
27. James Douglas-Hamilton, letter to Martin Luther King, Jr., May 20, 1965, <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/letter-edinburgh-university-debate-club-mlk>. Accessed October 16, 2016. For Douglas-Hamilton's role in the Oxford Union debate series that featured Malcolm X, see Stephen Tuck, *The Night Malcolm X Spoke at the Oxford Union: A Transatlantic Story of Antiracist Protest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), pp.123-4, 126-7.
28. For King's arrest, trial and eventual imprisonment, see Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, pp. 240-47, 579-80; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, pp.121-24; Branch, *At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years, 1965-68*, pp.649-650. See also, Martin Luther King, "Letter from Birmingham City Jail," April 12, 1963, available at

<http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/letter-birmingham-city-jail-0#>. Accessed October 16, 2016.

29. C.I.C. Bosanquet, letter to Dora McDonald, November 1, 1967, MLK-VC.

30. Dora McDonald, letter to C.I.C. Bosanquet, November 1, 1967, MLK-VC.

The original schedule for King's visit was outlined in C.I.C. Bosanquet, letter to Dr. M.L. King, October 2, 1967, MLK-VC.

31. E.M. Bettenson, letter to Mr. Wardle (Lord Mayor's secretary), November 3, 1967, MLK-Reg.

32. E.M. Bettenson, letter to Duke of Northumberland, November 4, 1967; Duke of Northumberland, letter to E.M. Bettenson, November 7, 1967, MLK-Reg.

33. Dora McDonald, letter to E.M. Bettenson, September 27, 1967, MLK-VC.

The travel arrangements can be traced through C.I.C. Bosanquet to the Station Master, British Rail, November 2, 1967; R.W. Collier (British Rail Passenger Agent, Newcastle), letter to C.I.C. Bosanquet, November 4, 1967; Bosanquet's secretary, letter to Collier, November 6, 1967; C.I.C. Bosanquet, letter to cashier, November 9, 1967; C.I.C. Bosanquet, letter to Dr. King, November 9, 1967, all MLK-VC.

34. Miss M. Sanderson, letter to G.R. Howe, esq., September 22, 1967, HCWF.

35. E.M. Bettenson (Registrar) "Special Honorary Degree Congregation on Monday, 13th November 1967, at 2.30pm, November 3, 1967. Distributed to All Members of Staff (including external members of Court, Council and Senate); Emeritus Professors; President of the Union Society, November 3, 1967," HCWF. Originally the invitation was destined for President of the

SRC, but handwritten note indicates that a “Mrs McQ” (Mrs McQuillan) would invite the SRC President as Mace Bearer.

36. E.M. Bettenson, Invitation to Members of Senate, and Reply Slip, November 3, 1967, HCWF.

37. C.I.C Bosanquet, letter to C.B. Nicholson and Paul Brooks, November 2, 1967, MLK-VC; See also E.M. Bettenson, letter to C.B. Nicholson, November 3, 1967, MLK-Reg.

38. Paul Barry, interview with Space 2, April 2015, JtJOHP.

39. C.B. Nicholson, letter to C.I.C Bosanquet, November 9, 1967, MLK-Dup.

40. E.M. Bettenson, memo to Mr. C.B. Nicholson, November 10, 1967, HCWF.

41. George R. Howe, Memo: Special Honorary Degree Congregation, Monday 13th November, 1967, to Mr. Rickerby (c/o Messr Gray and Son [Robemakers] Ltd, Durham), November 3, 1967, HCWF.

42. George R. Howe, memo: Special Honorary Degree Congregation, Monday 13th November, 1967 at 2.30pm, to Miss Sanderson (bursar’s office), November 3, 1967, HCWF.

43. George R. Howe, memo: Honorary Degree Congregation, Monday, 13th November, 1967, to Mr. J. Stapylton (Bedel), November 6, 1967, HCWF

44. George R. Howe, memo: Honorary Degree Congregation, Monday, 13th November, 1967, to Professor Petch (Dept of Metallurgy), November 6, 1967, HCWF.

45. George R. Howe, memo: Special Honorary Degree Congregation, Monday 13th November, 1967, to Mr. Harris (estates), November 3, 1967, HCWF.

46. George R. Howe, memo: Special Honorary Degree Congregation, Monday 13th November, 1967, to Clerk of Works, November 3, 1967; George R. Howe memo: Congregation – 13th November 1967, to Clerk of Works, November 10, 1967, both HCWF.

47. George R. Howe, memo: Special Honorary Degree Congregation, Monday 13th November, 1967 at 2.30p.m., to Mr. McLaren, November 3, 1967, HFCW.

48. George R. Howe, memo: Special Honorary Degree Congregation, Monday 13th November, 1967, to Mr. Blair (heating engineer), November 3, 1967, HCWF.

49. “Notes for Mr. Saunders at Marshals Briefing at 1.45p.m. on Monday 13th November, 1967, n.d., HCWF.

50. Ibid. The seating arrangements are noted in “Congregation, King’s Hall – Seating Plan – Ground Floor,” n.d., HCWF. Keith Gregson, a student attendee at the November 13 ceremony, suggests that there was sufficient student demand that lots had to be drawn to get a place in the King’s Hall. Although the University’s documentation makes no reference to this process, and it did have provisional plans to deal with excess demand, it is possible that a late rush to attend the event have necessitated some such ad hoc balloting process. Keith Gregson, email to Lorna Fulton, December 7, 2016. Copy in possession of author.

51. “Congregation, King’s Hall – Seating Plan – Ground Floor.”

52. [George R. Howe], “Special Congregation. 13 Nov 1967,” handwritten checklist, n.d., HCWF.

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53. G.R. Howe, memo: Special Honorary Degree Congregation, Monday 13th November, 1967 at 2.30pm, November 3, 1967, to Mr McLaren (head porter), HCWF. Other documents detailing security and marshalling include, G(eorge).R. Howe (Chief Clerk), memo: Special Honorary Degree Congregation, Monday 13th November, 1967 to A.R. Peace (administration officer), HCWF; “Notes for Mr. Saunders at Marshals Briefing at 1.45p.m.”; J.K., “University of Newcastle Congregation – 13th November, 1967, Information for Marshals, Draft,” November 7, HCWF.
54. “Notes for Mr. Saunders at Marshals Briefing at 1.45p.m.”
55. Howe, memo to Peace.
56. Paul Barry and Meredyth Bell (née Patton), who attended both the coffee morning and the degree ceremony have spoken, respectively, of an “entourage” and “three bodyguards.” Paul Barry and Meredyth Bell, interviews with Space 2, April 2015, both JtJOHP.
57. C.I.C. Bosanquet, letter to Duke of Northumberland, October 3, 1967, MLK-VC. In the copy of this letter in the Vice-Chancellor’s file, the words “his son” have been crossed out and the “King” after Andrew corrected to Young. However, the copy sent to the Registrar for reference, the errors remain and were likely to have been in the version mailed to the Duke. See copy in MLK-Reg.
58. Dorothy Booth, letter to D.C. Foster, March 1992 (copy in possession of the author).
59. Jimmy Carter, “Remarks at the Newcastle Civic Centre,” May 6, 1977, *Public Papers of Presidents of the United States: Jimmy Carter, 1977: Book*

One - January 20 – June 24, 1977 (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1977) pp.811-813.

60. Peter Kane, email correspondence with Brian Ward, October 13, 2016 and November 6, 2016. Copies in possession of the author.

61. Mr. G.R. Howe, Memo: Bookings for King’s Hall,” to Miss Sanderson, Bursar’s Office, November 14, 1967, HCWF.

62. David Bilk, letter to Martin Luther King, October 5, 1966,
<http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/lecture-tour-request-david-bilk-mlk>. Accessed, December 5, 2016.

63. Martin Luther King, letter to David Bilk, February 7, 1967,
<http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/letter-mlk-david-bilk>. Accessed, December 5, 2016.

64. Bilk, Letter to King.

65. Dora McDonald, letter to E.M. Bettenson, September 27, 1967, MLK-Reg.

66. David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1986), pp.579-80.

67. Martin Luther King, quoted in *Courier*, November 15, 1967, p.1. The details of King’s activities during the period are drawn from *At Canaan’s Edge: America in the King Years, 1965-68* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006), pp.648-656; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, pp.579-81; Adam Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1987), pp. 352-53.

68. As was often the case, King's oration of his November 11, 1967 speech departed from the written text and the Chicago audience never heard the section on British Labour Party responses to Vietnam. For the written text see, Martin Luther King, "The Domestic Impact of the War in America," November 11, 1967, <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/domestic-impact-war-america>. For audio and transcript of King's actual speech, see Martin Luther King, "Domestic Impact of the War," http://www.aavw.org/special_features/speeches_speech_king03.html. Both Accessed, December 6, 2016. For Labour Party policy on Vietnam see Sylvia Ellis, *Britain, America and the Vietnam War* (Westport: Praeger, 2004) and Jonathan Colman, *A 'Special Relationship'? Harold Wilson, Lyndon B. Johnson and Anglo-American Relations 'at the Summit', 1964-68* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

69. Dorothy Booth, letter to D.C. Foster, March 1992 (copy in possession of author).

70. In 1962, King had insisted that "no Christian can be a communist," but urged his congregation to think of communist critiques of inequality as a source of inspiration for "a Christianity that has been all too passive and a democracy that has been all too inert." Martin Luther King, "Sermon at Ebenezer Baptist Church," September 30 1962, http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/documentsentry/can_a_christian_be_a_communist_30_sept_1962.1.html. Accessed, March 4, 2017.

71. Martin Luther King, "Address to 11th Annual SCLC Convention, August 16, 1967," <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king->

[papers/documents/where-do-we-go-here-delivered-11th-annual-sclc-convention](#). Accessed January 9, 2017.

72. Martin Luther King, "Message from the President," Remarks to SCLC Annual Conference, October 11-13, 1960, Clayborne Carson, Tenisha Armstrong, Susan Carson, Adrienne Clay, and Kieran Taylor, (eds.) *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Volume V: Threshold of a New Decade, January 1959 - December 1960* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), p.517.

73. Martin Luther King, "Speech to SCLC Staff, November 14, 1966," <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/mlk-speech-sclc-staff-retreat#>. Accessed January 8, 2017. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, pp.581-82.

The sharpest analysis of King's relationship to Marxist theory and democratic socialism is in Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul*, pp.357-83. See also Adam Fairclough, "Was Martin Luther King a Marxist?" *History Workshop* 15 (Spring 1983), pp.117-25.

74. Martin Luther King, "Notes on American Capitalism," n.d., 1951, in Clayborne Carson, Ralph Luker, and Penny A. Russell (eds), *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr. Volume I: Called to Serve, January 1929-June 1951* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp.435-6.

75. For the split with Johnson, see Sylvia Ellis, *Freedom's Pragmatist: Lyndon Johnson and Civil Rights* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2013), pp.235-8, 254-6.

76. For King's increasingly isolated and embattled position, see Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, pp. 474-525, 537-74; Kenneth O'Reilly, *Racial Matters: The FBI's Secret File on Black America* (New York: Free Press, 1989), pp.121-

55, 242-45, 286-91; Richard Lentz, *Symbols, the Newsmagazines and Martin Luther King* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), pp.308-337; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul*, pp.309-331, 333-45; Adam Fairclough, "Martin Luther King and the War in Vietnam," *Phylon*, 45 (1983-84), pp.19-39.

77. Martin Luther King, quoted in Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 587. For a useful discussion of King's growing sense of guilt and insecurity, see *ibid.*, pp. 587-88.

78. D.E. King, quoted in *ibid.*, p.580.

79. *Ibid.*, pp.577-78; Coretta Scott King, *My Life With Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), p.308.

80. Andrew Young, quoted in Howell Raines, *My Soul is Rested* (c.1977, London: Penguin, 1983), p.431.

81. Joan Baez, quoted in Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, p.578.

82. Coretta Scott King, quoted in "Why Dr. M.L. King Jr., Entered an Atlanta Hospital," *Jet*, October 29, 1964, p.23 (23-27). See also, Coretta Scott King, *My Life*, pp.14-18.

83. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, pp.354-55.

84. David Levering Lewis, *King: A Biography* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1970), pp.262-63.

85. Martin Luther King, "The Three Dimensions of a Complete Life," speech at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, December 6, 1964, quoted in Thomas A. Mulhall, *A Lasting Prophetic Legacy: Martin Luther King, Jr., The World Council of Churches and the Global Crusade against Racism and War* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2014), p.50. It is sometimes erroneously

claimed that King was the first non-Anglican to preach in St. Paul's since its foundation 300 years earlier. In 1950, George MacLeod, a Presbyterian minister in the Church of Scotland, may have had that honour. See, Ron Ferguson, *George MacLeod: Founder of the Iona Community* (Glasgow: Wild Goose Publications, 2001), p.253. For King's growing sense of his international role the impact of global forces on his thinking, see Thomas F. Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human Rights: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Struggle for Economic Justice* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

86. Martin Luther King, quoted in *DT*, December 12, 1964.

87. Martin Luther King, "Speech at City Temple Hall," London, December 7, 1964, Pacifica Radio, "Exclusive: Newly Discovered 1964 MLK Speech on Civil Rights, Segregation & Apartheid South Africa," January 19, 2015, https://www.democracynow.org/2015/1/19/exclusive_newly_discovered_1964_mlk_speech. Accessed November 28, 2016.

88. King, "Speech at City Temple Hall."

89. *DM*, Dec 8, 1964.

90. "Britain's Coloured Leaders Join Forces," *DM*, February 12, 1965, p.7.

91. Kalbir Shukra, *The Changing Pattern of Black Politics in Britain* (London: Pluto, 1998), p.19. For the history of CARD see Benjamin W. Heinemann, *The Politics of the Powerless: A Study of the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972) and Shukra, pp.19-26.

92. Martin Luther King, "A Christian Movement in a Revolutionary Age," September 28, 1965,

<http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/christian-movement-revolutionary-age>. Accessed, January 9, 2017.

93. Martin Luther King, "Acceptance Speech on Receipt of an Honorary Doctorate in Civil Law from the University of Newcastle upon Tyne," November 13, 1967, MLK-Reg. On arrival in Heathrow, King had told journalists that "I am very honoured to receive a degree from an English University because of the great educational tradition of the United Kingdom and of all that it has done to enrich the cultural life of the world." "Luther King Warns Britain," *MS*, November 13 1967, p.3.

94. Martin Luther King, "Statement Regarding the Nobel Peace Prize," October 14, 1964,
<http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/statement-mlk-regarding-nobel-peace-prize>. Accessed January 9, 2017.

95. King, "Acceptance Speech."

96. Andrew Young, quoted in *A King's Speech - Martin Luther King on Tyneside*, BBC North East, 2014. See also, "Martin Luther King: Americans shown 'lost' Newcastle speech," BBC News, June 1, 2014,
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-tyne-27602173>. Accessed, November 29, 2016.

97. Martin Luther King, letter to C.I.C. Bosanquet, January 30, 1968, MLK-VC.

98. Arguments that King was rather limited as an original theological thinker were subsequently reinforced by the discovery that he had plagiarised large section of his Boston University PhD. The discovery and its implications are discussed in "Becoming Martin Luther King, Jr.: -

Plagiarism and Originality, A Round Table,” *Journal of American History*, 78, 1 (1991), pp.11-119.

99. Ralph Holland, letter to Brian Ward, March 19, 1992. Copy in possession of author.

100. “Speech delivered by the Public Orator (J.H. Burnett) when presenting a candidate (Martin Luther King) for an honorary degree at a Congregation in King’s Hall on Monday, 13th November 1967” (Newcastle, June 1968), MLK-Reg. Walter Rauschenburg was one of the leading figures in the social gospel movement dedicated to making Christianity a force for progressive social reform, a viewpoint with which King clearly sympathized. While he had some disagreements with the opinions of late 18th and early 19th Century German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, King was attracted to the notion that positive change could come through struggle in which opposites and extremes are reconciled to produce a new synthesis. As he wrote of his commitment to nonviolence in *Stride Towards Freedom*, “Like the synthesis in Hegelian philosophy, the principle of nonviolent resistance seeks to reconcile the truths of two opposites—acquiescence and violence—while avoiding the extremes and immoralities of both.” p.213.

101. Dora McDonald, letter to E.M. Bettenson, September 27, 1967, MLK-Reg; C.I.C. Bosanquet to Martin Luther King, October 3, 1967, MLK-VC.

102. Rev. B. Ingliss-Evans, letter to C.I.C. Bosanquet, November 7, 1967; Alan Booth, letter to C.I.C. Bosanquet, November 7, 1967; R.H. Pain, letter to C.I.C. Bosanquet, November 6, 1967; MLK-VC.

103. C.I.C. Bosanquet, letter to Rev. B. Ingliss-Evans, November 10, 1967, MLK-VC.

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104. C.I.C. Bosanquet, letter to R.H. Pain, November 9, 1967, MLK-VC.
105. C.I.C. Bosanquet, letter to Martin Luther King, November 9, 1967, MLK-VC.
106. *Vice-Chancellor's Report, 1967-68* (Newcastle: University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1968), p.9.
107. See Henry Miller, Vice-Chancellor, letter to Miss B. Mellor, September 1, 1975, MLK-VC.
108. The Tyne Tees footage is now curated by the North East Film Archive. <http://www.northeastfilmarchive.com/videos/19445/martin-luther-king-honorary-degree-ceremony-newcastle-university>. Accessed, January 9, 2017.
109. The newly recovered 1 minute 48 second fragment of King's interview with Clyde Alleyne, probably an unbroadcast portion of the interview, was revealed to the public on November 1, 2016. It can be viewed at, British Film Institute, <http://player.bfi.org.uk/film/watch-13-november-1967-martin-luther-king-interview-1967/>. See also, Kris Jepson, "Rare Footage of Martin Luther King in the North East," <http://www.itv.com/news/tyne-tees/2016-11-01/rare-footage-of-martin-luther-king-in-the-north-east/>. All accessed November 23, 2016.
110. "English TV Gets First Negro Announcer," *Jet*, May 11, 1967, p.11. See also, Antony Brown, *Tyne Tees Television: The First 20 Years* (Newcastle: Tyne Tees Publishing, 1978), p.23.
111. Stephen Tuck outlines some of the US coverage of British race relations in the 1950s and 1960s, and makes a case for the reciprocal influence of overseas travel on key US civil rights figures in "Malcolm X's Visit to Oxford

University: U.S. Civil Rights, Black Britain and the Special Relationship on Race,” *American Historical Review*, February 2013, pp.76-103 (especially pp. pp.91-98).

112. “Great Day for Freedom Fighter,” *TC*, November 15, 1967, p.1.

113. Martin Luther King, “Acceptance Speech on Receipt of an Honorary Doctorate at the University of Newcastle upon Tyne,” November 13, 1967, MLK-Reg. Martin Luther King, “Speech at City Temple Hall,” December 7, 1964, Pacifica Radio, “Exclusive: Newly Discovered 1964 MLK Speech on Civil Rights, Segregation & Apartheid South Africa,” January 19, 2015, https://www.democracynow.org/2015/1/19/exclusive_newly_discovered_1964_mlk_speech. Accessed January 9, 2017.

114. Martin Luther King, “Facing the Challenge of a New Age,” *Phylon*, XVIII, 1 (1957), reprinted in James W. Washington, ed, *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King Jr.* (New York: HarperCollins, 1990), p.142. Martin Luther King, “The American Dream,” Commencement Address, Lincoln University, June 6, 1961, <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/american-dream>; Martin Luther King, speech to Cornell College, October 15, 1962, <http://news.cornellcollege.edu/dr-martin-luther-kings-visit-to-cornell-college/>. Both accessed, January 9, 2017. This is an illustrative, not exhaustive list of the many times King used variants on this phrase.

115. Martin Luther King, “Speech to SCLC Staff, November 14, 1966,” <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/mlk-speech-sclc-staff-retreat#>. Accessed January 8, 2017.

116. Martin Luther King, quoted in “Great Day for Freedom Fighter,”
Courier, November 15, 1967, p.1.

117. Martin Luther King, “Where Do We Go From Here?” Address to 11th
Annual Convention, SCLC, Atlanta, August 16, 1967,
[http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/publications/speeches/Where_do_we
_go_from_here.html](http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/publications/speeches/Where_do_we_go_from_here.html). Accessed November 29, 2016.

118. King, “Speech to SCLC Staff, November 14, 1966”; Martin Luther King,
“Acceptance Speech.” Lewis Baldwin points out that King expressed similar
sentiments and used much the same phrasing in an address to the Chicago
staff of the SCLC’s Operation Breadbasket in March 1967 and again in his
1968 “Testament of Hope” speech. See, Lewis V. Baldwin, *The Voice of
Conscience: The Church in the Mind of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York:
Oxford University Press, 2010), p.313, n.114.

119. King, “Speech to SCLC Staff, November 14, 1966”; King, “Acceptance
Speech.”

120. *Ibid.*; “Great Day for Freedom Fighter.”

121. King, “Speech to SCLC Staff, November 14, 1966.”

122. King, “Acceptance Speech.” Martin Luther King, “America’s Chief Moral
Dilemma,” Address to the Hungry Club of Atlanta, May 10, 1967,
[http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/americas-chief-moral-
dilemma](http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/americas-chief-moral-dilemma). Accessed January 9, 2017.

123. Martin Luther King, “Advice for Living,” *Ebony*, December 1957, p.120.

124. Canon John L. Collins, Letter to Martin Luther King, (n.d.; Received,
January 20, 1964),

<http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/letter-campaign-nuclear-disarmament-mlk>. Accessed January 9, 2017.

125. Peggy Duff, letter to Martin Luther King, April 28, 1967,
<http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/letter-peggy-duff-mlk-1>.
Accessed January 9, 2017.

126. Peggy Duff, letter to Martin Luther King, May 4, 1967,
<http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/letter-peggy-duff-mlk-2>.
Accessed January 9, 2017. This letter bears a handwritten note, “Answered
by phone 5-26.”

127. Peggy Duff, letter to Martin Luther King, May 31, 1967,
<http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/letter-peggy-duff-mlk-3>.
Accessed January 9, 2017.

128. Peggy Duff, letter to Martin Luther King, September 13, 1967,
<http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/letter-peggy-duff-mlk-0>.
Duff wrote again to ask King if he would sign an “Appeal to Stop the
Bombing” to President Johnson. Peggy Duff, letter to Martin Luther King,
September 21, 1967,
<http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/letter-peggy-duff-mlk>. All
accessed January 9, 2017.

129. “Johnson Should Admit Mistake – Luther King,” *MS*, November 14,
1967, p.3.

130. “Debate,” *Courier*, October 27, 1965, p.3; Chris Payne, “Student
Political Awareness,” *ibid.*, November 11, 1965, p.6. See also, Sylvia Ellis, “A
Demonstration of British Good Sense?: British Student Protest During the

Vietnam War,” in Gerard DeGroot (ed.), *Student Protest: The Sixties and After* (London: Longman, 1998), pp.54-69.

131. Fiona Clarke, quoted in, Anna Flowers and Vanessa Histon (eds), *It's My Life!: 1960s Newcastle* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Tyne Bridge Publishing, 2009), p.158.

132. King, “Acceptance Speech”; King, “America’s Chief Moral Dilemma.”

133. Dorothy Booth, letter to D.C. Foster, March 1992 (copy in possession of the author). Bosanquet, “Address at the King Memorial Service.” Ken Jack, letter to Brian Ward, March 13, 1992 (copy in possession of the author).

134. Boris Kidel, “Hoover Attacks a ‘liar named Luther’,” *DM*, November 20, 1964, p.2.

135 Mr. E(dwin) A.F. Fenwick, letter to Bosanquet, November 14, 1967; C.I.C. Bosanquet, letter to Mr. Fenwick, November 16, 1967, MLK-VC.

136. Peter H. Woodhead, “A Retrospective of 13th November 1967,” n.d. (copy in possession of the author).

137. Meredyth Bell, interview with Space 2, April 2015, JtJOHP.

138. Paul Barry, interview with Space 2, April 2015, JtJOHP. For coverage of the Anti-Apartheid campaign against the South African rugby tour, see, “Support for Rugby Tourists,” *Courier*, November 22, 1967, p.1; “Rugby Tour – Protests Fail,” *ibid.* December 6, 1967, p.1; “Tour Protest Today,” *ibid.*, January 31, 1968; “Durham Joins Varsity in Apartheid Protest,” *ibid.*, February 7, 1967, p.12.

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<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-tyne-27602173>. Accessed

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141. "Negro Apprenticeship," *Chronicle*, August 3, 1838, p.1. See also, John Charlton, *Hidden Chains: The Slavery Business and North East England, 1600-1865* (Newcastle: Tyne Bridge Publishing, 2008), pp.73-77.

142. "Report of the Newcastle Upon-Tyne Auxiliary," *The Herald of Peace, Jan, Feb and March 1832* (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1832) p.284.

143. "Fifth Report of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Auxiliary to the London Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace," 1837, p.4. See <https://research.ncl.ac.uk/martinlutherking/activities/publicmeetings/two-centuries/>. Accessed, January 9, 2017.

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145. Clare Midgley, *Women Against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780-1870* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.136.

146. *Ibid.*, pp.126-7; Charlton, *Hidden Chains*, p.72; *Chronicle*, April 9, 1836, p.2.

147. Charlton, *Hidden Chains*, p.82.

148. W. Caleb McDaniel, "World's Anti-Slavery Convention," in Peter P. Hinks, John R. McKivigan and R. Owen Williams (eds), *Encyclopedia of Antislavery and Abolition* (Westport: Greenwood, 2007), pp. 760-762; Midgley, *Women Against Slavery*, p.51 (on Sturge) and pp.158-165 (on the

1840 convention). See also, Bruce Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women: Gender in the Antebellum City* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), p.179.

149. Midgley, *Women Against Slavery*, p.126.

150. Charlton, *Hidden Chains*, pp.84-88.

151. *Chronicle*, April 9, 1836, p.2; *Declaration of the Objects of the Newcastle Upon Tyne Society for the Abolition of Slavery All Over the World* (Newcastle upon Tyne: J. Blackwell & Co., 1836), pp.9-10, Tracts 042/4, v.470, n.18, L&P.

152. William Lloyd Garrison, October 20, 1888, letter to *The Liberator*, in *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison: No Union with the Slaveholders, 1841-1849* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp.437-440 (quotes on p.439). The letter appeared in *The Liberator*, XVI, 47, November 20, 1846, p.187.

153. Harriet Martineau, letter to Fanny Wedgewood, February 11, 1846, in Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle (eds.), *Harriet Martineau's Letters to Fanny Wedgewood*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983) pp.46-49 (quotes on p.47). The current Martineau Guest House stands at 57, Front Street, Tynemouth, but Martineau repeatedly gave her initial address as 12, Front Street. See, for example, Harriet Martineau, letter to Fanny Wedgewood, (Summer 1840), in Sanders, *Harriet Martineau's Letters*, p.35. Martineau suffered from poor health for much of her life, including partial deafness and, at the time of her recuperation in Tynemouth, probably had a uterine tumour. Her condition only really improved, somewhat, when she

left for Ambleside in 1845 and found renewed strength in an odd mix of mesmerism and religious enthusiasm.

154. Harriet Martineau, *Society in America*, (London: Saunders and Otley, 1837).

155. Harriet Martineau, *The Martyr of the Age of the United States of America with and Appeal on Behalf of the Oberlin Institute in Aid of the Abolition of Slavery*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: Finley and Charlton, 1840). See also, Alexis Easley, "Rewriting the Past and Present: Harriet Martineau, Contemporary Historian," in Valerie Sanders and Gaby Weiner (eds), *Harriet Martineau and the Birth of Disciplines: Nineteenth-Century Powerhouse* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2017), p.106; Midgely, *Women Against Slavery*, p.129 (also pp.127-9 on Martineau generally).

156. "Uncle Tom in England," *Chronicle*, October 8, 1852, p.2; "A Glance Across the Atlantic," *Ibid.*, October 8, 1852, p.4; "Will Be Ready in A Few Days," *Ibid.*, October 15, 1852, p.2. See also, Sarah Meer, *Uncle Tom Mania: Slavery, Minstrelsy, and Transatlantic Culture in the 1850s* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2005).

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160. Caretta, *Equiano*, p.354.

161. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, the African*, (1814, repr. New York, Cosimo, 2009), p.179.

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163. Minutes of Meeting, June 10, 1850, Ladies Negro Friend and Emancipation Society for Newcastle Minute Book from 1838 to 1854, 3744/389, TWA.

164. Minutes of Meeting, September 12, 1850, Ladies Negro Friend and Emancipation Society for Newcastle Minute Book from 1838 to 1854, 3744/389, TWA. Elizabeth A. O'Donnell, "There's Death in the Pot!': The British Free Produce Movement and the Religious Society of Friends, With Particular Reference to the North-East of England," *Quaker Studies*, 13, 2 (2009), pp.184-204.

165. Charlton, *Hidden Chains*, p.88

166. Bryan Prince, *A Shadow on the Household: One Enslaved Family's Incredible Struggle for Freedom* (Toronto: McClelland & Steward, 2009), pp.63-64.

167. James Watkins, *Narrative of the Life of James Watkins, Formerly a "Chattel" in Maryland, U. S.; Containing an Account of His Escape from Slavery, Together with an Appeal on Behalf of Three Millions of Such "Pieces of Property," Still Held Under the Standard of the Eagle* (Bolton, Eng.: Kenyon and Abbatt, 1852), pp.32-3.

168. Ibid., pp.35-6.

169. "A Glance Across the Atlantic," *Chronicle*, October 8, 1852, p.4.

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171. Ibid., p.56.

172. William Wells Brown, *The American Fugitive in Europe: Sketches of Places and People Abroad* (Boston: John P. Jewett, 1854), reprinted in Paul Jefferson (ed.), *The Travels of William Wells Brown* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), pp.139-40. *Clotel* was also published in Britain: William Wells Brown, *Clotel, or the President's Daughter* (London: Partridge and Oakey, 1853). For an overview of African American visitors to Britain during this period, see R.J.M. Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983).

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174. *The Anti-Slavery Harp: A Collection of Songs for Anti-Slavery Meetings*, Compiled by William W. Brown, An American Fugitive Slave," (Newcastle: J. Blackwell & Co., 1850), p.1.
175. See, Joan Hugman, "Print and Preach: The Entrepreneurial Spirit of Nineteenth-Century Newcastle," in Bill Colls and Bill Lancaster (eds), *Newcastle upon Tyne: A Modern City* (Chichester, England: Phillimore, 2001), pp.113-132 (statistics from p.117).
176. "American Slavery: Public Meeting in Newcastle," *NG*, December 15, 1849, p.3.
177. "Soiree to William Wells Brown in Newcastle," *Ibid.*, January 5, 1850, p.5; Ezra Greenspan, *William Wells Brown: An African American Life* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2014), p.230.
178. *Ibid.*, pp.244-248; Brown, *A Description of William Wells Brown's Original Panoramic Views of the Scenes in the Life of an American Slave, from His Birth in Slavery 13 to His Death or His Escape to His First Home of Freedom on British Soil* (London, 1850), reprinted in C. Peter Ripley (ed.), *The Black Abolitionist Papers, Volume I, The British Isles, 1830—1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), p.191.
179. "William Wells Brown Poster - South Shields Central Hall," n.d., LSC-SS.
180. "Anti-Slavery Meeting in Newcastle," *NG*, March 15, 1851, p.4. The report rather missed the point of Craft's escape narrative by erroneously suggesting that Ellen Craft was a "white slave."

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181. William Wells Brown, Letter to Dear Mr. Garrison, *The Liberator*, January 24, 1851, p.3.
182. William Wells Brown, letter to Frederick Douglass, *North Star*, April 17 1851, p.3.
183. "Exchange by William Craft and Dr. James Hunt," *Anti-Slavery Standard*, September 26, 1863, Black Abolitionist Archives, Doc. No. 26947 http://research.udmercy.edu/digital_collections/baa/Craft_26947spe.pdf. Accessed March 12, 2017. The meeting was also reported in "Anthropology at the British Association," *Anthropological Review*, 1, 3 (November 1863), pp.408-410.
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186. "Exchange."
187. Vanessa R. Dickerson, *Dark Victorians* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), pp.3-4. Dickerson offers a fine account of how African American visitors interacted with a Victorian Britain that was less white than often believed (especially pp.44-73).
188. Watkins, *Struggles for Freedom*.

189. Peter Wood, "The Newcastle Song Chapbooks," in David Atkinson and Steve Roud (eds), *Street Ballads in Nineteenth Century Britain, Ireland and North America: The Interface Between Print and Oral Traditions* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp.70-71. "Miss Lucy Neal," (Newcastle: W.R. Walker: c.1860), Broadside Ballads Online, <http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/images/sheets/05000/03471.gif>. Accessed December 18, 2016. The best overview of minstrelsy in Britain is Michael Pickering, *Blackface Minstrelsy in Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). See also, Robert Nowatzki, *Representing African Americans in Transatlantic Abolitionism and Blackface Minstrelsy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010).

190. "Messrs Cobb and Chapman Delineators of Negro Life," *Journal*, September 28, 1861; "Oxford Music Hall," *ibid.*, February 8, 1868, p.2; "Negro Minstrels at the Seaside," *Courant*, September 2, 1893, p.6; "'Dixieland' at the Empire," *Journal*, July 18, 1914, p.4; "'The Sugar Babe at the Empire'," *ibid.*, February 19, 1918, p.5. Theatre-going Tynesiders were exposed to very different images when the commanding New York-born black Shakespearean actor Ira Aldridge performed in Newcastle and Sunderland in March 1827, again in 1845 and 1857 (when he also appeared in South Shields), and for the last time in the North East in 1859. "Playbill advertising Ira Aldridge's appearance as Othello, Richard III and Shylock in Newcastle, 1845," A Collection of Playbills from Miscellaneous Newcastle-upon-Tyne Theatres, 1791-1855, Playbill 262, British Library, <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/playbill-advertising-ira-aldridges-appearance-as-othello-richard-iii-and-shylock-in-newcastle-1845>. Accessed

December 18, 2016. See also, Bernth Lindfors, *Ira Aldridge: The Early Years, 1807 – 1833* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2011), p.112; Bernth Lindfors, *Ira Aldridge: The Last Years, 1855 – 1867* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2015), pp.40-41; 139-142.

191. Playbill for Scott and Whaley, Sunderland, 1918, TH.EMP/1/94, TWA.

192. Michael Pickering, “The BBC’s Kentucky Minstrels, 1933–1950: Blackface Entertainment on British Radio,” *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 16, 2 (1996), pp.161-195.

193. C. Lenox Remond, letter to My Very Dear Friend, March 7, 1841, *The Liberator*, May 21, 1841, p.88. See also Fionnaghuala Sweeney, “Richardson, Anna and Ellen,” in Paul Finkelman (ed) *Encyclopedia of African American History, 1619-1895: From the Colonial Period to the Age of Frederick Douglass. Volume 3* (New York: Oxford, 2006), p.43.

194. Elizabeth Pease, letter to Esteemed Friend, May 2, 1841, *The Liberator*, May 21, 1841, p.88.

195. “American Slavery,” *NG*, October 2, 1852, p.4; “Slavery! In All Its Horrors!” *NSG*, November 5, 1852, p. 5. See also, *Narrative of the Life of Henry Box Brown, Written by Himself*, (Manchester: Lee and Glynn, 1851). See Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall*, p.15.

196. It is difficult to locate every North East venue at which Douglass spoke, but he appears to have given his first talk in the region in Newcastle at an unknown location on August 2, 1846 followed by another on August 3, 1846 at Salem Methodist Church, Newcastle. Other talks on this visit included, Baptist Church, Howard Street, North Shields (August 4, 1846); Atheneum Hall, Sunderland (September 18, 1846); Brougham Street Tabernacle,

Sunderland (December 30, 1948); unknown venue, Newcastle, (December 31, 1846); Assembly Rooms, Darlington (January 11, 1847). See, “A Map of Speaking Locations,” Frederick Douglass in Britain, <http://www.frederickdouglassinbritain.com/frederick-douglass-s-mission-to-britain/map-of-speaking-locations>; Mapping Radical Tyneside, <http://radicaltyneside.org/events/frederick-douglass-speaks>. Both Accessed, January 5, 2017. See also, Joan Allen, *Joseph Cowen and Popular Radicalism on Tyneside 1829–1900* (Monmouth: Merlin Press, 2007), p.23.

197. Frederic May Holland, *Frederick Douglass: The Colored Orator*, (Revd. Ed. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1895), p.140.

198. Elizabeth Pease, letter to “Esteemed Friend,” February 16, 1847, *The Liberator*, March 26, 1847, p.3.

199. Elizabeth Pease, *Society of Friends in the United States: Their Views of The Anti-slavery Question, and Treatment of the People of Colour*, (Darlington: J. Wilson, 1840), Samuel J. May Anti-Slavery Collection, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, NY, <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=mayantislavery;idno=08839407>. Accessed, January 5, 2017. See also, Donna McDaniel and Venessa Julye, *Fit for Freedom, Not for Friendship: Quakers, African Americans and the Myth of Racial Justice* (Philadelphia: Quaker Press, 2009), especially, pp.194-7.

200. It is often claimed in biographies of Douglass that one of the most important figures in his life, Julia Griffiths, was also from Newcastle upon Tyne. Griffiths, who travelled to the US to administer, fundraise and set the literary tone for Douglass’s influential abolitionist paper *The North Star*, was acquainted with Anna Richardson and this appears to be the basis for this

oft-repeated misassumption. However, there is no concrete evidence that Griffiths ever visited, let alone lived in Newcastle and she first met Douglass in London. The error seems to have started with Douglass's first two academic biographers, Benjamin Quarles, *Frederick Douglass* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948), p.87 and Philip S. Foner, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass* (New York: International Publishers, 1950), 1, pp.87-90) and has been perpetuated by successive generations. For a discussion of this historiographical glitch see, Leigh Fought, "More Source Creep," January 23, 2012, at Frederick Douglass's Women: In Progress. http://leighfought.blogspot.co.uk/2012_01_01_archive.html. Accessed, January 5, 2017.

201. "Mr. Frederick Douglass in Newcastle," *Chronicle*, February 20, 1860, p.2; "Frederick Douglass at North Shields," *NSG*, February 23, 1860, p.4; "Frederick Douglass at Morpeth," *ibid.*, March 1, 1860, p.5. See, also, David W. Blight, *Frederick Douglass's Civil War: Keeping Faith in Jubilee*, pp.96-7.

202. James M. Gregory, *Frederick Douglass The Orator: Containing An Account of His Life; His Eminent Public Services; His Brilliant Career as Orator; Selections from his Speeches and Writings*, (Springfield, MA: Willey & Co. 1893), pp.82-3.

203. R.J.M. Blackett, *Divided Hearts: Britain and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 2001); Duncan Andrew Campbell, *English Public Opinion and the American Civil War* (Rochester: Boydell Press, 2003); Peter O'Connor, *American Sectionalism in the British Mind, 1832-1863*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2017).

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204. William Gladstone, "Speech at Newcastle, October 7, 1862," in *Europe Looks At the Civil War*, ed. Belle Becker Sideman and Lillian Friedman (New York: Collier Books, 1962), p.157.
205. Kenneth Warren, *Armstrong: The Life and Mind of an Armaments Maker* (Seaton Burn: Northern Heritage, 2014), pp.116-117.
206. O'Conner, *American Sectionalism*, pp.126-7.
207. For Joseph Cowen and race, see Nigel Todd, *The Militant Democracy: Joseph Cowen and Victorian Radicalism* (Whitley Bay: Bewick Press, 1991), pp. 69-76; For Cowen's life and politics more generally, see Allen, *Joseph Cowen*. The *Newcastle Chronicle* began life in 1764, with a name change to the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* in May 1858.
208. Charlton, *Hidden Chains*, pp.148-150; Nigel Todd, "Black-on-Tyne. The Black Presence on Tyneside in the 1860s," *North East Labour History Journal*, 21 (1987), pp.17-27.
209. W.E. Adams, *The Slaveholders' War: An Argument for the North and the Negro* (Manchester: Union and Emancipation Society, 1863), pp.4, 14.
210. "The Rev W.H. Channing on the American Question," *Courant*, October 16, 1863, p.2.
211. Adams, *The Slaveholders' War*, pp.15, 19.
212. "An Approving Voice," *The Liberator*, September 16, 1864, p.1.
213. "Visit of Mr. Wm. Lloyd Garrison to Newcastle," *Chronicle*, July 13, 1867, p.3. William Lloyd Garrison, letter to Henry C. Wright, January 11, 1867, in Walter M. Merrill and Louis Ruchames (eds), *Letters of William Lloyd Garrison*, vol. 6 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981) pp.31-32 (quote p.31).

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214. Francis Jackson Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879: The Story of his Life told by his Children*, vol. 4 (New York: Century Company, 1889) pp.219-220.
215. Anthony Nicol, esq. (Deputy Mayor), "Resolution," Quarterly Meeting of the Council of the Borough of Newcastle upon Tyne, May 3, 1865; William Lockey Harie (Sheriff), "Resolution," May 4, 1865, all LLD.
216. J. Martin, letter to Hon. Charles Adams, May 4, 1865, LLD.
217. (Rev) Henry Kendall, Chairman, "Resolution," May 2, 1865, LLD.
218. David W. Stowe, "'An Inestimable Blessing': The American Gospel Invasion of 1873," *American Transcendental Quarterly*, 16, 3 (2002), pp.189-212.
219. J.B.T. Marsh and F. Loudin, *The Story of the Jubilee Singers, Including Their Songs* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903), pp.63 (first quote), 67 (second, Robjohns quote). See also, Andrew Ward, *Dark Midnight When I Rise: The Story of the Jubilee Singers Who Introduced the World to the Music of Black America* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000), p.243.
220. "Thirty Negroes Killed in a Riot," *Journal*, September 23, 1868, p.3; "More Negro Riots," *ibid.*, October 10, 1868, p.3.
221. "Anarchy in the Southern States," *Ibid.*, March 28, 1871, p.3.
222. "The Massacre in Louisiana," *Ibid.*, May 5, 1873, p.3. Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper Row, 1988), p.437.
223. "Shocking Lynching Scene," *Courant*, February 27, 1892, p.4; "A Negro Burned Alive." *New York Times*. February 21, 1892, p. 6; Charles Frank Robinson II, *Dangerous Liaisons: Sex and Love in the Segregated South*

(Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2003), p.77. Accurate statistics on lynching numbers are impossible to ascertain, but a 2015 report by the Equal Justice Initiative suggested that 4,075 black men, women, and children were lynched in twelve former Confederate states between 1877 and 1950. See, Equal Justice Initiative, *Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror* (2nd edition. Montgomery, AL: Equal Justice Initiative, 2015) <http://eji.org/sites/default/files/lynching-in-america-second-edition-summary.pdf>. Accessed, February 5, 2017. For how rape accusations fitted into a broader pattern of accusations against African Americans that could lead to lynching, see Lisa Lindquist Dorr, *White Women, Rape, and the Power of Race in Virginia, 1900-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

224. "Lynching in the United States: Horrible Barbarities by the White Population: Interview with a Coloured Lady in Newcastle," *Newcastle Daily Leader*, April 20, 1894, p.5. For Wells's international mission, see Sarah Silkey, *Black Woman Reformer: Ida B. Wells, Lynching, and Transatlantic Activism* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2014).

225. "Lynching in Georgia," *Journal*, January 22, 1914, p.12; "Negroes Burned at the Stake," *Ibid.*, August 31, 1915, p.6.

226. G.J. Harney, "American Notes and Boston Notions," *W-Chronicle*, December 31, 1864, p.2. For more on Harney's American journalism, see Owen R. Ashton and Joan Hugman, "George Julian Harney, Boston, U.S.A., and Newcastle upon Tyne, England, 1863-1888," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3rd Series, 107, (1995), pp.165-184.

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228. G. Julian Harney, "America," *Ibid.*, March 23, 1867, p.8. Also, G. Julian Harney, "State of Parties and Progress of Republicanism in America," *Ibid.*, March 30, 1867, p.4.

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