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# MLK

## PUT MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. ON THE TWENTY-DOLLAR BILL



"Now, I say to you today my friends, even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.'"

Martin Luther King, Jr.,  
"I have a Dream Speech," August 28,  
1963

Martin Luther King Jr. was more than a great civil rights leader. More than an effective champion of desegregation. More than a great communicator.

King was one of the greatest moral leaders of the twentieth century.

We created a national holiday for him. We've named schools and streets after him. Now it's time to put his image on the vehicle for our greatest national symbols:

*Our money.*

We created this web site to start a movement for putting Martin Luther King Jr. on the twenty-dollar bill. King symbolizes the triumph of love over hatred, of nonviolence over violence, and of community values over money values.

No American is more qualified than King to replace Andrew Jackson on the twenty-dollar bill. Jackson's presidential legacy is marked by the barbaric Indian Removal Act which evicted at least 47,000 Creek, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokee and Seminole Indians from their homes so their land could be turned into cotton-growing slave plantations. The Indian Removal Act led directly to the infamous Trail of Tears, where four thousand Cherokee men, women and children died in a forced march west.

Our strategy is to gather names to pressure President Bush and Congress to put King on the 20. Together we can make this happen!

[Click here to sign the petition.](#)

[Read our op-ed piece from the San Francisco Chronicle!](#)

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# MLK PUT MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. ON THE TWENTY-DOLLAR BILL



President Reagan signed the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Holiday into law on November 2, 1983.

Copyright: Reagan Library Archives

## The Petition

Petition to President George W. Bush and the United States Congress

Dear President Bush and Leaders of Congress,

As citizens of the United States of America we hereby affirm that:

Martin Luther King, Jr. was one of the greatest moral leaders of the twentieth century. His vision of compassion, nonviolence and freedom is as necessary today as it was more than four decades ago.

King symbolizes the triumph of love over hatred, of nonviolence over violence, and of community values over money values.

Andrew Jackson never deserved to be on the twenty-dollar bill. As a slave trader, Indian hunter, and President, Jackson is famous for Indian Removal Act that evicted 70,000 Native Americans from their homes so their land could be used for slave plantations. The Act led directly to the infamous Trail of Tears, where four thousand Cherokee men, women and children died in a forced march west.

The Supreme Court went so far as to declare the Indian Removal Act illegal. But after Chief Justice John Marshall handed down the decision Jackson brazenly disobeyed it and thus violated the constitution.

We urge you to pass and sign legislation into law that replaces Andrew Jackson with Martin Luther King, Jr. on the twenty-dollar bill.

Signed:

**First/Last Name\***

**Organization**

**Address**

**City State Zip**

**E-mail Address\***

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"The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy."

Martin Luther King, Jr.,  
Strength to Love, 1963



### The Case for King on the 20 – and Jackson Off It

Nobody doubts that King was one of the most influential figures of the twentieth century and one of the greatest Americans ever. Shouldn't we honor him by putting his image on our currency?

Our money isn't reserved for past presidents: Ben Franklin is on the one hundred dollar bill.

Nor is it reserved to men: Susan B. Anthony is on a one-dollar coin.

Nor is it even reserved for whites: the U.S. Treasury recently put Sacagawea, an Indian guide to Lewis and Clark, on a one dollar gold coin.

King deserves more than to be put on an odd-shaped one-dollar coin that is rarely used. He deserves to be put on a bill. While looking for a place for King we asked ourselves, who should King replace?

Though he was never president, Ben Franklin (\$100) was involved in nearly every significant event of the American Revolution, from the Declaration of Independence to the Constitution. He was also one of the greatest inventors of the 18th Century. There's no question that he should stay on the one-hundred dollar bill.

George Washington (\$1) was the father of the country. Jefferson (\$2) was the author of the Declaration of Independence and a founding father. Lincoln (\$5) held the country together through civil war and is widely considered our greatest president. Hamilton (\$10) was a great revolutionary. Grant (\$50) was a great general – without him Lincoln could not have held the union together (or freed the slaves).

All of this leaves us with Andrew Jackson. The facts are these: Jackson came to power by forcing the Creek, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokee and Seminole Indians from their lands so that slave plantations could be built.

It gets worse. Consider the following:

- Jackson first became known among the American people for killing Creek women, men and children indiscriminately.
- As treaty commissioner Jackson took away half of the land of the Creek in the largest Southern Indian land grab so it could be used for slave plantations.
- Jackson justified his 1818 razing of Seminole villages as his way of hunting down escaped slaves in Florida (bought from Spain in 1819 after Jackson's military campaign).
- President Jackson's Indian Removal bill forced 70,000 Indians west of the Mississippi and was responsible for the "Trail of Tears" which where 4,000 Cherokee men, women and children died.
- Jackson's grand vision of Indian Removal was to "place a dense and civilized population in large tracts of country now occupied by a few savage hunters... [and cause the Indians] to cast off their savage habits and become an interesting, civilized, and Christian community."

"What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute, occupied by more than 12,000,000 happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization and religion?"

Andrew Jackson, December 6, 1830

There was nothing inevitable about Jackson and what he did. He overcame stiff opposition to his anti-Indian and pro-slavery policies. The Supreme Court even declared Jackson's Indian Removal Act illegal. After Chief Justice John Marshall handed down the decision Jackson disobeyed it and violated the constitution. He said, "John Marshall has made his decision. Now let him enforce it."

Jackson's opponent for the presidency, Senator Henry Clay, opposed the Indian Removal Act, which just barely passed the House and Senate.

In the Indian Removal debate, Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen said, "We have crowded the tribes upon a few miserable acres on our southern frontier; it is all that is left to them of their once boundless forest; and still, like the horse-leech, our insatiated cupidity cries, give! Give!... Sir... Do the obligations of justice change with the color of the skin?"

Ralph Waldo Emerson, the rugged individualist of such essays as "On Self-Reliance," would have led the charge to remove Andrew Jackson from the twenty because of the Indian Removal Act. In an open letter to Jackson's vice president, Martin Van Buren, Emerson wrote:

"The soul of man, the justice, the mercy that is the heart's heart in all men, from Maine to Georgia, does abhor this business... a crime is projected that confounds our understandings by its magnitude, a crime that really deprives us as well as the Cherokees of a country for how could we call the conspiracy that should crush these poor Indians our government, or the land that was cursed by their parting and dying imprecations our country any more? You sir, will bring down that renowned chair in which you sit into infamy if your seal is set to this instrument of perfidy; and the name of this nation, hitherto the sweet omen of religion and liberty, will stink to this world."

If Jackson still merits representation on American money then let him grace the tail side of the one-dollar coin of Indian scout Sacagawea.

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- MORE ON KING
- BOOKS
- TIMELINE
- "I HAVE A DREAM" SPEECH

### More on King

MLK Papers Project at Stanford University  
<http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/>

The King Center  
<http://www.thekingcenter.org/>



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■ BOOKS



### More on Andrew Jackson

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4p2959.php>

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4h1567.php>

Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act, which led to the Trail of Tears and the deaths of 4,000 Cherokee, was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Jackson undermined the Constitution by ignoring the high court.

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King Jr. tells reporters he is "disenchanted" with President Johnson's Vietnam policies.

Credit: AP

For interviews please contact:

Michael Shellenberger, Breakthrough Institute, 510-525-9900.  
or email [info@putkingonthe20.com](mailto:info@putkingonthe20.com)

**"If love for Andrew Jackson is stronger than we imagine, we would be willing to make the following political compromise: that the former president's portrait be moved to the tail side of the Sacagawea one-dollar coin."**

### Put King on the 20

By Michael Shellenberger and Tommy McDonald

San Francisco Chronicle op-ed piece  
Published in the *San Francisco Chronicle*  
Martin Luther King, Jr. Day, January 19, 2004

Republicans in Congress recently made headlines when they proposed replacing President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on the dime with Ronald Reagan. Putting a living former president on a coin would constitute a serious break with tradition, and the proposal soon lost momentum after Nancy Reagan made her opposition known.

We agree with the Republicans that it's time for a change in who is represented on our currency. But instead of Reagan, whose vision for America continues to divide the country, we propose an American whose tragic early death brought us together: Martin Luther King, Jr.

Martin Luther King, Jr. was more than a great African American civil rights leader. He was one of the greatest moral leaders of the twentieth century. To this day King symbolizes the triumph of love, nonviolence, and community values over hatred, violence and material values.

We created a national holiday for him (signed into law by Reagan in 1983). We named schools and streets after him. We consider his "I Have a Dream" speech to be a masterpiece of political oratory. Who would argue that the Nobel Peace Prize winning King doesn't deserve to be on our money?

It took many years for King's birthday to become a holiday so there's no question that our proposal will encounter political resistance. But our currency is not reserved for former presidents; Ben Franklin, after all, is on the one hundred dollar bill. Nor is our money only the domain of white men: Sacagawea, Lewis and Clark's Indian scout, is on the dollar coin.

In our view, King deserves to grace a commonly used bill, not an oddly shaped and obscure dollar coin like the Susan B. Anthony or the Sacagawea. We propose instead to replace President Andrew Jackson with Martin Luther King, Jr. on the \$20. Such a change would elevate a great moral leader while making a small step toward repairing America's relationship with African Americans and Native Americans.

Jackson earned his fame and fortune as a slave trader and Indian hunter. His presidential legacy is marked by the barbaric Indian Removal Act which evicted at least 47,000 Creek, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokee and Seminole Indians from their homes so their land could be turned into cotton-growing slave plantations. The Indian Removal Act led directly to the infamous Trail of Tears, where four thousand Cherokee men, women and children died in a forced march west.

There was nothing inevitable about Jackson and what he did. He had to overcome stiff opposition to his anti-Indian and pro-slavery policies from the public and the media. After it narrowly passed Congress, the Supreme Court declared the Indian Removal Act unconstitutional. But just as soon as Chief Justice John Marshall handed down his decision Jackson disobeyed it, thereby violating the constitution and threatening the very foundation of our government. Jackson is reported to have said, "John Marshall has made his decision. Now let him enforce it."

During the Trail of Tears, Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote an open letter to Jackson's Vice President and successor, President Martin Van Buren, calling the Indian evictions "...a crime that really deprives us as well as the Cherokees of a country, for how could we call the conspiracy that should crush these poor Indians our government, or the land that was cursed by their parting and dying imprecations our country any more?"

It's unlikely that opponents of putting King on the \$20 will want to compare Jackson's moral fiber to King's. But if love for Andrew Jackson is stronger than we imagine, we would be willing to make the following political compromise: that the former president's portrait be moved to the tail side of the Sacagawea one-dollar coin.

--

Michael Shellenberger is President of the Breakthrough Institute, a think tank focused on economic and business issues, where Tommy McDonald is Program Consultant. Together they started a campaign web site, PutKingonthe20.com.

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MLK

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"We must learn to live together as brothers or perish together as fools."  
-- King

### Donate

Together we can motivate Congress and the President to put King on the 20. Your contributions will be used to run advertisements and grow the grassroots movement.

Donate on line through our secure PayPal system!

Or mail contributions to:

California Majority  
3020 El Cerrito Plaza #113,  
El Cerrito, CA 94530

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King and civil rights leaders during the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott.

### About Us

PutKingonthe20.com is a project of The Breakthrough Institute.

Michael Shellenberger is President and CEO of The Breakthrough Institute, a think tank focused on business and economic issues. Michael has written articles on issues ranging from energy independence to trade policy for the L.A. Times, the American Prospect, the Philadelphia Inquirer, the San Diego Union Tribune, and other publications. He recently authored Race to the Top a report on NGO ethical business campaigns ([www.EthicalBusinessCampaigns.org](http://www.EthicalBusinessCampaigns.org)).

Michael is a co-founder of the Apollo Alliance, an alliance of business, labor, environment, and civil rights leaders working toward a New Apollo Project to create three million clean energy jobs, free America from foreign oil, and re-establish America's global economic leadership ([www.ApolloAlliance.org](http://www.ApolloAlliance.org))

Michael has helped lead campaigns to defend affirmative action, eliminate sweatshops and protect the environment. In 1996 he co-founded Communication Works which he grew to be California's largest public interest communications firm before merging it in 2001. Michael is fluent in Spanish and Portuguese and holds a Masters Degree in Anthropology from the University of California.

Tommy McDonald is project consultant of the Breakthrough Institute and a veteran communications strategist working on social justice issues for many groups, including Children Now, the Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice, the Justice Policy Institute, and the Youth Law Center. Tommy was funded by George Soros' Open Society Institute to work on juvenile justice issues. Tommy has also handled consumer litigation, affordable housing, drug policy, human rights and gun control issues. He served as the communications director for a California ballot initiative campaign on juvenile justice.

Tommy is resident of Nashville, TN, and is a 1993 Tennessee State University graduate. He began his career as a sports writer for the Nashville Banner in 1991 and was a community news reporter at the Sacramento Bee and a local sports editor for ANG Newspapers, which owns the Oakland Tribune.

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- MORE ON KING
- BOOKS
- TIMELINE
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### Books on King

Martin Luther King, Jr., *Let Freedom Ring*

Martin Luther King, Jr., *A Testament of Hope: Essential Writings and Speeches*

Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters*, Touchstone, 1988

Taylor Branch, *Pillar of Fire*, Touchstone, 1998

John Lewis, *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement* by

David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross : Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference*

Clayborne Carson, *The Eyes on the Prize: Civil Rights Reader: Documents, Speeches, and Firsthand Accounts from the Black Freedom Struggle, 1954-1990*

"We will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream."  
-- King

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Bob Fitch/Black Star

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### MLK Timeline

Key dates in the life of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.:

#### 1929

January 15. Michael Luther King, Jr., later renamed Martin, born to schoolteacher Alberta King and Baptist minister Michael Luther King. Boyhood in Sweet Auburn district.

#### 1948

King graduates from Morehouse College in Atlanta, Ga., with a B.A.

#### 1951

Graduates with a B.D. from Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pa.

#### 1953

June 18. King marries Coretta Scott in Marion, Ala.. They will have four children: Yolanda Denise

#### 1954

September. King moves to Montgomery, Ala., to preach at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church.

#### 1955

After coursework at New England colleges, King finishes his Ph.D. in systematic theology.

#### 1956

January 26. King is arrested for driving 30 mph in a 25 mph zone.

January 30. King's house bombed.

#### 1957

January. Black ministers form what became known as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. King is named first president one month later.

In this typical year of demonstrations, King traveled 780,000 miles and made 208 speeches.

#### 1958

King's first book published, "Stride Toward Freedom" (Harper), his recollections of the Montgomery bus boycott. While King is promoting his book in a Harlem book store, an African American woman stabs him.

#### 1959

King visits India. He had a lifelong admiration for Mohandas K. Gandhi, and credited Gandhi's passive resistance techniques for his civil-rights successes.

#### 1960

King leaves for Atlanta to pastor his father's church, Ebenezer Baptist Church.

#### 1962

King meets with President John F. Kennedy to urge support for civil rights.

#### 1963

King leads protests in Birmingham for desegregated department store facilities, and fair hiring.

April. Arrested after demonstrating in defiance of a court order, King writes "Letter From Birmingham Jail." This eloquent letter, later widely circulated, became a classic of the

civil-rights movement.

August 28. 250,000 civil-rights supporters attended the March on Washington. At the Lincoln Memorial, King delivers the famous "I have a dream" speech.

#### **1964**

King's book "Why We Can't Wait" published.

King visits with West Berlin Mayor Willy Brant and Pope Paul VI.

December 10. King wins Nobel Peace Prize.

#### **1965**

January 18. King successfully registers to vote at the Hotel Albert in Selma, Ala. and is assaulted by James George Robinson of Birmingham.

February. King continues to protest discrimination in voter registration, is arrested and jailed. Meets with President Lyndon B. Johnson Feb. 9 and other American leaders about voting rights for African Americans.

March 16-21. King and 3,200 people march from Selma to Montgomery.

#### **1968**

April 4. King is assassinated in Memphis, Tenn., by James Earl Ray.

#### **1986**

January 20 is the first national celebration of King's birthday as a holiday.

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### "I Have a Dream" speech

Martin Luther King, Jr.  
Address at March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom  
August 28, 1963  
Washington, D. C.

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves, who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity. But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacle of segregation and the chains of discrimination.

One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. So we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

In a sense we have come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir.

This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds."

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we have come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of Now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end but a beginning. Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual.

"We will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream."  
-- King

There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds.

Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must ever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. They have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality.

We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote.

No, no, we are not satisfied and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecutions and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive.

Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed.

Let us not wallow in the valley of despair. I say to you today, my friends, that even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow. I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed - we hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal.

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification; one day right down in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain and the crooked places will be made straight and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I will go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day. This will be the day, this will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the Pilgrim's pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring!" And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.

Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.

Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.

Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.

Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.

But not only that.

Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.

Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.

Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi, from every mountainside, let freedom ring!

And when this happens, when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every tenement and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last, free at last. Thank God Almighty, we are free at last."

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- MORE ON JACKSON
- **BOOKS**



Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act, which led to the Trail of Tears and the deaths of 4,000 Cherokee, was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Jackson undermined the Constitution by ignoring the high court.

### Books

Robert V., Remini, Andrew Jackson and his Indian Wars, Penguin Books Ltd., Copyright 2001

Anthony F.C. Wallace, The Long, Bitter Trail, Harper Collins Canada Ltd, Copyright 1993

Vine Deloria Jr. and Wilkins, David E., Tribes, Treaties, and Constitutional Tribulations, University of Texas Press, Copyright 1999

Vine Deloria, Jr., American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century, Copyright 1985, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

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