

AMERICAN SERMONS

THE PILGRIMS TO
MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

ed. Michael Warner



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MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

Sermon Delivered April 3, 1968

THANK YOU very kindly, my friends. As I listened to Ralph Abernathy in his eloquent and generous introduction and then thought about myself, I wondered who he was talking about. It's always good to have your closest friend and associate say something good about you. And Ralph is the best friend that I have in the world.

I'm delighted to see each of you here tonight in spite of a storm warning. You reveal that you are determined to go on anyhow. Something is happening in Memphis, something is happening in our world.

As you know, if I were standing at the beginning of time, with the possibility of general and panoramic view of the whole human history up to now, and the Almighty said to me, "Martin Luther King, which age would you like to live in?"—I would take my mental flight by Egypt through, or rather across the Red Sea, through the wilderness on toward the promised land. And in spite of its magnificence, I wouldn't stop there. I would move on by Greece, and take my mind to Mount Olympus. And I would see Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, Euripides and Aristophanes assembled around the Parthenon as they discussed the great and eternal issues of reality.

But I wouldn't stop there. I would go on, even to the great heyday of the Roman Empire. And I would see developments around there, through various emperors and leaders. But I wouldn't stop there. I would even come up to the day of the Renaissance, and get a quick picture of all that the Renaissance did for the cultural and esthetic life of man. But I wouldn't stop there. I would even go by the way that the man for whom I'm named had his habitat. And I would watch Martin Luther as he tacked his ninety-five theses on the door at the church in Wittenberg.

But I wouldn't stop there. I would come on up even to 1863, and watch a vacillating president by the name of

Abraham Lincoln finally come to the conclusion that he had to sign the Emancipation Proclamation. But I wouldn't stop there. I would even come up to the early thirties, and see a man grappling with the problems of the bankruptcy of his nation. And come with an eloquent cry that we have nothing to fear but fear itself.

But I wouldn't stop there. Strangely enough, I would turn to the Almighty, and say, "If you allow me to live just a few years in the second half of the twentieth century, I will be happy." Now that's a strange statement to make, because the world is all messed up. The nation is sick. Trouble is in the land. Confusion all around. That's a strange statement. But I know, somehow, that only when it is dark enough, can you see the stars. And I see God working in this period of the twentieth century in a way that men, in some strange way, are responding—something is happening in our world. The masses of people are rising up. And wherever they are assembled today, whether they are in Johannesburg, South Africa; Nairobi, Kenya; Accra, Ghana; New York City; Atlanta, Georgia; Jackson, Mississippi; or Memphis, Tennessee—the cry is always the same—"We want to be free."

And another reason that I'm happy to live in this period is that we have been forced to a point where we're going to have to grapple with the problems that men have been trying to grapple with through history, but the demands didn't force them to do it. Survival demands that we grapple with them. Men, for years now, have been talking about war and peace. But now, no longer can they just talk about it. It is no longer a choice between violence and nonviolence in this world; it's nonviolence or nonexistence.

That is where we are today. And also in the human rights revolution, if something isn't done, and in a hurry, to bring the colored peoples of the world out of their long years of poverty, their long years of hurt and neglect, the whole world is doomed. Now, I'm just happy that God has allowed me to live in this period, to see what is unfolding. And I'm happy that he's allowed me to be in Memphis.

I can remember, I can remember when Negroes were just going around as Ralph has said, so often, scratching where they didn't itch, and laughing when they were not tickled.

But that day is all over. We mean business now, and we are determined to gain our rightful place in God's world.

And that's all this whole thing is about. We aren't engaged in any negative protest and in any negative arguments with anybody. We are saying that we are determined to be men. We are determined to be people. We are saying that we are God's children. And that we don't have to live like we are forced to live.

Now, what does all of this mean in this great period of history? It means that we've got to stay together. We've got to stay together and maintain unity. You know, whenever Pharaoh wanted to prolong the period of slavery in Egypt, he had a favorite, favorite formula for doing it. What was that? He kept the slaves fighting among themselves. But whenever the slaves get together, something happens in Pharaoh's court, and he cannot hold the slaves in slavery. When the slaves get together, that's the beginning of getting out of slavery. Now let us maintain unity.

Secondly, let us keep the issues where they are. The issue is injustice. The issue is the refusal of Memphis to be fair and honest in its dealings with its public servants, who happen to be sanitation workers. Now, we've got to keep attention on that. That's always the problem with a little violence. You know what happened the other day, and the press dealt only with the window-breaking. I read the articles. They very seldom got around to mentioning the fact that one thousand, three hundred sanitation workers were on strike, and that Memphis is not being fair to them, and that Mayor Loeb is in dire need of a doctor. They didn't get around to that.

Now we're going to march again, and we've got to march again, in order to put the issue where it is supposed to be. And force everybody to see that there are thirteen hundred of God's children here suffering, sometimes going hungry, going through dark and dreary nights wondering how this thing is going to come out. That's the issue. And we've got to say to the nation: we know it's coming out. For when people get caught up with that which is right and they are willing to sacrifice for it, there is no stopping point short of victory.

We aren't going to let any mace stop us. We are masters in our nonviolent movement in disarming police forces; they

don't know what to do. I've seen them so often. I remember in Birmingham, Alabama, when we were in that majestic struggle there we would move out of the 16th Street Baptist Church day after day; by the hundreds we would move out. And Bull Connor would tell them to send the dogs forth and they did come; but we just went before the dogs singing, "Ain't gonna let nobody turn me round." Bull Connor next would say, "Turn the fire hoses on." And as I said to you the other night, Bull Connor didn't know history. He knew a kind of physics that somehow didn't relate to the transphysics that we knew about. And that was the fact that there was a certain kind of fire that no water could put out. And we went before the fire hoses; we had known water. If we were Baptist or some other denomination, we had been immersed. If we were Methodist, and some others, we had been sprinkled, but we knew water.

That couldn't stop us. And we just went on before the dogs and we would look at them; and we'd go on before the water hoses and we would look at it, and we'd just go on singing "Over my head I see freedom in the air." And then we would be thrown in the paddy wagons, and sometimes we were stacked in there like sardines in a can. And they would throw us in, and old Bull would say, "Take them off," and they did; and we would just go in the paddy wagon singing, "We Shall Overcome." And every now and then we'd get in the jail, and we'd see the jailers looking through the windows being moved by our prayers, and being moved by our words and our songs. And there was a power there which Bull Connor couldn't adjust to; and so we ended up transforming Bull into a steer, and we won our struggle in Birmingham.

Now we've got to go on to Memphis just like that. I call upon you to be with us Monday. Now about injunctions: We have an injunction and we're going into court tomorrow morning to fight this illegal, unconstitutional injunction. All we say to America is, "Be true to what you said on paper." If I lived in China or even Russia, or any totalitarian country, maybe I could understand the denial of certain basic First Amendment privileges, because they hadn't committed themselves to that over there. But somewhere I read of the freedom of assembly. Somewhere I read of the freedom of speech.

Somewhere I read of the freedom of the press. Somewhere I read that the greatness of America is the right to protest for right. And so just as I say, we aren't going to let any injunction turn us around. We are going on.

We need all of you. And you know what's beautiful to me, is to see all of these ministers of the Gospel. It's a marvelous picture. Who is it that is supposed to articulate the longings and aspirations of the people more than the preacher? Somehow the preacher must be an Amos, and say, "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream." Somehow, the preacher must say with Jesus, "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to deal with the problems of the poor."

And I want to commend the preachers, under the leadership of these noble men: James Lawson, one who has been in this struggle for many years; he's been to jail for struggling; but he's still going on, fighting for the rights of his people. Rev. Ralph Jackson, Billy Kiles; I could just go right on down the list, but time will not permit. But I want to thank them all. And I want you to thank them, because so often, preachers aren't concerned about anything but themselves. And I'm always happy to see a relevant ministry.

It's alright to talk about "long white robes over yonder," in all of its symbolism. But ultimately people want some suits and dresses and shoes to wear down here. It's alright to talk about "streets flowing with milk and honey," but God has commanded us to be concerned about the slums down here, and his children who can't eat three square meals a day. It's alright to talk about the new Jerusalem, but one day, God's preacher must talk about the New York, the new Atlanta, the new Philadelphia, the new Los Angeles, the new Memphis, Tennessee. This is what we have to do.

Now the other thing we'll have to do is this: Always anchor our external direct action with the power of economic withdrawal. Now, we are poor people, individually, we are poor when you compare us with white society in America. We are poor. Never stop and forget that collectively, that means all of us together, collectively we are richer than all the nations in the world, with the exception of nine. Did you ever think about that? After you leave the United States, Soviet Russia,

Great Britain, West Germany, France, and I could name the others, the Negro collectively is richer than most nations of the world. We have an annual income of more than thirty billion dollars a year, which is more than all of the exports of the United States, and more than the national budget of Canada. Did you know that? That's power right there, if we know how to pool it.

We don't have to argue with anybody. We don't have to curse and go around acting bad with our words. We don't need any bricks and bottles, we don't need any Molotov cocktails, we just need to go around to these stores, and to these massive industries in our country, and say, "God sent us by here, to say to you that you're not treating his children right. And we've come by here to ask you to make the first item on your agenda—fair treatment, where God's children are concerned. Now, if you are not prepared to do that, we do have an agenda that we must follow. And our agenda calls for withdrawing economic support from you."

And so, as a result of this, we are asking you tonight, to go out and tell your neighbors not to buy Coca-Cola in Memphis. Go by and tell them not to buy Sealtest milk. Tell them not to buy—what is the other bread?—Wonder Bread. And what is the other bread company, Jesse? Tell them not to buy Hart's bread. As Jesse Jackson has said, up to now, only the garbage men have been feeling pain; now we must kind of redistribute the pain. We are choosing these companies because they haven't been fair in their hiring policies; and we are choosing them because they can begin the process of saying, they are going to support the needs and the rights of these men who are on strike. And then they can move on downtown and tell Mayor Loeb to do what is right.

But not only that, we've got to strengthen black institutions. I call upon you to take your money out of the banks downtown and deposit your money in Tri-State Bank—we want a "bank-in" movement in Memphis. So go by the savings and loan association. I'm not asking you something that we don't do ourselves at SCLC. Judge Hooks and others will tell you that we have an account here in the savings and loan association from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. We're just telling you to follow what we're doing. Put

your money there. You have six or seven black insurance companies in Memphis. Take out your insurance there. We want to have an "insurance-in."

Now these are some practical things we can do. We begin the process of building a greater economic base. And at the same time, we are putting pressure where it really hurts. I ask you to follow through here.

Now, let me say as I move to my conclusion that we've got to give ourselves to this struggle until the end. Nothing would be more tragic than to stop at this point, in Memphis. We've got to see it through. And when we have our march, you need to be there. Be concerned about your brother. You may not be on strike. But either we go up together, or we go down together.

Let us develop a kind of dangerous unselfishness. One day a man came to Jesus; and he wanted to raise some questions about some vital matters in life. At points, he wanted to trick Jesus, and show him that he knew a little more than Jesus knew, and through this, throw him off base. Now that question could have easily ended up in a philosophical and theological debate. But Jesus immediately pulled that question from mid-air, and placed it on a dangerous curve between Jerusalem and Jericho. And he talked about a certain man, who fell among thieves. You remember that a Levite and a priest passed by on the other side. They didn't stop to help him. And finally a man of another race came by. He got down from his beast, decided not to be compassionate by proxy. But with him, administered first aid, and helped the man in need. Jesus ended up saying, this was the good man, this was the great man, because he had the capacity to project the "I" into the "thou," and to be concerned about his brother. Now you know, we use our imagination a great deal to try to determine why the priest and the Levite didn't stop. At times we say they were busy going to church meetings—an ecclesiastical gathering—and they had to get on down to Jerusalem so they wouldn't be late for their meeting. At other times we would speculate that there was a religious law that "One who was engaged in religious ceremonies was not to touch a human body twenty-four hours before the ceremony." And every now and then we begin to wonder whether maybe they

were not going down to Jerusalem, or down to Jericho, rather to organize a "Jericho Road Improvement Association." That's a possibility. Maybe they felt that it was better to deal with the problem from the causal root, rather than to get bogged down with an individual effort.

But I'm going to tell you what my imagination tells me. It's possible that these men were afraid. You see, the Jericho road is a dangerous road. I remember when Mrs. King and I were first in Jerusalem. We rented a car and drove from Jerusalem down to Jericho. And as soon as we got on that road, I said to my wife, "I can see why Jesus used this as a setting for his parable." It's a winding, meandering road. It's really conducive for ambushing. You start out in Jerusalem, which is about 1200 miles, or rather 1200 feet above sea level. And by the time you get down to Jericho, fifteen or twenty minutes later, you're about 2200 feet below sea level. That's a dangerous road. In the days of Jesus it came to be known as the "Bloody Pass." And you know, it's possible that the priest and the Levite looked over that man on the ground and wondered if the robbers were still around. Or it's possible that they felt that the man on the ground was merely faking. And he was acting like he had been robbed and hurt, in order to seize them over there, lure them there for quick and easy seizure. And so the first question that the Levite asked was, "If I stop to help this man, what will happen to me?" But then the Good Samaritan came by. And he reversed the question: "If I do not stop to help this man, what will happen to him?"

That's the question before you tonight. Not, "If I stop to help the sanitation workers, what will happen to all of the hours that I usually spend in my office every day and every week as a pastor?" The question is not, "If I stop to help this man in need, what will happen to me?" "If I do not stop to help the sanitation workers, what will happen to them?" That's the question.

Let us rise up tonight with a greater readiness. Let us stand with a greater determination. And let us move on in these powerful days, these days of challenge to make America what it ought to be. We have an opportunity to make America a better nation. And I want to thank God, once more, for allowing me to be here with you.

You know, several years ago, I was in New York City autographing the first book that I had written. And while sitting there autographing books, a demented black woman came up. The only question I heard from her was, "Are you Martin Luther King?"

And I was looking down writing, and I said yes. And the next minute I felt something beating on my chest. Before I knew it I had been stabbed by this demented woman. I was rushed to Harlem Hospital. It was a dark Saturday afternoon. And that blade had gone through, and the X-rays revealed that the tip of the blade was on the edge of my aorta, the main artery. And once that's punctured, you drown in your own blood—that's the end of you.

It came out in the *New York Times* the next morning, that if I had sneezed, I would have died. Well, about four days later, they allowed me, after the operation, after my chest had been opened, and the blade had been taken out, to move around in the wheel chair in the hospital. They allowed me to read some of the mail that came in, and from all over the states, and the world, kind letters came in. I read a few, but one of them I will never forget. I had received one from the President and the Vice-President. I've forgotten what those telegrams said. I'd received a visit and a letter from the Governor of New York, but I've forgotten what the letter said. But there was another letter that came from a little girl, a young girl who was a student at the White Plains High School. And I looked at that letter, and I'll never forget it. It said simply, "Dear Dr. King: I am a ninth-grade student at the White Plains High School." She said, "While it should not matter, I would like to mention that I am a white girl. I read in the paper of your misfortune, and of your suffering. And I read that if you had sneezed, you would have died. And I'm simply writing you to say that I'm so happy that you didn't sneeze."

And I want to say tonight, I want to say that I am happy that I didn't sneeze. Because if I had sneezed, I wouldn't have been around here in 1960, when students all over the South started sitting-in at lunch counters. And I knew that as they were sitting in, they were really standing up for the best in the American dream. And taking the whole nation back to those great walls of democracy which were dug deep by the

Founding Fathers in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. If I had sneezed, I wouldn't have been around in 1962, when Negroes in Albany, Georgia, decided to straighten their backs up. And whenever men and women straighten their backs up, they are going somewhere, because a man can't ride your back unless it is bent. If I had sneezed, I wouldn't have been here in 1963, when the black people of Birmingham, Alabama, aroused the conscience of this nation, and brought into being the Civil Rights Bill. If I had sneezed, I wouldn't have had a chance later that year, in August, to try to tell America about a dream that I had had. If I had sneezed, I wouldn't have been down in Selma, Alabama, to see the great movement there. If I had sneezed, I wouldn't have been in Memphis to see a community rally around those brothers and sisters who are suffering. I'm so happy that I didn't sneeze.

And they were telling me, now it doesn't matter now. It really doesn't matter what happens now. I left Atlanta this morning, and as we got started on the plane, there were six of us, the pilot said over the public address system, "We are sorry for the delay, but we have Dr. Martin Luther King on the plane. And to be sure that all of the bags were checked, and to be sure that nothing would be wrong with the plane, we had to check out everything carefully. And we've had the plane protected and guarded all night."

And then I got into Memphis. And some began to say the threats, or talk about the threats that were out. What would happen to me from some of our sick white brothers?

Well, I don't know what will happen now. We've got some difficult days ahead. But it doesn't matter with me now. Because I've been to the mountaintop. And I don't mind. Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will. And He's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over. And I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight, that we, as a people will get to the promised land. And I'm happy, tonight. I'm not worried about anything. I'm not fearing any man. Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.

posthumously transcribed from a tape recording and published in *Justice and Mercy* (1974), a collection of sermons and prayers edited by his widow, Ursula M. Niebuhr. Some of Niebuhr's other books include *Does Civilization Need Religion?* (1927), *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (1932), *An Interpretation of Christian Ethics* (1935), *Beyond Tragedy* (1937), *Christianity and Power Politics* (1940), *The Nature and Destiny of Man* (2 vols., 1941-43), *Faith and History* (1949), *The Irony of American History* (1952), *The Self and the Dramas of History* (1955), *The Structure of Nations and Empires* (1959), and *Man's Nature and his Communities* (1965). Niebuhr helped to plan his own memorial service, which was held at the First Congregational Church of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where Jonathan Edwards had been a pastor. At Niebuhr's request, Rabbi Abraham Heschel participated in the service and delivered a eulogy.

C. L. FRANKLIN (1915-1984) Clarence LaVaughn Franklin was born near Indianola, Mississippi, and raised by his mother and stepfather, a sharecropper, in rural Doddsville, Boyle, and Cleveland, Mississippi, where he attended local schools, helped with farming, and was a soloist in his Baptist church choir. He preached his first sermon as a teenager and, after doing migrant farm work for several years, was ordained around 1922 as associate minister of St. Peter's Rock in Cleveland. Franklin preached at a number of churches in the area, then studied religion at Greenville Industrial College while ministering to a church in Greenville, Mississippi, and later at LeMoyne College while ministering to churches in Memphis. In Memphis, Franklin also began preaching on the radio.

Franklin quit LeMoyne after his junior year to become pastor of Friendship Baptist Church, a large congregation in Buffalo, New York, where he continued studying literature as a special student at the University of Buffalo. In 1946 he accepted a call to serve Detroit's New Bethel Baptist Church, a small congregation that met in a renovated bowling alley. Franklin gained a wide audience when he began preaching on WJLB radio in 1952, and soon recordings of his sermons were being sold nationwide. He also made regular preaching tours with gospel groups, including the Ward Singers (sometimes his daughter, Aretha Franklin, was featured as a soloist on these tours). Through his popularity as a preacher, Franklin raised enough money to liquidate his church's debts and erect a new building, and he increased church membership to more than 2,000. "The Eagle Stirreth Her Nest," one of his most famous sermons, was recorded around 1953; a transcription was posthumously published in *Give Me This Mountain: Life History and Selected Sermons* (1989), edited by Jeff Todd Titon.

Franklin continued his preaching tours through the early 1960s. Active in the civil rights movement, he was a member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and of Jesse Jackson's PUSH, led a major march in Detroit in 1963, and preached at the Poor People's March on Washington in 1968. Franklin was shot in his home in Detroit by intruders in June 1979 and was in a coma for the remainder of his life.

FULTON J. SHEEN (1895-1979) Born on a farm in El Paso, Illinois, Sheen was ordained a Roman Catholic priest in 1919, received his Ph.D. from the University of Louvain, Belgium, in 1923, and taught theology and philosophy at Catholic University in Washington, D.C., from 1926 to 1950. A pioneer of the "electronic church," he was featured from 1930 to 1952 on the popular radio program *The Catholic Hour* and from 1951 to 1957 preached on his own weekly television show, *Life Is Worth Living*, which had an estimated 30 million viewers. "How to Have a Good Time" was delivered on the program and published in the last of a series of books of sermons titled *Life Is Worth Living* (1953-57). Sheen opposed communism as well as monopolistic capitalism, was a critic of Freudian psychoanalysis, and converted a number of famous people, including Clare Boothe Luce and Henry Ford II, to the Catholic faith. He was appointed national director of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in 1950, became auxiliary bishop of New York in 1951, and served as bishop of Rochester from 1966 to 1969. Sheen was the author of more than 50 books.

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. (1929-1968) Born in Atlanta, Georgia, the son and grandson of ministers, King was ordained to the Baptist ministry in 1948, the year he graduated from Morehouse College with a B.A. in sociology. He received a B.D. from Crozer Theological Seminary in 1951 and a Ph.D. in theology from Boston University in 1955, writing his dissertation on Paul Tillich. King married Coretta Scott in 1953 and the following year assumed the pulpit of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. During the 1955-56 boycott of city buses in Montgomery, King became nationally known as a civil rights leader and began delivering sermons and speeches against segregation throughout the U.S. (over the next 12 years, he gave more than 2,000 such talks). Along with the Rev. Ralph Abernathy and other civil rights leaders, King formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1957 and became its president. In his book *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (1958), he outlined a strategy, influenced by the work of Mahatma Gandhi, for nonviolent opposition to racial injustice. King

moved in 1960 to Atlanta, where the SCLC had its headquarters, and became co-pastor of Ebenezer Church with his father. "Transformed Nonconformist" was first preached at Ebenezer Church around 1961 as King continued to lead protests against segregation, and it was revised by him for inclusion in a 1963 collection of sermons, *Strength to Love*. In 1963 King led major demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama, during the spring, then delivered his "I Have a Dream" address at the March on Washington on August 28, 1963. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964, led a march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, in 1965 that helped win passage of the Voting Rights Act, and in 1966 began to speak out against American military intervention in Vietnam and housing discrimination in northern cities. King delivered his "I've Been to the Mountaintop" sermon on April 3, 1968, at the Masonic Temple in Memphis, Tennessee, where he had gone to support striking sanitation workers. The following day he was shot to death while standing on the balcony of his motel.

JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY (1904-1967) A native of New York City, Murray entered the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) in 1920 after graduating from St. Francis Xavier High School. He received a B.A. from Weston College in 1925 and an M.A. from Boston College in 1927, then taught school in the Philippines for three years. Ordained to the Catholic priesthood in 1933, he earned an S.T.L. degree from Woodstock College, Maryland, in 1934, and a Th.D. from the Gregorian University in Rome in 1937, then taught theology at Woodstock for the next 30 years. In articles for lay and religious journals, including *Theological Studies*, which he edited, Murray explored the need for ecumenical and interfaith cooperation, and in the late 1940s he began exploring church-state relations and questions of constitutionally protected religious freedom. When conservative criticism from within the Church hierarchy resulted in his being silenced by his superiors on church-state relations in the 1950s, Murray wrote on a wide range of social issues. He often lectured at other schools, was visiting professor at Yale from 1951 to 1952, and participated in dialogues at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California. Despite conservative opposition, Murray was invited to act as an expert (*peritus*) at the Second Vatican Council, 1962-65, and he was primarily responsible for preparing the council's Declaration on Religious Freedom. In his last years, as director of the John La Farge Institute in Manhattan, he promoted dialogue between the races, religious denominations, and Marxists and Christians, and he also began exploring the concept of religious freedom with regard to the Church itself. Murray delivered "The Unbelief of

the Christian" in the early spring of 1967 during Fordham University's Cardinal Bea Institute program on atheism. Among his books are *We Hold These Truths: Catholic Reflections on the American Proposition* (1960) and the posthumous collection *Bridging the Sacred and the Secular: Selected Writings of John Courtney Murray* (1994).

ABRAHAM JOSHUA HESCHEL (1907-1972) Born in Warsaw, Poland, Heschel was descended from a long line of Hasidic rabbis. He studied in Vilna, where he was also part of a Yiddish poetry group (a volume of his poems was published in Warsaw in 1933), and then in Germany, earning a Ph.D. from the University of Berlin in 1935 and a rabbinical degree from the Hochschule in 1934. Heschel remained in Germany lecturing and teaching, and in 1937 he succeeded Martin Buber as director of the Mittelstelle für Jüdische Erwachsenen Bildung, serving until 1938, when he was deported along with thousands of other Polish Jews. He taught briefly in Warsaw and then in London before coming to the United States in 1940 to lecture on philosophy and rabbinical studies at Hebrew Union College, a Reform school in Cincinnati, Ohio. In 1945 Heschel became professor of Jewish ethics and mysticism at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, a Conservative school in New York City, holding that position for the remainder of his life. A theologian and an activist in religious and civic affairs, Heschel was involved in Jewish-Christian dialogue and the civil rights movement, marched with Martin Luther King Jr. in Selma, Alabama, and opposed American involvement in Vietnam. He delivered "What We Might Do Together" during a panel discussion on ecumenical religious education; it was published in *Religious Education* (March-April 1967). Among Heschel's writings are *Man Is Not Alone: A Philosophy of Religion* (1951), *Man's Quest for God* (1954), *God in Search of Man: A Philosophy of Judaism* (1955), *The Prophets* (1962), *Who Is Man?* (1965), *Israel: An Echo of Eternity* (1969), and the posthumous collection *Moral Grandeur and Spiritual Audacity* (1996), edited by his daughter Susannah Heschel.

theologian Sören Kierkegaard's study of despair in *The Sickness Unto Death* (1849).

- 826.2 *The Eagle . . . Nest*] From Deuteronomy 32:11-12.
- 836.19 Horace . . . acti.]" "A praiser of times past," from *Ars Poetica*, line 173.
- 837.27 *Tempus est dolor*] "Time is sorrow"; "time is anguish."
- 843.14-15 Longfellow . . . hammer,]" In *Hyperion* (1839), book IV, chapter 7.
- 844.22-24 Jefferson . . . man.]" In a letter to Benjamin Rush, September 23, 1800.
- 846.7-14 They are . . . or three.]" From "Stanzas on Freedom," lines 25-32.
- 847.15 Professor Bixler] Julius Seelye Bixler, professor at the Harvard Divinity School (1933-42) and president of Colby College (1942-60).
- 848.8 six-year-old daughter] Yolande King, born on November 6, 1955.
- 850.9 theandric] Relating to the union of the divine and the human.
- 852.11 *Lumen gentium*] "Light of the peoples," the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church decreed by Vatican II on November 21, 1964. Its seventh chapter is titled "The Eschatological Nature of the Pilgrim Church and Its Union with the Church in Heaven."
- 854.21-22 *Ecclesiam suam*] "His Church," issued on August 6, 1964.
- 856.7-8 *Pastoral . . . World*] *Gaudiam et Spes* ("Joy and Hope"), approved by Vatican II on December 6, 1965.
- 856.16-17 *Dogmatic . . . Church*] See note 852.11.
- 858.28 *Decree on Ecumenism*] *Unitatis Redintegratio* ("The restoration of unity"), promulgated on November 21, 1964.
- 859.39 *Constitution . . . Liturgy*] *Sacrosantum Concilium* ("This holy council"), issued on December 4, 1963.
- 860.23 *fideli ter . . . umbris*] Faithfully but under a shadow.
- 864.36 Sifra] A midrash on Leviticus.
- 866.6-7 march . . . Montgomery] Civil rights march through Alabama, March 21-25, 1965, led by Martin Luther King Jr.
- 879.5 Bull Connor] Eugene "Bull" Connor was the public safety commissioner of Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963.

- Henry Ward Beecher, 645
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Reinhold Niebuhr, 817
Theodore Parker, 600
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Solomon Stoddard, 215
Billy Sunday, 787
T. De Witt Talmage, 693
Paul Tillich, 808
Reuben Archer Torrey, 762
John Winthrop, 28