

University of Mississippi

eGrove

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Graduate School

1-1-2023

Through the Media's Eyes: The Media Coverage of the 1968 Memphis Sanitation Strike and the Assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Ashton Brooks Logan

Follow this and additional works at: <https://egrove.olemiss.edu/etd>

Recommended Citation

Logan, Ashton Brooks, "Through the Media's Eyes: The Media Coverage of the 1968 Memphis Sanitation Strike and the Assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr." (2023). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. 2541.

<https://egrove.olemiss.edu/etd/2541>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at eGrove. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of eGrove. For more information, please contact egrove@olemiss.edu.

THROUGH THE MEDIA'S EYES:
THE MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE 1968 MEMPHIS SANITATION STRIKE AND THE
ASSASSINATION OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

A Thesis
presented in partial fulfillment of requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in Journalism
University of Mississippi School of Journalism and New Media

Ashton Brooks Logan
May 2023

Copyright Ashton Brooks Logan 2023
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ABSTRACT

In this professional project, the researcher aims to uncover media bias presented in two publications, *The New York Times* and *The Commercial Appeal* in the coverage of the 1968 Memphis Sanitation Strike and the assassination of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.. The researcher gathered fifteen articles spanning a date range from February 13, 1968 to June 9, 1968 in order to successfully gain perspective on the various events that took place. Five research questions were presented to investigate the diversity of direct quotes, writing style, story placement and length of stories. Three individuals assisted in interpreting the articles using the guidelines presented in the research questions. The coder's results were then entered into tables and seen as research findings used to establish answers to the research questions.

DEDICATION

This professional project is dedicated to the benevolent John and Marsha Logan. Words of gratitude will never express the appreciation I have for your endless selflessness and dedication to inspiring my creativity. Thank you for raising my siblings and I to see the world through an empathetic and gracious lens.

To John A., Ann Marshal and Jack Phinn, never stop being a light in your community and the world around you.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To Dr. Kathleen Wickham, I express my deepest appreciation for your endless grace, patience and guidance through the course of this project. Your contagious charisma and drive to better educate the world around you is a characteristic that I, along with so many other students, adore. I hope to; one day; enrich a student's educational journey in the way you have mine.

To Claire Lowe and Abigail Justice, thank you for allowing me the space to grow in my academic career while pursuing a new chapter as a professional. Your grace is endless and valued.

To all my educators that believed in my creativity, thank you. It is you all who got me to this point.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. ABSTRACT	ii
2. DEDICATION	iii
3. ACKNOWLEDGE	iv
4. INTRODUCTION	8
5. METHOD & THEORY	12
6. LITERATURE REVIEW	14
7. RESULTS	37
8. DISCUSSION	40
9. CONCLUSION	44
10. TABLES	45
11. REFERENCES.....	60

LIST OF TABLES

1. TABLE ONE	46
2. TABLE TWO	47
3. TABLE THREE	48
4. TABLE FOUR	49
5. TABLE FIVE	50
6. TABLE SIX	51
7. TABLE SEVEN	52
8. TABLE EIGHT	53
9. TABLE NINE	54
10. TABLE TEN	55
11. TABLE ELEVEN	56
12. TABLE TWELVE	57
13. TABLE THIRTEEN	58
14. TABLE FOURTEEN	59

Introduction:

Hate is delivered in all forms. In some ways, it immediately shows its face through war, violence and devastation. Other times it sneaks up on us, hiding behind black and white, printed copy or a television screen. American history is full of terrible events where hate showed its horrific face, the Civil Rights era being a prime example of this during American History. This project aims to unveil the bias present in the journalistic efforts to report the “truth” behind the events of the Memphis Sanitation Strike of 1968, the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and the lingering effects in the city of Memphis, Tennessee.

The Civil Rights era was a time of civil unrest because of the stripped liberties African Americans faced in America in all aspects, especially when it came to working conditions. The Memphis, TN, sanitation workers were no exception to these policies, where the industry was made up of primarily Black individuals. Making between \$1.50 and \$2.00 an hour, far below national minimum wage standards, sanitation workers were viewed as less than the lower class. The low wages pushed sanitation workers to apply for welfare benefits to feed their families and many were forced to live in substandard housing. This problem only heightened in 1968 when business man Henry Loeb became mayor as he refused to take trucks out of service that were not working properly or pay the workers overtime when they worked late into the evening.

In February 1968, the issues that African American sanitation workers faced came to a head when Echol Cole and Robert Walker were crushed to death in a garbage truck accident, while seeking shelter from the rain. The event enraged the sanitation workers, sparking a

significant event during the Civil Rights era. On February 11, 1968, just after the accident, more than 700 men gathered in Memphis and decided to strike after years of poor working conditions and low pay.¹ By February 15, the streets of Memphis were covered with almost 10,000 tons of trash and Mayor Loeb had issued an executive order telling all workers to return to work, but many persisted.² It was not until April 16, 1968, that an agreement was reached stating that workers would receive a pay raise and the union would be recognized.³

Through his leadership in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. played a vital role in bettering race relations in the United States.⁴ Through his persistent activism and stimulating speeches, King was able to easily persuade Civil Rights Activists that nonviolence would invoke change. King played a pivotal role in ending legal segregation of African Americans and the creation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.⁵

After hearing of the Memphis Sanitation Strike of 1968 and being invited by Rev. James Lawson, a Memphis Methodist pastor and adviser to the strikers, King decided to fly to Memphis to support efforts.⁶ Little did he or his team know that this would be the place that he would truly meet the face of hate. On April 3, 1968 Dr. King was assassinated by a white supremacist at the

¹Matthew Gailani, ““I Am A Man” Dr. King and The Memphis Sanitation Workers’ Strike,” *Tennessee State Museum*, September 1, 2020, Website accessed March 6, 2023. https://tnmuseum.org/junior-curators/posts/i-am-a-man-dr-king-and-the-memphis-sanitation-workers-strike?locale=en_us

²“Timeline of Events Surrounding the 1968 Memphis Sanitation Strike,” American Social History Project Website, accessed March 6, 2023, <https://shcp.ashp.cuny.edu/items/show/1287>

³ *Stanford Martin Luther King Jr. Research and Education Institution*, available from <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/memphis-sanitation-workers-strike>; Internet; accessed 9 December 2021.

⁴“Martin Luther King Jr. Biography,” The Biography.com Website, accessed May 20, 2022, <https://www.biography.com/activist/martin-luther-king-jr>

⁵ The Biography.com Website, “Martin Luther King Jr. Biography.”

⁶ “Martin Luther King, Jr., and Memphis Sanitation Workers.” *National Archives and Records Administration*. National Archives and Records Administration, n.d. Accessed April 20, 2023. <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/memphis-v-mlk#:~:text=King's%20participation%20in%20forming%20a%20adviser%20to%20the%20strikers>.

Lorraine Hotel in Memphis, TN after delivering his famous “Mountaintop” speech at the Mason Temple earlier that afternoon.⁷ In that speech he publicly announced his support for the sanitation worker’s strike and called attention to inequalities experienced by Black Americans.

During the events of 1968, the newspaper played a significant role in the public’s perception of the strike, the assassination and the lingering events that resulted from King’s early death. Reviewing two major news publications, *The New York Times*, and the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, it became apparent the power the media had over public opinion. Reviewing multiple articles from each publication, while having a basic understanding of the Critical Race Theory’s idea that racism is intertwined in the basis of the American justice system, brought about questions regarding the objectivity of the media in 1968. The specific research questions for this project are:

- RQ 1: How many paragraphs long were the selected articles selected?
 - *The researcher counted each paragraph of articles selected.*
- RQ 2: On what pages were the articles selected for review placed in the physical newspapers?
 - *The researcher looked to see what physical pages stories were placed on.*
- RQ 3: Did the articles selected contain headlines that appeared objective or subjective?
 - *Researchers used a scale of one to five to rate headlines, one being subjective and five being objective.*
- RQ 4: Were articles selected informative or did publications sound more like a narrative?
 - *Researchers read articles and identified them with an “I” for informative and an “N” for narrative.*

⁷ DeNeed L. Brown, “I Am A Man’: The ugly Memphis sanitation’s workers’s strike that led to MLK’s assassination,” *The Washington Post*, February 12, 2018 Brown, “I Am Man.”

- RQ 5: Were there racial, ethnic, or gender diversity among sources represented in direct quotes?
 - *This question was answered by breaking it into three sub-categories labeled A for gender, B for ethnicity, and C as race.*

It should be noted that there were three individual researchers, outside of the primary researcher, who assisted in the coding of each publication that was chosen to review.

Two newspapers were selected to compare and contrast in an effort to assess the media coverage. The New York Times was chosen for its reputation for objectivity, neutrality and dependence: as a national newspaper of educated readers, politicians and activists from afar. The Commercial Appeal was selected because it was the largest of the two daily newspapers in Memphis at the time with a daily circulation of 94,775 and a Sunday circulation of 133,788.⁸ Its value rests in its connection to Memphis activists, politicians, businessmen, and concerned citizens. This paper, at the time, was owned by Scripps-Howard Syndicate, a media company founded by Edward W. Scripps in 1878 in Cleveland, Ohio.⁹

⁸ Scripps, "History," accessed March 6, 2023, <https://scripps.com/company/history/>

⁹ Scripps, pg. 1.

Method & Theory:

When assessing the media's coverage of the Memphis Sanitation Strike of 1968, the assassination of King, and the lingering effects of his death, content analysis allows for the best inferences to be constructed. The use of the content analysis method was applied to evaluate different articles from- both, the *New York Times*, a nationally recognized publication, and the *Commercial Appeal*, a local Memphis publication, in order to fully understand the temperament of the time and assist in answering the research questions presented. These articles were chosen from newspaper.com by searching the dates of February 12, 1968, to May 27, 1968, marking the beginning and ending date of the strike, the date of Dr. King's death and the beginning and ending of riots in the United States after King's murder. The researcher used keywords "sanitation strike," "public work strike," "Memphis Sanitation Strike of 1968," "MLK Riots," "Dr. King Assassination," "James Earl Ray," and "I am man strike of 1968" in order to find articles that covered the strike, assassination, riots, and related events as well as individuals involved in all events. All of the articles were chosen because of the relevance and depth of the topics that allowed the researcher to examine, compare and contrast media coverage of the 1968 events.

In order to fully immerse in the journey of researching the media's coverage of each event, the researcher must also consider the idea of Critical Race Theory. Understanding the background of the theory, and how it directly relates to the United States' Civil Rights history, is crucial when researching the strike of 1968, Dr. King's death and the riots that followed. Critical Race Theory is defined by Stephen Sawchuk as, "The core idea is that race is a social construct

and that racism is not merely the product of individual bias or prejudice, but also something embedded in legal systems and policies.”¹⁰ The research presented in this study, directly relates to the ideas this theory brings forward because the media is a large part of the social construct of American society.

John Dewey wrote in *Democracy and Education* that society is not only supported by various forms of communication but also enveloped in communication.¹¹ Dewey reiterated what philosophers and scholars had noted for centuries: small groups, larger communities and vast institutions — all the things that make up a society — function in relation to how communication flows within and between groups.¹² According to Stephen Hallock, placement of stories and editorials provide a reliable cue of a newspaper’s agenda, offering looks not only into the political stances and psyches of the publisher and newspaper hierarchy.¹³ Hallock also states, it matters what newspaper owners and editors – at those newspapers where the editors share in setting the newspaper’s editorial political philosophy – consider to be important issues and topics.¹⁴ The news is the basis of communication within communities, it acts as a common ground that people in the same area can all relate to. The media keeps those in a community updated on current topics, events, etc. in their area. So, in laymen’s terms, if the news is not objective with coverage, the information is likely biased. This creates an opinion for the public, when in reality the news should be so objective that it allows its public to form an educated opinion on their own.

¹⁰ Stephen Sawchuk, “What is Critical Race Theory, and Why is it Under Attack?,” *Education Weekly*; available from <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/what-is-critical-race-theory-and-why-is-it-under-attack/2021/05>; Internet; accessed 9 December 2021.

¹¹ Rebus Community, “*Media, Society, Culture and You*,” available from <https://press.rebus.community/mscy/chapter/chapter-1/>; Internet; accessed 9 December 2021.

¹² Rebus Community, *Media, Society, Culture and You*

¹³ Steve Hallock, *A History of the American Civil Rights Movement Through Newspaper Coverage: The Race Agenda*, Volume 1 (New York: Peter Lang, 2018), p. 23.

¹⁴ Steve Hallock, 23.

Literature Review:

In order to truly understand the difficulties that African Americans endured before and during the 1960s Civil Rights Movement in the United States, one must understand why society deemed actions as morally rational. Although the American Civil War began on April 12, 1861, when shots were fired upon Fort Sumter in South Carolina and ended on May 26, 1865, when Gen. Simon Bolivar Buckner entered into terms for surrender, this was not the beginning nor the end of a fight for equality in our country.¹⁵ Suppression and equality are issues that the United States has dealt with since the nation's founding.¹⁶

It is noted in many textbooks that the first African slave was brought to America in 1619 on the White Lion, an English ship that was commanded by John Jope.¹⁷ Many historians believe that enslaved African Americans were brought to the Americas as early as the 1490s with the arrival of Christopher Columbus.¹⁸ The use of enslaved people was the prime source of labor in the newly established British colonies and by 1776, where 20 percent of the population was African American.¹⁹ The first established labor system in the colonies was indentured servitude, where individuals would work for landowners in order to pay off their travel expenses to get to

¹⁵National Park Services, "Civil War Timeline," *Gettysburg National Military Park Pennsylvania*; available from <https://www.nps.gov/gett/learn/historyculture/civil-war-timeline.htm>; Internet; accessed 23 November 2021

¹⁶ "The 1619 Project," *The New York Times* (The New York Times Magazine, August 14, 2019), last modified August 14, 2019, accessed March 13, 2023, available from <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/14/magazine/1619-america-slavery.html>.

¹⁷ Crystal Ponti, "America's History of Slavery Began Long Before Jamestown," *History.com*; available from <https://www.history.com/news/american-slavery-before-jamestown-1619>; Internet; accessed 23 November 2021.

¹⁸ Ponti, 1.

¹⁹ Khan Academy, "Lesson Summary: Slavery in the British Colonies," *Chesapeake and Southern Colonies*; available from <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/us-history/colonial-america/early-chesapeake-and-southern-colonies>; Internet; accessed 23 November 2021.

America, but because these types of servants only worked for a short amount of time, plantation owners increasingly started using enslaved Africans for free labor.²⁰ The increase in demand for rice, cotton and sugar cane aided in creating labor intensive ventures for newly settled America, thus leading to settlers assisting in the growth of the transatlantic slave trade.²¹ The transatlantic slave trade transported approximately between ten and twelve million enslaved Africans across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas from the 16th to 19th century.²² This passageway was one of the three trades in the triangular trade, where arms, wine, and textiles were shipped from Europe to Africa, enslaved people from Africa to the Americas, and coffee and sugar from the Americas to Europe.²³ Although slave labor was already seen as a practical practice in cultivating crops, it was not until the cultivation of cotton in the American South that proved to create an economical boom for the new world.²⁴ The dependence on slavery for labor lead to British support among the enslaved people, as the British promised to fress any slave who fought for England.²⁵

It wasn't until after the war of 1812 that cotton was grown in the United States when a large increase in production resulted in a "cotton boom," by the developing textile industry and by the mid century, cotton became known as a cash crop [a crop that is intended to be sold by

²⁰ Khan Academy, 1.

²¹ "The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade · African Passages, Lowcountry Adaptations · Lowcountry Digital History Initiative." *Ldhi.library.cofc.edu*. Lowcountry Digital History Initiative - College of Charleston, n.d. Accessed March 14, 2023, available from https://ldhi.library.cofc.edu/exhibits/show/africanpassageslowcountryadapt/introductionatlanticworld/trans_atlantic_slave_trade.

²² "Transatlantic Slave Trade." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., December 20, 2022. Last modified December 20, 2022. Accessed March 14, 2023, available from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/transatlantic-slave-trade>.

²³ "Transatlantic Slave Trade," 1.

²⁴ "The Cotton Economy," *National Parks Service* (U.S. Department of the Interior, n.d.), accessed April 20, 2023, <https://www.nps.gov/blrv/learn/historyculture/cotton-economy.htm#:~:text=There%20was%20a%20huge%20increase,were%20growing%20and%20picking%20cotton>.

²⁵ A Spotlight on a Primary Source by John Murray Lord Dunmore, "The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History," *Lord Dunmore's Proclamation, 1775 | Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History*, accessed May 2, 2023, <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-resources/spotlight-primary-source/lord-dunmores-proclamation-1775>.

farmers instead of being kept for the farmer's personal use].²⁶ By 1850, of the 3.2 million slaves in the country's fifteen slave states, 1.8 million were producing cotton; by 1860, slave labor was producing over two billion pounds of cotton per year.²⁷ By the start of the Civil War in 1861, South Carolina politician James Hammond confidently proclaimed that "the North could never threaten the South because 'cotton is king.'"²⁸ The system [of slavery] proved so lucrative that law and legal precedent began to allow future governments leeway for prioritizing economy over morality.²⁹ Later, issues regarding the population and seats in Congress would arise between newly established states, and the result would eventually set the tone for a nation.³⁰

The Three Fifths Compromise was adopted in 1787 by the delegates of the Constitutional Convention. This decision stated that a slave counted only as $\frac{3}{5}$ of a white person in determining tax obligations for states.³¹ This issue was brought about when politicians were discussing the amount of voice that a state had based on population. Elbridge Gerry, a Massachusetts delegate, argued fairness by stating, "Why, then, should the blacks, who were property in the South, be in the rule of representation more than the cattle & horses of the North?"³² Although some delegates did own slaves themselves, they did see the contradiction between the "all men are created equal" doctrine that formed the backbone of the American independence movement.³³ Eventually the notion was overturned, but the proposal that a population of people could be

²⁶ "The Economics of Cotton," *US History I (OS Collection) - Cotton Is King: The Antebellum South 1800-1860* (Lumen Learning, n.d.), accessed March 14, 2023, available from <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/ushistory1os2xmaster/chapter/the-economics-of-cotton/>, 1.

²⁷ "The Economics of Cotton," 1.

²⁸ "The Economics of Cotton," 1.

²⁹ James Madison Montpelier, "Slavery, the Constitution and the Lasting Legacy," available from https://www.montpelier.org/learn/slavery-constitution-lasting-legacy?gclid=CjwKCAiAv_KMBhAzEiwAs-rX1Hjjw6TEAOmp7wWEUASRGFJyouOfEPpKg0P_gUcu_FOupRI5aTP32hoC-IwQAvD_BwE; Internet; accessed 23 November 2021.

³⁰ James Madison Montpelier, *Slavery, the Constitution and the Lasting Legacy*

³¹ Matthew Jones, "'3/5 Compromise: The Definition Clause that shaped Political Representation,'" *History Cooperative* (January 2020): 1.

³² Jones, 2

³³ Jones, 2

considered less than another population in the eyes of America's legislative system was a lasting stain in the fabric that created the early foundation of the establishment of the United States.

Even after the Emancipation Proclamation speech on January 1, 1863 Blacks were still not considered free.³⁴ It wasn't until the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified on December 6, 1865 that enslaved individuals were considered free by the U.S. government and there were still additional hurdles to overcome.³⁵ As post Civil-War reconstruction in the American South began, there were high hopes of new opportunities that would allow Blacks to grow personally, and within their communities. The Confederate South had lost the Civil War, but white supremacy had not been lost in the gunsmoke. Legislature was used to deny African Americans the opportunities and privileges that White populations enjoyed, the "new South," that was once known as Confederacy, to keep these newly liberated Americans in virtual bondage.³⁶ In addition, enslavement by debt was an avenue in which powerful White men in communities held power over Blacks. Fees were the easiest way to reinstitute bondage, as African Americans' wages were so little that paying a steep fine was out of the question for most of the population.³⁷ Other barriers, like access to education (or the lack thereof), and deep rooted social customs denied Blacks opportunities to advance, hold leadership, partake in government processes or socially among peers.

Deriving from a racial slur, Jim Crow laws kept Blacks and Whites separate but equal, when in reality very little was equal.³⁸ This idea was first brought about in transportation and

³⁴"Emancipation Proclamation," National Archives, last modified January 28, 2022, <https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured-documents/emancipation-proclamation>

³⁵"The Reconstruction Amendments," National Constitution Center, accessed May 19, 2022, <https://constitutioncenter.org/learn/educational-resources/historical-documents/the-reconstruction-amendments>

³⁶ Nadra Kareem Nittle, "How the Black Codes Limited African American Progress After the Civil War," *History.com* (28 January 2021) 1.

³⁷ Nittle, 2.

³⁸ University of Southern California "A Brief History of Jim Crow Laws" *Gould School of Law*; available from <https://onlinellm.usc.edu/a-brief-history-of-jim-crow-laws/>; Internet; accessed 23 November 2021

education, but quickly became normal among Southern society. The American South's governing officials were made up mostly of White men whose morals, traditions and ideology were rooted in pre-revolution ways. Edwards argues that these men were "politically active, elite white men who saw themselves as the vanguard of progressive change."³⁹ These types of laws included charging high poll taxes, ordering Blacks and Whites to attend separate schools, separating restaurants and shopping by race, and ordering Blacks and Whites to use different public transportation methods.⁴⁰ Policies and political practices like Jim Crow would eventually lead to a system where individuals of African American descent would be looked at as less than human, and led to even deeper societal discrimination.

Although African Americans were gaining new leadership roles, accessing more jobs and were granted new rights following the Civil War, there were still discrepancies amongst freedoms and civil rights between Whites and Blacks.⁴¹ The push for equality amongst races in the United States started growing, especially after World War II when Blacks who had fought for democracy abroad wanted the same rights at home, ultimately leading to the Civil Rights Movement. Some historians consider the murder of Emmet Till in Drew, Mississippi as the spark for the Civil Rights movement. Other historians view Rosa Parks as the lightning rod. On December 1, 1955, a 42-year-old Rosa Parks found a seat on a Montgomery, Alabama, bus after work.⁴² The law stated that Blacks must sit in the back of the bus, and if a White person was without a seat, the Blacks must give theirs up. After a long day of work, Parks refused to give hers up and was arrested.⁴³ Word of her arrest ignited outrage and support, Parks unwittingly

³⁹ Laura Edwards, "Southern History as U.S. History," *Journal of Southern History* 75 (August 2009): 3.

⁴⁰ Gould School of Law, accessed; <https://onlinellm.usc.edu/a-brief-history-of-jim-crow-laws/>

⁴¹ History.com, "Civil Rights Movement," *History.com*; available from <https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/civil-rights-movement>; Internet; accessed 23 November 2021.

⁴² History.com, Civil Rights Movement.

⁴³ History.com, Civil Rights Movement.

became the “mother of the modern day civil rights movement.”⁴⁴ The Montgomery bus boycotts were a 13-month mass protest that ended with the United States Supreme court ultimately ruling that racial segregation on public transportation was unconstitutional.⁴⁵

The bus boycott was coordinated and led by the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), and its young president, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.⁴⁶ King ultimately became a prominent civil rights leader as international attention focused on Montgomery.⁴⁷ The bus boycott demonstrated the potential success for a mass, nonviolent, protest that challenged racial segregation and would serve as an example for all civil rights campaigns. During the days of the boycott, King was arrested, his home was bombed, and he was subjected to personal abuse.⁴⁸ In 1957 King was elected president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization formed to provide new leadership for the civil rights movement.⁴⁹ This organization took King over six million miles to speak to congregations over twenty-five hundred times, appearing wherever there was injustice, protest, and action to change society’s mindset on what it truly meant to be an “equal and free” citizen of the United States.⁵⁰ This injustice would eventually lead him to Memphis in 1968.

The inequities Parks and many others endured started to come to light in the fight for true equality for all Americans between those that urged for progression and those that pushed for white supremacy. Events like the Birmingham Church Bombing, the Selma to Montgomery

⁴⁴ History.com, Civil Rights Movement.

⁴⁵ “Montgomery Bus Boycott.” *The Martin Luther King, Jr., Research and Education Institute*. Stanford University, May 30, 2019. Last modified May 30, 2019. Accessed March 14, 2023. <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/montgomery-bus-boycott#:~:text=Sparked%20by%20the%20arrest%20of,on%20public%20buses%20is%20unconstitutional>.

⁴⁶ Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1.

⁴⁷ Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1.

⁴⁸ “The Nobel Peace Prize 1964 - Martin Luther King Jr. Biographical,” *NobelPrize.org* (Nobel Peace Prize , n.d.), accessed March 14, 2023, available from <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1964/king/biographical/#:~:text=In%201957%20he%20was%20elected,no%20burgeoning%20civil%20rights%20movement>, 1.

⁴⁹ The Nobel Peace Prize 1964 - Martin Luther King Jr. Biographical, 1.

⁵⁰ The Nobel Peace Prize 1964 - Martin Luther King Jr. Biographical, 1.

March, and the Memphis Sanitation Strike of 1968 are just a few of the events that took place during the American Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s.

For the sake of this research paper, the researcher will be examining the media coverage of the Memphis Sanitation Strike of 1968, the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and the riots that followed his death in order to fully develop results for the research questions presented by analyzing two news publications.

Just as the media influences public opinion today, the media of the Civil Rights Era was very influential. David Treadwell of the Los Angeles Times stated, “For the journalists that covered it, the tumultuous civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s was a difficult and challenging story.”⁵¹ Reporters had the responsibility to tell the story of the struggle that those who were fighting for equality endured. Newspapers and television brought the civil rights conflict into American living rooms and dinner conversations in dramatic fashion.⁵² Scenes of Blacks in Birmingham, AL being attacked by police with dogs and fire hoses, and voting rights marchers bludgeoned and tear gassed by state troopers and sheriff deputies in Selma, AL, have become indelible symbols of those years.⁵³ According to G. Ray Funkhouser’s media coverage data from 1960 to 1970, stories about race relations and urban riots peaked in numbers in weekly news magazines, but were still behind issues of the Vietnam War and student unrest.⁵⁴ The news became very influential during the Civil Rights era, but there is evidence that biased publications were ignoring issues or making them seem small. Memphis was no stranger to this during the Sanitation Strike of 1968.

⁵¹ David Treadwell, “Journalists Discuss Coverage of Movement: Media Role in Civil Rights Era Reviewed.” *Los Angeles Times*, 5 April 1987, 1.

⁵² Treadwell, 1.

⁵³ Treadwell, 1.

⁵⁴ G. Ray Funkhouser, “Trends in Media Coverage of the issues of the ‘60s,” *Journalism Quarterly* 50 (September 1973): 2.

Racial injustice was also seen in the news coverage of the Civil Rights Movement, but especially during the Memphis Sanitation Strike of 1968. Neither of the local Memphis newspapers, *The Commercial Appeal* or the *Memphis Press-Scimitar* had a Black reporter on staff, which made union and Black leaders weary of allowing the newspapers to cover union meetings.⁵⁵ Although it was not a complete media disconnect, leaders felt as though the media was not catching the growing determination in the Black community, and because the media was not catching it, neither was White Memphis.⁵⁶ Instead, editorials insisted that the workers' grievances could be handled if the illegal strike were ended and demanded that racial incitement was coming from an "organized group" of Blacks who wanted to create problems.⁵⁷ The editorial submissions that were published in these papers called for a calm and cooling off period, such words as "incitement," "anarchy," "ministers sideshow," "hot heads, hankering for a racial clash," and "politically immature" were being used to describe the actions of strike supporters.⁵⁸ The White Memphis disapproved of the strike and White readers submitted letters to the editor stating their large disapproval of the entire affair.⁵⁹

Later, after King's arrival to Memphis, the *Press-Scimitar* published an editorial that was far from welcoming King to the city, but instead insinuated that he should stay away. It stated, "Tomorrow Dr. King may taunt Memphis with a cry of 'Shame!' in an effort to bring about massive and overnight changes. We're not ashamed, Dr. King. We have not done all have wanted to do, nor even what we should have done. But we are not ashamed. And if you don't watch out, Dr. King, you and some of your fellow ministers here in Memphis just might undo what already

⁵⁵ Joan Turner Beifuss, "Chapter 6 River is Chilly and River is Wide," in *At the River I Stand: Memphis, the 1968 Strike, and Martin Luther King* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Pub., 1989), p. 120.

⁵⁶ Joan Turner Beifuss, "Chapter 6 River is Chilly and River is Wide," 120.

⁵⁷ Joan Turner Beifuss, "Chapter 6 River is Chilly and River is Wide," 120.

⁵⁸ Joan Turner Beifuss, "Chapter 6 River is Chilly and River is Wide," 120.

⁵⁹ Joan Turner Beifuss, "Chapter 6 River is Chilly and River is Wide," 120.

has been accomplished.”⁶⁰ *The Commercial Appeal* would remain silent a bit longer, standing on the rock of editorial disapproval of illegal strikes and senseless agitation.⁶¹ The lack of support in the media allowed for lack of support for the sanitation worker’s cause in the community of Memphis, once again creating a societal divide between Whites and Blacks.

Mayor Henry Loeb ran a campaign for reelection in 1968 based on enforcing “law and order,” and although most people today think of Richard Nixon’s 1968 campaign when they hear this particular phrase, the roots of “law and order” derived from the Jim Crow South.⁶² In the South, civil rights protestors were regularly described as an imminent threat to “peaceful race relations,” and individuals who went against the Jim Crow laws were condemned as law-breaking criminals.⁶³ Public figures would be denounced for using explicitly racist language, and early law and order rhetoric was used as a way to signal an anti-civil rights message to White voters while also being able to deny any racist intentions.⁶⁴ In 1968, 90 percent of White Memphians voted for Loeb, while virtually no African Americans did.⁶⁵ Loeb calculated that if he could win enough of the White vote by using non-explicitly racist appeals, he could ignore Blacks entirely. Which is exactly what he proceeded to do.⁶⁶

Loeb combined his law-and-order message with a promise of fiscal responsibility, vowing that once in office he would slash taxes by cutting back on city costs.⁶⁷ Again, this was race-neutral language that was used to hold back the progress of Black communities.⁶⁸ For Loeb,

⁶⁰ Joan Turner Beifuss, “Chapter 6 River is Chilly and River is Wide,” 202-203.

⁶¹ Joan Turner Beifuss, “Chapter 6 River is Chilly and River is Wide,” 203.

⁶² Lynn Burnett, “The 1968 Memphis Strike, Part One: The Garbage Workers - Cross Cultural Solidarity,” *Cross Cultural Solidarity - History; in the Service of Solidarity*, last modified August 5, 2022, accessed April 12, 2023, <https://crossculturalsolidarity.com/the-memphis-strike-part-one-the-garbage-workers/>.

⁶³ Lynn Burnett, 1.

⁶⁴ Lynn Burnett, 1.

⁶⁵ Lynn Burnett, 1.

⁶⁶ Lynn Burnett, 1.

⁶⁷ Lynn Burnett, 1.

⁶⁸ Lynn Burnett, 1.

“fiscal responsibility” included reducing the amount of garbage collectors, which meant that less men had to do the same amount of labor, meaning more overtime work for which the garbage collectors would not be paid.⁶⁹ For Mayor Loeb, cutting costs also meant refusing to repair broken vehicles which put city workers in danger while at work.⁷⁰ The garbage collectors consistently reported to the city that many of their trucks had bad brakes, which could be especially dangerous in stormy weather.⁷¹ The condition of the vehicles were so bad that some trucks needed to be replaced entirely.⁷² Completely unconcerned with winning Black votes, he balanced the city’s budget on the backs of the city’s poorest and least politically powerful members.⁷³

Loeb’s policies and lack of response to the broken vehicles forced black sanitation workers into the backs of trucks in bad weather while their white managers were instructed to find shelter in the department garages.⁷⁴ Although there has been no finding on what caused the truck’s compactor to start, it is clear the men’s only place to escape was just inches from the deadly compactor.⁷⁵ After the incident, angered by the city’s lack of a response, 1,300 sanitation workers went on strike.⁷⁶

Issues, such as “pay of less than \$70 a week, no guarantees of acceptable wages on rainy days, old equipment, and inadequate safety provisions” drove city sanitation workers in Memphis to the realization that they had been denied long enough.⁷⁷ The strike officially began

⁶⁹ Lynn Burnett, 1.

⁷⁰ Lynn Burnett, 1.

⁷¹ Lynn Burnett, 1.

⁷² Lynn Burnett, 1.

⁷³ Lynn Burnett, 1.

⁷⁴ Wendi C. Thomas, “52 years ago Feb. 1, two Memphis sanitation workers were crushed in a city garbage truck,” *MLK50 Online*; available from <https://mlk50.com/2018/02/01/memphis-had-another-shameful-tragedy-in-1968-it-could-have-been-avoided/>; Internet; accessed 23 November 2021.

⁷⁵ Thomas, 3.

⁷⁶ Stanford, 1.

⁷⁷ Micheal K. Honey, *Going Down Jericho Road* (2007), 161.

on February 12, 1968. Over sixty-five days, the strike went through three phases. At first, it was a minor dispute with relatively simple items to be resolved.⁷⁸ Within two weeks, the strike had become racial, a transformation in which Memphis papers played a role.⁷⁹ Then, when Rev. Dr. King Jr. became involved with the strike as a part of his Poor People's Campaign [a demonstration aimed to pressure Congress into redistributing funds in order to decrease poverty in the U.S.] in late March, the once obscure labor dispute rose to the national stage.⁸⁰

Charles Blackburn, Memphis' Public Works Director, realized he had a major problem on his hands when nine hundred and thirty [sanitation] workers out of eleven hundred decided to strike.⁸¹ On February 12, 1968, men of various branches of the Memphis Public Works division attended a union meeting and unanimously decided to strike and within a week, the Memphis branch of the NAACP passed a resolution to support the strike.⁸² On Feb. 19, 1968, the NAACP and other protestors organized an all-night sit-in at Memphis City Hall and the next day the union called for a city-wide boycott of the downtown businesses.⁸³ The City Council of Memphis voted to recognize the newly formed union, but Loeb rejected the vote and insisted that he was the only person that could recognize a union, then refused to do so.⁸⁴ In a letter addressed to the sanitation workers, Loeb stated that the strike was illegal and ordered the strike to end, promising that he would sit down with representatives of the employees of the public works department.⁸⁵

King, who had been working on the Poor People's Campaign, flew to Memphis on March 18, 1968 and spoke to more than 25,000 people gathered at the Bishop Charles Mason Temple.

⁷⁸ Richard Lentz, *Sixty-Five Days in Memphis: A Study of Culture, Symbols and the Press* 98 (August 1986), 7.

⁷⁹ Lentz, 7.

⁸⁰ Lentz, 7.

⁸¹ Joan Turner Beifuss, "Chapter 1 Fertile Ground," 20.

⁸² Stanford, 1.

⁸³ DeNeen L. Brown "'I Am A Man': The ugly Memphis sanitation workers's strike that led to MLK's assassination." *The Washington Post*, 12 February 2018, 2.

⁸⁴ Stanford, 1.

⁸⁵ "Mayor Loeb letter to strikers," *I Am Man* available from <https://projects.lib.wayne.edu/iamaman/items/show/155>; Internet; accessed 23 November 2021.

King insisted that there could not be civil rights without economic equality, on March 28, King and the Rev. James Lawson, a King ally, led a march that quickly turned violent.⁸⁶ Police ran after protestors who had gathered at Clayborn Temple to escape the violence and threw tear gas into the sanctuary, beating those who had fallen to the ground to escape the tear gas.⁸⁷ The next day more than 200 sanitation workers marched with signs stating, “I Am A Man.”⁸⁸

King had planned another march for April 4, but the city of Memphis obtained a court injunction against it.⁸⁹ King met with law firm Burch Porter & Johnson in order to sort a plan out to get the injunction lifted and the next day the attorneys prevailed, allowing King and the protestors to have the march in Memphis.⁹⁰ On April 3, King delivered his famous “Mountaintop” speech at the Mason Temple.⁹¹

After King prepared to leave the Lorraine Motel for dinner, he stepped out on his balcony on the third floor to speak with his fellow Southern Christian Leadership Conference colleagues that were in the parking lot below.⁹² Minutes later, an assassin fired a shot from the second floor of a rooming house across the street that would leave the right side of King’s face severely wounded and would ultimately prove to be deadly.⁹³

According to *National Archives Findings on MLK Assassination*, shortly after the gunshot wounded Dr. King, he was pronounced dead and his body was taken from St. Joseph Hospital to Gaston Hospital where an autopsy was performed.⁹⁴ Dr. Terry T. Francisco, the Shelby County medical examiner, performed the autopsy and ruled that the death was from a

⁸⁶ Brown, 4.

⁸⁷ Brown, 4.

⁸⁸ Brown, 4.

⁸⁹ Ted Conover. “1968: The Year That Shattered America,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, January 2018, 13.

⁹⁰ Conover, 13.

⁹¹ Brown, 5.

⁹² Stanford, 1.

⁹³ Stanford, 1.

⁹⁴ “*Findings on MLK Assassination*,” *National Archives*, accessed May 19, 2022, <https://www.archives.gov/research/jfk/select-committee-report/part-2a.html#committee>

single “gunshot wound to the chin and neck with a total transection of the lower cervical and upper thoracic spinal cord and other structures of the neck.”⁹⁵

Following the assassination, Loeb called in the National Guard and set a curfew, then refused (once again) the requests of the sanitation workers after Black and white clergy had pleaded with him.⁹⁶ President Lyndon B. Johnson ordered James Reynolds, the undersecretary of labor, to negotiate with Mayor Loeb and end the strike.⁹⁷ On April 16, the Memphis City Council voted to recognize the union and promised higher wages to sanitation workers, although several months later the union threatened to strike again if their promises were not kept.⁹⁸

On April 8, before King’s funeral, in Atlanta his wife, Coretta Scott King led more than 40,000 people in a silent march through the streets of Memphis, the last place her late husband had led a march.⁹⁹

The media immediately jumped to cover the influential King’s assassination, as American citizens reacted in anger and confusion toward the tragic loss. Although King’s father expressed the family’s preference of nonviolence in reaction, there was mass chaos that turned to violence in the 10 days that followed.¹⁰⁰ Many citizens took action and participated in protests across the nation that soon rose from peaceful to violent. Cities like Raleigh, Washington D.C., Chicago, and Baltimore were filled with rioters and chaos.

Murray Schumach of the *New York Times* wrote, “To many millions of American Negroes, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was the prophet of their crusade for racial equality.

⁹⁵ National Archives, “Findings on MLK Assassination.”

⁹⁶ Brown, 5.

⁹⁷ Brown, 5.

⁹⁸ Stanford, 2.

⁹⁹ Brown, 5.

¹⁰⁰ Lorraine Boissoneault, “Martin Luther King Jr.’s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, April 4, 2018

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/martin-luther-king-jrs-assassination-sparked-uprisings-cities-across-america-180968665/>

He was their voice of anguish, their eloquence in humiliation, their battle cry for human dignity. He forged for them the weapons of nonviolence that withstood and blunted the ferocity of segregation.”¹⁰¹

The *Spokane Chronicle* quoted former first lady, Jackie Kennedy, stating, “make room in people’s hearts for love, not hate [. . .] I weep for Mrs. King and for her children for this senseless, senseless act of hate which took away a man who preached love and hope. When will our country learn that to live by sword is to perish by the sword? I pray that with the price he paid – his life – he will make room in people’s hearts for love, not hate.”¹⁰²

According to fireman George King, a steady rain throughout the night of April 4, 1968 was the only factor that saved Durham, NC, from the immediate violence that broke out in other cities.¹⁰³ On April 5, 1968, several thousand people marched peacefully from Fayetteville Street through downtown to rally at city hall, but that peace was not going to last long.¹⁰⁴

On April 6, arsonists set somewhere around 13 fires around the city targeting major city attractions like the College Plaza Apartments located close to North Carolina Central University, a grocery store on University Drive, and a whole block of the Ninth Street business district.¹⁰⁵ This resulted in National Guardsmen being mobilized and sent to protect firefighters from crowds that were throwing rocks. In turn Durham authorities issued a 7 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew for residents.¹⁰⁶ Many did not cooperate and seven more fires were set that evening.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ Murray Schumach, “Dr. King Admired by Negroes, Whites,” *Star Tribune*, April 5, 1968, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/184904319/?terms=Dr.%20King&match=1>

¹⁰² “Ex-First Lady Pleads for End of Hatred,” *Spokane Chronicle*, April 5, 1968, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/564948354/?terms=assassination&match=1>

¹⁰³ The Durham Civil Rights Heritage Project, “Aftermath of M.L.K., Jr.’s Assassination, 1968,” *Durham County Library* (September 2020):

https://durhamcountylibrary.org/exhibits/dcrhp/events/aftermath_of_m.l.k._jr.%27s_assassination_1968/

¹⁰⁴ The Durham Civil Rights Heritage Project, “Aftermath of M.L.K., Jr.’s Assassination, 1968.”

¹⁰⁵ The Durham Civil Rights Heritage Project, “Aftermath of M.L.K., Jr.’s Assassination, 1968.”

¹⁰⁶ The Durham Civil Rights Heritage Project, “Aftermath of M.L.K., Jr.’s Assassination, 1968.”

¹⁰⁷ The Durham Civil Rights Heritage Project, “Aftermath of M.L.K., Jr.’s Assassination, 1968.”

The Raleigh, North Carolina paper, *The News and Observer*, stated, “Mayor Travis Tomlinson declared a 13-hour curfew for the entire city beginning at 5 p.m. Friday as 1,200 National guardsmen, armed with live ammunition, stood ready to combat further outbreaks of racial violence.”¹⁰⁸ The article goes on to state that there were 33 arrests made and more than 20 individuals had been treated at local hospitals for injuries.¹⁰⁹

According to author Peter Levy, during the 1968 Holy Week that followed King’s death, the United States saw the greatest wave of social unrest since the Civil War.¹¹⁰

The nation’s capital saw the worst of the uprisings as it experienced the most damage.¹¹¹ Over the course of 12 days, the city had experienced more than 1,200 fires and \$24 million in property damage (\$174 million in today’s currency).¹¹² Economic historians compared the race riots of D.C. to those of the Watts Riots of 1965 in Los Angeles and the Detroit riots of 1967.¹¹³

Alma Gill was four-years-old when the riots broke out in Washington D.C. She remembers seeing the flames and destruction as she and her father, Ulysses Martin drove through their home city.¹¹⁴ According to Gill, she watched her father wipe away tears as she learned (many years later) that the Shaw tailor shop he owned was destroyed by the rioters.¹¹⁵ Her father had owned the shop, Wohlmuth’s, but had retained the name of his benefactor (a Jewish dry cleaner) because the banks wouldn’t lend money to Martin since he was a Black man.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁸ “Tear Gas is Used on Mob,” *The News and Observer*, April 6, 1968, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/652686187>

¹⁰⁹ The News and Observer, “Tear Gas is Used on Mob.”

¹¹⁰ Peter Levy, *The Great Uprising: Race Riots in Urban America during the 1960s* (Cambridge, 2018), 75.

¹¹¹ Boissoneault, “Martin Luther King Jr.’s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America.”

¹¹² Boissoneault, “Martin Luther King Jr.’s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America.”

¹¹³ Boissoneault, “Martin Luther King Jr.’s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America.”

¹¹⁴ “The Four Days in 1968 that Reshaped D.C.,” *Washington Post*, March 27, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2018/local/dc-riots-1968/>

¹¹⁵ Washington Post, “The Four Days in 1968 that Reshaped D.C.”

¹¹⁶ Washington Post, “The Four Days in 1968 that Reshaped D.C.”

Chicago's residents felt a deeper connection to King, as he had lived in the poverty stricken West-Side when he was campaigning for open housing in the city during 1966.¹¹⁷ After the news of King's death spread, rioters quickly filled the streets looting and causing chaos.¹¹⁸

Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago urged Chicago residents to mourn in peace through the *Chicago Tribune*. He stated, "Let's show the United States and the world what the citizenry of Chicago is made of [. . .] I would like to make a personal appeal on behalf of a great city to all of its citizens on this very serious day and in memory of the who met his death in Memphis who preached and practiced nonviolence."¹¹⁹

On Friday, April 5, 1968, 3,000 Illinois National Guard Troops started arriving in Chicago and were greeted with sniper shots in various West Side neighborhoods.¹²⁰

According to the *Chicago Defender* one West Side local stated, "I feel this is the opening of the door through which will come violence. Because of the way Dr. King died, I can guarantee it's gonna be rough here."¹²¹

Mayor Daley ordered police to shoot any arsonist or anyone with a Molotov cocktail and to shoot or cripple any rioter that was looting at any of the stores in the city.¹²² By the end of the protest, 11 Chicago residents were killed and nearly 3,000 were arrested for looting and arson.¹²³

Lastly, the city of Baltimore saw its share of rioters and protesters following King's sudden death. The amount of damage caused to the city came close to the same as Washington's.

¹¹⁷ Boissoneault, "Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America."

¹¹⁸ Boissoneault, "Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America."

¹¹⁹ Richard Daley, "Urges Show of Pride by Chicagoans," *Chicago Tribune*, April 6, 1968, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/376683480/?terms=violence&match=1>.

¹²⁰ Boissoneault, "Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America."

¹²¹ Boissoneault, "Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America."

¹²² Boissoneault, "Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America."

¹²³ Boissoneault, "Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America."

Although East Side citizens gathered in peace to hold a memorial for Dr. King, events quickly turned as protests erupted, 6,000 National Guard troops arrived, 1,000 businesses were set on fire, six people died and hundreds more were injured.¹²⁴

The *Baltimore Sun* reported, “About 10:30 p.m. there were reports that the rioting had spread into the main shopping center of downtown Baltimore [. . .] Several merchants were seen, however, holding rifles in their stores. The large department stores either had curtains drawn across windows – or were in the process of being boarded up.”¹²⁵

King’s death caused mass uprisings all over the United States. People were trying to adapt to the social movement that was happening all over our country. Dr. King was a leader in this movement, so his avid followers were outraged, confused, sad, and angry with the situation that was at hand.

The reactions were mixed, just as the emotions were. Kelly Virella portrayed the contrast of emotions in the *New York Times* piece, “*Glee, Satisfaction and Weeping: How America Reacted When Martin Luther King Died.*”

Darryl E. Christmon was in sixth grade when Dr. King died. He recalled on the day stating, “I was in the sixth grade at Holy Ghost Catholic School in Jackson, Miss. I recall that it was raining that evening when I came to get my report card. My teacher, Mrs. Alice Gordon, a strong, fierce woman, was crying inconsolably. She told me Dr. King had been killed.”¹²⁶

Joanne Richardson had relatives that lived relatively close to the King’s in Montgomery, she stated, “Dr. King lived at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church parsonage down the street from my Uncle Murray on Jackson Street in Montgomery, Ala. My Aunt Vinnie lived across the street

¹²⁴ Boissoneault, “Martin Luther King Jr.’s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America.”

¹²⁵ “Riot Starts on Gay St.,” *Baltimore Sun*, April 7, 1968, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/377272746>

¹²⁶ Kelly Virella, “*Glee, Satisfaction and Weeping: How America Reacted When Martin Luther King Died.*” *The New York Times*, April 2, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/02/reader-center/martin-luther-king-assassination-memories.html>

from him. That night was very sad. My Aunt Leah, who was about 77, came over and cried most of the night.”¹²⁷

Although, it may be believed today that most people were feeling emotions of sadness, this is not the case. Marth Asbury, who was a student at Memphis State when King died, said, “I was a freshman and in the Phi Mu sorority suite at Memphis State when I heard it on the radio. Some girls walked into the room talking and laughing about it. I remember cars honking and a general feeling of celebration around me. I felt bad but was too stupid and gutless to speak up.”¹²⁸

The media not only covered the emotions of a restless country following King’s death, but also shaped the image of the individuals that were involved in the assassination and trial. This was especially true when it came to James Earl Ray, the man who was charged with King’s slaying.

During the investigation of King’s death on the evening of April 4, 1968, a Remington .30-06 hunting rifle was found on the sidewalk beside the rooming house that was located one block from the Lorraine Motel.¹²⁹ On April 6, 1968 *The News and Observer*, printed “With some 330 law enforcement seeking the slayer, the Memphis city council added \$100,000 in reward money to the \$50,000 already posted by newspapers here. Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark flew in from Washington early in the day and later told newsmen: ‘We have put all available resources on the FBI in this area into the case. We have committed everything that could be reasonably committed to solve this crime. It is my hope and expectation that a solution can be affected quickly...’”¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Virella, “*Glee, Satisfaction and Weeping: How America Reacted When Martin Luther King Died.*”

¹²⁸ Virella, “*Glee, Satisfaction and Weeping: How America Reacted When Martin Luther King Died.*”

¹²⁹“James Earl Ray, suspect in Martin Luther King Jr. assassination, is arrested,” History.com Editors, last modified January, 18, 2022, <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/king-assassination-suspect-arrested>.

¹³⁰ “Massed Forces Hunt for Assassin,” *The News and Observer*, April 6, 1968, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/652686187>

Over the next few weeks, loads of evidence (i.e. the rifle, fingerprints, and eyewitness reports) all pointed to one suspect; James Earl Ray.¹³¹ Ray was a convict, serving time for small crimes when he escaped from a Missouri prison in April of 1967.¹³²

Robert Samsot of the *Commercial Appeal* describes him in his 1969 article as never having his hair combed correctly, his tie being too short, and his coat and pants being too large.¹³³ Samsot also stated, “Crime career spectacular, in a way, fits the man who sat in the defendant’s chair yesterday, but seemingly not the man who killed Dr. King.”¹³⁴

Harry Stathos of the *Daily News* called him a loser as he wrote in his 1969 article, *A Child of Poverty, Ray Turned to Crime Early*.¹³⁵ Stathos stated that Ray was born a loser and couldn’t help himself, simply because he came from an impoverished family of losers that made few friends.¹³⁶

In May of 1968, a massive manhunt headed up by the FBI began in pursuit of Ray.¹³⁷ On June 8, 1968, Ray was taken into custody at a London airport and extradited to the United States where he stood before a judge in March of 1969 and pleaded guilty to killing Dr. King.¹³⁸

Ray was sentenced to 99 years in prison and three days later he recanted his guilty plea stating he was a pawn in a larger conspiracy.¹³⁹ He later stated that in 1967, a man named Raoul had recruited him for a gunrunning enterprise and realized later that he was going to be set up as a fall man in King’s assassination.¹⁴⁰

¹³¹History.com Editors, “James Earl Ray, suspect in Martin Luther King Jr. assassination, is arrested.”

¹³²History.com Editors, “James Earl Ray, suspect in Martin Luther King Jr. assassination, is arrested.”

¹³³Robert Samsot, “Visage Gives Conspiracy Theory Credence,” *Commercial Appeal*, March 11, 1969, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/770847671/?terms=James%20Earl%20Ray&match=1>

¹³⁴Samsot, “Visage Gives Conspiracy Theory Credence.”

¹³⁵Harry Stathos, “A Child of Poverty, Ray Turned to Crime Early,” *Daily News*, March 11, 1969, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/394699274/?terms=James%20Earl%20Ray&match=1>.

¹³⁶Stathos, “A Child of Poverty, Ray Turned to Crime Early.”

¹³⁷History.com Editors, “James Earl Ray, suspect in Martin Luther King Jr. assassination, is arrested.”

¹³⁸History.com Editors, “James Earl Ray, suspect in Martin Luther King Jr. assassination, is arrested.”

¹³⁹History.com Editors, “James Earl Ray, suspect in Martin Luther King Jr. assassination, is arrested.”

¹⁴⁰History.com Editors, “James Earl Ray, suspect in Martin Luther King Jr. assassination, is arrested.”

A *Detroit Free Press* article stated, “it appeared likely that the question of whether Ray was part of a conspiracy would go forever unanswered. Judge Battle, before turning the case to the jury said; ‘It has not been established at this time that there was any conspiracy. If there was a conspiracy, no member of such a conspiracy can ever live in peace or lie down to pleasant dreams, because there is no statute of limitations in capital cases in this state.’”¹⁴¹

Ray’s motion was denied, as were the numerous motions he filed over the next 29 years. However, the case took a new turn in 1999 when Coretta Scott King, King’s widow, and her children spoke out stating they supported Ray’s claims of innocence.¹⁴²

The King family filed a civil suit to gather more information as the family was apprehensive in believing that Ray was King’s killer. According to *Washington Post* reporter, Tom Jackman, “Until her own death in 2006, Coretta Scott King, who endured the FBI’s campaign to discredit her husband, was open in her belief that a conspiracy led to the assassination. Her family filed a civil suit in 1999 to force more information into the public eye, and a Memphis jury ruled that the local, state and federal governments were liable for King’s death.”¹⁴³

There have been many conspiracy theories as to who killed King, one of which includes Loyd Jowers. According to the Associated Press and the *New York Times*, “In an ABC television interview in 1993, Mr. Jowers said he had received \$100,000 from a Memphis produce merchant,

¹⁴¹“Dr. King’s Killer Given 99 Years,” *Detroit Free Press*, March 11, 1969, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/99430524>

¹⁴²“Dr. King’s Killer Given 99 Years.”

¹⁴³ Tom Jackman, “Who Killed Martin Luther King Jr.? His Family Believes James Earl Ray Was Framed,” *The Washington Post*, March 30, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2018/03/30/who-killed-martin-luther-king-jr-his-family-believes-james-earl-ray-was-framed/>.

Frank Liberto, to arrange Dr. King's murder. Mr. Liberto had died by the time of the interview, in which Mr. Jowers said that he had hired the assassin and that it was not Mr. Ray.”¹⁴⁴

John Campbell, the Shelby County prosecutor who investigated Dr. King’s assassination, stated that Jowers’ claims were false and told the *New York Times* that many of Jowers’ associates have been quoted stating that he was hoping for publicity (i.e. a movie or book deal).¹⁴⁵

Dana Canedy investigated another conspiracy in her *New York Times* article centered around a minister’s father who claimed he killed King. Canedy reported that the Rev. Ronald Wilson stated that his father, Henry Clay Wilson, led a group of three conspirators to kill King.¹⁴⁶

“‘My father was the main guy,’ said Wilson, 61, of Keystone Heights, north of Gainesville, Florida. ‘It wasn't a racist thing. He thought Martin Luther King was connected with communism, and he wanted to get him out of the way.’”

Although Wilson brought this information to the surface, he provided no information to support his claims.¹⁴⁷

“Mr. Wilson said Mr. Ray, an acquaintance of his father's, was set up for the crime. His father chose not to come forward with the truth, and Mr. Wilson said he also decided not to contact the authorities because, ‘I was sworn to never bring it up. I wasn't going to turn Dad in.’ Asked in an interview if he could produce a murder weapon, Mr. Wilson said the gun was at the bottom of the St. Johns River, southeast of Jacksonville.”¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴The Associated Press, “Loyd Jowers, 73, Who Claimed a Role in the Killing of Dr. King.” *The New York Times*, May 23, 2000.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2000/05/23/us/loyd-jowers-73-who-claimed-a-role-in-the-killing-of-dr-king.html>

¹⁴⁵The Associated Press, “Loyd Jowers, 73, Who Claimed a Role in the Killing of Dr. King.”

¹⁴⁶Dana Canedy, “A Minister Says His Father, Now Dead, Killed Dr. King,” *The New York Times*, April 5, 2002, sec. U.S. <https://www.nytimes.com/2002/04/05/us/a-minister-says-his-father-now-dead-killed-dr-king.html>

¹⁴⁷Dana Canedy, “A Minister Says His Father, Now Dead, Killed Dr. King,”

¹⁴⁸Dana Canedy, “A Minister Says His Father, Now Dead, Killed Dr. King,”

King's teachings of nonviolence, peace and justice for all are still taught today, just as his death is honored with a federal holiday. Peniel E. Joseph argues in his January 15, 2018 *Washington Post* article that the 1968 assassination continues to resonate with American citizens as we are still fighting for equality.

“King proved to be more than just the civil rights movement’s most important national political mobilizer. Over the course of a dozen tumultuous years, King helped to reimagine America’s collective moral and political imagination, successfully arguing in ‘Letter from Birmingham Jail’ in April 1963 that racial justice comprised one of the fundamental principles of American democracy.”¹⁴⁹

Fifty-three years later and there is still an everlasting fight for equality. Memphis journalist Wendi Thomas interviewed Noel King, a NPR broadcast journalist, on whether or not sanitation workers are better off 50 years later, than they were in 1968. Thomas said, “I think he’d see a city that has learned its lesson. I think he’d see a city that still shuns unions and union organizing. I think he’d see a city that’s still divided, still very separated by race and certainly by class. And I think he’d wonder what we did with his sacrifice,” when asked about her thoughts regarding MLK’s thoughts if he were still alive today.¹⁵⁰

After reviewing the previous information, one must take into consideration the idea that Critical Race Theory proposes about American legislature, policies and societal morals. As stated previously, Critical Race Theory is the idea that racism is embedded in legal systems and is not the product of independent bias. The person widely credited with the creation of this term

¹⁴⁹ Joseph, Peniel E, “Analysis How Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination Changed America 50 Years Ago and Still Affects Us Today,” *The Washington Post*, October 26, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2018/01/15/kings-assassination-shaped-americas-identity-50-years-ago-and-continues-to-shape-it-today/>

¹⁵⁰ NPR, “The Memphis Sanitation Workers, 50 Years Later,” *NPR Online*; available from <https://www.npr.org/2018/04/04/599361667/the-memphis-sanitation-workers-50-years-later>; Internet; accessed 23 November 2021.

is Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, a law professor at the U.C.L.A. School of Law and Columbia Law School, while Derrick Bell, a Harvard legal scholar is seen as the godfather of the theory.¹⁵¹ This theory questions how racist hierarchies are enforced, even among people with good intentions.¹⁵² The scholars that have proposed this theory tend to understand race as a creation of society, not a biological reality.¹⁵³ Loeb's refusal to acknowledge or honor the unionization of sanitation workers is just one example of Critical Race Theory in effect.

The media not only amplified the Memphis Sanitation Strike, King's death and the lingering effects through the end of the 1960s, but has also acted as an outlet for the public to be heard and connect with their country. The media allowed for American citizens to mourn along with the King family and stay connected to other citizens across the United States. The death of King was rooted in hate, and in some cases, the media sparked more hate that ended in social uprisings. Without the coverage of the strike, assassination, trial and riots that followed, the public would have been stagnant in the death of a fierce leader. Media outlets have the opportunity to create emotion in every publication. The coverage of the late '60's did just that; create emotion.

¹⁵¹ Jacey Fortin, "Critical Race Theory: A Brief History," *The New York Times*; available from <https://www.nytimes.com/article/what-is-critical-race-theory.html>; Internet; accessed 9 December 2021.

¹⁵² Fortin, available from <https://www.nytimes.com/article/what-is-critical-race-theory.html>

¹⁵³ Fortin, available from <https://www.nytimes.com/article/what-is-critical-race-theory.html>

Results:

The researcher sought to examine news coverage of the 1968 Memphis Sanitation Strike through the lens of Critical Race Theory. Critical Race Theory presents the only viable view in light of the mayor's intransigence and sanitation workers' persistence for recognition. A comparison of *The Commercial Appeal* and *The New York Times*' coverage of the Memphis Sanitation Strike of 1968 reveals various differences between the two publications. Five research questions were selected in order to thoroughly examine how two different publications covered the events of the sanitation strike.

The research revealed various results in answering question one, which asked: how many paragraphs long were the articles selected? Overall, the *New York Times* stories that covered the Memphis Sanitation Strike of 1968 averaged 18.9 paragraphs long. The longest article being 63 paragraphs long and the shortest being three paragraphs. The *Commercial Appeal* differed in its results and revealed that the articles chosen for analysis averaged 24.6 paragraphs long, the longest being 76 paragraphs. The *New York Times* findings can be found in table one and *The Commercial Appeal* findings can be found on table eight.

The findings reveal differentiating results in both publications in answering research question two, which asked: on what pages were the articles placed in the physical newspapers? In the *New York Times* it was found that articles covering the strike averaged placement on page 34, with five articles that made the front page. The *Commercial Appeal* published stories that averaged a placement of page 14. Of the articles selected for review from the *Commercial Appeal*, only two made the front page. The *New York Times* findings can be found in table two and *The Commercial Appeal* findings can be found on table nine.

Researchers reviewed the stories and each rated the headlines on a scale from one to five, one being subjective and five being objective, in answering research question three, which asked: did the articles selected contain headlines that appeared objective or subjective? The *New York Times*' headlines averaged a 4.4 on the scale of one to five. The *Commercial Appeal* headlines averaged a 3.6 on the scale. The lowest scoring headline in the *New York Times* was a three, while the lowest scoring headline in *The Commercial Appeal* was a two. The *New York Times* findings can be found in table three and *The Commercial Appeal* findings can be found on table ten.

Researchers reflected on the articles selected for analysis and decided whether each read as narrative or informative in answering question four, which asked: were articles selected informative or did publications sound more like a narrative? Each researcher thought this would be a large difference based on other findings. In truth, there was a large difference. While the *New York Times* average for narrative articles was 5, the *Commercial Appeal* had a higher average of 11. The *Times*' average of informative articles was 10 while the *Appeal's* was averaged as a 4. The *New York Times* findings can be found in table four and *The Commercial Appeal* findings can be found on table eleven.

Research question five was split into three sections labeled as RQ5-A, RQ5-B, and RQ5-C, A representing gender, B representing Ethnicity, and C representing Race in answering question five, which asked: were there racial, ethnic, or gender diversity among sources represented in direct quotes? For this question, researchers had to take "not applicable" as an answer if there was inadequate research to allow for proper measures to find the individual that gave the direct quote. Comparing the results in *The New York Times* and the *Commercial Appeal* in the use of different genders for direct quotes in their publications was very interesting. The

Commercial Appeal results for RQ5-A, regarding different genders in direct quotes, was 43 males, 8 females, and 10 non applicable individuals. In the *The New York Times*, the direct quote results were 37 males, one female and 7 results considered non applicable individuals. The *New York Times* findings can be found in table five and *The Commercial Appeal* findings can be found on table twelve.

The second part of research question five discussed the ethnicity of direct sources in both publications that were analyzed. The results for the *New York Times* stated that there were 22 African American, 24 Whites, 0 American Indian/Native Alaskan, 0 Asian, 0 Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and 7 individuals that were considered non applicable in the direct quote used. The *Commercial Appeal* results reflected that there were an average of 47 Whites, 4 African American, 0 American Indian/Native Alaskan, 0 Asian, 0 Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and 10 non applicable individuals in the direct quotes used. The *New York Times* findings can be found in table six and *The Commercial Appeal* findings can be found on table thirteen.

Finally in RQ5-C, the researchers evaluated the use of different races in direct quotes and the findings were similar to those of the ethnicity findings. In the *Commercial Appeal*, there were 47 direct quotes from those of the Caucasian race, 4 from the African American race, zero from the Hispanic race, and 10 that were considered non applicable. In the *New York Times*, there were 24 direct quotes from those of the Caucasian race, 22 of the African American race, 0 of the Hispanic race and 10 that were considered non applicable. The *New York Times* findings can be found in table seven and *The Commercial Appeal* findings can be found on table fourteen.

Discussion:

In this study, the researcher set out to establish how the media covered the Sanitation Strike of 1968. The researcher collected and analyzed 30 newspaper articles, 15 from the *Commercial Appeal* and 15 from *The New York Times* in order to compare and contrast the different views from a national and local paper. The researcher developed research questions in order to determine how the two publications went about covering the strike.

Research question one, regarding how long each of the selected articles were, was chosen in hopes that it would aid in determining the depth of information provided to the readers surrounding the events that took place in the 1968 strike.

When evaluating the results of this question, it only makes sense to consider the level of which each news source is coming from. The *New York Times* is a national publication that covers news deriving from all over the United States and the globe. In 1968, America was facing issues like the Vietnam War, and various other Civil Rights protests. It would stand to reason that the new stories covering the Memphis Sanitation Strike were shorter in comparison to the *Commercial Appeal* making an average of 24.6 paragraphs somewhat expected. On the other hand, the *Commercial Appeal* was a local paper, so it was expected that the news stories surrounding the strike would be lengthy since the strike was a large, communal event happening in the location where the publication has the highest amount of readership and those readers were being directly impacted. The result of the *New York Times*' average story length was somewhat surprising as it was expected to be much lower than that of the *Commercial Appeal*, however, it was somewhat close to the average of the local paper at 18.9 paragraphs long.

Research question two, regarding the placement of stories, was included in hopes that the findings would present the societal importance of stories in both the national publication and

local publication. The placement of a story in a newspaper directly impacts the engagement of the reader. If a story is placed on a latter page in the publication, it will more than likely not have as much interaction with the reader compared to one that is placed on the first page. The researcher expected that the national publication, *The New York Times*, would place stories over the strike later in the paper since this publication covers so much globally. So an average of story placement on page thirty-four makes sense. The average placement of stories covering the strike in the *Commercial Appeal* shocked researchers. Since it was a local paper, the event was directly affecting the community, but instead of stories being placed on the front page or towards the beginning of the publication stories over the strike were placed on an average of page fourteen. This suggests that the *Commercial Appeal* most likely was influenced by Loeb's administration, which further suggests that the newspaper was conducting journalistic practices since publishers, editors and reporters did nothing to push back and encourage objectivity in their publication.

Headlines are a writer's way of moving a story along, therefore objectivity is essential. The researcher included this question in hopes that it would prove objectivity or subjectivity in the media's work covering the strike. The definition of subjective and objective was used in determining if headlines were considered one or the other. Subjective was defined as statements that were based on feelings or opinions rather than facts.¹⁵⁴ Objective was defined as statements that were based on facts rather than opinions and feelings.¹⁵⁵ The average score on the objectivity scale of the *New York Times* was higher than that of the *Commercial Appeal*, which did not surprise the researcher after viewing the results of story placement. The researcher believes that this is most likely because the local paper was receiving pressure from the Mayor's office to

¹⁵⁴ Merriam Webster, "Subjective," available from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/subjective>; Internet; accessed 3 December 2021.

¹⁵⁵ Merriam Webster, "Objective," available from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/objective>; Internet; accessed 3 December 2021.

suppress stories surrounding the strike and the assassination of King in hopes that it would not bring more attention to the social issues Memphis was facing. The national paper has a long lasting reputation of being objective with their stories; this research supports this idea. The *Commercial Appeal*, once again, appears to portray bias in the written coverage of the Memphis Sanitation Strike.

In research question four, the researchers analyzed the content of the written stories that were chosen in order to determine whether the article read as a narrative piece or a subjective piece. Usually narratives include opinion and not fact like that of subjective pieces. The researchers considered an article informative if the reporter used the traditional inverted pyramid style of journalistic writing. An article was considered as narrative if it followed the narrative writing style of magazines. Objectivity, as stated previously, is an essential asset in news coverage. Journalistic writing is a form of writing where the inverted pyramid is used, placing the facts first and the details after in a duration of a news story. Journalists are taught to leave the fluff out and to stick to the facts in order to be as objective as one can be. Once again, the *New York Times*, again, is publicly known to be objective so the results would make sense that *The New York Times* would show more informative stories than the local paper, although researchers thought that the differences would be much greater.

The final research question called for identifying sources by race, ethnicity, and gender. This process required the researchers to count how many of each appeared in the selected stories via direct quotes. Since all stories were published in 1968 it required researchers to use “not applicable” to be reported if the researcher was unable to find proper information on the interviewee. This research question was chosen in order to depict the diversity in direct quotes, so it was split into three parts.

RQ5-A, focussed on the use of different genders in the publication's direct quotes. The *New York Times* averaged around four males and no females per story while the *Commercial Appeal* averaged around 4 males and 1 female. This shocked researchers, as they assumed the national publication would use more women in their stories than the local publication, although it came as no shock that the use of males in the local publication was greater than the national.

Memphis, at the time of the strike, was still dominated by traditional southern culture where men were seen as breadwinners and a woman's place was at home. The results differ in national publication since it was published in a major metropolitan area. Metropolitan areas, then and now, are known to be more progressive regarding societal ideas, morals, etc. This could mean that some of the individuals labeled as "non applicable" in the Times had more of a chance to be female than the "non applicable" individuals in the local paper.

The findings for RQ5-B and C analyzed the use of different ethnicities and races in the direct quotes of the two publications. The findings reveal the differences in bias of the two different publications. The *New York Times* had 22 quotes from African American ethnicity and 22 from the African American race, showing a more diverse group of direct quotes to ultimately obtain the entire story. The *Commercial Appeal* only had four from the African American ethnicity and four from the African American race. This, along with the results from the gender research, prove that the majority of direct quotes were from White men. This further suggests that the local publication was, again, biased in the information that was reported over the Memphis Sanitation Strike of 1968.

Conclusion:

The researcher found evidence of bias in the local newspaper, ultimately suggesting that objectivity was not the intention of the various reporters when it came to publishing articles surrounding the public workers and the Sanitation Strike. The facts derived from this study further suggest that the pre-civil war notion of white supremacy was intertwined in the political foundation of Memphis' news coverage at the time. These facts directly correlate with the ideas that lay the foundation of the Critical Race Theory and can be used as evidence to support the theory's idea that suppression of various minorities, especially those of African American descent, has been directly woven into American legislative, economic, political and societal systems since the founding of the United States.

The power that Loeb's administration had over the Memphis press influenced the way the media fed information to the public, ultimately creating a stronger sense of racism in the Memphis community. This is something that is not alienated to the American South or an era that is 40+ years old, it is present today. Journalists must keep objectivity at the core of the news reported in order to ensure all people are truly free in our democracy.

The fight for racial equality has been a long and hard road, and although society has come a long way, there is still an underlying impression that is passed down from generation to generation that must be erased. The work of courageous Civil Rights activists in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s has laid a solid foundation for the work that must be done, not by activists, but all of society. The bravery to stand against political leaders, questioning legislation and a societal mindset has not gone unnoticed. The Memphis Sanitation Strike of 1968 is one factor of the Civil Rights Movement that can not be placed in a museum and forgotten about as the same issues are still apparent today and must be faced. Although this was a pivotal point in America's

history, the same dedication and bravery must be used today. All men are created equally, but in order to be free the notion that one person is better than another, based solely on the differences of race or ethnicity, must be completely and utterly dismissed.

Table One

The New York Times
<i>RQ1: How many paragraphs long were the articles?</i>
Results were found by adding all the numbers (not multiples), coming up with a sum and dividing by 15 to obtain an average.

Item ID	Date	Coder 1	Coder 2	Coder 3
NYT 1	February 13	4	4	4
NYT 2	February 15	9	9	9
NYT 3	February 17	6	6	6
NYT 4	February 25	5	5	5
NYT 5	February 28	6	6	6
NYT 6	March 1	3	3	3
NYT 7	April 5	37	37	37
NYT 8	April 6	34	34	34
NYT 9	April 6	41	41	41
NYT 10	April 9	4	4	4
NYT 11	April 10	63	63	63
NYT 12	April 13	3	3	3
NYT 13	April 14	3	3	3
NYT 14	April 17	32	32	32
NYT 15	June 9	33	33	33
Results			18.9 average paragraphs long	

Table Two

The New York Times
<i>RQ2: On what pages were the articles selected for review placed in the physical newspapers?</i>
Results were found by adding all numbers (not multiples), coming up with a sum of and dividing by 15 to obtain average.

Item ID	Date	Coder 1	Coder 2	Coder 3
NYT 1	February 13	#34	#34	#34
NYT 2	February 15	#33	#33	#33
NYT 3	February 17	#18	#18	#18
NYT 4	February 25	#42	#42	#42
NYT 5	February 28	#15	#15	#15
NYT 6	March 1	#24	#24	#24
NYT 7	April 5	#1 & #26	#1 & #26	#1 & #26
NYT 8	April 6	#1 & #24	#1 & #24	#1 & #24
NYT 9	April 6	#1 & #22	#1 & #22	#1 & #22
NYT 10	April 9	#46	#46	#46
NYT 11	April 10	#1 & #37	#1 & #37	#1 & #37
NYT 12	April 13	#19	#19	#19
NYT 13	April 14	#62	#62	#62
NYT 14	April 17	#1 & #24	#1 & #24	#1 & #24
NYT 15	June 9	#1 & #74	#1 & #74	#1 & #74
Results		Average Page Number Stories Found On - #34		

Table Three

The New York Times
<i>RQ3: Did the articles selected contain headlines that appeared objective or subjective?</i>
- 1 being subjective
- 5 being objective
Results were found by adding all numbers, coming up with a sum of individual coding. Then dividing that number by 15, then adding each of these and, finally, dividing by 3 to obtain an average.

Item ID	Date	Coder 1	Coder 2	Coder 3	Final Averaged Result
NYT 1	February 13	5	5	5	
NYT 2	February 15	5	4	4	
NYT 3	February 17	3	3	3	
NYT 4	February 25	4	4	4	
NYT 5	February 28	5	5	5	
NYT 6	March 1	4	4	4	
NYT 7	April 5	4	5	4	
NYT 8	April 6	5	4	5	
NYT 9	April 6	3	4	4	
NYT 10	April 9	5	5	5	
NYT 11	April 10	5	5	5	
NYT 12	April 13	5	4	4	
NYT 13	April 14	5	5	5	
NYT 14	April 17	5	5	5	
NYT 15	June 9	4	3	5	
Results		4.5	4.1	4.5	4.4

Table Four

The New York Times
<i>RQ4: Were articles selected informative or did publications sound more like a narrative?</i>
(i.e. informative stories followed the traditional format of the inverted pyramid or were they more in the narrative style of magazines?)
- I for informative
- N for narrative
Results were found by adding individual I and N for each coder, then adding the sum of each category together and dividing by 3.

Item ID	Date	Coder 1	Coder 2	Coder 3			
NYT 1	February 13	I	I	I			
NYT 2	February 15	I	I	I			
NYT 3	February 17	I	N	I			
NYT 4	February 25	I	I	I			
NYT 5	February 28	N	I	N			
NYT 6	March 1	N	N	N			
NYT 7	April 5	N	I	I			
NYT 8	April 6	I	N	I			
NYT 9	April 6	I	I	I			
NYT 10	April 9	N	N	N			
NYT 11	April 10	I	I	I			
NYT 12	April 13	N	N	I			
NYT 13	April 14	N	I	N			
NYT 14	April 17	I	I	I			
NYT 15	June 9	I	N	I	Total I N	Total I	Average
Results					15	30	I - 10 N - 5

Table Five

The New York Times
<i>RQ5-A: Were there racial, ethnic, or gender diversity among sources represented in direct quotes?</i>
<i>Gender:</i>

Item ID	Date	Male	Female	NA
NYT 1	February 13			NA
NYT 2	February 15		2	
NYT 3	February 17		1	
NYT 4	February 25			NA
NYT 5	February 28		1	
NYT 6	March 1			NA
NYT 7	April 5		19	
NYT 8	April 6		4	1
NYT 9	April 6		8	
NYT 10	April 9			NA
NYT 11	April 10		5	
NYT 12	April 13			NA
NYT 13	April 14			NA
NYT 14	April 17		5	
NYT 15	June 9			NA
Total		37 Males	1 Female	7 NA

Table Six

The New York Times
<i>RQ5-B: Were there racial, ethnic, or gender diversity among sources represented in direct quotes?</i>
<i>Ethnicity:</i>

Item ID	Date	White	African American	Am. Indian/Native American	Asian	Native Hawaiian/Pacific Highlander	NA
NYT 1	February 13						1,1,1
NYT 2	February 15	2,2,2					
NYT 3	February 17		1,1,1				
NYT 4	February 25						1,1,1
NYT 5	February 28		1,1,1				
NYT 6	March 1						1,1,1
NYT 7	April 5	8,8,8	11,11,11				
NYT 8	April 6	5,5,5					
NYT 9	April 6	6,6,6	2,2,2				
NYT 10	April 9						1,1,1
NYT 11	April 10	2,2,2	3,3,3				
NYT 12	April 13						1,1,1
NYT 13	April 14						1,1,1
NYT 14	April 17	1,1,1	4,4,4				
NYT 15	June 9						1,1,1
Total		24 Whites	22 African Americans				7 NA

Table Seven

The New York Times
<i>RQ5-C: Were there racial, ethnic, or gender diversity among sources represented in direct quotes?</i>
<i>Race:</i>

Item ID	Date	Caucasian	African American	Hispanic	NA
NYT 1	February 13				1,1,1
NYT 2	February 15	2,2,2			
NYT 3	February 17		1,1,1		
NYT 4	February 25				1,1,1
NYT 5	February 28		1,1,1		
NYT 6	March 1				1,1,1
NYT 7	April 5	8,8,8	11,11,11		
NYT 8	April 6	5,5,5			
NYT 9	April 6	6,6,6	2,2,2		
NYT 10	April 9				1,1,1
NYT 11	April 10	2,2,2	3,3,3		
NYT 12	April 13				1,1,1
NYT 13	April 14				1,1,1
NYT 14	April 17	1,1,1	4,4,4		
NYT 15	June 9				1,1,1
Total		24 Caucasian	22 African Americans		7 NA

Table Eight

The Commercial Appeal
<i>RQ1: How many paragraphs long were the articles?</i>
Results were found by adding all the numbers (not multiples), coming up with a sum and dividing by 15 to obtain an average.

Item ID	Date	Coder 1	Coder 2	Coder 3
CA 1	February 24	1	1	1
CA 2	March 3	76	76	76
CA 3	March 8	28	28	28
CA 4	March 15	23	23	23
CA 5	March 18	1	1	1
CA 6	March 25	17	17	17
CA 7	March 27	1	1	1
CA 8	March 30	1	1	1
CA 9	March 31	6	6	6
CA 10	April 5	20	20	20
CA 11	April 5	42	42	42
CA 12	April 6	22	22	22
CA 13	April 8	37	37	37
CA 14	April 11	51	51	51
CA 15	April 14	43	43	43
Results			24.6 paragraphs long on average	

Table Nine

The Commercial Appeal
<i>RQ2: On what pages were the articles selected for review placed in the physical newspapers?</i>
Results were found by adding all numbers (not multiples), coming up with a sum of and dividing by 15 to obtain average.

Item ID	Date	Coder 1	Coder 2	Coder 3
CA 1	February 24	#6	#6	#6
CA 2	March 3	#5	#5	#5
CA 3	March 8	#20	#20	#20
CA 4	March 15	#16	#16	#16
CA 5	March 18	#10	#10	#10
CA 6	March 25	#33	#33	#33
CA 7	March 27	#12	#12	#12
CA 8	March 30	#24	#24	#24
CA 9	March 31	#9	#9	#9
CA 10	April 5	#13	#13	#13
CA 11	April 5	#1 & #3	#1 & #3	#1 & #3
CA 12	April 6	#17	#17	#17
CA 13	April 8	#1	#1	#1
CA 14	April 11	#19	#19	#19
CA 15	April 14	#14	#14	#14
Results		Average Page Number Stories Found On - #14		

Table Ten

The Commercial Appeal
<i>RQ3: Did the articles selected contain headlines that appeared objective or subjective?</i>
- 1 being subjective
- 5 being objective
Results were found by adding all numbers, coming up with a sum of individual coding. Then dividing that number by 15, then adding each of these and, finally, dividing by 3 to obtain an average.

Item ID	Date	Coder 1	Coder 2	Coder 3	Final Averaged Result
CA 1	February 24	5	5	5	
CA 2	March 3	5	3	4	
CA 3	March 8	3	4	3	
CA 4	March 15	4	5	5	
CA 5	March 18	5	4	3	
CA 6	March 25	2	3	2	
CA 7	March 27	5	5	5	
CA 8	March 30	3	2	3	
CA 9	March 31	3	4	4	
CA 10	April 5	4	3	4	
CA 11	April 5	5	4	4	
CA 12	April 6	3	3	2	
CA 13	April 8	3	2	2	
CA 14	April 11	5	5	3	
CA 15	April 14	2	3	2	
Results		3.8	3.7	3.4	3.6

Table Eleven

The Commercial Appeal
<i>RQ4: Were articles selected informative or did publications sound more like a narrative?</i>
(i.e. informative stories followed the traditional format of the inverted pyramid or were they more in the narrative style of magazines?)
- I for informative
- N for narrative
Results were found by adding individual I and N for each coder, then adding the sum of each category together and dividing by 3.

Item ID	Date	Coder 1	Coder 2	Coder 3			
CA 1	February 24	N	I	I			
CA 2	March 3	N	N	N			
CA 3	March 8	N	N	N			
CA 4	March 15	N	I	N			
CA 5	March 18	N	N	N			
CA 6	March 25	I	I	N			
CA 7	March 27	I	N	I			
CA 8	March 30	N	N	N			
CA 9	March 31	N	N	N			
CA 10	April 5	I	N	N			
CA 11	April 5	N	N	I			
CA 12	April 6	N	N	I			
CA 13	April 8	N	N	N			
CA 14	April 11	I	I	N			
CA 15	April 14	N	N	N	Total N	Total I	Average
Results					31	12	I - 4 N - 11

Table Twelve

The Commercial Appeal
<i>RQ5-A: Were there racial, ethnic, or gender diversity among sources represented in direct quotes?</i>
<i>Gender:</i>

Item ID	Date	Male	Female	NA
CA 1	February 24			NA
CA 2	March 3	1		
CA 3	March 8	1	5	
CA 4	March 15	1		
CA 5	March 18	1		
CA 6	March 25	2		
CA 7	March 27			NA
CA 8	March 30	7		
CA 9	March 31			NA
CA 10	April 5	1		2 NA
CA 11	April 5	4		4 NA
CA 12	April 6	6		
CA 13	April 8	3	1	
CA 14	April 11	4	1	NA
CA 15	April 14	12	1	2 NA
Total		43 Males	8 Females	10 NA

Table Thirteen

The Commercial Appeal
<i>RQ5-B: Were there racial, ethnic, or gender diversity among sources represented in direct quotes?</i>
<i>Ethnicity:</i>

Item ID	Date	White	African American	Am. Indian/ Native American	Asian	Native Hawaiian/Pacific Highlander	NA
CA 1	February 24						1,1,1
CA 2	March 3	1,1,1					
CA 3	March 8	6,6,6					
CA 4	March 15		1,1,1				
CA 5	March 18		1,1,1				
CA 6	March 25	2,2,2					
CA 7	March 27						1,1,1
CA 8	March 30	7,7,7					
CA 9	March 31						1,1,1
CA 10	April 5		1,1,1				1,1,1
CA 11	April 5	4,4,4					4,4,4
CA 12	April 6	5,5,5	1,1,1				
CA 13	April 8	4,4,4					
CA 14	April 11	5,5,5					
CA 15	April 14	13,13,13					2,2,2
Total		47	4				10 NA

Table Fourteen

The Commercial Appeal
<i>RQ5-C: Were there racial, ethnic, or gender diversity among sources represented in direct quotes?</i>
<i>Race:</i>

Item ID	Date	Caucasian	African American	Hispanic	NA
CA 1	February 24				1,1,1
CA 2	March 3	1,1,1			
CA 3	March 8	6,6,6			
CA 4	March 15		1,1,1		
CA 5	March 18		1,1,1		
CA 6	March 25	2,2,2			
CA 7	March 27				1,1,1
CA 8	March 30	7,7,7			
CA 9	March 31				1,1,1
CA 10	April 5		1,1,1		1,1,1
CA 11	April 5	4,4,4			4,4,4
CA 12	April 6	5,5,5	1,1,1		
CA 13	April 8	4,4,4			
CA 14	April 11	5,5,5			
CA 15	April 14	13,13,13			2,2,2
Total		47 Whites	4 African Americans		10 NA

REFERENCES

1. Matthew Gailani, “‘I Am A Man’ Dr. King and The Memphis Sanitation Workers’ Strike,” *Tennessee State Museum*, September 1, 2020, Website accessed March 6, 2023. https://tnmuseum.org/junior-curators/posts/i-am-a-man-dr-king-and-the-memphis-sanitation-workers-strike?locale=en_us
2. “Timeline of Events Surrounding the 1968 Memphis Sanitation Strike,” American Social History Project Website, accessed March 6, 2023, <https://shcp.ashp.cuny.edu/items/show/1287>
3. *Stanford Martin Luther King Jr. Research and Education Institution*, available from <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/memphis-sanitation-workers-strike>; Internet; accessed 9 December 2021.
4. “Martin Luther King Jr. Biography,” The Biography.com Website, accessed May 20, 2022, <https://www.biography.com/activist/martin-luther-king-jr>
5. The Biography.com Website, “Martin Luther King Jr. Biography.”
6. “Martin Luther King, Jr., and Memphis Sanitation Workers.” *National Archives and Records Administration*. National Archives and Records Administration, n.d. Accessed April 20, 2023. <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/memphis-v-mlk#:~:text=King's%20participation%20in%20forming%20a,an%20adviser%20to%20the%20strikers.>
7. DeNeed L. Brown, “‘I Am A Man’: The ugly Memphis sanitation’s workers’s strike that led to MLK’s assassination,” *The Washington Post*, February 12, 2018 Brown, “‘I Am Man.’”
8. Scripps, “History,” accessed March 6, 2023, <https://scripps.com/company/history/>
9. Scripps, pg. 1.
10. Stephen Sawchuk, “What is Critical Race Theory, and Why is it Under Attack?,” *Education Weekly*; available from <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/what-is-critical-race-theory-and-why-is-it-under-attack/2021/05>; Internet; accessed 9 December 2021.
11. Rebus Community, “*Media, Society, Culture and You*,” available from <https://press.rebus.community/mscy/chapter/chapter-1/>; Internet; accessed 9 December 2021.
12. Rebus Community, *Media, Society, Culture and You*
13. Steve Hallock, *A History of the American Civil Rights Movement Through Newspaper Coverage: The Race Agenda, Volume 1* (New York: Peter Lang, 2018), p. 23.
14. Steve Hallock, 23.
15. National Park Services, “Civil War Timeline,” *Gettysburg National Military Park Pennsylvania*; available from <https://www.nps.gov/gett/learn/historyculture/civil-war-timeline.htm>; Internet; accessed 23 November 2021
16. “The 1619 Project,” *The New York Times* (The New York Times Magazine, August 14, 2019), last modified August 14, 2019, accessed March 13, 2023, available from <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/14/magazine/1619-america-slavery.html>.
17. Crystal Ponti, “America’s History of Slavery Began Long Before Jamestown,” *History.com*; available from <https://www.history.com/news/american-slavery-before-jamestown-1619>; Internet; accessed 23 November 2021.
18. Ponti, 1.
19. Khan Academy, “Lesson Summary: Slavery in the British Colonies,” *Chesapeake and Southern Colonies*; available from <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/us-history/colonial-america/early-chesapeake-and-southern-colonies>; Internet; accessed 23 November 2021.
20. Khan Academy, 1.
21. “The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade · African Passages, Lowcountry Adaptations · Lowcountry Digital History Initiative.” *Ldhi.library.cofc.edu*. Lowcountry Digital History Initiative - College of Charleston, n.d. Accessed March 14, 2023, available from

- https://ldhi.library.cofc.edu/exhibits/show/africanpassageslowcountryadapt/introductionatlanticworld/trans_atlantic_slave_trade.
22. “Transatlantic Slave Trade.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., December 20, 2022. Last modified December 20, 2022. Accessed March 14, 2023, available from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/transatlantic-slave-trade>.
 23. “Transatlantic Slave Trade,” 1.
 24. “The Cotton Economy,” *National Parks Service* (U.S. Department of the Interior, n.d.), accessed April 20, 2023, <https://www.nps.gov/blrv/learn/historyculture/cotton-economy.htm#:~:text=There%20was%20a%20huge%20increase,were%20growing%20and%20picking%20cotton>.
 25. A Spotlight on a Primary Source by John Murray Lord Dunmore, “The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History,” *Lord Dunmore's Proclamation, 1775 | Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History*, accessed May 2, 2023, <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-resources/spotlight-primary-source/lord-dunmores-proclamation-1775>.
 26. “The Economics of Cotton,” *US History I (OS Collection) - Cotton Is King: The Antebellum South 1800-1860* (Lumen Learning, n.d.), accessed March 14, 2023, available from <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/ushistory1os2xmaster/chapter/the-economics-of-cotton/>, 1.
 27. “The Economics of Cotton,” 1.
 28. “The Economics of Cotton,” 1.
 29. James Madison Montpelier, “Slavery, the Constitution and the Lasting Legacy,” available from https://www.montpelier.org/learn/slavery-constitution-lasting-legacy?gclid=CjwKCAiAv_KMBhAzEiwAs-rX1Hjjw6TEAOmp7wWEUASRGFJyouOfEPpKg0P_gUcu_FOupRI5aTP32hoC-IwQAvD_BwE; Internet; accessed 23 November 2021.
 30. James Madison Montpelier, *Slavery, the Constitution and the Lasting Legacy*
 31. Matthew Jones, “% Compromise: The Definition Clause that shaped Political Representation,” *History Cooperative* (January 2020): 1.
 32. Jones, 2.
 33. Jones, 2.
 34. “Emancipation Proclamation,” National Archives, last modified January 28, 2022, <https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured-documents/emancipation-proclamation>
 35. “The Reconstruction Amendments,” National Constitution Center, accessed May 19, 2022, <https://constitutioncenter.org/learn/educational-resources/historical-documents/the-reconstruction-amendments>
 36. Nadra Kareem Nittle, “How the Black Codes Limited African American Progress After the Civil War,” *History.com* (28 January 2021) 1.
 37. Nittle, 2.
 38. University of Southern California “A Brief History of Jim Crow Laws” *Gould School of Law*; available from <https://onlinellm.usc.edu/a-brief-history-of-jim-crow-laws/>; Internet; accessed 23 November 2021
 39. Laura Edwards, “Southern History as U.S. History,” *Journal of Southern History* 75 (August 2009): 3.
 40. Gould School of Law, accessed; <https://onlinellm.usc.edu/a-brief-history-of-jim-crow-laws/>
 41. History.com, “Civil Rights Movement,” *History.com*; available from <https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/civil-rights-movement>; Internet; accessed 23 November 2021.
 42. History.com, Civil Rights Movement.
 43. History.com, Civil Rights Movement.
 44. History.com, Civil Rights Movement.
 45. “Montgomery Bus Boycott.” *The Martin Luther King, Jr., Research and Education Institute*. Stanford University, May 30, 2019. Last modified May 30, 2019. Accessed March 14, 2023. <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/montgomery-bus-boycott#:~:text=Sparked%20by%20the%20arrest%20of,on%20public%20buses%20is%20unconstitutional>.
 46. Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1.
 47. Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1.

48. "The Nobel Peace Prize 1964 - Martin Luther King Jr. Biographical," *NobelPrize.org* (Nobel Peace Prize , n.d.), accessed March 14, 2023, available from <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1964/king/biographical/#:~:text=In%201957%20he%20was%20elected.now%20burgeoning%20civil%20rights%20movement,1>.
49. The Nobel Peace Prize 1964 - Martin Luther King Jr. Biographical, 1.
50. The Nobel Peace Prize 1964 - Martin Luther King Jr. Biographical, 1.
51. David Treadwell, "Journalists Discuss Coverage of Movement: Media Role in Civil Rights Era Reviewed." *Los Angeles Times*, 5 April 1987, 1.
52. Treadwell, 1.
53. Treadwell, 1.
54. G. Ray Funkhouser, "Trends in Media Coverage of the issues of the '60s," *Journalism Quarterly* 50 (September 1973): 2.
55. Joan Turner Beifuss, "Chapter 6 River is Chilly and River is Wide," in *At the River I Stand: Memphis, the 1968 Strike, and Martin Luther King* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Pub., 1989), p. 120.
56. Joan Turner Beifuss, "Chapter 6 River is Chilly and River is Wide," 120.
57. Joan Turner Beifuss, "Chapter 6 River is Chilly and River is Wide," 120.
58. Joan Turner Beifuss, "Chapter 6 River is Chilly and River is Wide," 120.
59. Joan Turner Beifuss, "Chapter 6 River is Chilly and River is Wide," 120.
60. Joan Turner Beifuss, "Chapter 6 River is Chilly and River is Wide," 202-203.
61. Joan Turner Beifuss, "Chapter 6 River is Chilly and River is Wide," 203.
62. Lynn Burnett, "The 1968 Memphis Strike, Part One: The Garbage Workers - Cross Cultural Solidarity," *Cross Cultural Solidarity - History; in the Service of Solidarity*, last modified August 5, 2022, accessed April 12, 2023, <https://crossculturalsolidarity.com/the-memphis-strike-part-one-the-garbage-workers/>.
63. Lynn Burnett, 1.
64. Lynn Burnett, 1.
65. Lynn Burnett, 1.
66. Lynn Burnett, 1.
67. Lynn Burnett, 1.
68. Lynn Burnett, 1.
69. Lynn Burnett, 1.
70. Lynn Burnett, 1.
71. Lynn Burnett, 1.
72. Lynn Burnett, 1.
73. Lynn Burnett, 1.
74. Wendi C. Thomas, "52 years ago Feb. 1, two Memphis sanitation workers were crushed in a city garbage truck," *MLK50 Online*; available from <https://mlk50.com/2018/02/01/memphis-had-another-shameful-tragedy-in-1968-it-could-have-been-avoided/>; Internet; accessed 23 November 2021.
75. Thomas, 3.
76. Stanford, 1.
77. Micheal K. Honey, *Going Down Jericho Road* (2007), 161.
78. Richard Lentz, *Sixty-Five Days in Memphis: A Study of Culture, Symbols and the Press* 98 (August 1986), 7.
79. Lentz, 7.
80. Lentz, 7.
81. Joan Turner Beifuss, "Chapter 1 Fertile Ground," 20.
82. Stanford, 1.
83. DeNeen L. Brown "'I Am A Man': The ugly Memphis sanitation workers's strike that led to MLK's assassination." *The Washington Post*, 12 February 2018, 2.
84. Stanford, 1.
85. "Mayor Loeb letter to strikers," *I Am Man* available from <https://projects.lib.wayne.edu/iamaman/items/show/155>; Internet; accessed 23 November 2021.
86. Brown, 4.

87. Brown, 4.
88. Brown, 4.
89. Ted Conover. "1968: The Year That Shattered America," *Smithsonian Magazine*, January 2018, 13.
90. Conover, 13.
91. Brown, 5.
92. Stanford, 1.
93. Stanford, 1.
94. "Findings on MLK Assassination," *National Archives*, accessed May 19, 2022, <https://www.archives.gov/research/jfk/select-committee-report/part-2a.html#committee>
95. National Archives, "Findings on MLK Assassination."
96. Brown, 5.
97. Brown, 5.
98. Stanford, 2.
99. Brown, 5.
100. Lorraine Boissoneault, "Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America," *Smithsonian Magazine*, April 4, 2018 <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/martin-luther-king-jrs-assassination-sparked-uprisings-cities-across-america-180968665/>
101. Murray Schumach, "Dr. King Admired by Negroes, Whites," *Star Tribune*, April 5, 1968, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/184904319/?terms=Dr.%20King&match=1>
102. "Ex-First Lady Pleads for End of Hatred," *Spokane Chronicle*, April 5, 1968, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/564948354/?terms=assassination&match=1>
103. The Durham Civil Rights Heritage Project, "Aftermath of M.L.K., Jr.'s Assassination, 1968," *Durham County Library* (September 2020): https://durhamcountylibrary.org/exhibits/dcrhp/events/aftermath_of_m.l.k_jr.%27s_assassination_1968/
104. The Durham Civil Rights Heritage Project, "Aftermath of M.L.K., Jr.'s Assassination, 1968."
105. The Durham Civil Rights Heritage Project, "Aftermath of M.L.K., Jr.'s Assassination, 1968."
106. The Durham Civil Rights Heritage Project, "Aftermath of M.L.K., Jr.'s Assassination, 1968."
107. The Durham Civil Rights Heritage Project, "Aftermath of M.L.K., Jr.'s Assassination, 1968."
108. "Tear Gas is Used on Mob," *The News and Observer*, April 6, 1968, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/652686187>
109. The News and Observer, "Tear Gas is Used on Mob."
110. Peter Levy, *The Great Uprising: Race Riots in Urban America during the 1960s* (Cambridge, 2018), 75.
111. Boissoneault, "Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America."
112. Boissoneault, "Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America."
113. Boissoneault, "Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America."
114. "The Four Days in 1968 that Reshaped D.C.," *Washington Post*, March 27, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2018/local/dc-riots-1968/>
115. Washington Post, "The Four Days in 1968 that Reshaped D.C."
116. Washington Post, "The Four Days in 1968 that Reshaped D.C."
117. Boissoneault, "Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America."
118. Boissoneault, "Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America."
119. Richard Daley, "Urges Show of Pride by Chicagoans," *Chicago Tribune*, April 6, 1968, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/376683480/?terms=violence&match=1>.
120. Boissoneault, "Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America."
121. Boissoneault, "Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America."
122. Boissoneault, "Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America."
123. Boissoneault, "Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America."
124. Boissoneault, "Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination Sparked Uprisings in Cities Across America."
125. "Riot Starts on Gay St.," *Baltimore Sun*, April 7, 1968, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/377272746>
126. Kelly Virella, "Glee, Satisfaction and Weeping: How America Reacted When Martin Luther King Died," *The New York Times*, April 2, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/02/reader-center/martin-luther-king-assassination-memories.html>
127. Virella, "Glee, Satisfaction and Weeping: How America Reacted When Martin Luther King Died."

128. Virella, “*Glee, Satisfaction and Weeping: How America Reacted When Martin Luther King Died.*”
129. “James Earl Ray, suspect in Martin Luther King Jr. assassination, is arrested,” History.com Editors, last modified January, 18, 2022, <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/king-assassination-suspect-arrested>.
130. “Massed Forces Hunt for Assassin,” *The News and Observer*, April 6, 1968, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/652686187>
131. History.com Editors, “James Earl Ray, suspect in Martin Luther King Jr. assassination, is arrested.”
132. History.com Editors, “James Earl Ray, suspect in Martin Luther King Jr. assassination, is arrested.”
133. Robert Samsot, “Visage Gives Conspiracy Theory Credence,” *Commercial Appeal*, March 11, 1969, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/770847671/?terms=James%20Earl%20Ray&match=1>
134. Samsot, “Visage Gives Conspiracy Theory Credence.”
135. Harry Stathos, “A Child of Poverty, Ray Turned to Crime Early,” *Daily News*, March 11, 1969, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/394699274/?terms=James%20Earl%20Ray&match=1>.
136. Stathos, “A Child of Poverty, Ray Turned to Crime Early.”
137. History.com Editors, “James Earl Ray, suspect in Martin Luther King Jr. assassination, is arrested.”
138. History.com Editors, “James Earl Ray, suspect in Martin Luther King Jr. assassination, is arrested.”
139. History.com Editors, “James Earl Ray, suspect in Martin Luther King Jr. assassination, is arrested.”
140. History.com Editors, “James Earl Ray, suspect in Martin Luther King Jr. assassination, is arrested.”
141. “Dr. King’s Killer Given 99 Years,” *Detroit Free Press*, March 11, 1969, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/99430524>
142. “Dr. King’s Killer Given 99 Years.”
143. Tom Jackman, “Who Killed Martin Luther King Jr.? His Family Believes James Earl Ray Was Framed,” *The Washington Post*, March 30, 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2018/03/30/who-killed-martin-luther-king-jr-his-family-believes-james-earl-ray-was-framed/>.
144. The Associated Press, “Lloyd Jowers, 73, Who Claimed a Role in the Killing of Dr. King.” *The New York Times*, May 23, 2000. <https://www.nytimes.com/2000/05/23/us/loyd-jowers-73-who-claimed-a-role-in-the-killing-of-dr-king.html>
145. The Associated Press, “Lloyd Jowers, 73, Who Claimed a Role in the Killing of Dr. King.”
146. Dana Canedy, “A Minister Says His Father, Now Dead, Killed Dr. King,” *The New York Times*, April 5, 2002, sec. U.S. <https://www.nytimes.com/2002/04/05/us/a-minister-says-his-father-now-dead-killed-dr-king.html>
147. Dana Canedy, “A Minister Says His Father, Now Dead, Killed Dr. King,”
148. Dana Canedy, “A Minister Says His Father, Now Dead, Killed Dr. King,”
149. Joseph, Peniel E, “Analysis How Martin Luther King Jr.’s Assassination Changed America 50 Years Ago and Still Affects Us Today,” *The Washington Post*, October 26, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2018/01/15/kings-assassination-shaped-americas-identity-50-years-ago-and-continues-to-shape-it-today/>
150. NPR, “The Memphis Sanitation Workers, 50 Years Later,” *NPR Online*; available from <https://www.npr.org/2018/04/04/599361667/the-memphis-sanitation-workers-50-years-later>; Internet; accessed 23 November 2021.
151. Jacey Fortin, “Critical Race Theory: A Brief History,” *The New York Times*; available from <https://www.nytimes.com/article/what-is-critical-race-theory.html>; Internet; accessed 9 December 2021.
152. Fortin, available from <https://www.nytimes.com/article/what-is-critical-race-theory.html>
153. Fortin, available from <https://www.nytimes.com/article/what-is-critical-race-theory.html>
154. Merriam Webster, “Subjective,” available from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/subjective>; Internet; accessed 3 December 2021.
155. Merriam Webster, “Subjective,” available from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/subjective>; Internet; accessed 3 December 2021.

VITA

Academia

B.S.	The University of Mississippi Integrated Marketing Communications General Business Minor Magazine Management & Publishing Emphasis	2016-2020
------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------

Professional Experience

Coordinator of Housing Administration	The University of Mississippi Student Housing	2023-Present
Graduate Assistant	The University of Mississippi Student Housing	2021-2023
Co-Marketing Director	Tip Top Design Co.	2014-2021