

The Speech that Calmed a City

A Prayer for the Nation at 17th & Broadway on the Night of April 4, 1968

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Research Paper

2,500 Words

Introduction: A Monument For Peace

“Few will have the greatness to bend history itself; but each of us can work to change a small portion of events, and in the total of all those acts will be written the history of this generation.”

- RFK

Near the center of Indianapolis, there is a sculpture dedicated to peace. Two walls curve along a path that divides them. From above, a man reaches out from either wall, his torso welded to the steel, as if to grasp the other's hand. It seems that if only these men could move forward, they might bridge the gap between them. Neither the color of their skin nor the color of their eyes can be determined, as they are made of bronze. The steel is corten, the inner core can never rust. There are only a few trees around the sculpture that could have been here fifty years ago, but they stand out against the rest. A look of yearning can be seen on the two men's faces - a yearning for justice, a yearning for peace, and most of all for good (Appendix A). Both of these men's yearning faces were pierced by lead almost fifty years ago. The two men trying so desperately to bridge the gap between them are Robert Francis Kennedy (RFK) and Martin Luther King, Jr. (MLK). Here, at 17th & Broadway in Indianapolis, Indiana, the Landmark for Peace sculpture commemorates RFK's stirring speech which stopped a potential riot in the hours after MLK was killed on April 4, 1968.¹ After too many compromises to African Americans' rights in Indianapolis, a grave possibility for conflict existed in 1968. When King was killed, Robert Kennedy shared in the grief of the people of Indianapolis, giving them hope and helping to put aside the threat of violence.

¹Thurston Clarke, *The Last Campaign: Robert F. Kennedy and 82 Days That Inspired America*, (Henry Holt, 2009) 98.

Context: American Melancholy

“The nation is sick. Trouble is in the land; confusion all around...But I know, somehow, that only when it is dark enough can you see the stars.”

- MLK, April 3, 1968

With national tensions running high over increasing dissatisfaction with the Vietnam War abroad and growing division in the Civil Rights Movement at home, the conditions for a riot were just right in the spring of 1968. In late January 1968, the Tet Offensive, a widespread series of surprise attacks by the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong, showed America how far military escalation had gone and how little it had accomplished.² Parts of the Viet Cong attack on Saigon were aired on national television, including an assault on the U.S. embassy, causing America’s support for the war to plummet.³ At home, the Black Power Movement was gaining steam with its fiery rhetoric and radical stance. The Black Panther Party was the embodiment of the Black Power Movement, refusing to completely condemn violent protest to achieve equality.⁴ King’s death shocked America, leading some to wonder if nonviolence and civil disobedience were still relevant. The leader of the Indianapolis chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, referring to MLK, declared “We can not let his faith and his spirit die.”⁵ This feeling reverberated across the nation; a writer for *The Wall Street Journal* wondered if America could “avoid splitting into two societies - one black - one white.”⁶ The political unrest at home and abroad meant MLK’s death occurred at the perfect time to trigger a riot.

²“Vietnam Archive Resources on the Tet Offensive,” The Vietnam Center and Archive, Vietnam War Information, 31 Aug. 2017, www.vietnam.ttu.edu/resources/tet/.

³MadMax2k2, “Tet Offensive 1968, US Embassy & Saigon Fighting,” YouTube, YouTube, 15 Nov. 2007, www.youtube.com/watch?v=q1vJqTN-qVI.

⁴“Black power,” *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2008 ed.

⁵Andrew J. Brown,, “I Walked with Martin’,” *Indianapolis Recorder*, 13 Apr. 1968, Hoosier State Chronicles: 3.

⁶Monroe W. Karmin, “Racial Crossroads,” *The Wall Street Journal* [New York City], 8 Apr. 1968: 1.

The crowd gathered at 17th & Broadway the night of April 4, 1968 needed a leader like RFK. The assassination of his brother gave Robert Kennedy credibility in talking about King's assassination that no one else had.⁷ Kennedy and King shared many of the same dreams for the country, demanding "not just social welfare, but social justice."⁸ When King was shot, RFK was in Indiana campaigning for the democratic nomination for president. He planned to focus on poverty and racial injustice. He was viewed as the most popular leader among African Americans after MLK.⁹ Kennedy talked to the African Americans gathered that night not merely as black people or a potential mob but as fellow human beings.

Compromises at the Crossroads

"All compromise is based on give and take, but there can be no give and take on fundamentals. Any compromise on fundamentals is a surrender. For it is all give and no take."

- Gandhi

In Indianapolis, African Americans' fundamental rights to fair housing, decent neighborhoods, and quality education had been severely compromised. Employees of the *Indianapolis News* exposed the city's discriminatory real estate practices, going undercover to investigate unfair housing practices still occurring in 1972. A white couple inquiring about a house in an all-white area inside of Indianapolis was immediately shown a house priced at \$17,000. When an African American couple asked, they were reluctantly shown the same house but for \$23,000. The African American couple then asked for a house in the suburbs, and were

⁷Larry Tye, *Bobby Kennedy: the Making of a Liberal Icon*, (Random House, 2017) 410.

⁸Clay Risen, *A Nation on Fire: America in the Wake of the King Assassination*, (Wiley, 2009) 48.

⁹James H. Madison, et al, *Hoosiers and the American Story*, (Indiana Historical Society Press, 2014) 293.

shown houses in mainly African American, federally-subsidized housing projects. When the white couple made the same query, they were shown a house in an upper-middle class neighborhood.¹⁰ Real estate brokers in Indianapolis were accused of blockbusting, or attempting to start panic-selling. They routinely sent letters to neighborhood residents, informing them of who and of what race their new neighbors were.¹¹ This experiment by the *Indianapolis News* exposed the barriers to African Americans' mobility in Indianapolis.

The urban core of Indianapolis was being abandoned by the prosperous white community, fueling an aggressive urban sprawl. From 1950 to 1960, the white population of Indianapolis grew by about 11%, while the white population of Lawrence Township, in the northeast of the county, grew by 300%.¹² By the 1960s, people were starting to leave the county to get further away from the inner city. Unigov, which combined most of Marion county into one city in 1970, allowed Indianapolis, in the words of Senator Lugar (then mayor of Indianapolis), to be “rediscovered as crossroads of America.”¹³ However, it also exposed the extent of white flight in Indianapolis.¹⁴ Once the city was consolidated with the county, people began moving over the county line much faster because most of the suburbs in Indianapolis were now part of the city. The population of Indianapolis in 1970 was 744,624 people. From 1970 to 1980, the white population of Marion county decreased by over 100,000 people, while the non-white

¹⁰Renee Ferguson “Reporters Investigate Race Bias,” *The Indianapolis News*, 7 Aug. 1972: 4.

¹¹Emma Lou Thornbrough, and Lana Ruegamer, *Indiana Blacks in the Twentieth Century*, (Indiana Univ. Press, 2000) 183.

¹²Thornbrough, Emma Lou, *The Indianapolis Story: School Segregation and Desegregation in a Northern City*. 1993, MS, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis 180-181.

¹³“No Limits,” WFYI, Indianapolis, IN, 8 May, 2018.

¹⁴Yaël Ksander, “Unigov,” 11 June 2007, nov. 24, 2017 <indianapublicmedia.org/momentofindianahistory/unigov/>.

population stayed basically the same, underscoring racism as the main factor in white migration out of the city (Appendix B).¹⁵

African Americans' right to education was compromised by a legacy of prejudice and hate. When the building of an all-black high school was planned in 1922, an African American delegation, the Better Indianapolis League, spoke out against its construction.¹⁶ Despite these concerns, Crispus Attucks was built with a unanimous vote from the school board, and the school maintained its complexion until the 1970s.¹⁷ Crispus Attucks was not the exception, but the rule when it came to Indianapolis' school system. All three new high schools that opened in the 1960s were at the edge of the city where predominantly white elementary schools would feed into them. Arlington High School had a 1% African American population in 1965. After rapid integration, it managed to achieve a 20% African American population in 1969. However, according to a child psychologist who studied Indiana schools, Arlington might have had "more deeply rooted and serious racial problems beneath the surface than any other high school in the state."¹⁸ Indianapolis Public School 44, predominantly African American, was overcrowded by at least 400 students. Instead of redistricting or busing students out, the school authority added portable buildings.¹⁹ *The Indianapolis Star* determined that "sixteen elementary and junior high schools [were] attended solely or predominantly by Negro pupils and staffed by Negro teachers."²⁰ Indianapolis' school system inherited the corrosive bigotry of the past, and stubbornly tried to stand against the relentless tides of change.

¹⁵Winkler, Richelle, et al., "Net Migration Estimates for US Counties, 1950-2010," 2013, nov. 29 2017, <<http://www.netmigration.wisc.edu/>>.

¹⁶Better Indianapolis League, *Protest Against Proposed Colored High School*, 28 November 1922.

¹⁷"Crispus Attucks High School," National Parks Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, mar. 27, www.nps.gov/nr/travel/indianapolis/crispusattucks.htm.

¹⁸Thornbrough *The Indianapolis School Story* 199, 220.

¹⁹"Coffin Used to Protest School Being Crowded," *Indianapolis Recorder*, 4 Nov. 1967: 2.

²⁰"U.S. Suit Seeks Court Action To End Segregation," *Indianapolis Star*, 1 June 1968: 7.

Nonviolent Conflict

“The hottest place in Hell is reserved for those who remain neutral in times of great moral conflict.”

- MLK

Long before MLK was shot, African Americans in Indianapolis had begun to more vehemently protest their inequality. Before King was assassinated, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) had organized a march to take place in Indianapolis that Friday to protest the recent severe beating of two young black men by the police.²¹ In March of that year, Indianapolis small business owners claimed Black Power leaders were intimidating them into helping to pay for a “youth center.” They asserted that Black Power activists were arriving in buses with 40 to 50 people to ask for money.²² The African American community in Indianapolis no longer wanted to compromise, they were ready for conflict.

Kennedy was told the news of King’s assassination on a flight to Indianapolis.²³ He canceled a prior speaking engagement to open his Indiana campaign headquarters and went straight to the previously scheduled rally at 17th & Broadway, which was in a predominantly African American neighborhood.²⁴ At the time, this neighborhood was considered so dangerous that the mayor of Indianapolis, Richard Lugar, thought even “before we had word of King’s assassination,” that it was “not logical to go to that particular neighborhood to give a very important speech” and advised Kennedy not to go.²⁵ Regardless, that night, standing on a flatbed

²¹“Leaders Ask Dismissal of Four Officers,” *Indianapolis Recorder*, 6 Apr. 1968: 1.

²²“Businesses Claim 'Black Power' Intimidation: Says Group Is Seeking Money From Owners,” *Indianapolis Recorder*, 23 Mar. 1968: 1.

²³“Branigin's Race Backed By Youths,” *The Indianapolis Star*, 5 Apr. 1968: 10.

²⁴Ray E. Boomhower, *Robert F. Kennedy and the 1968 Indiana Primary*, (Indiana University Press, 2008) 63.

²⁵Richard Lugar, Personal interview, 25 May, 2018.

truck, Kennedy spoke on a street corner to a mostly African American crowd about not meeting violence with violence, and of the need to bring unity to this country.²⁶ Bobby Kennedy's first response was courageous, and his speech showed his compassion for humanity and his intense desire to decrease violent conflict.

Billie Breaux, a witness to the speech and future Indiana congresswoman, said that "Bobby Kennedy's speech that evening will go down as one of the most memorable extemporaneous speeches ever given."²⁷ As she was listening to the speech, she "was impressed with how he talked to us so sincerely, not as poor black people, but as people who were suffering."²⁸ A member of the Black Radical Action Project, William Crawford, said that "the sincerity of Bobby Kennedy's words resonated."²⁹ Later that night, Bobby Kennedy was talking to a group of local African American community leaders, and one alleged that Kennedy was too close to "the white establishment." Kennedy's response was: "You talk of the establishment. I have to laugh. Big business is trying to defeat me because they think I am a friend of the Negro. You are down on me because you say I am part of the establishment."³⁰ That night Bobby Kennedy revealed his ability to see both sides of a conflict without compromising on fundamentals.

²⁶ R. W. Apple, "Kennedy Appeals for Nonviolence," *The New York Times*, 5 Apr. 1968: 33.

²⁷ Billie Breaux and Liam Eifert, "Breux Interview," 16 Mar. 2018.

²⁸ Amy Lynch, "Making Peace," *Midwest Living*, 1 Jan. 2018: 92.

²⁹ Will Higgins, "April 4, 1968: How RFK Saved Indianapolis," *The Indianapolis Star*, 2 Apr. 2015.

³⁰ Clarke 104.

A Nation Screams

“What has violence ever accomplished? What has it ever created? No martyr's cause has ever been stilled by an assassin's bullet.”

- RFK, Cleveland, Ohio on April 5, 1968

The unprecedented scale of destruction the week following King's death burned itself into the nation's basic structure and identity. Across the country, 39 people died and 2,500 were injured on the night of King's death.³¹ In many cities, the evidence of the riot's destruction was visible for decades.³² The mayor of Chicago ordered the police "to shoot to kill any arsonist or anyone with a Molotov cocktail in his hand."³³ Over the course of seven days, over 5,700 people were arrested in Baltimore alone.³⁴ One hundred and ten American cities rioted that night, showing retribution for what African Americans saw as the white community's moral complicity in the death of their spiritual leader.³⁵ Federal troops occupied three American cities to try to stop the looting, arson, and violence.³⁶ Arson and looting came within two blocks of the White House, and many small towns that had never before seen racial violence rioted.³⁷ That week, American cities waged war in a conflict not with the Viet Cong or Fidel Castro but with themselves.

In response to the conflicts dividing the country, Kennedy elaborated on his message of brotherhood. The day after King's death, he canceled all of his appearances except for one in Cleveland, Ohio at the Cleveland City Club.³⁸ In this speech, he declared that a “mob is only the

³¹Steven Levingston, *Kennedy and King: the President, the Pastor, and the Battle over Civil Rights*, (Hachette Books, 2017): 434.

³²Risen 149.

³³Coates, James, “Riots Follow Killing of Martin Luther King Jr,” *Chicago Tribune*, 19 Dec. 2007, www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/politics/chi-chicagodays-kingriots-story-story.html.

³⁴“Baltimore ‘68 Events Timeline,” Jan. 20, 2018 archives.ubalt.edu/bsr/timeline/timeline.html.

³⁵Michael Eric Dyson, *April 4, 1968: Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Death and How It Changed America*, (Basic Civitas Books, 2008): 48.

³⁶Risen ix.

³⁷Clarke 106.

³⁸Tom Reynders, “King's Death Puts Reins On Kennedy's Ohio Trip,” *Toledo Blade*, 6

voice of madness, not the voice of the people,” while putting “the violence of institutions” on the same level.³⁹ He said this regardless of the white, wealthy crowd in attendance. He was speaking from his heart, not from campaign strategy.⁴⁰ In his speech in Indianapolis he warned that “it is not the end of violence; it is not the end of lawlessness; and it's not the end of disorder.”⁴¹ Two months later, Robert Kennedy was assassinated. The violence he had so often condemned had finally come for him.

Conclusion

“It is very simple when you see something that is not right, something that is not fair, something that is not just, you have a moral obligation to say something, to do something, you cannot be quiet.”

- U.S. Rep. John Lewis, Indianapolis, April 4, 2018

Indianapolis and America as a whole have been moving, slowly but surely, on a path towards racial justice. One week after King’s death, discriminatory real estate practices were made illegal with the signing of the Fair Housing Act.⁴² In the early ‘70s, the courts came after Indianapolis Public Schools (IPS). IPS was found guilty of *de jure* segregation.⁴³ The director of African American Studies at IUPUI said of race relations in Indianapolis: “Relations have

Apr. 1968: 3.

³⁹Robert F. Kennedy, et al, *American Rhetoric*, 5 Apr. 1968, Cleveland, Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel, www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/rfklevelandcityclub.htm.

⁴⁰Tye 412.

⁴¹Robert Kennedy, *American Rhetoric*, 4 Apr. 1968, Indianapolis, 17 And Broadway, www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/rfkonmlkdeath.html.

⁴²Robert Mann, *When Freedom Would Triumph: the Civil Rights Struggle in Congress, 1954-1968*, Louisiana State Univ. Press, 2007: 260.

⁴³United States Court of Appeals, Seventh Circuit, “503 F2d 68 United States v. Board of School Commissioners of City of Indianapolis Indiana,” OpenJurist, <https://openjurist.org/503/f2d/68/united-states-v-board-of-school-commissioners-of-city-of-indianapolis-indiana>.

definitely improved since the 60s, but not as much as people think they have, but there has been progress; we no longer have legal segregation.”⁴⁴

On the 50th anniversary of King’s death, RFK’s daughter, Kerry Kennedy, offered a reason for why her father’s speech resonated with the Indianapolis crowd: “he didn’t dismiss their anger; he didn’t dismiss their instinct for revenge. He talked about the loss of his own brother and his own feelings of anger and rage.”⁴⁵ RFK took up the torch of nonviolence that night. On April 4, 1968, he asked everyone to “say a prayer for our country and our people.” He told them to remember that “the vast majority of white people and the vast majority of black people in this country want to live together, want to improve the quality of our life, and want justice for all human beings that abide in our land.”⁴⁶ He said this as the spiritual leader of the African American community had been killed by a white man. He said this as African Americans were being denied basic human rights. He said this while across the country Americans burned and looted their own cities. Bobby meant something to people who meant nothing to anyone else - an article in the *Indianapolis News* claimed that “wherever the poor and deprived live, one finds his picture.”⁴⁷ MLK’s death exposed the grim conflicts that defined the time RFK lived in. Robert Kennedy embraced King’s message of nonviolence - not as another empty compromise or surrender - but as “a powerful and just weapon.”⁴⁸ Fifty years on, that spirit of nonviolence along with the best of humanity is cast in bronze and set in steel on the corner of 17th and Broadway.

⁴⁴Brandon A. Perry, “Race Relations in Indianapolis,” *Indianapolis Recorder*, www.indianapolisrecorder.com/news/features/article_442dd003-a022-5616-a1ce-f6adce5cf4d5.html.

⁴⁵Kerry Kennedy, “50th Anniversary of MLK Assassination: Robert F. Kennedy’s Daughter Remembers Historic Indy Speech,” Fox59 Morning News, Fox News Channel, Indianapolis, IN, 4 Apr. 2018.

⁴⁶Robert Kennedy, *American Rhetoric*.

⁴⁷David Murray, “Poor Can’t Forget Robert Kennedy.” *Indianapolis News*, 6 June 1969: 2.

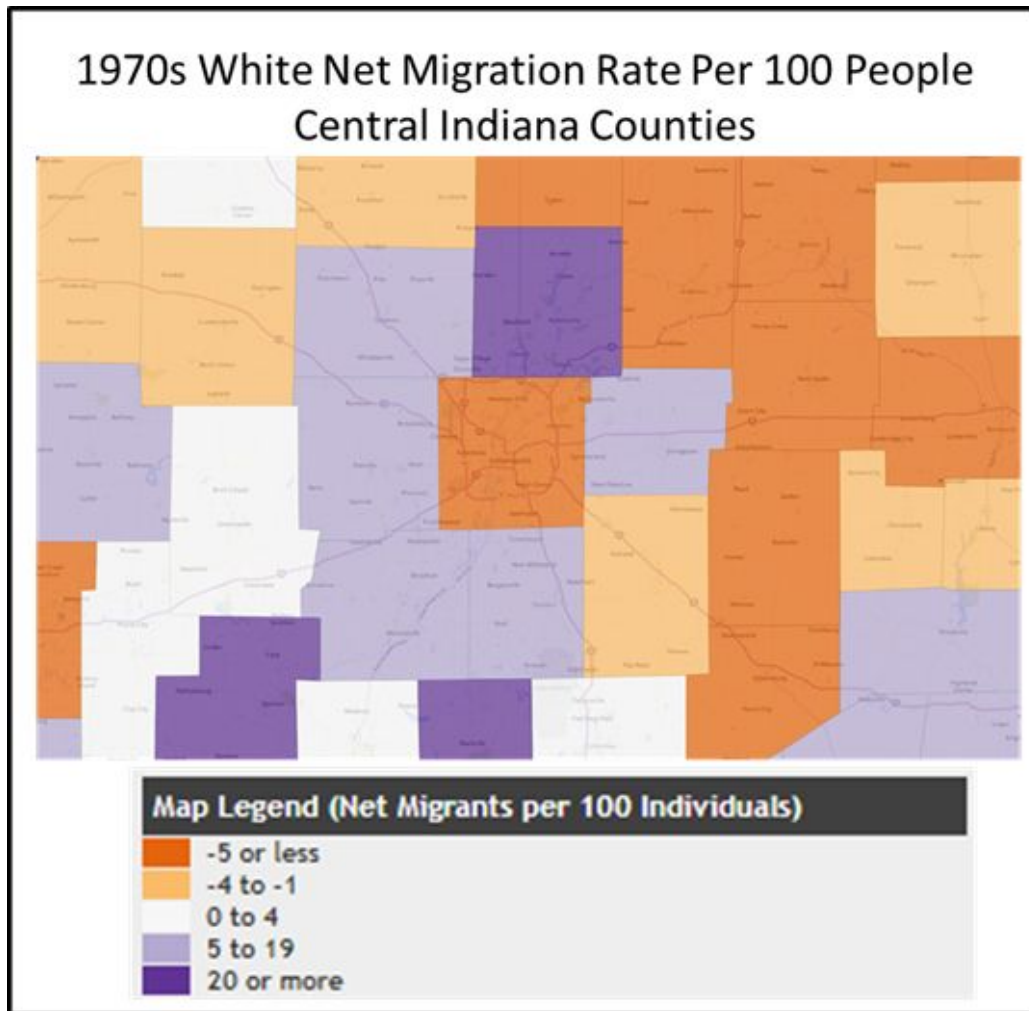
⁴⁸Martin Luther King, *Why We Can’t Wait*. (Penguin, 2000) 12.

Appendix A



The Landmark for Peace in Indianapolis, where Robert Kennedy gave his heartfelt speech

Appendix B



Winkler, Richelle, Kenneth M. Johnson, Cheng Cheng, Jim Beaudoin, Paul R. Voss, and Katherine J. Curtis. Age-Specific Net Migration Estimates for US Counties, 1950-2010. Applied Population Laboratory, University of Wisconsin- Madison, 2013. Web. Nov. 29 2017 < <http://www.netmigration.wisc.edu/> >

The dark orange county in the middle is Marion County, and the surrounding counties are suburbs of Indianapolis

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Apple, R. W. "Kennedy Appeals for Nonviolence." *The New York Times*, 5 Apr. 1968, pp. 33.

The day after the riots, *The New York Times* ran an article on RFK's speech in Indianapolis. The article's subtitle was "Bids Negroes in Indianapolis Follow Dr. King Example," which shows that parallels were being drawn between King and Kennedy at the time. The article discusses RFK's speech at 17th & Broadway the day before. It also says that he canceled all of his campaign activities for the following day. Interestingly, this was on the 33rd page, a place that very few people would turn to. This, like the other newspaper articles, except for most from *The Indianapolis Recorder* and the only one from the *Toledo Blade*, was found on microfilm at the Central Indianapolis Public Library. It was used in the conflict section about the speech.

Better Indianapolis League. *Protest Against Proposed Colored High School*. 28 November 1922.

Indianapolis's African American population protested the building of a new, all-black high school, the first in the city. Before this, Indianapolis schools were integrated, although, probably more because of the relatively small size of Indianapolis rather than hope for racial justice. The KKK pushed for the building of the high school, and since Indiana then had the largest Klan in the country, Crispus Attucks was built.

"Branigin's Race Backed By Youths." *The Indianapolis Star*, 5 Apr. 1968, pp. 1-10.

The Indianapolis Star reported on Kennedy's speech in the city the following day. As is apparent from the title of the article, the placement of the reporting could not have been more misleading. The piece was buried within an article on the primary race. The actual piece was actually quite comprehensive, reporting on things like Kennedy's wife, his plans to open his campaign headquarters downtown, and his earlier speeches at Notre Dame and Ball State. It was used in the conflict section, about the speech.

Breaux, Billie, and Liam Eifert. "Breaux Interview." 16 Mar. 2018.

I conducted an interview with Billie Breaux, a witness to the speech and former member of the Indiana congress, by mail. I asked her three questions: the first was about Lugar's response to King's assassination; the second concerned the condition of the African American community in the weeks after April 4, 1968; the third was about the speech

itself. She wrote back detailed and moving responses to all three questions. Part of her answer to the third question was used in the “Nonviolent Conflict” section.

Brown, Andrew J. “I Walked with Martin'.” *Indianapolis Recorder*, 13 Apr. 1968, pp. 1–3. Hoosier State Chronicles, newspapers.library.in.gov/cgi-bin/indiana?a=d&d=INR19680413-01&e=-----en-2 0--1--txt-txIN-----.

Indianapolis’ (and by extension most of Indiana’s) African American newspaper, the *Indianapolis Recorder*, ran this article. It was written by Rev. Andrew J. Brown, the local president of the SCLC, who actually knew MLK personally. It serves as an obituary of sorts. He briefly expressed his feelings about the recent riots. The timing of this article may seem a little off, but it seems like the *Indianapolis Recorder* printed the April 5th issue early or could not change the issue in time to account for MLK’s death. It was used in the context section to set the stage for the mood of the nation.

“Businesses Claim 'Black Power' Intimidation: Says Group Is Seeking Money From Owners.” *Indianapolis Recorder*, 23 Mar. 1968, pp. 1–1. Hoosier State Chronicles, newspapers.library.in.gov/cgi-bin/indiana?a=d&d=INR19680323-01&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN-----.

According to the *Indianapolis Recorder*, businesses were claiming that they were being intimidated into giving money to fund a “youth center.” These claims were not mentioned in any other papers or editions of the *Indianapolis Recorder*. The people making the claims were mainly small African American business owners. One landlord who refused to rent the Black Power group a building later found his building set aflame. The group said that they would get the building “one way or another.” It was used in the conflict section, to show the already existing conflicts.

“Coffin Used to Protest School Being Crowded.” *Indianapolis Recorder*, 4 Nov. 1967, pp. 1–2. Hoosier State Chronicles, newspapers.library.in.gov/cgi-bin/indiana?a=d&d=INR19671104-01&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN-----.

The *Indianapolis Recorder* published this account of a meeting between the Board of School Commissioners and the Concerned Parents Association about the overcrowding of school 44. A coffin was wheeled in to symbolize the portable buildings added to the school. The school was at least four hundred students over its capacity. Redistricting was not undertaken for alleged fear of race mixing.

Ferguson, Renee. "Reporters Investigate Race Bias." *The Indianapolis News*, 7 Aug. 1972, pp. 4-4.

The Indianapolis News did an investigation of bias against minorities in the real estate industry and made some incredible findings. They had a Mexican-American couple, an African American couple, and a mixed African American and white couple all ask for a house/apartment. Each of these were followed by a white couple that asked for the same thing as the minority couple. The Mexican-American couple suffered the most mistreatment, they were told the waiting list was longer, and that the price was higher. The mixed race couple was treated fine, but the African American couple was treated quite poorly. The article was found by using *Indiana Blacks in the Twentieth Century*, which mentioned it in a part on segregation. The investigation was used for the section on compromise, to show how African Americans did not have the same housing opportunities as whites.

Franklin, Ben A. "White House Guarded by G.I.'s-14 Dead in U.S. Outbreaks." *The New York Times*, 6 Apr. 1968, pp. 1-22.

The New York Times ran an article about the riots in Washington D.C. and elsewhere. As suggested by the title, the riots got so close to the White House that there were soldiers guarding it and stationed in the streets to help quell the riot. Reporting on April 5 (just a day after King was killed), *The New York Times* found fourteen people had died in the riots across the country. A transcript of Lyndon B. Johnson's executive order and proclamation where he authorizes the Secretary of Defense to use the military to calm the angry streets of Washington is also in this article. This was used in the section about the riots.

"Indiana Avenue Quiet After Night of Clashes." *The Indianapolis News*, 6 June 1969, pp. 1-1.

This is the *Indianapolis News*' coverage of the 1969 riot in Indianapolis. It has a good explanation on how the riot started and a list of the buildings damaged. This was used to help determine the mood of the African American population in Indianapolis.

Karmin, Monroe W. "Racial Crossroads." *The Wall Street Journal* [New York City], 8 Apr. 1968, pp. 1-25.

The Wall Street Journal ran this opinion piece in the issue printed directly after King's

death. It asked if America could “avoid spitting into two societies.” This idea was threaded through the article, which was being written towards the end of the riots that rocked the nation. This was used in the context section.

Kennedy, Robert. American Rhetoric. 4 Apr. 1968, Indianapolis, 17 And Broadway, www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/rfkonmlkdeath.html.

The speech that Kennedy gave at 17th and Broadway is quoted in the paper several times, and either this source or one of the other sources with the speech was used to cite it. The website that this came from ranked the top one hundred speeches in American history, and gave this one the seventeenth spot. The transcript is derived directly from the audio, so this one was undoubtedly the most trusted source for his speech.

Kennedy, Robert F., et al. American Rhetoric. 5 Apr. 1968, Cleveland, Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel, www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/rfkclelandcityclub.htm.

The audio and text of the “Mindless Menace of Violence” speech was found here. This is often considered one of his best speeches, especially by his speechwriters, although it received little media coverage. The website that this was retrieved from is the same one that was mainly used for his speech in Indianapolis. In the speech he condemns both the riots and the institutions that allow it, and calls for unity between all people, no matter the color of their skin. This was used in the section about the speech in Cleveland.

Kennedy, Robert F. *Make Gentle the Life of This World: the Vision of Robert F. Kennedy*. Edited by Maxwell Taylor. Kennedy, Broadway Books, 1999.

Maxwell Taylor Kennedy wrote a book that contains quotes by RFK from his journal/daybook, speeches, and quotes that he recorded in his daybook or underlined in the book. The quotation used at the very beginning of the paper was found here, and he presumably wrote it in his notebook (it is attributed to him in the book).

King, Martin Luther. “31 March 1968: ‘Remaining Awake Through A Great Revolution.’” Martin Luther King Jr. and The Global Struggle For Freedom. 31 Mar. 1968, Washington D.C., The National Cathedral, kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/documentsentry/doc_remaining_aware_through_a_great_revolution/.

MLK gave this speech only five days before he was assassinated. Thousands of people listened to this speech, three thousand in the (uncompleted) cathedral and another thousand outside and in a nearby school, where speakers were set up. King tells everyone

gathered not to fall asleep through a revolution, as Rip Van Winkle did. This was his last Sunday sermon before he was assassinated. This was useful in determining the mood of America as a whole, because MLK sums it up so nicely when he says a triple revolution is happening.

King, Martin Luther. "Martin Luther King - Sermon at the Ebenezer Baptist Church on April 30, 1967." YouTube. Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam, 30 Apr. 1967, Atlanta, Ebenezer Baptist Church, www.youtube.com/watch?v=ug-gvGqYhB4.

This is the audio of some excerpts of MLK's sermon in which he cites Dante for saying "the hottest places in Hell are reserved for those who in a period of moral crisis maintain their neutrality." In his written sermon, this quotation is near the beginning, but in the audio, this is the first thing that is said. This was used for the quote at the beginning of the conflict section.

King, Martin Luther. "Martin Luther King's Final Speech: 'I've Been to the Mountaintop' -- The Full Text." ABC News, ABC News Network, abcnews.go.com/Politics/martin-luther-kings-final-speech-ive-mountaintop-full/story?id=18872817.

MLK gave this, his final speech, the day before he was assassinated. In it he references his own death, saying that "I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you," and that "I'm not fearing any man." He had been receiving more specific death threats than usual as of late. The speech received a very large audience from African Americans in the city. He talked about the sanitation strike that was going on in Memphis. This was used to explore what King was doing before he died.

King, Martin Luther. "MLK Sermon: Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam." Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam. Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam, 30 Apr. 1967, Atlanta, The King Center, Ebenezer Baptist Church, www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/mlk-sermon-why-i-am-opposed-war-vietnam.

MLK wrote this speech for his sermon on the 30th of April 1967. The sermon attempted to explain why he was opposing the Vietnam war. His decision to publicly take a side on Vietnam (which happened long before this) eroded much of his support from the white establishment, including President Johnson. Unlike many of his sermons, he actually read from the manuscript, and scribbled many notes into the margins after the initial draft. In this speech he quoted Dante about the "Hottest place in Hell", which was used as the introductory quote for the nonviolent conflict section.

King, Martin Luther. *Why We Can't Wait*. Penguin, 2000. Google Books, books.google.com/books?id=IDUgwcqfupQC&printsec=frontcover&dq=isbn:0451527534&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi8zJnZr7LZAhVCzIMKHXRfBrcQ6AEIKTAA#v=onepage&q&f=false.

Martin Luther King Jr. published this book in 1964, it chronicles the civil rights struggle to that point. In it, Martin Luther King tries to explain to the white population why African American rights cannot wait. He tries to bring to light not only the brutal, legal segregation of the south, but also the cold, calculating, segregation of the north. This is a reprint by Signet Classics, that was scanned into the Google Books database. MLK's famous quote about nonviolence is from this book, which is used in the paper.

“Leaders Ask Dismissal of Four Officers.” *Indianapolis Recorder*, 6 Apr. 1968, pp. 1–15.

The *Indianapolis Recorder* reported on the protest march against police brutality scheduled for April 5, 1968. This edition of the paper was almost certainly printed early as there is no mention of King's death. No other mention of the march could be found, so it is likely that it was cancelled because of King's death. The march was organized by CORE because of the alleged beating of two African American youths by the police. The beating was severe enough that they both needed to be taken to the hospital. This was used to help depict the mood in Indianapolis on the night of the speech.

Lugar, Richard, and Liam Eifert. “Phone Interview with Senator Lugar.” 25 May 2018.

Initially, I sent Sen. Lugar a brief email (via The Lugar Center website) with a list of questions about his time as mayor of Indianapolis and RFK's speech. An employee of The Lugar Center eventually emailed back to set up a phone interview with Sen. Lugar. Contrary to some of the accounts I had read, Lugar said that, as mayor, he warned Kennedy weeks before April 4, 1968 not to hold his speech at 17th & Broadway because he felt the neighborhood was not safe. Most of the secondary sources I found say that Lugar warned Kennedy after King was killed not to give the speech. This helped to show Indianapolis was a city dealing with the volatile consequences of racial injustice prior to King's assassination and just as likely to riot as other U.S. cities.

MadMax2k2. “Tet Offensive 1968, US Embassy & Saigon Fighting.” YouTube, YouTube, 15 Nov. 2007, www.youtube.com/watch?v=q1vJqTN-qVI.

The CBS news coverage of the Tet Offensive helped to explain America's mood at the time of King's death. In Saigon, the American embassy was directly attacked. American soldiers died for a cause that many Americans were still struggling to understand. Even

though the generals called this a military victory, Americans saw it instead as a wake-up call to what had been happening overseas. This was used in the context section to show the national mood.

Murray, David. "Poor Can't Forget Robert Kennedy." *Indianapolis News*, 6 June 1969, pp. 2–2.

This article in the *Indianapolis News* discussed Robert Kennedy's legacy. It was written by someone who was in the room when RFK was shot. He says that the Chicanos (immigrant workers from Mexico) loved him especially, and that his picture hung in their homes. The article was written with a special interest in Los Angeles, the place where the writer was. It said RFK's picture was also hanging on the walls in homes in Watts. This was used in the conclusion to depict RFK's legacy and how much he meant to disenfranchised people.

Reynders, Tom. "King's Death Puts Reins On Kennedy's Ohio Trip." *Toledo Blade*, 6 Apr. 1968, pp. 3–3. Google News Archive, <https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=hC8xAAAAIBAJ&sjid=lgEEAAAAIBAJ&pg=7283%2C5605504>.

The *Toledo Blade* covered Kennedy's Cleveland speech and activities following April 4th. As mentioned, he cancelled all of his campaign speeches except for that single speech in Cleveland. Among the things planned were gathering delegates for the Democratic convention, a motorcade through Cleveland, and meeting with local democratic leaders. The state party chairman, Morton Neipp, who rode with Kennedy in the car from the airport to his speech in Cleveland, said that "he spent most of his time editing the speech his aids had prepared," as reported by the *Blade* (that was a quote from the *Blade*, reporting on what Mr. Neipp had said, not directly Mr. Neipp). This article was used for the part on RFK's speech in Cleveland.

Smulevitz, Howard. "Broad Integration Rejected Within Present Boundaries." *The Indianapolis Star*, 19 Aug. 1971, pp. 1–1.

Federal Judge S. Hugh Dillin's ruling against Indianapolis Public Schools (IPS) in the integration case is outlined in this article. He declined to "order any broad desegregation plan within the present school system boundaries because of the danger of creating a majority-Negro status." He ordered the United States Justice Department to challenge the legality of Unigov on the basis that it consolidated all of Marion county into one city, but there were still separate school systems for different parts of the city.

Smulevitz, Howard. "Negro Schools to Get More White Teachers." *The Indianapolis Star*, 6 Aug. 1968.

The Indianapolis Star reported in this article about the section of the desegregation case that dealt with the uneven racial distribution of teachers. IPS told the Justice Department outside of court that they usually assigned African American teachers to a predominantly African American population. The agreement that was put forward by the Department of Justice and approved by Federal Judge S. Hugh Dillin told IPS to assign "83 white teachers to 16 predominantly Negro schools," while IPS' plan sent "19 teachers to those schools." The agreement also decided that African American teachers would be sent to primarily white schools that had none. This was useful when considering what direction to go with the school segregation section.

United States Court of Appeals, Seventh Circuit. "503 F2d 68 United States v. Board of School Commissioners of City of Indianapolis Indiana." OpenJurist, <https://openjurist.org/503/f2d/68/united-states-v-board-of-school-commissioners-of-city-of-indianapolis-indiana>.

Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals had to give an opinion on the desegregation case between Indianapolis Public Schools and the United States. It reinforced the district court judge's verdict. There were actually seventeen separate matters being appealed, but they all related in some way to the district court's ruling. The title of the court case is slightly misleading, as there were actually nineteen separate school corporations. It is interesting that most of these were not even in Indianapolis proper, including Speedway, as well as all of the cities inside of Indianapolis, and nine in the surrounding counties. This was used to better understand Indianapolis' school segregation.

"U.S. Suit Seeks Court Action To End Segregation." *The Indianapolis Star*, 1 June 1968, pp. 1-7.

This is the article in which the suit against IPS was announced to many Indianapolis citizens via *The Indianapolis Star*. *The Star's* attitude toward the suit can be seen in the first paragraph where they claim that the Board of School Commissioners were trying "to comply with recent Justice Department demands to end racial segregation." *The Star* also reports that the board president said "We'll carry on our plans until someone orders us not to" and "We maintain that the allegations of Attorney General Clark generally are false." This article was used in the school segregation section.

Secondary Sources

“Baltimore ‘68 Events Timeline.” Baltimore '68: Riots and Rebirth, University of Baltimore, Jan. 20, 2018 archives.ubalt.edu/bsr/timeline/timeline.html.

Baltimore’s riots, which ended up as one of three cities (Chicago, Washington D.C., and Baltimore) that required federal troops, are chronicled in a timeline here. Baltimore was probably the least serious of these three, but in the context of riots in general, it was very destructive. The riots in Baltimore started fairly late - two days after King was shot. The sheer number of people arrested, as mentioned in the paper, was enormous. The riots were finally calmed down by the 11th of April, and when all the action had stopped, the damage estimate was 8-10 million dollars (at the 1968 value).

"Black Power." *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Encyclopedia.com. 24 Mar. 2018 <http://www.encyclopedia.com>.

This is an online encyclopedia article on the Black Power movement. The article was originally in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. It was useful in the context section to do a brief analysis of what was happening inside the civil rights movement.

Boggs, Donald, director. “A Ripple of Hope: The Speech that United a Nation.” Independent, 2008.

This an independent documentary from Anderson University about RFK’s speech on the night that King was shot. It was aired on WFYI (PBS). The filmmakers digitally restored all the clips of the speech and interviewed people who were there. It helped to show the crowd’s mood that night and how RFK’s speech left a lasting impression on the people who were there.

Boomhower, Ray E. *Robert F. Kennedy and the 1968 Indiana Primary*. Indiana University Press, 2008.

The fight for Indiana’s delegates to the democratic convention is chronicled by this book. Although McCarthy actually agreed with Kennedy on many issues, most importantly the war, they were rivals and had a mutual contempt for each other. Branigin, who had won the statehouse by one of the largest margins in Indiana history, ran as a favorite son, and did not have nearly as much direct conflict with Kennedy. Kennedy eventually won

Indiana by a wide margin and went on to win all the other primaries except Oregon (which he narrowly lost to McCarthy). This was used for the section on the speech.

Chander, J. P., editor. *Teachings of Mahatma Gandhi*. 1st ed., The Indian Printing Works, 1945. Universal Library, archive.org/details/teachingsofmahat029222mbp.

This book is a collection of Mahatma Gandhi's speeches and writings. This is an interesting collection showcasing the stances held by Gandhi because it is organized by category (e.g. communism, Christianity, jails). MLK and Gandhi are linked both because MLK looked up to Gandhi's teachings of nonviolence, and that they are both nonviolent civil rights leaders. This was used for the quote that introduced the compromise section.

Clarke, Thurston. *The Last Campaign: Robert F. Kennedy and 82 Days That Inspired America*. Henry Holt, 2009.

Information about RFK's campaign, the actual speech, and the riots afterwards were found here. The book was very helpful in putting together a picture of his campaign, his speech in Cleveland, and his assassination.

Coates, James. "Riots Follow Killing of Martin Luther King Jr." *Chicago Tribune*, 19 Dec. 2007, www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/politics/chi-chicagoday-kingriots-story-story.html.

This is an article from the *Chicago Tribune* published online in 2007. It recalls the destruction that came to Chicago in 1968. The riots in Chicago lasted from that Thursday (April 4) until Monday morning (April 8). This was used for the section on the riots.

"Crispus Attucks High School." National Parks Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, www.nps.gov/nr/travel/indianapolis/crispusattucks.htm.

This is an article on the National Parks Service's website about Crispus Attucks High School, which is on the National Register of Historic Places. Crispus Attucks High School's story is almost as complicated as that of school desegregation itself. The school was beloved by many in the African American community, and a source of pride. At the beginning, its teachers had very high level degrees (one with a PhD). The level of education was, for a time, higher than the white schools. This was used to help inform the school segregation paragraph.

Denne, Author Rebecca. "Inequality Remade: Residential Segregation, Indianapolis Public Schools, and Forced Busing." Indiana Historical Bureau, Indiana Historical Bureau, 17 Feb. 2017, blog.history.in.gov/?p=1958.

This was an article on the IHB's blog. It led to the website about the migration out of Marion County. It was very helpful in offering a narrative and perspective on Indianapolis segregation. It influenced the direction this paper took concerning Indianapolis' schools.

Dyson, Michael Eric. *April 4, 1968: Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Death and How It Changed America*. Basic Civitas Books, 2008.

This is a collection of essays about race relations in America after MLK. It also has a beginning that talks about MLK's life and death. It was used to learn more about King and his death.

Fairclough, Adam. *Better Day Coming: Blacks and Equality, 1890-2000*. Penguin, 2002.

The civil rights struggle from 1890 to the year 2000 is depicted in this book. It helped to give a greater context for the civil rights struggle that has so much to do with this paper. The most interesting thing to note from this book was one of the other effects of King's death. That is the failure of "Resurrection City," King's interracial project to bring the poor to Washington. "Resurrection City" became a beacon of crime instead of exposing the horrible conditions of poverty across the nation. This was used to put the death of King and the riots in the context of the civil rights movement.

Higgins, Will. "April 4, 1968: How RFK Saved Indianapolis." *The Indianapolis Star*, 2 Apr. 2015, www.indystar.com/story/life/2015/04/02/april-rfk-saved-indianapolis/70817218/.

As Indianapolis prepared to commemorate the 50th anniversary of King's death and RFK's speech, this article recounts the story of Kennedy's speech that night. It contains powerful quotes from people who were there such as a member of the Black Radical Action Project and Billie Breaux. This article was used to get more first-hand perspectives from people who were at the speech fifty years ago.

Kennedy, Kerry. "50th Anniversary of MLK Assassination: Robert F. Kennedy's Daughter Remembers Historic Indy Speech." Fox59 Morning News, Fox News Channel, Indianapolis, IN, 4 Apr. 2018.

Kerry Kennedy gave an interview on the 50th anniversary of her father's speech. She tried to explain what made her father's speech special and why people were so touched by it. This was used for the conclusion, and to connect the speech to present day.

Ksander, Yaël. "Unigov." Moment of Indiana History - Indiana Public Media, The Trustees of Indiana University, nov. 24, 2017, 11 June 2007, indianapublicmedia.org/momentofindianahistory/unigov/.

This article was originally published as a "Moment of Indiana History," two minute radio programs about the history of Indiana. The text of it is on the page, as well as the audio, so it is cited as a website. It talks about Unigov, the consolidation of Marion county into one city (Indianapolis). Speedway and a few other communities were kept apart from the consolidation. This was used in the part about housing discrimination.

Levingston, Steven. *Kennedy and King: the President, the Pastor, and the Battle over Civil Rights*. Hachette Books, 2017.

This is a book about the relationship between John Fitzgerald Kennedy and MLK. In the epilogue it discussed RFK's speech, and the riots that erupted after MLK's death. This was used for the section on the riots.

Lynch, Amy. "Making Peace." *Midwest Living*, 1 Jan. 2018, p. 92.

This is an article in the magazine *Midwest Living* about Kennedy's speech in Indianapolis. This is where one of the quotes from Billie Breaux was found, which led to a written correspondence with her. The article places emphasis on Kennedy's speech as a call for peace rather than his eulogy for King. This was used in the section on the speech.

Madison, James H., et al. *Hoosiers and the American Story*. Indiana Historical Society Press, 2014.

This book is a general history of Indiana put out by the Indiana Historical Society. It helped to put Kennedy's speech in context. It also had the text of his speech on a single page (which made it easy to scan for sections that might be useful for quoting). It also

showed why Indiana was in some ways not the most promising state to be used as a launching pad for Kennedy's campaign with some of its focus on racial justice.

Madison, James H. *Hoosiers: A New History of Indiana*. Indiana University Press, 2014.

A good account of RFK's Indiana campaign was found here. This book was important in gaining an understanding of the fact that if RFK's speech at 17th and Broadway went badly, then his whole campaign could have been ruined.

Mann, Robert. *When Freedom Would Triumph: the Civil Rights Struggle in Congress, 1954-1968*. Louisiana State Univ. Press, 2007.

The struggle to pass civil rights legislation in congress is addressed in this book. It focuses on LBJ, his vice president, and his attorney general. The fair housing act was the last thing they did together, and the end of their career in politics. It's amazing how much was passed in so little time. There was a big battle between the northern integrationists, and southern racists in 1968.

Matthews, Christopher. *Bobby Kennedy: a Raging Spirit*. Simon & Schuster, 2017.

This is a recent biography of Bobby Kennedy by Chris Matthews that does a good job of weaving the story together of Bobby Kennedy's life. It is overwhelmingly supportive, finding very few flaws with RFK, even about his time with Joseph McCarthy. It was used to gain another narrative on the speech.

Mcclellan, Olivia, and Nick McGill. "Events Mark 50th Anniversary of Martin Luther King Jr.'s Assassination, Robert Kennedy's Indy Speech." CBS4Indy, 4 Apr. 2018, [cbs4indy.com/2018/04/03/two-events-to-commemorate-robert-kennedys-historic-indy-speech-after-martin-luther-king-jr-s-assassination/](https://www.cbs4indy.com/2018/04/03/two-events-to-commemorate-robert-kennedys-historic-indy-speech-after-martin-luther-king-jr-s-assassination/).

U.S. representative and civil rights leader John Lewis gave this speech in front of the Landmark for Peace sculpture on the 50th anniversary of King's death. He was in Indianapolis to receive the Trailblazer award. Lewis talked about the importance of speaking out against intolerance and the power of Kennedy and King's messages. A quote from this was used to introduce the conclusion.

“No Limits.” Former Indiana Senator Richard Lugar, interview by John Krull, with Richard Lugar, WFYI Public Radio, 8 May 2018, www.npr.org/podcasts/381443833/no-limits.

“No Limits,” hosted by John Krull, is a radio show that airs on WFYI, the Indianapolis public broadcasting station. John Krull interviewed Sen. Lugar to discuss his work and an upcoming documentary about his life, titled *Richard Lugar: Reason’s Quiet Warrior*. Among other things, Lugar discussed his time as mayor of Indy, the school system at the time and Unigov. Lugar’s perspective on why Unigov was initially implemented was used in the “Compromises at the Crossroads” section.

O’Toole, Garson. “The Hottest Places in Hell Are Reserved for Those Who in a Period of Moral Crisis Maintain Their Neutrality: Dante Alighieri? John F. Kennedy? John A. Hutton? Theodore Roosevelt? W. M. Vines? Henry Powell Spring? Apocryphal?” Quote Investigator, WordPress, 14 Jan. 2015, quoteinvestigator.com/2015/01/14/hottest/.

This was used to check if Dante actually wrote “the hottest places in Hell are reserved for those who in a period of moral crisis maintain their neutrality.” Dante did give those who remain neutral an especially horrible place in the afterlife, but not necessarily the hottest. This was used for checking the quote for the “A Nation Screams” section.

Palermo, Joseph A. *Robert F. Kennedy and the Death of American Idealism*. Pearson Longman, 2008.

This is a fairly thin book in a series of books called *The Library of American Biography*. It gave a brief summary of RFK’s life with an emphasis on his later years. It was helpful in understanding the story of Kennedy’s campaign and its significance in relation to larger political trends.

Perry, Brandon A. “Race Relations in Indianapolis.” *Indianapolis Recorder*, 16 July 2009, www.indianapolisrecorder.com/news/features/article_442dd003-a022-5616-a1ce-f6adce5cf4d5.html.

This is an article that seems to be originally published on the *Indianapolis Recorder*’s website. It analyzes Indianapolis’ race relations, and how much they have improved (circa. 2009). What is most important to the paper is its summary of Indianapolis’ race relations. This was useful in looking at the compromises to African Americans’ rights.

Risen, Clay. *A Nation on Fire: America in the Wake of the King Assassination*. Wiley, 2009.

This source's most important use was to provide information about the riots the week after King was killed. The book highlights RFK as the only politician, or leader of any kind, who was able to stop a riot. The reason the author gives for this is that he truly cared about America's poor and disadvantaged. Parallels are also run between Kennedy and King, as they were supporting many of the same programs. This book does a very good job of putting together the story of what happened after King was assassinated, covering every major city.

"The Speech." Kennedy King Memorial Initiative, Kennedy King Memorial Initiative, 2016, kennedykingindy.org/#home-section.

This is the website for the Kennedy King Memorial Initiative, which is a nonprofit that built the Landmark for Peace (the sculpture described at the beginning of the paper). It seeks "to raise awareness, provoke thought, and inspire action to eliminate division and injustice." The website includes a list of people at the speech, and a transcript and audio of the speech. This was useful simply because it provided another narrative of the speech.

Thornbrough, Emma Lou. *The Indianapolis Story: School Segregation and Desegregation in a Northern City*. 1993. MS. Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis. *Indiana History*. 24 Nov. 2017. <<http://cdm16797.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/V0002/id/5144>>

This is an over 600 page unpublished history of Indianapolis school segregation. It is comprehensive in its scope and was very useful in understanding the general school segregation story. It had stories of individual high schools as they struggled to cope with *Brown v. Board of Education*. The author donated it to the Indiana Historical Society before she died, and it is readily accessible to anyone who wishes to read it. This was useful in the section about compromises to African Americans' rights to education.

Thornbrough, Emma Lou., and Lana Ruegamer. *Indiana Blacks in the Twentieth Century*. Indiana Univ. Press, 2000.

This book recounts the story of African Americans in Indiana, a northern state but one with the largest Klan in the country. There is one project undertaken by some of the employees of *The Indianapolis Star* that is cited in this book. The results were not published, but seemed to show, very clearly, that there was segregation in the housing industry. It also showed that a considerable amount of African Americans disliked Unigov, as some thought that it was made to dilute the importance of the African

American vote. This was used for the compromise section, to show how African American rights were being compromised.

Tye, Larry. *Bobby Kennedy: the Making of a Liberal Icon*. Random House, 2017.

RFK's diverse roles are depicted here - from the Joseph McCarthy aide to the "ruthless" campaign manager to the idealist senator and presidential candidate. This is the main source that was consulted when information about Bobby's past was needed. It was used for general information on Bobby's life.

"Vietnam Archive Resources on the Tet Offensive." The Vietnam Center and Archive, Vietnam War Information, 31 Aug. 2017, www.vietnam.ttu.edu/resources/tet/.

This is the introduction page of the Tet Offensive section of the Vietnam Center and Archive, run by Texas Tech University. It gave a simple overview of what the Tet Offensive accomplished, and its effect on American morale. The Tet Offensive was actually a giant military defeat for the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong, but set the stage for the North Vietnamese victory much later. This was used in the context section.

Winkler, Richelle, Kenneth M. Johnson, Cheng Cheng, Jim Beaudoin, Paul R. Voss, and Katherine J. Curtis. Age-Specific Net Migration Estimates for US Counties, 1950-2010. Applied Population Laboratory, University of Wisconsin- Madison, 2013. Web. Nov. 29 2017 < <http://www.netmigration.wisc.edu/>>.

This is an interactive map made in collaboration by Michigan Tech, University of Wisconsin (Madison), and the University of New Hampshire. It makes reliable estimates of the net migration for both the general populace and specific groups (Hispanic, African American, etc.) for each decade from 1950-2010. It was very useful when determining the extent of white flight in Marion county (Indianapolis).

