

Uses of the Bible and Rhetorical Devices in Selected Speeches by Martin Luther King, Jr.

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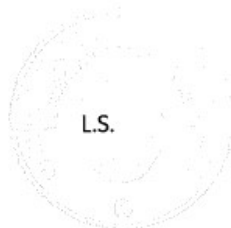
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ABSTRAKT

Bakalářská práce analyzuje a porovnává jeden Kingův projev ze začátku jeho kariéry jako aktivista pro občanská práva a druhý projev, který je z doby před jeho smrtí. Analýza vyhledává zvolené řečnické prostředky a použití bible v těchto projevech. Informace o pozadí obou projevů pojednává o příslušných detailech jeho života, vhodných detailech o americké společnosti z poloviny 20. století, jeho víře a přesvědčeních stejně jako o popisu jeho rétoriky a zvolených řečnických prostředcích. Tyto informace jsou poté použity k vysvětlení použití řečnických prostředků a bible v obou jeho projevech jako je vysvětlení jejich významu a záměru, a také k porovnání obou projevů. Prvky z Bible jsou analyzovány podobně ale odděleně, protože jejich analýza vyžaduje další zdroje. Závěr bakalářské práce odhaluje odlišnosti a podobnosti mezi oběma projevy a také Kingův vývoj používání řečnických prostředků, které se odrážejí v jeho životě, víře, cílech a době ve které žil. Závěr také informuje o jeho odkazu.

Klíčová slova: Martin Luther King, Jr., hnutí za občanská práva, bible, řečnické prostředky, projevy

ABSTRACT

This bachelor's thesis analyzes and compares one speech from the early days of the activist career of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the second speech from the period right before his death in terms of rhetorical devices and allusions to the Bible in both speeches. The background information gives pertinent details about King's life, relevant details about American society in the mid-20th century, King's religious and other beliefs, as well as a description of his rhetoric and chosen rhetorical devices. This information is used in the analysis to explain the usage of rhetorical devices and the Bible in the two speeches, i.e. to explain their meaning and purpose, and, compare both speeches. The allusions to the Bible are analyzed similarly but separately, as additional knowledge is needed in order to explain them. The conclusion of the thesis deals with differences and similarities between the speeches showing the development of King's usage of rhetorical devices, which reflect events in his life, his beliefs, his goals and the period. Lastly, the conclusion contains information about King's legacy.

Keywords: Martin Luther King, Jr., Civil Rights Movement, the Bible, rhetorical devices, speeches

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INTRODUCTION

Martin Luther King, Jr. was a persistent activist whose words shaped the history of the USA. They still resonate in the heads of all people who face obstacles of racism, economic inequality and injustice in their lives. But his voice also represents the strong belief in God, the huge Civil Rights Movement, bravery, nonviolence and the unfinished dream. The biography of the famous black preacher in this thesis informs about significant events in his life and his beliefs. The biographical part does not mention only positive information but unflattering information to King and his legacy.

This thesis focuses on his two speeches. The first speech is from his early years when he was elected as the president of Montgomery Improvement Association which was against the bus segregation. This was a turning point in his career when he started his first nonviolent campaign - The Montgomery Bus Boycott. Empowered with his beliefs, his life was full of great achievements but also failures. He changed the life of many African-Americans in the South and the whole USA. The second speech is from the end of his life when he gave an inspirational sermon in Chicago on a topic from the Bible. At this time his focus changed. He understood that the problem with racism, inequality and injustice was much bigger than he had thought. He switched his attention to all poor people in the USA. He wanted to fight for the redistribution of economic and political power and was calling for economic revolution, which would help all poor whites and blacks. However, his dream to form “the Beloved Community” was not fulfilled, but his legacy has inspired many people.

His speeches united and motivated people. His rhetorical skills were unique, as he combined the black preaching tradition with other ideas. The thesis is focused on 4 most frequently used rhetorical devices which were found in both speeches and played a crucial role in them. He combined these rhetorical devices in order to stress and make memorable certain ideas. Those two speeches reflect the situation and the context in which King was working. Certain similarities and differences can be observed in these two chosen speeches, but this analysis does not only show certain rhetorical devices, differences and similarities. It connects his words to certain situations and with the overall context of King’s life. This is the interdisciplinary thesis which combines the rhetorical analysis with American studies. It shows his life through the lexical and rhetorical scope and its aim is to educate readers about his rhetoric, which shaped the history of the USA.

I. THEORY

1 MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. AND HIS LIFE

1.1 Biography

1.1.1 The Main Events and Issues of His Life

Before Martin Luther King, Jr. was born, he was already predestined to become a preacher. His father, grandfather and great-grandfather were successful, famous and influential preachers. His great-grandfather started the preaching tradition to which all Kings contributed with their skills of black preaching, which had been inherited from generation to generation. On February 25, 1948, he was ordained into the Baptist ministry at the age of 19 and appointed to become the associate pastor in this church. (Bruns 2006, 1-4) It shaped his life significantly as he officially got a higher role within the church and could start preaching. (Garrow 1991, 87-88)

In early September 1951, Martin Luther King, Jr. started studying a graduate school at Boston's University of Theology, which was considered as unusually tolerant to black students. (Bruns 2006, 23-24) Even though King's major was systematic theology, he show a great interest in ideas of social philosophers like Marx or Gandhi. (Clayborne 1991, 95) Inspired by two of his professors, he later started believing in "Personalism", which is an approach to the religious philosophy emphasizing that people work together with God. It shows their dignity and worth of all human beings. (Bruns 2006,

23-24) This approach, very similar to Gandhi's ideas, says that the best weapon for social justice is the nonviolent resistance. (Bruns 2006, 18-24) Practically all King's works written during his doctoral studies were connected to his social, and political views and ideas as he already knew his aim. (Clayborne 1991, 95-96)

It was at Crozer Theological Seminary where King firstly heard about Gandhi's ideas. At this time, he was already concerned about the racial problems in his country. King did not believe that these ideas of nonviolence could have been really adapted in the American South. He liked these nonviolent techniques so he continued to study about this leader. He attended a talk in Philadelphia about Gandhi's tactics which changed his mind about the passivity of these techniques. Gandhi's weapon was active, loud and attention-seeking noncooperation. King started seeing the effectivity in peaceful boycotts, strikes and protest marches. Gandhi's ideas inspired him to combine these ideas of a nonviolent social force with the love ethic of Christ in the effective logical and moral approach to the racial problem in the USA. The religion was much more important for King, but Gandhi's beliefs shaped him strongly. (Bruns 2006, 18-20)

But even Martin Luther King, Jr. went through the process of radicalization. (Sunnemark 2004, 195-208) For example, in the speech "Stride toward Freedom", he said that the Negro should have achieved his goal nonviolently, but the other alternative was a war and destruction. (Sunnemark 2004, 195-208) Even though Malcolm X was a radical activist and he had different ideas and views, Martin Luther King, Jr. got quite close in his views to Malcolm X. (Cone 2001, 173) (Sunnemark 2004, 195-208) He changed his attitude toward Malcolm X's black power ideas as he agreed with his philosophy of removing the self-hate in the black community. He understood that blacks needed to gain self-respect and have dignity in order to achieve his goal called "the Beloved Community." (Cone 1985, 763) But nonviolent protests stayed as the most important one for him. (Bruns 2006, 18-20) (Cone 2001, 173)

During his studies, he learnt about ideas of the social philosopher Karl Marx. (Sunnemark 2004, 82-83) (Clayborne 1991, 95) Even though Dr. King strongly disagreed with communistic ideas as he described them as evil that restrict individual freedom, he identified with the social goal of Marxism. He agreed that Capitalism was evil. (Sunnemark 2004, 83) FBI believed that King and his movement were under the influence of the Communist Party USA. (FBI 1997 Part 2, 119-121) (Jason 2013, 429) FBI discovered that two of King's advisors, Stanley David Levison and Bayard Rustin, were the ranking Communist Party members. (FBI 1997 Part 2, 121) (Jason 2013, 429) (Stanford - Levison, Stanley David, n.d.) (Stanford - Rustin, Bayard, n.d.) These advisors were helping with King's movement, financing of his movement, the political strategy and speech writing, but FBI concluded that King was not the communist. (Jason 2013, 429) (FBI 1997 Part 2, 121 - 124)

After King's plans to make nonviolent protests called "The Poor People's Campaign" in Washington D.C. failed, King and his fellow activists changed their original plans and go to Memphis, Tennessee to support the city's sanitation workers, who were fighting for the proper chance in the system and better conditions. (Bruns 2006, 145) (FBI 1997 Part 1, 14-15) On April 4, 196, Dr. King hold a strategic meeting with his fellows until they decided to go to the dinner. Martin Luther King, Jr. went to the balcony where he was shot to his neck. (Bruns 2006, xii) (FBI 1977 Part 1, 20-23) The segregationist mayor of Memphis was forced by his death to allow blacks to work for a city and county, which also opened gates for other blacks in the nation. (FBI 1997 Part 2, 106-112)

1.1.2 MLK as the Non-violent Activist

He believed the church had to serve as "the conscience" of the state, otherwise it would be only "an irrelevant social club." His strategy had changed throughout his life. From 1956 to 1966, his strategy was to convince whites in the South of the moral injustice and discrimination, but this strategy failed. He adopted a new strategy called "nonviolent coercion." Instead of having a dialogue with whites, he rather pressured the federal government through the legislation. (Fairclough 1986, 2) However, King was not interested in the legal aspects as for him the question was moral. It was immoral that Negroes did not have the rights given by the Constitution and therefore he had to fight for justice. (Sharma 1968, 260-262)

The leader was dreaming about the society in which whites and blacks live together peacefully. (Berry 1996, 137) (Harding 1987, 469) He was fighting politically and legally for the colorblind society. Dr. King and his movement were not revolutionaries because they followed the path of the Frederick Douglass's wing of the anti-slavery movement, which was searching equality under the Constitution. The leader understood that political equality was the route to economic and social equality and the color-blind Constitution was the main weapon. The black social movement too quickly opened the gates of opportunities for blacks, which did not work and led to unequal opportunities for them. The desegregation was not working either as many schools stayed unequal and segregated. Dr. King understood that their goal, color-blindness, was not perfect as discrimination was growing anyway. (Berry 1996, 137-141) He was trying to improve the conditions of blacks in the white America, but later King started seeing that equality made the life of blacks much more difficult, because they were not able to compete. The civil rights leader said that the society, which had been oppressing blacks, should have helped them. (Wilhelm 1979, 3-7)

Negroes should have asked for more than only equality because they could not simply catch up with whites after many years of slavery, racism and segregation. King was calling for the state help. He supported equal employment and anti-poverty programs for both blacks and whites, because he saw the connection between racial discrimination of blacks and economic exploitation of poor whites,

but he was faced by people who did not want to lose the best jobs and education opportunities. (Berry 1996, 139-140) King realized the new economic order had to be made because of automation. King knew that this was the economic question for the whole society, because automation would steal jobs from all workers and widen the gap between lower and upper class. King declared the US needed the new turn for economic justice, which should have been more focused on the person and not on property and profit. (Wilhelm 1979, 11-13)

Dr. King understood that Negroes should have been the power needed for the change of the society. According to him, Negroes should have formed a new coalition with all labor, unemployed and welfare recipients to solve all problems. He was fighting for a social reform and stressed that the support from whites was needed to solve the issues. (Wilhelm 1979, 12-13) He pointed out that being a Negro in America is about being locked and ignored in ghettos and reservations. (Wilhelm 1979, 15) He hoped economic revolution would give a chance for all blacks to get out of these ghettos and reservations. (Wilhelm 1979, 16) Dr. King did not have enough time to achieve economic revolution as he died in 1968 working on his nonviolent campaign “The Poor People’s March on Washington”, which should have represented needs of poor people in the nation. (Wilhelm 1979, 17) (Berry 1996, 142)

1.2 The Analyzed Speeches and Their Background

1.2.1 MIA Mass Meeting - December 5, 1955

In the beginning of 1954, the future civil rights leader was searching for job opportunities. He had many academic opportunities but he preferred pastoral positions. At Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, the church leadership offered him to preach a sermon. (Jackson 2008, 53) (Bruns 2007, 28-29) Even though he was from Atlanta, Montgomery seemed to be the right place where he could have contributed to the civil rights struggle being in the front line. (Bruns 2007, 29-37) (Jackson 2008, 53-55) The tester sermon was called “The Dimensions of a Complete Life”, which was about how to make positive contributions to lives of others. (Jackson 2008, 54-55) It has a very similar name as the second analyzed speech in this thesis but it is unknown if it is the same speech as this tester speech cannot be found. The second analyzed speech is about the positive contribution to lives of others too so maybe these speeches were same or similar.

His first sermon in Montgomery was successful and later he was approved by all members to become the next pastor. (Jackson 2008, 54-55) He decided to move to this racially divided city, where the racial tension was growing, especially in buses. (Jackson 2008, 55) (Bruns 200, 29-30) The next pastor was asked to deliver another sermons in which he criticized the society, which only pursued knowledge and materialism, but did not care about moral principles and devotion to God. In his other

sermons, King started emphasizing the need of the social reform, which was a very important topic for him. All sermons were very successful and spread powerful messages. Later he officially became the church pastor as he accepted the important offer. (Jackson 2008, 57) His work began with his 34-point plan for the future of the church at the time of the social change and polarization of the society at the local and national level. (Religion & Ethics, 2006) (Jackson 2008, 58)

He intended to use the church to face racism. (Jackson 2008, 60) Everything seemed to be improving after the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954 declared the school segregation as unconstitutional. (Jackson 2008, 59) However, dissatisfaction of African-Americans with the segregation was growing anyway. (Jackson 2008, 62) King did not use buses so he did not really understand the community's concerns. Therefore his early impressions and information were from the broader perspective. However, he wanted to contribute to these concerns. (Jackson 2008, 63) King became a very influential member of the church. He was behind the creation of the social and political committee in the church, which should have informed about the social, political and economic situation and have supported the local NAACP. He also interconnected the church with this institution as all members of the church became registered voters in this institution. This did not create problems inside the church as many members of the church were strongly focused on these community issues. (Jackson 2008, 65) (Bruns 2007, 30)

Rosa Parks was the main reason why the Montgomery Bus Boycott was organized. (Bruns 2007, 37) (Stanford - Montgomery Bus Boycott, n.d.) On December 1, 1955, she did not want to give up her seat on a bus to the white passenger. With this activity, she violated the local segregation laws and therefore she was arrested. (Bruns 2007, 37) The famous black preacher then became the head of the local movement for civil rights. (Jackson 2008, 85-86) (Stanford - Montgomery Bus Boycott, n.d.) (Bruns 2007, 34) King admired the preparation of the community to fight, its strength and its tenacity. The leader had a chance to lead the community. (Jackson 2008, 85-86)

But at first, King needed time to think about his participation, but later he accepted. (Jackson 2008, 87) (Bruns 2007, 38) On December 5, 1955, his first memorable address started the Montgomery Bus Boycott, which was a 13-month protest. (Jackson 2008, 94) (Harding 1987, 473) (Stanford - Montgomery Bus Boycott, n.d.) He reminded the history of the bus segregation and said several information about Rosa's arrest. He united people to walk towards justice. (Jackson 2008, 95) Even though the speech was unprepared, many fellow members of the movement expressed their enthusiasm by saying: "it stimulated the people more than anything has ever stimulated them as long as I've been here. - Rufus Lewis", "Lord, you have sent us a leader. - Idessa Williams Redden" and "the most amazing and the most heartening thing I have seen in my life. The leaders were led. It was a vertical thing. - R.H. Nixon". (Jackson 2008, 96)

He was also elected the president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, which was created for the bus boycott. (Bruns 2007, 38) (Stanford - Montgomery Bus Boycott, n.d.) He gave the courage to all these people to stand up for their rights and change the history, because God was supporting them. (Harding 1987, 473) The boycott itself could not end segregation, because firstly it had to be declared as unconstitutional. The purpose of the boycott was to get respect for Negroes and to make threats against whites. (Jackson 2008, 94)

However, the moving speaker did not boycott anything as he practically only inspired and represented blacks as the president of MIA. (Jackson 2008, 96) He interacted with people as much as he could. The community challenged the status quo and the situation started slowly changing. (Jackson 2008, 98) On November 13, 1956, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that bus segregation was unconstitutional, which was a big victory for the whole black community in Montgomery, but also hope for all blacks across the country. The buses were successfully desegregated. (Bruns 2007, xii) (Stanford - Montgomery Bus Boycott, n.d.) (Bruns 2007, 44)

King gained valuable experience leading this campaign. (Bruns 44-45) (Jackson 2008, 97) There was then urgency, depth and power in King's sermons as well as passion with the congregation, community and nation. It taught him how to deal with the working class and also professionals. (Jackson 2008, 97) The boycott attracted international attention and the non-violent strategy seemed as the right one. (Stanford - Montgomery Bus Boycott, n.d.) The power of people and Dr. King was given by God recalling the whole fight as the fight between good and evil. (Stanford - Montgomery Bus Boycott, n.d.)

It was the difficult period for King as he had to face threats, experience fear and resist the pressure of all people whom he led. (Jackson 2008, 110-111) One of very important tenors in this period was: "I am here taking a stand for what I believe is right. But now I am afraid. The people are looking to me for leadership, and if I stand before them without strength and courage, they too will falter. I am at the end of my powers. I have nothing left. I've come to the point where I can't face it alone." about which King commented: "At that moment I experienced the presence of the Divine as I never had experienced Him before. It seemed as though I could hear the quiet assurance of an inner voice saying: 'Stand up for righteousness, stand up for truth; and God will be at your side forever.'" The uncertainty was eliminated and he had again energy to lead the movement. (Jackson 2008, 111) (Bruns 2007, 39) (Garrow 1987, 442)

1.2.2 The Three Dimensions of a Complete Life - April 9, 1967

Alabama cities Selma and Birmingham named the most successful non-violent protests in the American history. (Fairclough 1986, 1) Birmingham, Alabama was a place full of black workers, with smaller wages than wages of whites, who worked at the largest iron and steel center. Dr. King

mentioned that it was the most segregated town in the nation and it was also the stronghold of Ku Klux Klan. (Bruns 2007, 73-74) He knew that protests would create a big trouble in this town but also attract attention of the whole nation. (Stanford - Birmingham Campaign, n.d.) (Bruns 2007, 74-75) Birmingham should have been the turning point in the civil rights struggle, but also King realized how dangerous the place was. (Bruns 2007, 74-75) During the 1963 march on Good Friday, the civil rights leader was arrested and went to the jail in which he wrote his famous work "Letter from Birmingham Jail", which was about his tactic of nonviolent direct action, the social movement, urgency of solving racial problems and the long suffering of blacks. (Bruns 2007, 77-79) (Stanford - Birmingham Campaign, n.d.)

After King was released from the jail, King and SCLC organizers received a big support from the local college and high school students. (Bruns 2007, 79-80) (Stanford - Birmingham Campaign, n.d.) King and SCLC believed that these students could force the change. In May 1963, around 1000 students were protesting and later were arrested. Students continued with various protests in the town and the local jail was filled to capacity. The nation saw all these things, which was increasing the pressure. (Bruns 2007, 80-81)

Even though the demands were not met how King and his leadership wished for, they accepted the offers and claimed a victory. One of the reasons was that it was difficult to restrain his followers from violence. (Stanford - Birmingham Campaign, n.d.) (Bruns 2007, 79-81) After the bombing on King's brother, violence erupted even more that around 3,000 federal troops had to be used. (Stanford - Birmingham Campaign, n.d.) (Bruns 2007, 82) These moments in Birmingham were followed by nearly 1,000 individual boycotts, marches and sit-ins in the whole South, which were known as "Little Birminghams." (Bruns 2007, 82) The Birmingham demonstrations developed a way for the Civil Rights Act in 1964, which banished segregation in public accommodations. (Fairclough 1986, 1) (Stanford - Selma to Montgomery March, n.d.)

The town Selma had round 30,000 people and approximately half of these people were blacks, but only 335 of these blacks had voting rights. (Stanford - Selma to Montgomery March, n.d.) (Bruns 2007, 109) The president Johnson had previously discouraged King from public protests in order to lobby for the Civil Rights Bill, but this time Johnson wanted millions of people see that these black people were prevented of their basic rights and Dr. King was the ideal person to get publicity. The president asked him for help, and the civil rights leader accepted and later organized series of demonstrations. (Stanford - Selma to Montgomery March, n.d.) (Bruns 2007, 109-110)

Many black people were coming to register for voting but they were arrested and went in jails, including the civil rights leader and school children. In February 1965, around 3,000 people spent time in local jails, which received needed publicity in the whole nation. (Bruns 2007, 109-110) Later, the experienced leader went to visit the president Johnson. The president asked for little or no

violence, which was followed by the event when around 200 young protesters met in front of the courthouse and then were forced to march by the police at a faster and faster pace. Some of them were vomiting from exhaustion and this image was immediately reported to the whole nation. At this moment, many white citizens realized that the situation was going out of control. (Bruns 2007, 111)

This event was followed by another police brutality when a young man Jimmie Lee Jackson was shot to death when he was defending his mother during a battle at the local cafe. (Stanford - Selma to Montgomery March, n.d.) (Bruns 2007, 112) This event was followed by other marches, which were violently attacked by the police. (Stanford - Selma to Montgomery March, n.d.) (Bruns 2007, 112-113) The march on March 7, 1965 which is called "Bloody Sunday" was a very brutal march when the police with weapons, such as lengths of rubber tubing wrapped in barbed wire, attacked the protesters on the bridge, which reminded the whole nation of the actions of Ku Klux Klan. (Stanford - Selma to Montgomery March, n.d.) (Bruns 2007, 112-113) But this was not the end of all brutality. On March 11, 1965, James Reeb died because of the massive head fracture after he was bashed to the head with a club by a white person during a hang-out with his friends. The whole nation saw these events. (Bruns 2007, 114-115) (Stanford - Selma to Montgomery March, n.d.)

The president Johnson, supported by preaching King in Selma, successfully spoke to Congress and millions of television viewers about these problems with segregation. (Bruns 2007, 114-115) (Stanford - Selma to Montgomery March, n.d.) At the end of the nonviolent march from Selma to Montgomery, the icon of this march and his delegation presented a petition to the governor Wallace at the Alabama State Capitol building, which was followed by a speech broadcasted to the whole nation. (Stanford - Selma to Montgomery March, n.d.) (Bruns 2007, 115-116) The Selma protests in 1965 led to the Voting Rights Act deleting the political basis of white supremacy. (Stanford - Selma to Montgomery March, n.d.) (Fairclough 1986, 1) The number of black voters increased significantly and the conditions of blacks in the South improved. It was the turning point in the civil rights struggle. (Bruns 2007, 117)

In January 22, 1966, the civil rights leader moved to the North - to Chicago and Mississippi. He was challenged and motivated by Malcolm X and the urban black community, whose problems were not solved by the Civil Right laws as in the South. (Bruns 2007, xii) (Harding 1987, 469) In 1966, a huge protest of around 50,000 both white and black people at Chicago's Soldier Field was held in order to end discrimination on the grounds of housing, employment, and schools in Chicago. (Bruns 2007, 124) He said: "I choose to identify with the underprivileged I choose to identify with the poor. I choose to give my life for the hungry. [...] I'm going that way. If it means dying for them, I'm going that way, because I heard a voice saying: Do something for others." (Harding 1987, 470)

This event and others took place to meet the demands of blacks in this area but were again connected with violence. (Bruns 2007, 125-127) The agreement was reached, but without any

guarantees and the timetable, which was a loss to King and his movement. King could not implement his experience from the South in the North. (Bruns 2007, 128) (Harding 1987, 469) It show that most of white citizens were against racial equality as it was a threat to their property rights. Many people said that the long Chicago campaign achieved no or little progress, but Dr. King was convinced that it had contributed to the struggle for freedom. However, it left him with the realistic view of the white population, which was different than he had thought, and the desperation at racial problems. (Bruns 2007, 128)

This failure moved him to Mississippi in the late spring 1966. (Harding 1987, 470) He was planning to resume “March Against Fear”, which was from Memphis, Tennessee to Jackson, Mississippi. (Harding 1987, 470) (Bruns 2007, xii) The most important aspect of this march for Dr. King’s development was the question which was raised by many students: “Dr. King, why do you want us to love white folks before we even love ourselves?” Thanks to it, he understood the issues of black self-love, black power and white power. This question together with King’s commitment to poor people were ideas which shaped him profoundly. (Harding 1987, 471) However, this switch to poor people did not make uncomfortable only whites, but also respectable blacks, who already established higher positions or had higher earnings. “That was his deeper threat to the status quo, beyond words, beyond alienation.” (Harding 1987, 472)

At the 1967 convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the black preacher said that the US had to be born again and its structure had to be changed. He called for “a radical redistribution of economic and political power as the only way to meet the real needs of the poor in America.” He continued that “the triple evils”: the problems of racism, economic exploitation and war were all connected together and that the movement would be fighting for the change of the society and against Capitalism. This was his vision of his last speech in Memphis on April 3, 1968, delivered to mostly black residents to support the garbage workers in their struggle for justice. Even though it was delivered mostly for black residents it conveyed the message for all “disinherited” people of the society. (Harding 1987, 473)

1.3 Martin Luther King, Jr.’s Religion and his beliefs

1.3.1 Baptists

According to Baptists, the Holy Bible is the only authority for Christian faith and practice. (Casanova 2018) It does not have any mistakes and therefore it is trustworthy. (Southern Baptist Convention 2019) (Hicks 2005) The Bible says that all people are equal and created in the Image of God, but are morally responsible for their own nature and behavior. Baptists have been strong believers in religious liberty. (Canadian Baptists 2019) They have led a struggle for the freedom of

religion and the separation of church and state. (Hicks 2015) The states owes protection and full freedom to the church. (Southern Baptist Convention 2019) Baptists are very active in sharing God's message and love with every person. They are very active missionaries, both locally and globally. (Canadian Baptists 2019) For them, it is a duty and privilege of every follower of Christ to do the missionary work. (Southern Baptist Convention 2019) But these missions are not only about evangelism, but also about promoting justice, social welfare, healing, education and peace in the world. (Canadian Baptists 2019) Under the obligation, Christians should say no to racism, every form of greed, selfishness, and vice, and all forms of sexual immorality, including adultery, homosexuality, and pornography. (Southern Baptist Convention 2019)

1.3.2 King as a Baptist

All generations of Baptists believe that the separation of state and church is essential and King was aware of this historical tradition as his speeches and writings show the influence of Baptism on him. (Dawes 2015) For example, he believed that the state should not regulate morality, because God created morals, as it does not have the power to regulate the behavior. (Rathbun 1968, 49) King said that the truly free person is the person who can make decisions such as the choice of the education, political party and religious tradition. According to him, the church was not the parrot of its government, leaders and people. It should have been rather "the guardian of the morals of the community." The separation of state and church or the prophet and politician is very important for all Baptists as it is also mentioned in the Bible. Freedom was the most important value for him as his speeches and writings stress it. King also openly declared that unjust laws, in different words anti-religious laws, could be disobeyed as people should have followed rather the higher moral law. He said that Christians usually take two wrong paths. The first path is when the church becomes connected to the political party, politician or government. The second path is that the church is fully separated from the state which prevent public witness and the moral influence on the public policy. Martin Luther King, Jr. took the middle way between these ideas. (Dawes 2015) Even though he was minister's son, he became a dissenter within the black Baptist tradition. (Carson 1991, 96) As found out in his theological writings and speeches, he struggled to find his core identity during his career as the civil rights leader. (Carson 1991, 103)

1.3.3 His Roles in the Church

Atlanta's Auburn Avenue was King's birthplace, where he also spent his youth. It was a black community full of workers but also professionals, businessmen and bishops. The neighborhood emphasized the value of the church and family. It also promoted the pride of black self-reliance and African Americans' achievements. The church leadership and its people were often against white

supremacy because of segregation. For example, King's father and grandfather were fighting for the Voting Rights and against the school segregation. (National Park Service, 2002) His father and grandfather were also his role-models, who had shown him that pastoring could be connected with social activism. (Carson 1991, 96)

His early years and the involvement in the church life served as a solid base for his religious faith. (Carson 1997, 127) This background helped him to establish a moral basis for the fight against segregation. His theological studies and also Christian principles given by the Ebenezer Baptist Church gave him an ability to call upon images and metaphors which all Southern black church members understood. The Old Testament themes of exiles and deliverance had a special meaning for all black Southerners. The Auburn Avenue's community developed his vision of the interracial society. (National Park Service, 2002)

One of the most important King's aspects was that he was the preacher and Christian pastor. For him, being the pastor meant being the civil right leader as well. However, he was becoming more and more involved in the national effort so he did not have enough time for his pastoral position. He resigned in order to increase the effort to the civil rights struggle. It can be said that he was the pastor at the local congregational level, but also at the national level. He always aimed at the whole nation. (Religion & Ethics, 2006)

1.3.4 *Imago Dei* and the Civil Rights Movement

King's ideological center was not sociopolitical but theological as the Bible was the most important for him. (Wills 2009, 116) Like the early black church, he considered *Imago Dei* as the scripture containing the real meaning how to establish equality between all people. (Wills 2009, 116) He had four major conclusions from his explication of the Image of God, which formed the basis of his civil rights movement. The first two are very similar to the early black church. The last two one are relatively new and different from the traditional church view. (Wills 2009, 113) Only the first two major conclusions appear in the analyzed speeches and therefore they are described in detail, whereas the next ones are only mentioned briefly.

The first implication says that all human beings have dignity and are somebody of significance. (Wills 2009, 114) (Cone 1985, 756) According to King, the superiority and inferiority are false claims and racial assumptions were wrong. King said that few socio-political documents in the USA, such as the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Emancipation Proclamation, captured and expressed human dignity, but these founding documents proposed and protected human rights but not the human rights of African Americans. (Wills 2009, 114-115) This cannot be said about King's reliance on the Image of God, which said that all human beings were equal and had dignity. (Wills 2009, 116) (Cone 1985, 762) The famous preacher combined the democratic tradition of

freedom and the biblical tradition of justice and liberation. (Cone 1985, 762) The idea that all people are God's children and therefore they are equal played a significant role in the Civil Rights Movement. King was frequently referring to the theological fact of "Somebodyness" that everybody is "somebody" because everybody was created and conceived in the Image of God. (Wills 2009, 117-118)

King believed that civil rights with birthrights are a divine endowment as all people are born in the Image of God. All human beings could have a possibility to enjoy the basic rights: "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. Therefore, justice should be available to all God's children. (Wills 2009, 120) (Cone 1985, 756) The Declaration of Independence gave King a political framework which should have protected all the basic rights of every human being with the American citizenship. The belief in the American dream and human beings as persons of worth only supported his religious belief. The Constitution could not omit certain human beings from the rights granted for all. King simply viewed civil rights as God-granted. (Wills 2009, 120-122)

This idea of all people created in the Image of God also suggested that all people who are disadvantaged, voiceless and powerless should have not been ignored or exploited by the advantaged. King said that the poor ones needed help. King thought that material resources were sufficient to help these people, but instead they were in hands of the privileged population that gained them by benefiting on poor people. (Wills 2009, 123) (Rathbun 1968, 41) He said that to neglect the poor means to neglect an aspect of self or to deny others means to deny self. That was the argument why rich people should help to poor ones, but King also thought about the role and responsibility of the recipients of justice. According to him, they should not behave like less privileged or inferior but they rather should show their dignity and worth. (Wills 2009, 124-125)

The last implications are about the integration of racially, socially and economically divided populations; men can do both good and evil and the Beloved Community. (Rathbun 1968, 47) (Wills 2009, 126) (Wills 2009, 132-135) He believed that Christianity was the clearest revelation to humanity but it is not needed to be a part of the church in order move to the Kingdom of Good as all human beings are created in the Image of God, which is their common status. (Wills 2009, 133) (Henry 1987, 332) The Kingdom was not limited to any nation, race, language or class. (Henry 1987, 332) He concluded that his views and ideas were different but still according to God's desire. (Wills 2009, 135)

2 RHETORIC OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

2.1 Basic Features of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Rhetoric

King's main rhetoric feature is the usage of Exodus as the main source for addressing rhetorical needs in order to reflect the experience of African-Americans. The first rhetorical need is to provide

the theological legitimacy to protests and the second one is the creation of the common identity. (Selby 2008, 15) Martin Luther King, Jr. widely uses the Exodus narrative in his speeches for the success of his Civil Rights Movement and to show the history of black people in the USA. He uses the biblical narrative to motivate protesters to continue their struggle in order to achieve the change. (Selby 2008, 8)

The civil rights leader frequently used in his most famous speech “I Have a Dream” rhetorical devices such as anaphors, metaphors, allusions and hyperboles. (Wright 2012) Dr. King knew the importance of rhetorical devices and he used rhetorical devices which appear in the Bible, because for his Christian followers were these devices familiar. It helped them to understand his speeches more easily and to remember the idea or meaning. (Boa 2010) (Keith D. Miller 1990, 77)

His speeches are very similar to sermons which were delivered by other preachers. (Keith D. Miller 1990, 77) It was very frequent that preachers were borrowing words and sentences from each other. King learned these techniques of delivery such as borrowing and voice merging. He frequently borrows passages from other sermons of white and black Protestant ministers, books, the Bible, the Declaration of Independence and speeches, which is a practice that is uncommon among authors. (Keith D. Miller 1990, 77-79)

King practically used rhetoric which had been many times tested. He just took major themes and literary quotations which both served to explain his politics and convince the whole nation to support his Civil Rights Movement. (Keith D. Miller 1986, 250) He learnt how lyrics of spirituals, hymns and poems could create an authoritative identity. He uses them quite often in his speeches in the original form, in his edited form or sometimes he also combined more poems together. (W. Jason Miller 2013, 425-428) King mastered the technique of swinging a sermon or speech to a thunderous conclusion. (Keith D. Miller 1990, 78) It makes his speeches considered as powerful and memorable. His speeches reveal that he is embedded in the traditions and oratory of the black church. (Language Log 2016)

2.2 Rhetorical Devices in the Bible

2.2.1 Anaphora

An anaphora is a repetition of a certain word or phrase at beginnings of clauses or sentences following each other. It emphasizes the phrase and adds the rhythm, which makes the passage more memorable and enjoyable to read or hear. (Literary Terms 2015, Anaphora) The example of the anaphora can be found in Matthew 5:3-11. The phrases “Blessed are” and “for they will” are repeated in the beginnings of lines. (Truth or Tradition? 2016, Examples of Figures of Speech) The repetition of phrases gives the logical structure to the passage, which logically give information to the reader.

It plays an important role in rhetoric as it is used to emphasize certain ideas and add emotions. Anaphora could inspire, convince or challenge the audience. (Literary Terms 2015, Anaphora)

2.2.2 Metaphor

A common figure of speech which makes a comparison between one thing to another unrelated thing without using “like” or “as” and carries a shared quality of characteristics across two distinct things. A metaphor is used to add color to and place emphasis on the author’s expressions. (Literary Terms 2015, Metaphor) The example “I am the bread of life.” (John 6:35) (Boa 2010) combines two distinct things in order to say that if people come to Jesus they will not be hungry. This example puts Jesus, the religion in the center of life. It emphasizes that Jesus is the creator of the whole world, the miracle-maker or the ruler and therefore people should believe in him and follow his commands. The metaphor compares two things “the bread” and “life”, which are not literally related to each other, but instead they are figuratively related as the bread is the metaphor for food which is very important for life. It gives a detail to the writing or speeches and makes the text or speech much more interesting, realistic and vivid. It helps to describe feelings, scenes or characters. Images created by metaphors exercise the imagination of readers or hearers as sometimes the person needs to imagine something in a completely new way. Metaphors could have many effects dependable on the context. (Literary Terms 2015, Metaphor)

2.2.3 Parallelism

The parallel structure, as a parallelism is also called, is when phrases in sentences have similar or the same grammatical structures. Its usage is to create balance and have clarity as well establish a pattern and develop a rhythm, which are crucial in order to make sentences catchy, memorable and compelling. The parallelism can be very long or very short, complex or simple, but the same grammatical structure repeats. The parallel structure is also used to make texts or speeches understandable, easy and enjoyable to read or hear. The human eye or ear likes its symmetry. (Literary Terms 2015, Parallelism)

There are three types of parallelisms which emerge from the common patterns of meaning between parallel lines. (BibleGateway, n.d.) A synonymous parallelism says the same thing in different ways in order to convey the meaning. The Jesus’ prayer “And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.” (Mat. 6:13) is the example of the synonymous parallelism as it says the same thing in different words. It asks God to keep people from evil and darkness. The second type of parallelisms is called an antithetic parallelism, which contrasts two or more lines in order to teach something. Proverbs 10:1 is the example of the antithetic parallelism: “The proverbs of Solomon. A wise son makes a glad father, but a foolish son is a sorrow to his mother.” The passage opposes the

behaviors of wise and foolish sons to reveal what kind of children please their parents. The last type of parallelisms is a synthetic parallelism, which synthesizes or connects two or more lines. Its typical feature is that successive lines build on, intensify or describe more in detail the first line. Proverbs 6:16-19 have the synthetic parallelism: “There are six things the Lord hates, seven that are detestable to him: haughty eyes, a lying tongue, hands that shed innocent blood, a heart that devises wicked schemes, feet that are quick to rush into evil, a false witness who pours out lies and a person who stirs up conflict in the community.”. The parallel structure in this example connects all these verses together in order to stress all things which Lord hates. (Ligonier Ministries 2019) Parallelisms bring musicality to texts or speeches. (Literary Terms 2015, Parallelism)

2.2.4 Allusion

The basic feature of allusions is that it refers to something else. It is when an author refers to other works or to a different part of the current work. The Bible and other cultural works are frequently used in literature, although they can be used in different art forms as well. There are two types of allusions - external and internal. External allusions refer to something outside the current document. It could be a book, play, movie or an event in a history. The most important is that it has to be something readers know. Internal allusions are much more difficult to catch. It is when the author refers back to something which was already mentioned. (Literary Terms 2015, Allusion)

3 THE ANALYSIS OF SELECTED SPEECHES

According to the well-known literary and rhetorical theorist Kenneth Burke in the book *Methods of Rhetorical Criticism: A Twentieth-century Perspective*, a social division and unity are felt by people concurrently. “The speakers who are reflected in their language, will accept some ideas, people, and institutions, and reject others; their audiences will to some extent both agree or disagree with them” (Brooks 1990, 187) Therefore King’s audiences might disagree or agree with his ideas. If someone hears or reads the transcript, it practically becomes the audience. (Sweet Speeches 2011) (Sweet Speeches 2012) Every person has different ideas. It could be said that all rhetorical devices are understood differently by certain people. Simultaneously, certain readers of this thesis can both agree and disagree with these shown examples and author’s description. Some will identify with the examples and others not. Perhaps someone can admit that it is based on the work which was edited in 1990, and has had its critics, but it could be said that this theory can be applied in the contemporary society.

3.1 The Usage of Rhetorical Devices and Their Interpretation

The most used rhetorical devices are analyzed here, which are also described in the theoretical part. Other rhetorical devices can be found in both speeches, but they do not appear that frequently and do not have a crucial role. This analysis searches clear examples which explain meanings of the most used rhetorical devices and the background of the whole topic. There are certain differences and similarities between the two analyzed speeches either in their background and the usage of rhetorical devices. The results can be found in chapters dedicated to differences and similarities after the both analyses. These results are divided in two chapters as one shows linguistic results and the second one contains differences between the backgrounds of both speeches. The second results also contain information about King’s legacy. However, the linguistic results play the major role in this analysis and the background differences are added because the language used is closely related to King’s life, the society in which he lived and his beliefs.

Before reading the whole analysis, it is highly recommended to firstly listen to both speeches. It helps to understand the whole topic better. In examples, there are also kept the reactions of his crowds, which appear in transcripts of both speeches. They are also used in explanations of examples. The emphasized parts of examples are created by the author in order to make the analysis easier to understand.

3.1.1 The First Speech: MIA Mass Meeting - December 5, 1955

3.1.1.1 Anaphora

An anaphora is a rhetorical device which appears frequently in the first speech, but it is only in the first part of King's first speech. It is described as the repetition of a certain word or phrase at the beginning of clauses or sentences following each other. (Literary Terms 2015, Anaphora) (Wright 2012) The first anaphora is used immediately in the beginning of the speech in the first paragraph as King probably wanted to catch people's attention. In this example, there are three repetitions of "We are here" in the following sentences of the first paragraph. King probably wanted to make the reasons and the purpose why people came to this meeting memorable. It also brings the rhythm to the beginning of the text. As from the transcript and recording, it could be said that people really enjoyed hearing it, because they brought many reactions, such as "Yes" or "That's right.", which only show the emotionality of the beginning and the acceptance of the speech by crowds. It also could show that people agreed with King's sentences and information was logical and understandable. The emotional answer of his crowd could also mean that he probably inspired them and people could really participate in the easy-to-follow speech. (Literary Terms 2015, Anaphora) (Michael D. Linn 1975, 152) (Keith D. Miller 1990, 77)

We are certainly very happy to see each of you out this evening. **We are here** this evening for serious business. (Yes) **We are here** in a general sense because first and foremost we are American citizens (*That's right*) and we are determined to apply our citizenship to the fullness of its meaning. (Yeah, *That's right*) **We are here** also because of our love for democracy, because of our deep-seated belief that democracy transformed from thin paper to thick action is the greatest form of government on earth. (*That's right*) (emphasis mine)

Other anaphors in the first speech are used similarly as the example above. Sentences which contain anaphors usually have other rhetorical devices as well, mostly metaphors and allusions. All anaphors are used to emphasize that good always wins over evil and their purpose is to get the emotional response from his crowd about their willingness to fight evil. (Literary Terms 2015, Anaphora) An anaphora is the most frequent rhetorical device which appears in his most famous speeches which could mean that he really understood the effect and therefore he used it intentionally and frequently. (Wright 2012)

3.1.1.2 Metaphor

A metaphor makes a comparison between two unrelated things without using “like” or “as.” It carries a shared quality of characteristics of two distinct things. It serves to create an image, add color and emphasize something in the expression. It provides detail and makes the text much more interesting, realistic and vivid. It uses audience's imagination. It could have various interpretations depending on the context. (Literary Terms 2015, Metaphor)

The famous preacher uses in this speech mostly metaphors which have a negative connotation and create dark images. Most of metaphors are in the first part of his speech and he usually refers to certain things such as the bus segregation, inequality and other problems of African-Americans. The intentions were probably to emphasize the horrible things, which were happening to blacks. The biography of this thesis contains more information about these problems. Many dark metaphors are in the speech, but these are few examples, which portrait the evil things, which were done to blacks.

For many years now Negroes in Montgomery and so many other areas **have been inflicted with the paralysis of crippling fears** (*Yes*) on buses in our community. (emphasis mine)

And you know, my friends, there comes a time when people **get tired of being trampled over by the iron feet of oppression.** (emphasis mine)

We, the disinherited of this land, we who have been oppressed so long, are tired of going **through the long night of captivity.** (emphasis mine)

The reason why he used metaphors with the negative connotation could be that he wanted to inform mainly about the negative things, which were happening. Also this speech was the beginning of the bus boycott and therefore it was important to motivate people to protest. He used these metaphors to tell people that it is enough to be oppressed and not do anything. It could be concluded that these metaphors also played an important role in the later success of the bus boycott, as they called to action.

However, the black preacher did not use only dark metaphors. He used few metaphors which have a positive connotation and create bright images. These metaphors are connected with the hope in the results of the bus boycott. They were reasons supporting the Montgomery Bus Boycott and saying that people could get justice for everybody and change the history. He used these metaphors at the right moment as he united people for the common goal.

And we are determined here in Montgomery to work and fight until **justice runs down like water** (*Yes*) [*applause*], **and righteousness like a mighty stream.** (emphasis mine)

Right here in Montgomery, when the history books are written in the future (*Yes*), somebody will have to say, “There lived a race of people (*Well*), a *black* people (*Yes sir*), ‘fleecey locks and black complexion’ (*Yes*), a people who had the moral courage to stand up for their rights. [*applause*] And thereby **they injected a new meaning into the veins of history and of civilization.**” And we’re gonna do that. (emphasis mine)

We are here also because of our love for democracy (*Yes*), because of our deep-seated belief that democracy transformed **from thin paper to thick action** (*Yes*) is the greatest form of government on earth. (emphasis mine)

The first example is also connected to the Bible as it is a paraphrase from the Book of Amos. He used this metaphor also in his other speeches. (Green 2013) The second metaphor simply motivated people that they could be the ones changing the history. The last example assures people that democracy could help them as the Constitution is not only the piece of paper.

Metaphors were very important for King in order to influence his crowds and emphasize certain points. Their purpose was to explain things simply and quite shortly, but very vividly. He created both dark and bright images in order to convey his message. Dark metaphors appear much more as King’s purpose was to motivate people to protest and do not be idle. He referred to the dark African-American history. The positive metaphors were used to emphasize the goal that justice will be for everyone. He wanted to unite people to change the history together.

3.1.1.3 *Parallelism*

Parallel structures have a similar or the same grammatical structure. A parallelism can be very long and complex, but it can also be simple and short. It creates balance in sentences as well as develops a rhythm and establishes a pattern. It makes speeches or texts understandable and easy to read or hear. Its symmetry, which is very pleasant for readers or hearers, helps to remember the text much easier. (Literary Terms 2015, Parallelism)

The first type of parallelism is called a synonymous parallelism, which function is to say the same thing, but in different ways. Its function is to convey a meaning and teach something important which should be remembered. (BibleGateway, n.d.) (Ligonier Ministries 2019) In the first speech, Dr. King used the synonymous parallelism when he talked about the religion. It is combined with the

allusion to the Bible. He wanted to stress the importance of the religion, which was the thing connecting his followers. The usage of two rhetorical devices made the passage memorable.

We believe in the Christian religion. We believe in the teachings of Jesus. (emphasis mine)

The second type of parallelisms is a synthetic parallelism which synthesizes two or more lines together. The typical feature is that successive lines build on, intensify or describe more in detail the first line. (BibleGateway, n.d.) (Ligonier Ministries 2019) This type is frequently used by Martin Luther King, Jr. This example shows the conditions of African-Americans in the South of the USA, which was full of racism. He successfully built on with each verb to the most intense verb in the end. In the transcript, it could be seen that people understood and agreed with him, which shows he used it correctly. The strongest emphasis is on the last verb as he made a short break before and after the verb. He used this word more times in this speech so it could mean he wanted to stress it.

Negroes have been **intimidated and humiliated and impressed—oppressed**—because of the sheer fact that they were Negroes. (*That's right*) (emphasis mine)

The second example does not intensify the successive lines but it emphasizes things for which blacks strive. The synthetic parallelism was used in order to remind the reasons why they should have reached out. These three things were very important at that time for all African-Americans, because the South was full injustice and inequality, as described in the chapter about this speech. This sentence and parallelism was followed by the applause, which shows that people agreed with him. This parallelism is also combined with the allusion to the Image of God and the Constitution, as freedom, justice and equality are in both.

And now we are reaching out for **the daybreak of freedom and justice and equality.**
[*applause*] (emphasis mine)

Other synthetic parallelisms were used very similarly as the previous examples. They were always used to make the passage memorable and easy-to-hear. Sentences with the parallel structures were used in order to say something important. The last type of parallelisms is an antithetic parallelism. It contrasts two or more lines in order to teach something, but this type was not used in the first speech. (BibleGateway, n.d.) (Ligonier Ministries 2019)

3.1.1.4 Allusions to the Bible and Others

The basic feature of allusions is that they refer to something. The author refers to other works or different parts of the current work. The Bible and other cultural works are mostly used. There are two types of allusions - external and internal. Internal allusions refer back to other part of the current document, whereas external allusions refer to something outside the document. The most important is that readers or hearers must know the thing to which the author refers. (Literary Terms 2015, Allusions)

Martin Luther King, Jr. referred very frequently to the Bible as he was the black preacher. Many allusions to the Bible, the Image of God, Jesus, God and such things appear in the first speech. In order to understand all these beliefs, it is needed to read the whole chapter about them. The Bible and religion were things which were very important for Dr. King and that is the reason why he used them often, but this is not the only reason. Other preachers, from whom he learnt, did that too and also because the religion was connecting all his followers. Not only the racial problems, but mostly the religion, which gave him reasons why to fight the racial problems.

The first two examples are external allusions referring to the Bible and its stories. The first example mentions the name Hosea, who is a minor prophet about whom is written one part in the Bible. The story of Hosea reminds people that the Scripture is not only full of abstract statements, but it is connected to real lives of people. There are repetitive themes in this story: God will bring judgement on sin, He always brings his people back to him and that God loved Israel, which was at that time the nation full people more interested in themselves rather than God's direction. (Swindoll 2019) With this allusion, King emphasized that God is not a fool loving people who are evil or not interested in Him. The idea that the Scripture is not full of abstract statements was very important for King that is maybe why he also chose to refer to this story. The following passage is about God's ability destroy the nations which refer to another theme of the story "God will bring judgement on sin." (Swindoll 2019)

The Almighty God himself is not the only, not the, not the God just standing out saying through Hosea, "I love you, Israel."

The second example is from a different part of the Bible. King quoted from Matthew 25:40: "And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done *it* unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done *it* unto me." (Stanford - MIA Mass Meeting at Holt Street Baptist Church, n.d.) He wanted to tell people that even though he did not use buses and this problem was not directly influencing him, he would fight for all blacks, because they were his brothers. If he had not done it, he would have failed as a Christian. In different words, he emphasized

that even though racial problems were not directly affecting him, he would fight for all blacks, who were oppressed by them.

I will not be content. I can hear a voice saying, "If you do it unto the least of these, my brother, you do it unto me."

As written in chapters about his beliefs and biography, Dr. King did not use only ideas from the Bible to support his Civil Rights Movement. Quite often, he was also referring to the Constitution, which should have given rights to all people. At the time of this speech, he believed that he could use the Constitution in order to prove that blacks deserve the rights as well, but later his opinion changed, as he declared that the Constitution was created for different purposes and it did not have any effects on blacks. He combined the Constitution with the ideas from the Bible in order to support his argument. In the first speech, there are allusions which combine things from the Bible and the Constitution at the same time.

This example uses the allusion to both the Bible and the Constitution. The first two sentences refer to the Constitution and the last two sentences refer to the Bible. It could show that King at that time really saw these both things as tools, which would establish equality in the society. These allusions stress that black people do not do anything wrong. If things such as protests, boycotts and others were wrong, then the Constitution and God are wrong and that was not possible. He used these allusion very cleverly in order to say that people deserved their rights.

If we are wrong, **the Supreme Court of this nation** is wrong. If we are wrong, **the Constitution of the United States** is wrong. If we are wrong, **God Almighty** is wrong. If we are wrong, **Jesus of Nazareth was merely a utopian dreamer that never came down to earth.** (emphasis mine)

As described in the chapter about his beliefs, the Image of God was very important in his civil rights movement as the Image of God gave him reasons why to fight against inequality, injustice and racism. In the first speech, several allusions to the Image of God appear. This example shows that all human beings have dignity and mean something. All people according to his beliefs are the children of God and therefore are equal. This allusion stresses this point, which was crucial in his beliefs.

We are merely insisting on **the dignity and worth of every human personality.**
(emphasis mine)

Allusion were used quite frequently in his first speech. Mostly allusions to the Bible and the Image of God appeared, but he also combined these allusions with the ideas from the Constitution to support his arguments. These all allusions were used in order to convey certain meanings. He also combined allusions with anaphors, metaphors and parallelisms to emphasize certain meanings.

3.1.2 The Second Speech: The Three Dimensions of a Complete Life - April 9, 1967

3.1.2.1 *Anaphora*

In the first example, the black preacher is trying to explain that God judges people not according what they have, their social status or their prizes, but the help for others. He does not say it directly, but instead of that he uses an anaphora, which repeats throughout the whole paragraph. Before this anaphora, there are two repetitions, which have a very similar meaning, but not a completely same structure. It could be said that this is a part of the anaphora too. The whole paragraph is finished with the sentence saying directly what will be the God's question for the last analysis. The statement is negated and therefore it is a parallelism. The whole paragraph emphasizes that God does not care about material things. King used this anaphora to make people memorize this important idea. From the transcript, it could be observed that people agreed and engaged with him. He kind of intensify the whole paragraph from the beginning till the end in order to stress the importance in the last sentence, together with the parallelism.

Oh, **there will be a day, the question won't be**, "How many awards did you get in life?" Not that day. (Yeah) It won't be, "How popular were you in your social setting?" **That won't be the question that day.** (Yeah) It will not ask how many degrees you've been able to get. (All right) **The question that day will not be** concerned with whether you are a "Ph.D." or a "no D." (That's right) It will not be concerned with whether you went to Morehouse or whether you went to "No House." (Yes) **The question that day will not be**, "How beautiful is your house?" (That's right) **The question that day will not be**, "How much money did you accumulate? How much did you have in stocks and bonds?" **The question that day will not be**, "What kind of automobile did you have?" **On that day the question will be**, "What did you do for others?" (That's right) (emphasis mine)

The next anaphora is at the end of this speech, which contains other rhetorical devices. It repeats the phrase "When you get all the three of these together." Its function is to make the conclusion that if people connect all three dimensions, which are mentioned in the whole speech, together, their life will be complete and happy. He also mentioned that if people connect these three dimensions, justice

will be gotten as well. This anaphora appears in successive paragraphs, whereas the previous example was only in one paragraph. The metaphor and allusion from the Book of Amos “judgement will roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream” is in this speech. This allusion was used in the first speech as well, which proves its repeated usage. (Green 2013) There are also hyperboles, such as “you can walk and never get weary,” (Isaiah 40:31) “the lamb will lie down with the lion” (Isaiah 11:6-9) and “you look up and every valley will be exalted, and every hill and mountain will be made low; the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places straight; and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh will see it together” (Isaiah 40:4), which are at the same time allusions to the Bible as well. These examples were put in the search engine for the Bible called *BibleHub*, which found out that all of examples are from the Book of Isaiah. These things are obviously exaggerated, because they are most probably not possible in the real life. King also quoted again from Matthew 25:40: “And the King [...] ye have done *it* unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done *it* unto me.” as in the first speech. (Stanford - MIA Mass Meeting at Holt Street Baptist Church, n.d.) The phrases “one blood God made all men to dwell upon the face of the earth” and “the sons of God” refer to the Image of God as all people are the children of God, who are equal. This is a great example how King combined rhetorical devices and repeated the ideas in his speeches and sermons.

And **when you get all three of these together**, you can walk and never get weary. You can look up and see the morning stars singing together, and the sons of God shouting for joy.

When you get all of these working together in your very life, judgement will roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream.

When you get all the three of these together, the lamb will lie down with the lion.

When you get all three of these together, you look up and every valley will be exalted, and every hill and mountain will be made low; the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places straight; and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh will see it together.

When you get all three of these working together, you will do unto others as you'd have them do unto you.

When you get all three of these together, you will recognize that out of one blood God made all men to dwell upon the face of the earth.

When you get all three of these together... (emphasis mine)

There are more anaphors in this speech and they mostly appear in the second half of the speech. It only proves that an anaphora was one of the most used rhetorical device by King. He probably

understood its emphasizing, memorizing, and rhythmical effect. Anaphors are very often combined with allusions, parallelisms and metaphors in order to convey the meaning.

3.1.2.2 *Metaphors*

There are only few metaphors in this speech and they are mostly combined with other rhetorical devices. They mostly serve to create an image, add color, provide detail and emphasize something. (Literary Terms 2015, Metaphor) The first example is a metaphor which has a negative connotation. It refers to people, who deny the existence of God, who do not believe in God and rather care about materialistic things. The metaphor compares distinct things - a high blood pressure and creeds; an anemia and deeds. He wanted to say that many people had many creeds, which is bad as the high blood pressure. According to *Merriam-Webster* dictionary, anemia is “a condition in which the blood is deficient in red blood cells, in hemoglobin, or in total volume.” Therefore the metaphor says that people were in the condition in which deeds are deficient in total volume. These metaphors compare the blood conditions with the Bible, in which is written about creeds and deeds. There are only few metaphors with negative connotations.

You’ve seen these people who have a **high blood pressure of creeds and an anemia of deeds.**

(emphasis mine)

The second example has two metaphors which are connected to each other with their meaning and have a positive connotation. The first metaphor compares two distinct things - the rag and music. He said that the guy cleaning shoes was trying hard and was so good, that he was making music with his rag. It brings a clear image and emphasizes King’s point. The second metaphor is directly connected with the first one by its meaning. It says that the guy “has Ph.D. in shoe shining.” This degree does not exist, but King metaphorically expressed how skilled this guy was and how amazing experience it was. It made the sentence much more interesting and created the certain image in minds of his listeners. It deeply emphasized King’s point that not all people have great jobs, do great and big things, but there are people, who do regular jobs and live regular lives. According to him, not everyone is meant to do something huge and important, but that is the life. On the other hand, people should not be sad or angry because of that, but they should rather try hard to do the best in everything, as the shoe shiner does. Only few metaphors with the positive connotation appear in this speech.

He would get that rag, you know, and **he could bring music out of it.** And I said to myself,

"This fellow has a Ph.D. in shoe shining." (emphasis mine)

There is a balance between negative and positive metaphors. In general, metaphors do not appear frequently in this speech. More rhetorical devices are combined with metaphors in order to create a certain effect and a meaning. Most of metaphors in this speech, both negative and positive, contain allusions to the Bible. They mostly have the same effect and purpose as the previous examples - to emphasize, create an image and add color.

3.1.2.3 *Parallelism*

The first type of parallelism is a synonymous parallelism, which function is to say the same thing, but in different ways. Its function is to convey a meaning or teach something important. (BibleGateway, n.d.) (Ligonier Ministries 2019) There are few examples of synonymous parallelisms in this speech and they all emphasize certain meanings and make people remember them. The example of the synonymous parallelism emphasizes that people's life work is at the same time the work to which they were called by God. In the preceding part of this speech, King taught people that after they discovered their work, they should have done this work as good as possible. This example could be also considered as an allusion to the Bible, because it says that God calls people to do something, to do certain work and not that people decide by their own what they want to do. The examples says that God in the center of everything.

And after we've discovered what God called us to do, after we've discovered our life's work, we should set out to do that work so well that the living, the dead, or the unborn couldn't do it any better. (emphasis mine)

The second type of parallelism is a synthetic parallelism which synthesizes two or more lines together. The typical feature is that successive lines build on, intensify or describe more in detail the first line. (BibleGateway, n.d.) (Ligonier Ministries 2019) There are several examples in the first speech of synthetic parallelisms. The first example in the end of this speech synthesizes and intensifies four successive lines. This passage intensifies the whole paragraph, which ends with the repetition recalling his divine experience, "He promised never to leave me, [...], He promised never to leave me, never to leave me alone." which builds on even more. The lighting flash and thunder roll are two related things. The first is the flash, which is the image, which is followed by the thunder, the sound. This logical structure is related to the following sentences. Firstly, King saw the sin-breakers dashing - the image, and then he heard Jesus saying him to continue fighting - the sound. Words "soul" and "on" also create a rhyme, which helps to intensify the lines, but also makes the sentences more memorable and entertaining.

I've seen the lightning flash. I've heard the thunder roll. I've felt sin-breakers dashing, trying to conquer my soul. But I heard the voice of Jesus saying still to fight on.

The second example, which is in the end of this speech, synthesizes four lines. The whole paragraph in which is this parallelism is about the idea that God is not described in the philosophical or complicated terms. King wanted to say that God should be rather described in much simpler and easier terms such as "a lily of the valley," "a bright and morning star," or "my mother and my father." God should be described in understandable words. The famous preacher began saying that God is his everything and then he continued to describe more in detail what exactly he means by "everything." The last sentence says that God is a friend to all people. King expressed it with a chiasmus.

And then somewhere you ought to just reach out and say, "**He's my everything. He's my mother and my father. He's my sister and my brother. He's a friend to the friendless.**" (emphasis mine)

The last type of parallelisms is an antithetic parallelism. It contrasts two or more lines in order to teach something. (BibleGateway, n.d.) (Ligonier Ministries 2019) There are only few examples of antithetic parallelisms in this speech. This example of the antithetic parallelism can be found in the middle of this speech. It refers to the biblical story about "a man who fell among thieves" on the Jericho Road and "the priest and the Levite", who did not help him, but then the good Samaritan came and helped him. King referred to this story because he wanted to teach a memorable and moral lesson. He reversed the question and contrasted two lines in order to emphasize the good thing which the good Samaritan did and stressed the morality of Samaritan's action.

But the good Samaritan came by and he reversed the question. Not "**What will happen to me if I stop to help this man?**" but "**What will happen to this man if I do not stop to help him?**" This was why that man was good and great. He was great because he was willing to take a risk for humanity; he was willing to ask, "What will happen to this man?" not "What will happen to me?" (emphasis mine)

There are more examples of synonymous, synthetic and antithetic parallelisms in this speech. They usually have the same function as the examples mentioned above. A parallelism is a frequently used rhetorical device by Martin Luther King, Jr. in this speech, but in other speeches as well. He probably understood its power. The parallelism also co-appear with other rhetorical devices as King often combined more of rhetorical devices together.

3.1.2.4 Allusions to the Bible and Others

The basic feature of allusions is that the author refers to other works or different parts of the current work. (Literary Terms 2015, Allusion) The first example is long, but it describes the whole idea of this speech and how King created it. This example is immediately in the beginning of this speech, because he firstly needed to introduce the topic of this speech. King started narrating the story of a man called John, who was imprisoned on an island called Patmos. It is a first allusion to the Bible. Later, it can be found that the story is from the Book of Revelation. The story is about John seeing Jerusalem, the city from heaven, which was complete on all sides. Then King used the allusion to the sixteenth verse of this book: "The length and the breadth and the height of it are equal." which shows that King read and used the King James Version of the Bible. This example shows that this idea of three-dimensions of life is not his own, but it is taken from the Bible. He only talked about it more in detail. King referred to these terms from the Bible many times throughout this speech. There are other allusions to the Bible, but this is the best example showing the importance of the Bible in his speeches.

Many, many centuries ago, there was a man by the name of John who found himself in prison out on a lonely, obscure island called Patmos. And I've been in prison just enough to know that it's a lonely experience. (That's right) [...] And while John was out on this lonely island in prison, (That's right) he lifted his vision to high heaven (All right, He did) and he saw, descending out of heaven, a new heaven (All right) and a new earth. (That's right) Over in the twenty-first chapter of the book of Revelation, it opens by saying, "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth. (All right) And I John saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, (All right) coming down from God out of heaven." (Oh yeah)

And one of the greatest glories of this new city of God that John saw was its completeness. (That's right) It was not up on one side and down on the other, (All right) but it was complete in all three of its dimensions. (Yes) And so in this same chapter as we looked down to the sixteenth verse, John says, "The length and the breadth (He did, he did) and the height of it are equal." (Yes, sir) In other words, this new city of God, this new city of ideal humanity is not an unbalanced entity, (No) but is complete on all sides. (Yes) [...] He's saying at bottom that life as it should be and life at its best (Yeah) is a life that is complete on all sides.

And there are three dimensions of any complete life to which we can fitly give the words of this text: length, breadth, and height. (Yes) Now the length of life as we shall use it here is the inward concern for one's own welfare. (Yes) [...] The breadth of life as we shall use it here is the outward concern for the welfare of others. (All right) And the height of life is the

upward reach for God. (All right) Now you got to have all three of these to have a complete life.

The second example is an allusion to a different text. King directly mentioned the name of the book by a Jewish rabbi, the late Joshua Leibman. From this book, he paraphrased the idea that people should love themselves in order to love others. It is the allusion to the book. The idea from the book supported his idea about the breadth of life, which is about self-interest. This example also shows King's tolerance to other religions. It shows how important for him was the idea that everyone, every race; age; gender and belief can be a part of the Beloved Community. The Beloved Community was King's end goal as described in the chapter about his beliefs.

A great Jewish rabbi, the late Joshua Leibman, wrote a book some years ago entitled *Peace of Mind*. And he has a chapter in that book entitled "**Love Thyself Properly.**" **And what he says in that chapter, in substance, is that before you can love other selves adequately, you've got to love your own self properly.** (emphasis mine)

These next examples refer to the Image of God described in the chapter about his beliefs. The ideas from these three examples served as the moral base for his activism. The first example says that God gave life to all people and therefore all people are his children. This was King's main argument saying that all people are therefore equal. The second example refers to "Somebodyness", which is the idea stressing that each individual is "somebody" and therefore all people should have rights. This is also the argument which was supporting equality. The last example is about dignity, which was one of very important ideas for King. All these ideas are connected to each other providing King the moral basis of his activism. King was probably mentioning these ideas to support his Civil Rights Movement, emphasize the reasons why to fight, remind people that they should have not been the oppressed ones of the society, but mainly because these ideas were personally very close to King.

God gave all of us something significant. And we must pray every day, asking God to help us to accept ourselves. (emphasis mine)

A Negro got to rise up and say from the bottom of his soul, "**I am somebody.**" (emphasis mine)

But we must see **the dignity of all labor.** (emphasis mine)

The last example shows King saying lines from the poem by the American poet Douglas Malloch called *Be the Best of Whatever You Are*. However, King used only the first and last stanza of this

poem. (Bachlund 2009) The reason why he recited this poem was probably that this poem was suiting his topic about which he was talking at the moment - people should put the maximum effort in everything they do. King directly mentioned the name of the author of this poem before he used Malloch's poem. It only proves that King used poems, hymns or other chants in his speeches as described in the chapter about his rhetoric. This time he used it in the edited form. (W. Jason Miller 2013, 425-428)

If you can't be a pine on the top of a hill
Be a scrub in the valley—but be
The best little scrub on the side of the hill,
Be a bush if you can't be a tree.

If you can't be a highway just be a trail
If you can't be the sun be a star;
It isn't by size that you win or fail—
Be the best of whatever you are.

There are many other allusions, which are used similarly as previous examples. Allusions were one of very frequently used rhetorical devices in King's speeches. He often referred to the Bible, which was connecting all people. It gave him ideas about which he could talk about. It inspired him and helped to convey certain meanings. This sermon is full of allusions to the Bible, because this speech was a sermon given in the church. Other allusion to the book of the Jewish rabbi or poem are in this speech.

3.1.3 Linguistic Results

An anaphora is the most used rhetorical device in both of his speeches. They are used to bring the rhythm, make the passages memorable and to emphasize certain ideas. Their function is to stress certain ideas, which should be memorized. All these anaphors are combined with other rhetorical devices in both speeches, mostly metaphors and allusions. However, they are combined with other rhetorical devices, which are not the part of this analysis. He probably knew their strength and that is why he used them frequently. It only proves one of his main features.

The first speech contains many metaphors which have a negative connotation and create dark images. King probably used them to motivate people for protests and to refer to the dark history of black people in the USA. Few positive metaphors appear as well and they emphasized the shared goal of all black people. The second speech has less metaphors which have an equal number of dark and

positive metaphors. The reason of this change could lay in the context of both speeches as the first one is the bus boycott and the second one is a sermon. All metaphors in both speeches serve to emphasize something, create an image and add color. Metaphors are usually used with anaphors and allusions to the Bible. The proof can be the positive metaphor from the first speech, which is at the same time the allusion to the Book of Amos that also appears in the second speech standing together with the anaphora. That is the similarity between these speeches.

Parallelisms are very often used by Dr. King in both of his speeches. The first type of parallelisms is a synonymous parallelism. Synonymous parallelisms do not frequently appear in the first speech, but the second speech contain much more of them. They stand together with other rhetorical devices such as metaphors, anaphors and allusions. The second type is a synthetic parallelism. It is the type which King used the most. They build on, intensify or describe more in detail the first line in order to emphasize and remind something to his crowds. They are combined with allusions only. It is a powerful combination of intensifying allusions, which make the passage dramatic and memorable. The last type are antithetic parallelisms which are only in the second speech and are always somehow related to the Bible. Their effects are to teach people something, emphasize and make the passage memorable. This type stands together only with allusions. It could show the certain development of King's usage of rhetorical devices. He probably understood the power of this last type and therefore he used it more frequently in the last years of his career.

Allusions to the Bible appear very frequently in both speeches, because Dr. King was the preacher, the religion played a very important role in his activism and he was the Baptist for whom the Bible is the center. The second speech has more allusions to the Bible than the first one. The reason is that the first one was the MIA Mass Meeting, which purpose was the bus boycott, but the second speech was a sermon in the church, where allusions to the Bible are expected more. It could be said that allusions had a much more important role in the second speech as King was practically speaking only about these ideas from the biblical story. However, allusions were also very important in the first speech as they served as examples for his ideas and meanings. In both of speeches, King often referred to the Image of God, which served as the moral base for his Civil Rights Movement. He did not use only allusions to the Bible and the Image of God but also few allusions to the Constitution, the book of the Jewish rabbi and the poem by the American poet. They only helped to support his ideas. Allusions to the Bible were very important for his speeches because they referred to things which people knew and therefore they supported the unity. They served as examples to teach something, convey meanings, express ideas and make the speech more interesting.

All analyzed rhetorical devices are combined in order to say something to people. Especially allusions appear in his speeches the most and are combined with other rhetorical devices. The importance and usage of rhetorical devices change in both speeches as the first speech began the bus

boycott and the second one was the sermon. King was probably aware of this and that is why he intentionally chose certain rhetorical devices dependable on the context and situation. Their effects change, but it could be said that mostly they emphasize, make easy-to-hear and memorable passages and lastly promote unity among people. The usage of antithetic parallelisms in the second speech could show that Dr. King improved throughout his life in the usage of rhetorical devices, as this type of parallelisms is quite difficult to use. There are also similarities as King used certain rhetorical devices repeatedly. The used rhetorical devices and analyzed speeches reflect King's life, the current situations, the history and his beliefs, which are all described in the theoretical part. All rhetorical devices together with the context, situation and time distinguish both speeches.

3.1.4 Legacy and Background Differences

As it is visible in the practical and theoretical part of this thesis, the context distinguish both speeches. The first speech is held at the beginning of his social activism, when he gave the speech, which started the Montgomery Bus Boycott. At that time, the civil rights leader fought for the rights of black people in the South. King was empowered by his beliefs in God and the Constitution. However, he lost his belief to the Constitution, because he understood that it would not help blacks. After the huge success of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, he had other achievements in various cities in the American South, such as Selma or Birmingham, but he realized that the problems were in the whole USA. Because of the rising popularity of Malcolm X and other black militant groups fighting against the white society in the North, King decided to help African-Americans there. He tried to do his best, but was not very successful and experienced his first loss. He understood that the problem was much bigger. In order to fight inequality, he needed to change his focus to all poor people in the USA.

The second speech dates to times before his death, when his focus has already changed. Even though the second speech does not directly showing the change, it is a sermon, which is for everyone - both whites and blacks. It is not aimed against whites as the first speech. Because of poor people and the automation threatening both whites and blacks, he was calling for a new economic order and redistribution of political power as the only solution to solve the situation of poor people. He believed that this was also a chance for blacks, because they could create a coalition with all poor people in order to have enough power to make the change of the society and lobby for the social reform, which would help all. He wanted economic revolution and justice. According to him, there were three evils in the USA: racism, economic exploitation and war. With his planned nonviolent campaign The Poor People's Campaign, he wanted to fight all these evils to shape the better future for all. It supposed to be the campaign which would have supported poor people in the nation, but this campaign did not start because of King's death.

In 1964, the president Lyndon B. Johnson declared the War on Poverty and since that more than \$22 trillion had been spent on this purpose. Johnson's intention was to turn poor people from consumers of taxes to taxpayers and make poor families self-sufficient. (Rector 2014) But the exact opposite happened as the state started providing poor people with welfare aid to and they adapted. (Rector 2014) (Woodhill 2014) The report from 2013 by U.S. Census Bureau show that the percentage of poor Americans was almost same as in the year 1967, when the war began. The conditions of people improved, because of the welfare given by the state, but families are not self-sufficient. In general, the welfare system discourages work and penalizes marriages. When the war began, around 7% of American children were born outside the marriage, but in 2013 the percentage was 41 %. This collapse of marriage is the main reason why children poverty exists. (Rector 2014) For example, when an unmarried girl had a baby, she was automatically marked as poor and she received the state aid. The responsibility of fathers decreased and therefore parents lose their control over their children. At that time, it was a rise of gangs and the crime rates increased, because many uncontrolled children joined these gangs. This war was something similar like King was planning as he wanted the guaranteed income and other aids for poor people. (Weismann 2013) (Wilhelm 1979, 13) The War on Poverty could show the possible results of King's idea as the poverty percentage has not decreased, marriages have collapsed and crime rates have increased. Especially the collapse of marriages would be against King's beliefs.

King's religious faith and social vision led him to criticize the unneeded Vietnam War, which sacrificed young people without jobs. He did not like that the nation rather spent more money on military than on social programs which were needed. (Harding 1987, 474) Many anti-war movements were protesting against the war from 1957 till the end of war in 1973. The early Vietnam War opposition was using the Civil Rights Movement nonviolent strategy. The first major protests started in 1964, which were not only against the Vietnam War, but also spread the consciousness in support of King's Civil Rights Movement. The opposition was oppressed by the government, which tried to promote the Vietnam War among citizens. (Zunes 2010) (Bar ringer 2014) The anti-war movement radicalized and developed more militant way of protests. After the U.S. invasion to Cambodia in 1970, the tensions escalated with many anti-war violent and nonviolent demonstrations in universities and other places. The frequency of violent protests increased but the majority of protests stayed nonviolent. The movement forced the U.S. to sign a peace treaty in 1973. The U.S. anti-war movement had achieved a record of nonviolent action. (Zunes 2010) That is another war won to which King contributed. His nonviolent strategy is a part of his legacy.

The civil rights leader's historical contributions changed life of many African-Americans. It could be said that whites and blacks have equal rights in the USA. The proof is that this nation had its first African-American president Barack Obama. The connection between them is clear as Barack

Obama in his 2008 speech, when he accepted the nomination from his political party, used the same voice-merging and other rhetorical features used by King. It was exactly 45 years from King's most famous speech "I Have a Dream." The presidential candidate reminded his crowds about the racial significance at the moment when he was making the history, same as King. (Miller 2013, 434-435) In 2011, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s National Memorial was fittingly opened by Obama to remind all people about the importance of King's legacy and the civil rights leader's life. (Walker 2016) Later in 2013, Obama, in his 2013 speech for 50th anniversary celebrations of March on Washington, said that King's dream of economic equality was unfulfilled. (Lewis 2013) However Obama's presidency show that the nation also did not truly change. (Younger 2016) Both of them did not have enough time to achieve everything and their dreams were not fulfilled.

CONCLUSION

Martin Luther King, Jr. combined rhetorical devices in order to emphasize certain points, make ideas from his speeches memorable and also to bring the unity to his Civil Rights Movement. Anaphors, metaphors, parallelisms and allusions mostly stand together in order to convey King's point. The change in the usage of rhetorical devices can be observed in both speeches as one of them is from his early years and the second one is from the time before his death. The situation and context strongly influence both speeches as well as the choice of rhetorical devices. The first speech is delivered at MIA Mass Meeting, which was against the bus segregation, whereas the second speech is held in the church in Chicago and therefore it is rather a sermon. Same or similar rhetorical devices appear in both speeches.

There are certain differences between the early and late King's beliefs, his life and the Civil Rights Movement focus, which can be observed in both analyzed speeches. The first speech was at the time when King started his career as the civil rights activist at the beginning of Montgomery Bus Boycott, which was aimed against the racial segregation in buses. At this time, King believed that the racial segregation in the South was illegal and immoral because of the Constitution and the Bible. He lost his belief in the Constitution, but his religious beliefs supported his activism throughout his whole life. King was successful in the South but when he went to support African-Americans in the North, he experienced his first big defeat. He realized that he had to change his focus and strategy. He changed his focus to all poor people in the USA. He was preparing the new campaign the Poor People's Campaign and calling for economic revolution and the redistribution of political power. However he did not start it because of his tragic death.

The president Johnson's War on Poverty was aimed to fight the poverty in the USA. His administration started providing poor people with welfare aid, which was something what King was dreaming about as he wanted the guaranteed income to all poor people in the USA. It improved the conditions of the people but the poverty percentage did not really change, marriages started collapsing and the crime rate increased. The guaranteed income, about which King was dreaming, could have these consequences. He was strongly against the Vietnam War. Because of his sudden death, he was followed by the anti-war movement using his nonviolent strategy. The anti-war movement won the battle in 1973 and had achieved a record of nonviolent action. Barack Obama is the proof that African-Americans have equal rights. The connection between Obama and King was clear as Obama often referred to King, but both of them did not have enough time to fulfill their dreams.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I : MIA Mass Meeting - December 5, 1955

Source: (Stanford - MIA Mass Meeting at Holt Street Baptist Church, n.d.)

The first mass meeting of the Montgomery Improvement Association attracted several thousand people to the spacious Holt Street Baptist Church, in a black working-class section of Montgomery. Both the sanctuary and the basement auditorium were filled well before the proceedings began, and an audience outside listened via loudspeakers. In addition to reporters, photographers, and two television crews, black leaders from other Alabama cities such as Birmingham, Mobile, and Tuscaloosa were among those in attendance. The meeting opened with two hymns, "Onward Christian Soldiers" and "Leaning on the Everlasting Arms," a prayer by Rev. W.F. Alford, and a Scripture reading (Psalm 34) by Rev. U.J. Fields.

King then delivered an address that he had quickly composed before the meeting. He later recalled the questions in his mind as he considered what to say: "How could I make a speech that would be militant enough to keep my people aroused to positive action and yet moderate enough to keep this fervor within controllable and Christian bounds? I knew that many of the Negro people were victims of bitterness that could easily rise to flood proportions. What could I say to keep them courageous and prepared for positive action and yet devoid of hate and resentment? Could the militant and the moderate be combined in a single speech?"

In his speech, King described the mistreatment of black bus passengers and the civil disobedience of Rosa Parks, and then justified the nonviolent protest by appealing to African-American Christian faith in love and justice and the American democratic tradition of legal protest.

A quiet pause followed King's address, then great applause. Rev. Edgar N. French of the Hilliard Chapel AME Zion Church introduced Rosa Parks and Fred Daniel, a student at Alabama State College who had been arrested that morning on a disorderly conduct charge (later dismissed) for allegedly preventing a woman from getting on a bus. Rev. Abernathy read the resolutions that he, King, and others on the resolution committee had drafted. The assembly voted overwhelmingly in favor, resolving "to refrain from riding buses... until some arrangement has been worked out" with the bus company. King appealed for funds, then left to speak at a YMCA fathers and sons banquet.

[King:] My friends, we are certainly very happy to see each of you out this evening. We are here this evening for serious business. [Audience:] (Yes) We are here in a general sense because first and foremost we are American citizens (*That's right*) and we are determined to apply our citizenship to the fullness of its meaning. (*Yeah, That's right*) We are here also because of our love for democracy

(Yes), because of our deep-seated belief that democracy transformed from thin paper to thick action (Yes) is the greatest form of government on earth. (That's right)

But we are here in a specific sense, because of the bus situation in Montgomery. (Yes) We are here because we are determined to get the situation corrected. This situation is not at all new. The problem has existed over endless years. (That's right) For many years now Negroes in Montgomery and so many other areas have been inflicted with the paralysis of crippling fears (Yes) on buses in our community. (That's right) On so many occasions, Negroes have been intimidated and humiliated and impressed—oppressed—because of the sheer fact that they were Negroes. (That's right) I don't have time this evening to go into the history of these numerous cases. Many of them now are lost in the thick fog of oblivion (Yes), but at least one stands before us now with glaring dimensions. (Yes)

Just the other day, just last Thursday to be exact, one of the finest citizens in Montgomery (Amen)—not one of the finest Negro citizens (That's right), but one of the finest citizens in Montgomery—was taken from a bus (Yes) and carried to jail and arrested (Yes) because she refused to get up to give her seat to a white person. (Yes, That's right) Now the press would have us believe that she refused to leave a reserved section for Negroes (Yes), but I want you to know this evening that there is no reserved section. (All right) The law has never been clarified at that point. (Hell no) Now I think I speak with, with legal authority—not that I have any legal authority, but I think I speak with legal authority behind me (All right)—that the law, the ordinance, the city ordinance has never been totally clarified. (That's right)

Mrs. Rosa Parks is a fine person. (Well, well said) And, since it had to happen, I'm happy that it happened to a person like Mrs. Parks, for nobody can doubt the boundless outreach of her integrity. (Sure enough) Nobody can doubt the height of her character (Yes), nobody can doubt the depth of her Christian commitment and devotion to the teachings of Jesus. (All right) And I'm happy since it had to happen, it happened to a person that nobody can call a disturbing factor in the community. (All right) Mrs. Parks is a fine Christian person, unassuming, and yet there is integrity and character there. And just because she refused to get up, she was arrested.

And you know, my friends, there comes a time when people get tired of being trampled over by the iron feet of oppression. [thundering applause] There comes a time, my friends, when people get tired of being plunged across the abyss of humiliation, where they experience the bleakness of nagging despair. (Keep talking) There comes a time when people get tired of being pushed out of the glittering sunlight of life's July and left standing amid the piercing chill of an alpine November. (That's right) [applause] There comes a time. (Yes sir, Teach) [applause continues]

We are here, we are here this evening because we're tired now. *(Yes)* [applause] And I want to say that we are not here advocating violence. *(No)* We have never done that. *(Repeat that, Repeat that)* [applause] I want it to be known throughout Montgomery and throughout this nation *(Well)* that we are Christian people. *(Yes)* [applause] We believe in the Christian religion. We believe in the teachings of Jesus. *(Well)* The only weapon that we have in our hands this evening is the weapon of protest. *(Yes)* [applause] That's all.

And certainly, certainly, this is the glory of America, with all of its faults. *(Yeah)* This is the glory of our democracy. If we were incarcerated behind the iron curtains of a Communistic nation we couldn't do this. If we were dropped in the dungeon of a totalitarian regime we couldn't do this. *(All right)* But the great glory of American democracy is the right to protest for right. *(That's right)* [applause] My friends, don't let anybody make us feel that we are to be compared in our actions with the Ku Klux Klan or with the White Citizens Council. [applause] There will be no crosses burned at any bus stops in Montgomery. *(Well, That's right)* There will be no white persons pulled out of their homes and taken out on some distant road and lynched for not cooperating. [applause] There will be nobody amid, among us who will stand up and defy the Constitution of this nation. [applause] We only assemble here because of our desire to see right exist. [applause] My friends, I want it to be known that we're going to work with grim and bold determination to gain justice on the buses in this city. [applause]

And we are not wrong, we are not wrong in what we are doing. *(Well)* If we are wrong, the Supreme Court of this nation is wrong. *(Yes sir)* [applause] If we are wrong, the Constitution of the United States is wrong. *(Yes)* [applause] If we are wrong, God Almighty is wrong. *(That's right)* [applause] If we are wrong, Jesus of Nazareth was merely a utopian dreamer that never came down to earth. *(Yes)* [applause] If we are wrong, justice is a lie. *(Yes)* Love has no meaning. [applause] And we are determined here in Montgomery to work and fight until justice runs down like water *(Yes)* [applause], and righteousness like a mighty stream. *(Keep talking)* [applause]

I want to say that in all of our actions we must stick together. *(That's right)* [applause] Unity is the great need of the hour *(Well, That's right)*, and if we are united we can get many of the things that we not only desire but which we justly deserve. *(Yeah)* And don't let anybody frighten you. *(Yeah)* We are not afraid of what we are doing *(Oh no)*, because we are doing it within the law. *(All right)* There is never a time in our American democracy that we must ever think we're wrong when we protest. *(Yes sir)* We reserve that right. When labor all over this nation came to see that it would be trampled

over by capitalistic power, it was nothing wrong with labor getting together and organizing and protesting for its rights. *(That's right)*

We, the disinherited of this land, we who have been oppressed so long, are tired of going through the long night of captivity. And now we are reaching out for the daybreak of freedom and justice and equality. *[applause]* May I say to you my friends, as I come to a close, and just giving some idea of why we are assembled here, that we must keep—and I want to stress this, in all of our doings, in all of our deliberations here this evening and all of the week and while—whatever we do, we must keep God in the forefront. *(Yeah)* Let us be Christian in all of our actions. *(That's right)* But I want to tell you this evening that it is not enough for us to talk about love, love is one of the pivotal points of the Christian face, faith. There is another side called justice. And justice is really love in calculation. *(All right)* Justice is love correcting that which revolts against love. *(Well)*

The Almighty God himself is not the only, not the, not the God just standing out saying through Hosea, “I love you, Israel.” He’s also the God that stands up before the nations and said: “Be still and know that I’m God *(Yeah)*, that if you don’t obey me I will break the backbone of your power *(Yeah)* and slap you out of the orbits of your international and national relationships.” *(That's right)* Standing beside love is always justice, and we are only using the tools of justice. Not only are we using the tools of persuasion, but we’ve come to see that we’ve got to use the tools of coercion. Not only is this thing a process of education, but it is also a process of legislation. *[applause]*

As we stand and sit here this evening and as we prepare ourselves for what lies ahead, let us go out with a grim and bold determination that we are going to stick together. *[applause]* We are going to work together. *[applause]* Right here in Montgomery, when the history books are written in the future *(Yes)*, somebody will have to say, “There lived a race of people *(Well)*, a black people *(Yes sir)*, ‘fleecy locks and black complexion’ *(Yes)*, a people who had the moral courage to stand up for their rights. *[applause]* And thereby they injected a new meaning into the veins of history and of civilization.” And we’re gonna do that. God grant that we will do it before it is too late. *(Oh yeah)* As we proceed with our program let us think of these things. *(Yes) [applause]*

[recording interrupted]... Mrs. Parks and Mr. Fred Daniel. He will tell you why they’re being, you know why Mrs. Parks is being presented, and also Mr. Fred Daniel will be presented. Reverend French will make the presentation.

[French:] Fellow American citizens. I say “American citizens” because I believe tonight more than any other time in my whole life that we have arrived at the point in life where we can see for ourselves

a new destiny. *(Yes)* Our horizons are broader. I think the record of our racial group speaks with various languages attesting to the fact that we have been, since the lifting of the bonds of slavery, law-abiding, honest, tax-paying citizens of America. *(Yeah)* [applause] And we believe that our record warrants for us *(All right)* the recognition of citizens of America. *(Yes)* We don't mean Negro citizens. We don't mean second-rate citizens. We simply mean citizens of America. *(That's right)* [applause] I have a responsibility to and for a group of students. Like possibly many of you out there before me, I have the responsibility of teaching them democracy. I don't have to remind you that when occurrences like these take place and many of the other things that have happened occur, and when they begin firing questions away at you, you feel just a little unequal to the task of formulating them into real citizens of America. *(Yes)* But that's our solemn responsibility. And each of us, I'm sure, has accepted that responsibility, and we are going to do our best with molding these [recording interrupted]... active in civic and social affairs in the community. [applause] An upstanding, law-abiding citizen, one who would deprive no one of rights that belong to them. *(All right)* [applause] It has already been pointed out to you time and again that she was ordered from her seat on the bus, a public conveyance for which she had paid the legal fare. *(Well)* [applause] What difference does it make even if the president of the United States—and [he's?] the greatest individual in these United States of America that I know about [applause]—if he had gotten on the bus? Mrs. Parks was a lady, and any gentleman would allow a lady to have a seat. *(Speak up)* [applause] But because other passengers came after she was seated, she was ordered to leave her seat, and because she refused, she was put in jail. I have the responsibility, and it's not an easy task, to present to you the victim of this gross injustice, almost inhumanity, and absolute undemocratic principle: Mrs. Rosa Parks. [applause] [recording interrupted]

You know, during my life I've heard tell of a number of false alarms, but I have a responsibility of presenting another victim. President, late President Franklin Delano Roosevelt said some years ago, in one of his fireside chats to the people of this nation, that there is nothing to fear but fear itself. *(All right)* [applause] When we become victims of fear, it is hard indeed to explain our actions. *(All right)* Thank God I feel that I can say this evening that we are moving sanely and soberly. We are not allowing our emotions to control us. We are guiding and channeling our emotions to the extent that we feel that God shall give us the victory. [applause]

The press would have us believe that someone has organized some goon squads, whatever that is [laughter], whose purpose it was to molest and intimidate those who attempted to board the city buses this morning. But if that kind of thing happened, thank God I don't know anything about it. *(That's right)* But somebody became a victim of that kind of fear and notion. And you know, the psychologists have a way of saying that if you begin thinking of things strong enough, you can

become such a victim of that kind of thing until it becomes a reality to you. [applause] Somebody saw a young man, a citizen of America, attending the courtesies that any young man would attend a lady walking down the street. And he was so engrossed with the idea of intimidation and violence that even the light, gentle touch of the hand appeared to be an act of molesting to this individual. (*That's right, Speak up*)

Now the press again would have you believe that here was a young man who latched on to a lady who was attempting to board the bus and wrestled her away from the door, saying, "You can't ride this bus. I won't allow you to do it." (*Yes*) [applause] But I have the responsibility of presenting to you the gentleman that is so erroneously accused. Again we present a young man, an American citizen, one who is preparing himself for greater service to this country, a student at Alabama State College [applause], a member of the First Baptist Church of the city of Montgomery [applause], a young man who is so industrious and zealous about his undertaking and his studies, until he gets up early hours in the morning and carries a paper route before he goes to school and makes good grades in the classroom. I have the responsibility of presenting Mr. Fred Daniel. (*Yes*) [applause] [recording interrupted]

They have the moral courage to stand. But these alone cannot win this victory that inevitably must be ours. (*All right*) [applause] Each of us here, and those who are not here tonight, have a responsibility in this great task. (*Yes*) And I'm pleading to you, this evening, to let every one of us, under God, join our hands and hearts together in this great concerted effort. And let each of us go out from here resolved as never before in our lives, to never give back one inch until we shall be accorded the full respect and rights. [applause] [recording interrupted]

[*King:*] I think we are moving on with a great deal of enthusiasm this evening, the type of thing that we need in our efforts. And we are certainly very happy to see that, indeed. We at least see that you are with this cause and you are with our struggle. It is a struggle for all of us, not just one, but all (*Yeah*), and we're gonna stick with it. I'd like to say just before we move to the next point that I'm very happy to see all over this audience some of the outstanding figures from over the state. (*Right*) Montgomery is not only here but I see folk here from Mobile and Birmingham and Tuscaloosa and some of our other points in Alabama. [applause] I see Reverend Ware here from Birmingham, one of the outstanding ministers of our state and a great champion of civil rights; and then that stalwart, militant Christian gentleman, Emory Jackson of the *Birmingham World*, we're certainly happy to see him here, one of the greats in our struggle for democracy and first-class citizenship; and many others that I will not take our time to mention. I'm very happy to see them here.

Now at this point, Reverend Abernathy, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Montgomery, will come to us and read the resolutions and recommendations. I want you to listen to this, and be very careful in listening to it. Listen with a great deal of interest so that you will know everything he said, because we want you to vote on it after it's over. Reverend Abernathy of the First Baptist Church.

[*Abernathy*]: Thank you, Dr. King. All of you who know me, know very well that I would love to make a speech now. [*laughter, applause*] I, whenever you start talking about freedom and start talking about justice, you know I have something to say about it. (*Well*) And you further know, those of you who heard me on this past Sunday morning by radio, beyond a shadow of doubt I stand for integration in this American society. (*Amen*) [*applause*] But I have been asked to read these resolutions and I want to read them carefully to you in order that you might understand them. I've only received them a few moments ago, and it may be that I'll read slow. I'm sorry that some members of the press have dismissed themselves, because there are some things in here I'd really want them to have. [*applause*] I certainly hope, I certainly hope that the television man will come back. (*Well*) [*applause*] You know, it isn't fair to get part of it. I want you to get all of it. [*applause*] I guess I better read. (*Read*) [*laughter, applause*] Resolution:

Whereas, there are thousands of Negroes in the city and county of Montgomery who ride buses owned and operated by the Montgomery City Lines, Incorporated, and

Whereas, said citizens have been riding buses owned and operated by said company over a number of years, and

Whereas, said citizens, over a number of years, and on many occasions, have been insulted, embarrassed (*Yeah*), and have been made to suffer great fear of bodily harm (*That's right*) by drivers of buses owned and operated by said bus company (*Yeah*), and

Whereas, the drivers of said buses have never requested a white passenger riding on any of its buses to relinquish his seat and to stand so that a Negro may take his seat. [*applause*] However, said drivers have on many occasions, too numerous to mention, requested Negro passengers on said buses to relinquish their seats and to stand so that white passengers may take their seats [*applause*], and

Whereas, said citizens of Montgomery city and county pay their fares just as all other persons who are passengers on said buses (*All right*) and are entitled to fair and equal treatment (*Yeah*) [*applause*], and

Whereas, there has been any number of arrests of Negroes caused by drivers of said buses, and they are constantly put in jail for refusing to give white passengers their seats and to stand. (*All right*)
[*applause*]

Whereas, in March of 1955, a committee of citizens did have a conference with one of the officials of the said bus line, at which time said officials arranged a meeting between attorneys representing the Negro citizens of this city and attorneys representing the Montgomery City Lines, Incorporated, and the city of Montgomery, and

Whereas, the official of the bus line promised that as a result of the meeting between said attorneys he would issue a statement of policy clarifying the law with reference to the seating of Negro passengers on the buses, and

Whereas, said attorneys did have a meeting and did discuss the matter of clarifying the law; however, the official of said bus lines did not make public the statement as to its policy with reference to the seating of passengers on its buses, and

Whereas, since that time, at least two ladies have been arrested for an alleged violation of the city segregation law with reference to bus travel, and

Whereas, said citizens of Montgomery city and county believe that they have been grossly mistreated as passengers on the buses owned and operated by said bus company (*All right*) in spite of the fact that they are in the majority with reference to the number of passengers riding the said buses.
[*applause*]

In light of these observations, be it therefore resolved as follows:

Number One. That the citizens of Montgomery are requesting that every citizen in Montgomery, regardless of race, color, or creed, to refrain from riding buses owned and operated in the city of Montgomery by the Montgomery Lines, Incorporated [*applause*], until some arrangement has been worked out [*applause*] between said citizens and the Montgomery City Lines, Incorporated.

Now I'm reading it slow and I want you to hear every word of it.

Number Two. That every person owning or who has access to an automobile will use their automobiles in assisting other persons to get to work without charge. [applause]

Number Three. That the employees, I repeat, that the employers of persons whose employees live a great distance from them, as much as possible, afford transportation for your own employees. [applause]

That the Negro citizens of Montgomery are ready and willing to send a delegation of citizens to the Montgomery City Lines, Incorporated, to discuss their grievances and to work out a solution for the same. (*All right*) [applause]

Be it further resolved that we have not—I said, we have not, we are not, and we have no intentions of—using any unlawful means or any intimidation (*Go ahead*) to persuade persons not to ride the Montgomery City Lines buses. [applause] However, we call upon your conscience (*All right*), both moral and spiritual, to give your wholehearted support (*That's right*) to this worthy undertaking. [applause] We believe we have a just complaint, and we are willing to discuss this matter with the proper authorities. (*Yes*) [applause]

Thus ends the resolution. [applause] Dr. King, prayerfully, spiritually, sincerely, I wish to offer a motion. I move that this resolution shall be adopted. (*Dr. King, I second the motion*) [applause]

[*King:*] It has been moved, it has been moved, and seconded that these recommendations and these resolutions would be accepted and adopted by the citizens of Montgomery. Are you ready for the question? (*Yes*) [*thundering response*]

All in favor, stand on your feet. [*enthusiastic applause*] Opposers do likewise. Opposers do likewise. [*laughter*] There is a prevailing majority.

I certainly want to thank you, my friends for this tremendous response. [*pause*] My friends, in order that nothing, that we will not be misquoted, and particularly with the resolutions, copies are prepared for the press; so that if the press would like to secure copies, they may do that, so that we will not be misquoted. [*enthusiastic applause*] [*recording interrupted*]

... said here this evening because everything is being recorded. Reverend Glasco is here on hand recording everything that is being said, so that we're not doing anything in the dark here. Everything is recorded. [applause] Now my friends, I just want to say once more to you. I've got to leave, I have presided to this point. It so happens that we have a group of very fine men who can do a much better

job than I've done, and we're gonna let them do it. You know, we preachers have many engagements sometime. And I've got to go speak to the fathers and sons of this city; so that I'm gonna have to leave.

But just before leaving I want to say this. I want to urge you. You have voted, and you have done it with a great deal of enthusiasm, and I want to express my appreciation to you, on behalf of everybody here. Now let us go out to stick together and stay with this thing until the end. [applause] Now it means sacrificing, yes, it means sacrificing at points. But there are some things that we've got to learn to sacrifice for. (Yeah) And we've got to come to the point that we are determined not to accept a lot of things that we have been accepting in the past.

So I'm urging you now. We have the facilities for you to get to your jobs, and we are putting, we have the cabs there at your service. Automobiles will be at your service, and don't be afraid to use up any of the gas. If you have it, if you are fortunate enough to have a little money, use it for a good cause. Now my automobile is gonna be in it, it has been in it, and I'm not concerned about how much gas I'm gonna use. (That's right) I want to see this thing work.

And we will not be content until oppression is wiped out of Montgomery, and really out of America. We won't be content until that is done. We are merely insisting on the dignity and worth of every human personality. And I don't stand here, I'm not arguing for any selfish person. I've never been on a bus in Montgomery. But I would be less than a Christian if I stood back and said, because I don't ride the bus, I don't have to ride a bus, that it doesn't concern me. [applause] I will not be content. I can hear a voice saying, "If you do it unto the least of these, my brother, you do it unto me." [applause]

And I won't rest, I will face intimidation, and everything else, along with these other stalwart fighters for democracy and for citizenship. We don't mind it, so long as justice comes out of it. And I've come to see now that as we struggle for our rights, maybe some of them will have to die. But somebody said, if a man doesn't have something that he'll die for, he isn't fit to live. [enthusiastic applause]

Now, let me tell you this. You know, it takes money to do what we're about to do. We can't do it clapping hands now and we can't do it saying "Amen." (That's right) That's not enough. That is, that encourages the speaker to go on, but that isn't enough. We need money to do this and we're gonna have to get ourselves some money tonight. And we're gonna ask everybody here, that's everybody outside and inside, to get ready to make a contribution to this cause. (That's right) And the money will be well used. And the committee will tell you, someone will tell you what it will be used for.

Now, we're asking Reverend Bonner to come here, from the First CME Church, to come and take this offering. I'm gonna ask Brother Nixon to assist him and we're gonna, I'm gonna ask—huh?—Brother Matthews, also. Where's Brother Matthews? Yeah. Brother Matthews here, the president of our NAACP, to come here and assist. Now I want to say this. We're gonna need somebody to go outside and collect money. So that I'm gonna ask about, we'd say about ten people, I'm gonna ask ten of the ministers of the city to assist us in taking this offering. [*Rev. Bonner begins calling out names*] My friends, let me say this. Just a moment, Reverend Bonner, we don't want anybody to leave until this is over. I'm gonna leave mine as I leave, and this will continue. Reverend Bennett will continue in presiding. I'm sorry I have to leave, but I'm certainly happy to see your enthusiasm.

APPENDIX II : The Three Dimensions of A Complete Life - April 9, 1967

Source: (Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., n.d.)

At New Covenant Baptist Church Chicago Illinois, April 9, 1967

I want to use as the subject from which to preach: "The Three Dimensions of a Complete Life." (All right) You know, they used to tell us in Hollywood that in order for a movie to be complete, it had to be three-dimensional. Well, this morning I want to seek to get over to each of us that if life itself is to be complete, (Yes) it must be three-dimensional.

Many, many centuries ago, there was a man by the name of John who found himself in prison out on a lonely, obscure island called Patmos. (Right, right) And I've been in prison just enough to know that it's a lonely experience. (That's right) And when you are incarcerated in such a situation, you are deprived of almost every freedom, but the freedom to think, the freedom to pray, the freedom to reflect and to meditate. And while John was out on this lonely island in prison, (That's right) he lifted his vision to high heaven (All right, He did) and he saw, descending out of heaven, a new heaven (All right) and a new earth. (That's right) Over in the twenty-first chapter of the book of Revelation, it opens by saying, "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth. (All right) And I John saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, (All right) coming down from God out of heaven." (Oh yeah)

And one of the greatest glories of this new city of God that John saw was its completeness. (That's right) It was not up on one side and down on the other, (All right) but it was complete in all three of its dimensions. (Yes) And so in this same chapter as we looked down to the sixteenth verse, John says, "The length and the breadth (He did, he did) and the height of it are equal." (Yes, sir) In other words, this new city of God, this new city of ideal humanity is not an unbalanced entity, (No) but is complete on all sides. (Yes) Now I think John is saying something here in all of the symbolism of this text and the symbolism of this chapter. He's saying at bottom that life as it should be and life at its best (Yeah) is a life that is complete on all sides. (That's right)

And there are three dimensions of any complete life to which we can fitly give the words of this text: length, breadth, and height. (Yes) Now the length of life as we shall use it here is the inward concern for one's own welfare. (Yes) In other words, it is that inward concern that causes one to push forward, to achieve his own goals and ambitions. (All right) The breadth of life as we shall use it here is the outward concern for the welfare of others. (All right) And the height of life is the upward reach for God. (All right) Now you got to have all three of these to have a complete life.

Now let's turn for the moment to the length of life. I said that this is the dimension of life where we are concerned with developing our inner powers. (Yeah) In a sense this is the selfish dimension of life. There is such a thing as rational and healthy self-interest. (Yeah) A great Jewish rabbi, the late Joshua Leibman, wrote a book some years ago entitled Peace of Mind. And he has a chapter in that book entitled "Love Thyself Properly." And what he says in that chapter, in substance, is that before you can love other selves adequately, you've got to love your own self properly. (All right) You know, a lot of people don't love themselves. (That's right) And they go through life with deep and haunting emotional conflicts. So the length of life means that you must love yourself.

And you know what loving yourself also means? It means that you've got to accept yourself. (All right) So many people are busy trying to be somebody else. (That's right) God gave all of us something significant. And we must pray every day, asking God to help us to accept ourselves. (Yeah) That means everything. (Yeah) Too many Negroes are ashamed of themselves, ashamed of being black. (Yes, sir) A Negro got to rise up and say from the bottom of his soul, "I am somebody. (Yes) I have a rich, noble, and proud heritage. However exploited and however painful my history has been, I'm black, but I'm black and beautiful." (Yeah) This is what we've got to say. We've got to accept ourselves. (Yeah) And we must pray, "Lord, Help me to accept myself every day; help me to accept my tools." (Yeah)

I remember when I was in college, I majored in sociology, and all sociology majors had to take a course that was required called statistics. And statistics can be very complicated. You've got to have a mathematical mind, a real knowledge of geometry, and you've got to know how to find the mean, the mode, and the median. I never will forget. I took this course and I had a fellow classmate who could just work that stuff out, you know. And he could do his homework in about an hour. We would often go to the lab or the workshop, and he would just work it out in about an hour, and it was over for him. And I was trying to do what he was doing; I was trying to do mine in an hour. And the more I tried to do it in an hour, the more I was flunking out in the course. And I had to come to a very hard conclusion. I had to sit down and say, "Now, Martin Luther King, Leif Cane has a better mind than you." (That's right) Sometimes you have to acknowledge that. (That's right) And I had to say to myself, "Now, he may be able to do it in an hour, but it takes me two or three hours to do it." I was not willing to accept myself. I was not willing to accept my tools and my limitations. (Yeah)

But you know in life we're called upon to do this. A Ford car trying to be a Cadillac is absurd, but if a Ford will accept itself as a Ford, (All right) it can do many things that a Cadillac could never do: it

can get in parking spaces that a Cadillac can never get in. [laughter] And in life some of us are Fords and some of us are Cadillacs. (Yes) Moses says in "Green Pastures," "Lord, I ain't much, but I is all I got." [laughter] The principle of self-acceptance is a basic principle in life.

Now the other thing about the length of life: after accepting ourselves and our tools, we must discover what we are called to do. (Oh yeah) And once we discover it we should set out to do it with all of the strength and all of the power that we have in our systems. (Yeah) And after we've discovered what God called us to do, after we've discovered our life's work, we should set out to do that work so well that the living, the dead, or the unborn couldn't do it any better. (Oh yeah) Now this does not mean that everybody will do the so-called big, recognized things of life. Very few people will rise to the heights of genius in the arts and the sciences; very few collectively will rise to certain professions. Most of us will have to be content to work in the fields and in the factories and on the streets. But we must see the dignity of all labor. (That's right)

When I was in Montgomery, Alabama, I went to a shoe shop quite often, known as the Gordon Shoe Shop. And there was a fellow in there that used to shine my shoes, and it was just an experience to witness this fellow shining my shoes. He would get that rag, you know, and he could bring music out of it. And I said to myself, "This fellow has a Ph.D. in shoe shining." (That's right)

What I'm saying to you this morning, my friends, even if it falls your lot to be a street sweeper, go on out and sweep streets like Michelangelo painted pictures; sweep streets like Handel and Beethoven composed music; sweep streets like Shakespeare wrote poetry; (Go ahead) sweep streets so well that all the host of heaven and earth will have to pause and say, "Here lived a great street sweeper who swept his job well."

If you can't be a pine on the top of a hill

Be a scrub in the valley—but be

The best little scrub on the side of the hill,

Be a bush if you can't be a tree.

If you can't be a highway just be a trail

If you can't be the sun be a star;

It isn't by size that you win or fail—

Be the best of whatever you are.

And when you do this, when you do this, you've mastered the length of life. (Yes)

This onward push to the end of self-fulfillment is the end of a person's life. Now don't stop here, though. You know, a lot of people get no further in life than the length. They develop their inner powers; they do their jobs well. But do you know, they try to live as if nobody else lives in the world but themselves? (Yes) And they use everybody as mere tools to get to where they're going. (Yes) They don't love anybody but themselves. And the only kind of love that they really have for other people is utilitarian love. You know, they just love people that they can use. (Well)

A lot of people never get beyond the first dimension of life. They use other people as mere steps by which they can climb to their goals and their ambitions. These people don't work out well in life. They may go for awhile, they may think they're making it all right, but there is a law. (Oh yeah) They call it the law of gravitation in the physical universe, and it works, it's final, it's inexorable: whatever goes up can come down. You shall reap what you sow. (Yeah) God has structured the universe that way. (Yeah) And he who goes through life not concerned about others will be a subject, victim of this law.

So I move on and say that it is necessary to add breadth to length. Now the breadth of life is the outward concern for the welfare of others, as I said. (Yeah) And a man has not begun to live until he can rise above the narrow confines of his own individual concerns to the broader concerns of all humanity. (All right)

One day Jesus told a parable. You will remember that parable. He had a man that came to him to talk with him about some very profound concerns. And they finally got around to the question, "Who is my neighbor?" (All right) And this man wanted to debate with Jesus. This question could have very easily ended up in thin air as a theological or philosophical debate. But you remember Jesus immediately pulled that question out of thin air and placed it on a dangerous curve between Jerusalem and Jericho. (He did, he did) He talked about a certain man who fell among thieves. (Right) Two men came by and they just kept going. And then finally another man came, a member of another race, who

stopped and helped him. (Oh yeah) And that parable ends up saying that this good Samaritan was a great man; he was a good man because he was concerned about more than himself. (Oh yeah)

Now you know, there are many ideas about why the priest and the Levite passed and didn't stop to help that man. A lot of ideas about it. Some say that they were going to a church service, and they were running a little late, you know, and couldn't be late for church, so they kept going because they had to get down to the synagogue. And then there are others who would say that they were involved in the priesthood and consequently there was a priestly law which said that if you were going to administer the sacrament or what have you, you couldn't touch a human body twenty-four hours before worship. Now there's another possibility. It is possible that they were going down to Jericho to organize a Jericho Road Improvement Association. That's another possibility. And they may have passed by because they felt that it was better to deal with the problem from the causal source rather than one individual victim. That's a possibility.

But you know, when I think about this parable, I think of another possibility as I use my imagination. It's possible that these men passed by on the other side because they were afraid. You know, the Jericho Road is a dangerous road. (That's right) I've been on it and I know. And I never will forget, Mrs. King and I were in the Holy Land some time ago. We rented a car and we drove from Jerusalem down to Jericho, a distance of about sixteen miles. You get on that Jericho road—I'm telling you it's a winding, curving, meandering road, very conducive for robbery. And I said to my wife, "Now I can see why Jesus used this road as the occasion for his parable." (Yes) Here you are when you start out in Jerusalem: you are twenty-two hundred feet above sea level, and when you get down to Jericho sixteen miles later—I mean you have sixteen miles from Jerusalem—you're twelve hundred feet below sea level. During the days of Jesus that road came to the point of being known as the "Bloody Path." So when I think about the priest and the Levite, I think those brothers were afraid. (All right)

They were just like me. I was going out to my father's house in Atlanta the other day. He lives about three or four miles from me, and you go out there by going down Simpson Road. And then when I came back later that night—and brother, I can tell you, Simpson Road is a winding road. And a fellow was standing out there trying to flag me down. And I felt that he needed some help; I knew he needed help. [laughter] But I didn't know it. I'll be honest with you, I kept going. [laughter] I wasn't really willing to take the risk. (That's right)

I say to you this morning that the first question that the priest asked was the first question that I asked on that Jericho Road of Atlanta known as Simpson Road. The first question that the Levite asked was,

‘If I stop to help this man, what will happen to me?’ (That’s right) But the good Samaritan came by and he reversed the question. Not “What will happen to me if I stop to help this man?” but “What will happen to this man if I do not stop to help him?” This was why that man was good and great. He was great because he was willing to take a risk for humanity; he was willing to ask, “What will happen to this man?” not “What will happen to me?” (All right)

This is what God needs today (Yes): Men and women who will ask, “What will happen to humanity if I don’t help? (Oh yeah) What will happen to the civil rights movement if I don’t participate? (Yes) What will happen to my city if I don’t vote? (Oh yeah) What will happen to the sick if I don’t visit them?” This is how God judges people in the final analysis. (Oh yeah)

Oh, there will be a day, the question won’t be, “How many awards did you get in life?” Not that day. (Yeah) It won’t be, “How popular were you in your social setting?” That won’t be the question that day. (Yeah) It will not ask how many degrees you’ve been able to get. (All right) The question that day will not be concerned with whether you are a “Ph.D.” or a “no D.” (That’s right) It will not be concerned with whether you went to Morehouse or whether you went to “No House.” (Yes) The question that day will not be, “How beautiful is your house?” (That’s right) The question that day will not be, “How much money did you accumulate? How much did you have in stocks and bonds?” The question that day will not be, “What kind of automobile did you have?” On that day the question will be, “What did you do for others?” (That’s right)

Now I can hear somebody saying, “Lord, I did a lot of things in life. I did my job well; the world honored me for doing my job. (Oh yeah) I did a lot of things, Lord; I went to school and studied hard. I accumulated a lot of money, Lord; that’s what I did.” It seems as if I can hear the Lord of Life saying, “But I was hungry, and ye fed me not. (That’s right) I was sick, and ye visited me not. I was naked, and ye clothed me not. I was in prison, and you weren’t concerned about me. So get out of my face. What did you do for others?” (That’s right) This is the breadth of life. (Oh yeah)

Somewhere along the way, we must learn that there is nothing greater than to do something for others. And this is the way I’ve decided to go the rest of my days. That’s what I’m concerned about. John, if you and Bernard happen to be around when I come to the latter-days and that moment to cross the Jordan, I want you to tell them that I made a request: I don’t want a long funeral. In fact, I don’t even need a eulogy (No) more than one or two minutes. (All right) I hope that I will live so well the rest of the days—I don’t know how long I’ll live, and I’m not concerned about that—but I hope I can live so well that the preacher can get up and say, “He was faithful.” (Yes) That’s all, that’s enough. (That’s

right) That's the sermon I'd like to hear: "Well done my good and faithful servant. You've been faithful; you've been concerned about others." (That's right) That's where I want to go from this point on the rest of my days. (Oh yeah) "He who is greatest among you shall be your servant." I want to be a servant. (Yes) I want to be a witness for my Lord, to do something for others.

And don't forget in doing something for others that you have what you have because of others. (Yes, sir) Don't forget that. We are tied together in life and in the world. (Preach, preach) And you may think you got all you got by yourself. (Not all of it) But you know, before you got out here to church this morning, you were dependent on more than half of the world. (That's right) You get up in the morning and go to the bathroom, and you reach over for a bar of soap, and that's handed to you by a Frenchman. You reach over for a sponge, and that's given to you by a Turk. You reach over for a towel, and that comes to your hand from the hands of a Pacific Islander. And then you go on to the kitchen to get your breakfast. You reach on over to get a little coffee, and that's poured in your cup by a South American. (That's right) Or maybe you decide that you want a little tea this morning, only to discover that that's poured in your cup by a Chinese. (Yes) Or maybe you want a little cocoa, that's poured in your cup by a West African. (Yes) Then you want a little bread and you reach over to get it, and that's given to you by the hands of an English-speaking farmer, not to mention the baker. (That's right) Before you get through eating breakfast in the morning, you're dependent on more than half the world. (That's right) That's the way God structured it; that's the way God structured this world. So let us be concerned about others because we are dependent on others. (Oh yeah)

But don't stop here either. (No, sir) You know, a lot of people master the length of life, and they master the breadth of life, but they stop right there. Now if life is to be complete, we must move beyond our self-interest. We must move beyond humanity and reach up, way up for the God of the universe, whose purpose changeth not. (Right)

Now a lot of people have neglected this third dimension. And you know, the interesting thing is a lot of people neglect it and don't even know they are neglecting it. They just get involved in other things. And you know, there are two kinds of atheism. Atheism is the theory that there is no God. Now one kind is a theoretical kind, where somebody just sits down and starts thinking about it, and they come to a conclusion that there is no God. The other kind is a practical atheism, and that kind goes out of living as if there is no God. And you know there are a lot of people who affirm the existence of God with their lips, and they deny his existence with their lives. (That's right) You've seen these people who have a high blood pressure of creeds and an anemia of deeds. They deny the existence of God with their lives and they just become so involved in other things. They become so involved in getting

a big bank account. (Yeah) They become so involved in getting a beautiful house, which we all should have. They become so involved in getting a beautiful car that they unconsciously just forget about God. (Oh yeah) There are those who become so involved in looking at the man-made lights of the city that they unconsciously forget to rise up and look at that great cosmic light and think about it—that gets up in the eastern horizon every morning and moves across the sky with a kind of symphony of motion and paints its technicolor across the blue—a light that man can never make. (All right) They become so involved in looking at the skyscraping buildings of the Loop of Chicago or Empire State Building of New York that they unconsciously forget to think about the gigantic mountains that kiss the skies as if to bathe their peaks in the lofty blue—something that man could never make. They become so busy thinking about radar and their television that they unconsciously forget to think about the stars that bedeck the heavens like swinging lanterns of eternity, those stars that appear to be shiny, silvery pins sticking in the magnificent blue pincushion. They become so involved in thinking about man's progress that they forget to think about the need for God's power in history. They end up going days and days not knowing that God is not with them. (Go ahead)

And I'm here to tell you today that we need God. (Yes) Modern man may know a great deal, but his knowledge does not eliminate God. (Right) And I tell you this morning that God is here to stay. A few theologians are trying to say that God is dead. And I've been asking them about it because it disturbs me to know that God died and I didn't have a chance to attend the funeral. They haven't been able to tell me yet the date of his death. They haven't been able to tell me yet who the coroner was that pronounced him dead. (Preach, preach) They haven't been able to tell me yet where he's buried.

You see, when I think about God, I know his name. He said somewhere, back in the Old Testament, "I want you to go out, Moses, and tell them 'I Am' sent you." (That's right) He said just to make it clear, let them know that "my last name is the same as my first, 'I Am that I Am.' Make that clear. I Am." And God is the only being in the universe that can say "I Am" and put a period behind it. Each of us sitting here has to say, "I am because of my parents; I am because of certain environmental conditions; I am because of certain hereditary circumstances; I am because of God." But God is the only being that can just say, "I Am" and stop right there. "I Am that I Am." And He's here to stay. Let nobody make us feel that we don't need God. (That's right)

As I come to my conclusion this morning, I want to say that we should search for him. We were made for God, and we will be restless until we find rest in him. (Oh yeah) And I say to you this morning that this is the personal faith that has kept me going. (Yes) I'm not worried about the future. You know, even on this race question, I'm not worried. I was down in Alabama the other day, and I started

thinking about the state of Alabama where we worked so hard and may continue to elect the Wallaces. And down in my home state of Georgia, we have another sick governor by the name of Lester Maddox. (Yes) And all of these things can get you confused, but they don't worry me. (All right) Because the God that I worship is a God that has a way of saying even to kings and even to governors, "Be still, and know that I am God." And God has not yet turned over this universe to Lester Maddox and Lurleen Wallace. Somewhere I read, "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, and I'm going on because I have faith in Him. (Oh yeah) I do not know what the future holds, but I do know who holds the future. (Yes) And if He'll guide us and hold our hand, we'll go on in.

I remember down in Montgomery, Alabama, an experience that I'd like to share with you. When we were in the midst of the bus boycott, we had a marvelous old lady that we affectionately called Sister Pollard. She was a wonderful lady about seventy-two years old and she was still working at that age. (Yes) During the boycott she would walk every day to and from work. She was one that somebody stopped one day and said, "Wouldn't you like to ride?" And she said, "No." And then the driver moved on and stopped and thought, and backed up a little and said, "Well, aren't you tired?" She said, "Yes, my feets is tired, but my soul is rested." (All right)

She was a marvelous lady. And one week I can remember that I had gone through a very difficult week. (Yes) Threatening calls had come in all day and all night the night before, and I was beginning to falter and to get weak within and to lose my courage. (All right) And I never will forget that I went to the mass meeting that Monday night very discouraged and a little afraid, and wondering whether we were going to win the struggle. (Oh yeah) And I got up to make my talk that night, but it didn't come out with strength and power. Sister Pollard came up to me after the meeting and said, "Son, what's wrong with you?" Said, "You didn't talk strong enough tonight."

And I said, "Nothing is wrong, Sister Pollard, I'm all right."

She said, "You can't fool me." Said, "Something wrong with you." And then she went on to say these words, "Is the white folks doing something to you that you don't like?"

I said, "Everything is going to be all right, Sister Pollard."

And then she finally said, "Now come close to me and let me tell you something one more time, and I want you to hear it this time." She said, "Now I done told you we is with you." She said, "Now, even

if we ain't with you, the Lord is with you." (Yes) And she concluded by saying, "The Lord's going to take care of you."

And I've seen many things since that day. I've gone through many experiences since that night in Montgomery, Alabama. Since that time Sister Pollard has died. Since that time I've been in more than eighteen jail cells. Since that time I've come perilously close to death at the hands of a demented Negro woman. Since that time I've seen my home bombed three times. Since that time I've had to live every day under the threat of death. Since that time I've had many frustrating and bewildering nights. But over and over again I can still hear Sister Pollard's words: "God's going to take care of you." So today I can face any man and any woman with my feet solidly placed on the ground and my head in the air because I know that when you are right, God will fight your battle.

"Darker yet may be the night, harder yet may be the fight. Just stand up for that which is right." It seems that I can hear a voice speaking even this morning, saying to all of us, "Stand up for what is right. Stand up for what is just. Lo, I will be with you even until the end of the world." Yes, I've seen the lightning flash. I've heard the thunder roll. I've felt sin-breakers dashing, trying to conquer my soul. But I heard the voice of Jesus saying still to fight on. He promised never to leave me, never to leave me alone. No, never alone. No, never alone. He promised never to leave me, never to leave me alone. And I go on in believing that. Reach out and find the breadth of life.

You may not be able to define God in philosophical terms. Men through the ages have tried to talk about him. (Yes) Plato said that he was the Architectonic Good. Aristotle called him the Unmoved Mover. Hegel called him the Absolute Whole. Then there was a man named Paul Tillich who called him Being-Itself. We don't need to know all of these high-sounding terms. (Yes) Maybe we have to know him and discover him another way. (Oh yeah) One day you ought to rise up and say, "I know him because he's a lily of the valley." (Yes) He's a bright and morning star. (Yes) He's a rose of Sharon. He's a battle-axe in the time of Babylon. (Yes) And then somewhere you ought to just reach out and say, "He's my everything. He's my mother and my father. He's my sister and my brother. He's a friend to the friendless." This is the God of the universe. And if you believe in him and worship him, something will happen in your life. You will smile when others around you are crying. This is the power of God.

Go out this morning. Love yourself, and that means rational and healthy self-interest. You are commanded to do that. That's the length of life. Then follow that: Love your neighbor as you love yourself. You are commanded to do that. That's the breadth of life. And I'm going to take my seat

now by letting you know that there's a first and even greater commandment: "Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, (Yeah) with all thy soul, with all thy strength." I think the psychologist would just say with all thy personality. And when you do that, you've got the breadth of life.

And when you get all three of these together, you can walk and never get weary. You can look up and see the morning stars singing together, and the sons of God shouting for joy. When you get all of these working together in your very life, judgement will roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream.

When you get all the three of these together, the lamb will lie down with the lion.

When you get all three of these together, you look up and every valley will be exalted, and every hill and mountain will be made low; the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places straight; and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh will see it together.

When you get all three of these working together, you will do unto others as you'd have them do unto you.

When you get all three of these together, you will recognize that out of one blood God made all men to dwell upon the face of the earth.

When you get all three of these together... [recording end]