

A RHETORICAL STUDY OF THE PREACHING OF
DOCTOR MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
PASTOR AND PULPIT ORATOR

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.

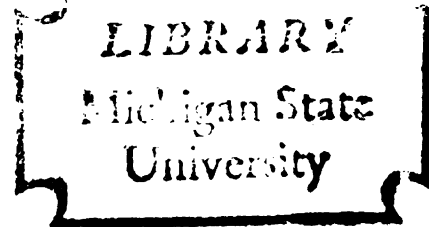
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

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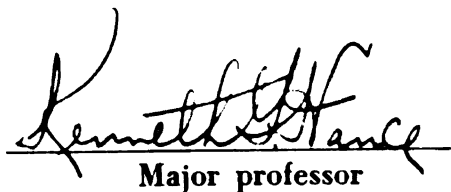
A RHETORICAL STUDY OF THE PREACHING OF
DOCTOR MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
PASTOR AND PULPIT ORATOR

presented by

Mervyn A. Warren

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ABSTRACT

A RHETORICAL STUDY OF THE PREACHING OF DOCTOR MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., PASTOR AND PULPIT ORATOR

by

Mervyn A. Warren

Martin Luther King, Jr., is first of all a clergyman and next a civil rights leader and makes a distinction between his sermons and his civil rights mass meeting speeches.¹ The salient purpose of this inquiry is to study Dr. King's oral communication as disclosed principally in his pulpit discourse-- those addresses which may characterize, more accurately, the man and his public speaking and, furthermore, place him in the corrective perspective as a minister of the gospel rather than as a political or sociological figure. While the writer includes biographical and historical materials, theological considerations, and the sermons themselves in terms of the constituents of rhetoric (invention, arrangement, style, delivery, and memory), an attempt is made not only to appraise his sermoncraft but also to discover what contribution, if any, Dr. King makes to contemporary preaching.

The over-all approach of the study is that of generalization, rather than case study, to ascertain significant trends in Dr. King's rhetorical and homiletical practice.

Principal data in the investigation include (1) a total of sixteen sermons preached in the context of worship, (2) materials from the "Martin Luther King, Jr., Collection" (personal papers and manuscripts) which Dr. King gave to the Boston University Library, 1964, (3) personal interviews with Dr. King, members of his family, several of his former college, seminary, and university teachers, and others, (4) eight tape recordings of Dr. King's sermons, (5) all of the books currently in print by and about Dr. King, and (6) live settings of witnessing Dr. King in preaching situations.

Born in a Christian home and a family of three generations of preachers ("Old Country preacher, Rev. Williams" great grandfather, A. D. Williams grandfather, and M. L. King, Sr. father), Martin Luther King, Jr., possesses a heritage significantly conducive for his choice of a profession in the Christian ministry. Beyond this, however, he would seek to prepare himself for the pulpit through a harmonious blend of theory (he holds the B.A., B.D., and Ph.D. degrees) and practice (he engaged in preaching on weekends throughout his academic career).

The theological frame of reference in the sermons of Dr. King is mainly that of a "moderate" liberal and a social gospeler whose cardinal doctrines (Chapter III) find their principal sources in Jesus Christ, Henry David Thoreau, G. W. F. Hegel, Walter Rauschenbusch, Mohandas K. Gandhi, and Reinhold Niebuhr. Although the thematic spectrum of Dr. King's sermons includes such theological topoi as God, Jesus Christ, the Church, the preacher, man, love, prayer, faith, and good and evil, the constant, general theme is the brotherhood of man as a necessary factor in an effectual relationship with God.

Dr. King's delivery, in terms of both the audible and visible codes, is commendably effective (Chapter IV). Irrespective of the fact that he uses the extemporaneous mode of delivery, Dr. King, nevertheless, follows generally the procedure of writing out his sermons in full during preparation. Writing his sermons results in (1) the analysis, synthesis, and organization of materials, (2) the selection of an appropriate language, and (3) the familiarization of the sermon outline and movement of ideas.

Non-artistic invention in Dr. King's pulpit address takes the form of examples, narratives, statistics, and quotations, while the artistic elements (ethical, logical, and pathetic proofs) comprehend his (1) establishing himself as a clergyman of competence, character, and good-will, (2) reasoning from example, enthymeme, analogy, and causal relation, and (3) appealing to a relatively broad range of "impelling motives" against the threefold emotional backdrop of "happiness," "holiness," and "love." Responses to the King sermons have been classified as (1) local, spontaneous responses, (2) local, delayed responses, and (3) general, implied responses. Chapter V further reveals that the disposition of Dr. King's sermoncraft conforms to the tripartite partition of introduction, body, and conclusion, while the language style of his preaching may be described as having a perspicuous, forceful, and adaptable word choice, a varied, rhythmic, and informal word composition, and an appropriately lively use of figures.

The contemporary pulpit, whether Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish, will never be the same; for one has ascended the podium and given it a

Mervyn A. Warren

challenge that reaches really and deeply into the human situation. It all is happening in our time and through the effective ministry of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

¹Personal Interview, August 31, 1966.

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A THESIS

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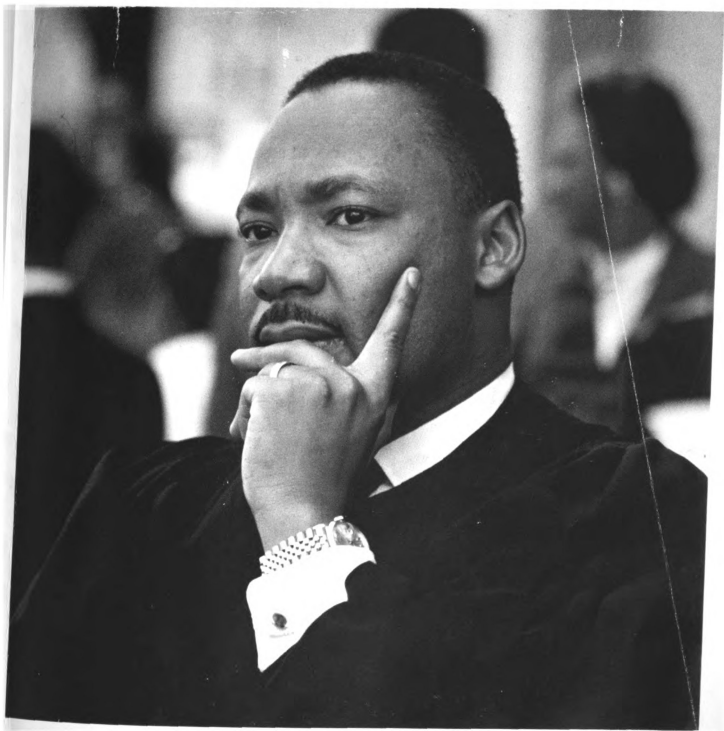
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1967



DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

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pastoring a district of three churches and writing a dissertation seemed altogether incompatible.

My wife, Barbara, and our two year old son, "Skipper,"-- the former who has been a positive influence from the beginning and in the end also typed most of the final copy, while the latter tolerated my frequent absence and lack of fatherly attention with a maturity exceeding his tender years.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the mid-fifties of the twentieth century, a "miracle in Alabama, unheralded, without precedent, . . . put the entire nation to the test."¹ The so-called miracle movement, an assertion of human and civil rights by Negro citizens of Montgomery, was led by a person engaging in his first church pastorate. Martin Luther King, Jr., that leader, soon thereafter was to enter upon a ministry perhaps broader than before anticipated.

Today, approximately a decade later, King, a Nobel Peace Prize winner of 1964,² is nationally and internationally recognized not only as a dynamic and effective leader for the cause of human and civil rights but also as a forceful and persuasive practitioner of public address. The artist of a Time cover drawing of King, conceiving a mold into which to cast his subject, saw him "mainly as an orator," and declared that King "has moved more people by his oratory than anyone else I can think of."³

The success and acclaim accompanying King's civil rights endeavors, however, have well-nigh overshadowed his primary profession, namely, that of pastor and preacher. Indeed, some people must be

¹The Nation, March 3, 1956, pp. 169, 170.

²The New York Times, December 11, 1964, p. 1.

³Time, March 19, 1965, p. 21.

reminded that King is first of all a clergyman and next a civil rights champion. It might very well be that King's increasing awareness of the trend accounts for his frequent reference to his ministerial status. He recently said, "I am many things to many people; Civil Rights leader, agitator, trouble-maker and orator, but in the quiet recesses of my heart, I am fundamentally a clergyman, a Baptist preacher."¹ (Underlining supplied) Another statement in similar vein affirms, "As a minister of the Gospel, I have a priestly function and a prophetic function."² Apparently unknown to some is the fact that also the educational orientation of King is theological (Crozer Theological Seminary, B.D., 1951; School of Theology, Boston University, Ph.D., 1955) and that his present ministerial post is Associate Pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia. As succinctly put by a newspaper editorial: ". . . this man is a . . . preacher, an evangelist."³

Statement of Purpose

The specific purpose of the present project is to study the public address of Martin Luther King, Jr., as revealed in his sermons--those discourses which might best admit insight into the "quiet recesses" of his heart and into his concept of a "priestly" and "prophetic" function. This study will include biographical and historical matters, theological considerations, and the sermons themselves in terms of the canons of rhetoric: invention, arrangement, style,

¹Martin Luther King, Jr., "The UnChristian Christian," Ebony, XX, No. 10 (August, 1965), 77.

²The State Journal (Lansing, Michigan), August 22, 1965, p. A-3.

³Detroit Free Press, June 25, 1963.

delivery, and memory. Giving attention also to possible responses to King's sermons, the investigation seeks to describe, analyze, interpret, and evaluate his preaching practices mainly within the context of traditional principles of speech criticism with consideration, as well, of his training in oral communication.

Definition of Terms

By "sermon," the present study refers to "the spoken communication of divine truth with a view to persuasion."¹ This divine truth, which Broadus affirms to be the subject of preaching, is centrally the gospel as revealed and offered in Jesus Christ.² Another workable definition is "the truth of God voiced by a chosen personality to meet human needs."³

It is recognized that in the strictest sense the communication setting may be a possible indicator of distinction between the "sermon" and the "oration." That is, ideally, a sermon presupposes that the auditors have assembled for the purpose of worship or for the purpose of that edification which finds its roots in the Christian faith. All of the addresses of King focused in the study were delivered in a church service.

Beyond the setting, another factor influencing the distinctive character of a sermon is that indicated by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., himself. When asked by the writer if he made a difference between his

¹T. Harwood Pattison, The Making of the Sermon (Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1960), p. 3.

²John A. Broadus, On the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. 6.

³Andrew W. Blackwood, The Preparation of Sermons (New York: Abingdon Press, 1948), p. 13.

"sermons" and his civil rights mass meeting and policy "speeches," Dr. King answered, "Definitely. All of my sermons are Biblically based and theologically grounded, that is, they grow out of Bible texts, whereas my speeches are often based on social, economic, and political issues."¹ Dr. Benjamin E. Mays uses almost identical language when he emphasizes that "A sermon is Biblically based. The preacher takes a text and develops the sermon in the light of the situation out of which the text came."² Enlarging further on his concept of a sermon and bringing into sharper focus the difference between it and an oration, Dr. Mays, the veteran clergyman and homiletician, continues:

A sermon is religiously oriented, and it is designed to give people religious motivation that will enable them to carry on in the days ahead without breaking under the strain of everyday life. It is designed to enable people to live better lives spiritually and morally. An oration is seldom biblically based, and it is not necessarily religiously oriented. Orations are not usually designed to motivate people to enable them to live better lives and to carry on without breaking under the everyday strain of life. Orations lack the spiritual note that is characteristic of a sermon.³

The fundamental attributes, then, which are associated with a "sermon" are (1) a vehicle for divine truth, the gospel as revealed in Jesus Christ, (2) an address presupposing a setting of religious worship, (3) a Biblically based message, and (4) a composition of moral and spiritual motivation.

The present inquiry will not, however, limit itself to the term "sermon" in describing and discussing Dr. King's discourses. For the

¹Personal Interview, August 31, 1966.

²Personal Interview, February 15, 1966.

³Ibid. Following the February 15, 1966, telephone interview with Dr. Mays, the interviewer submitted certain statements from that conversation to the interviewee for possible revisions. Dr. Mays' letter containing this quotation is found in Appendix I K.

purpose of facility, such nomenclatures as "sermon," "speech," "address," and perhaps even "oration," may be used rather interchangeably, - recognizing, nevertheless, possible technicalities of distinction.

Limitations Imposed

While no attempt will be made to present an extensive biography of Martin Luther King, Jr., biographical considerations will be included for the purpose of portraying the man and his background as a preacher. Nor will this be a detailed treatise on his theology; rather, theological observations will be included primarily for the purpose of further clarifying King's ideas, concepts, and habits relative to his preaching process.

Although any sermon and/or any sermon phase of a secular address may receive consideration in the study, the research focuses on the public speaking of King as revealed particularly in sixteen of his published sermons.¹ The over-all approach is that of generalization, rather than a case study, in order to discover salient trends and patterns.

Justification of the Project

Intrinsic Merit

That King is generally accepted as an articulate voice of both national and international stature probably needs little defense. Perhaps December 10, 1964, underscored the fact when he received the Nobel Peace Prize Award at Oslo, Norway. Gunnar Jahn, Chairman of the

¹Martin Luther King, Jr., Strength to Love (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963).

Norwegian Parliament's Nobel Committee, is reported to have

. . . hailed King as an "undaunted champion of peace" and the "first person in the Western world to have shown us that a struggle can be waged without violence."

Dr. Jahn spoke . . . describing Dr. King's background and his fight for civil rights. He said that though Dr. King "has not personally committed himself to the international conflict, his own struggle is a clarion call for all who work for peace."¹

The Oslo ceremony acclaimed King as a preacher. Contrasting him to an indifferent clergy, a portion of Dr. Jahn's ceremonial speech asserted:

. . . Martin Luther King discovered . . . [that] all the Negro clergy [had not] tackled the social problems of their community; many of them were of the opinion that ministers of religion had no business getting involved in secular movements aimed at improving people's social and economic conditions. Their task was "to preach the gospel and keep men's minds centered on the heavenly."²

Noting further, the significant involvement of pulpit discourse in the Negro protest movement, Jahn continued:

Some of the coloured clergy, in their sermons as well as in their personal attitude, championed the cause of Negro equality, and this had given many fresh confidence and courage.³ (Underlining ours)

Also relevant to the intrinsic claim of our study is the observation that at the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony, Dr. King delivered a

¹The New York Times, December 11, 1964, p. 32.

²The complete text of Dr. Gunnar Jahn's speech, sent upon request to the present investigator by Dr. August Schou, Director, Norwegian Nobel Institute (De Norske Nobelinstituti: Institut Nobel Norge), is found in Appendix I D.

³Ibid.

"sermon-like acceptance speech."¹ The present study posits that it is the "sermon" which best characterizes our subject. That King himself is conscious of the importance of oral communication is revealed in his acknowledgment that "the eloquent statement of ideas is his greatest talent, strongest tradition, and most constant interest."²

A study of the discourse of Martin Luther King, Jr., will provide an understanding and a basis of appraisal of a controversial figure who employs public speechmaking as a primary vehicle in accomplishing his ends. Inherent in his preaching might be unique and noteworthy emphases regarding "the faculty of discovering . . . the available means of persuasion."³ More than merely to measure the man and his sermoncraft, however, our investigation also seeks to ascertain what contribution, if any, King makes to public address on the contemporary scene.

Previous Studies

In the file of studies as provided by "Knower's Index" (1902-1965), Speech Monographs, there are recorded no other research projects on the preaching of Dr. King. Although there is a related study on "Martin Luther King, Jr.: Rhetorician of Revolt" (Ph.D. dissertation by Donald Hugh Smith, University of Wisconsin, 1964), this is limited to his civil rights campaign speeches and writings during three specific occasions, namely: 1) "The Montgomery Movement" (1955-56), 2) "The Birmingham Movement" (1963), and 3) "The March on Washington" (1963). The sermons of King are not the principal concern of Mr. Smith.

¹The New York Times, December 11, 1964, p. 1.

²L. D. Reddick, Crusader without Violence (A Biography of Martin Luther King, Jr.) (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 51.

³Aristotle, The Rhetoric, trans. Lane Cooper (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1932), p. 7.

Materials and Sources

Among the important publications comprising the core of source materials are the following:

Books by Martin Luther King, Jr.:

Stride Toward Freedom, (1958), an account and interpretation of the background and setting of the Montgomery, Alabama, episode from its initiation in 1954 through 1957. Montgomery is the scene of King's first parish post.

The Measure of a Man, (1959), a compilation of two sermons as delivered at Purdue University to the National Conference on Christian Education of the United Church of Christ in 1958. Both sermons occur also in Strength to Love.

Why We Can't Wait, (1963), an expression of motivating ideas of King regarding his efforts for the human rights cause. These ideas find their roots in his theology.

Strength to Love, (1963), a collection of seventeen sermons preached by King. These provide the focal point of our study of his public discourse.

Books about Martin Luther King, Jr.:

Crusader without Violence (A Biography of Martin L. King) by L. D. Reddick, (1959), presents the life of King through 1958.

Martin Luther King: The Peaceful Warrior, by Ed Clayton, (1964), is a brief account of the subject's life written especially for children and young people.

What Manner of Man (A Biography of Martin L. King) by Lerone Bennett, Jr., (1964), affords a "more comprehensive work to date chronicling the life and deeds" of his subject through 1964. Bennett is a former schoolmate of King.

The "Martin Luther King, Jr., Collection," personal papers and manuscripts given to, and in the custody of, the Boston University Library, provided the investigator with invaluable and otherwise unavailable materials on both the personal and professional life of the man. Including such items as sermon manuscripts, personal correspondence sent and received, even classroom term papers and lecture notes, the "Collection" spans the period from King's student days to 1963. Dr. King gave a total of sixteen transfer files of materials to his alma mater in 1964, and he adds to the gift periodically. Dr. Howard B. Gotlieb, Chief of Reference and Special Collections at the Boston University Libraries, very cordially made available to the writer every facility within his department for the examination of the King documents. The Collection will hereafter be referred to as "The M. L. King Collection."

Personal interviews included the following: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr.; Mrs. Martin Luther King, Sr.; Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President (now and during King's college days) of Morehouse College; Dr. Lloyd O. Lewis, Professor-Emeritus of Speech and Religion, and King's first public speaking teacher, Morehouse College; Professor Robert E. Keighton, Professor-Emeritus of Homiletics, and King's homiletics teacher, Crozer Theological Seminary; Dr. Morton S. Enslin, Professor-Emeritus of New Testament Literature at Crozer and

presently Chairman of the Department of Religion, Bryn Mawr College (Dr. Enslin is also Editor of the renowned and scholarly religious publication: Journal of Biblical Literature); Dr. L. Harold DeWolf, former Professor of Systematic Theology at Boston University School of Theology and now Dean of Wesley Theological Seminary, Washington, D.C. (Dr. DeWolf served as King's major Professor and also as the First Reader of his Ph.D. dissertation at Boston); Dr. S. Paul Schilling, Professor of Systematic Theology, Boston University School of Theology (and Second Reader of King's doctoral dissertation); Dr. Walter G. Muelder, Dean of the Boston University School of Theology; and Mr. Lerone Bennett, Jr., author of a biographical work on Dr. King and also Senior Editor of Ebony magazine.

Rev. Charles E. Sutton, Associate Pastor at the Central Methodist Church (Detroit), where the researcher witnessed two worship services during which time Dr. King preached, made available six taped sermons delivered there by King in previous years. Some eight taped sermons in all are used in the study.

Plan of Organization

Chapter I	The Introduction
Chapter II	A Rhetorical Biography and Historical Background
Chapter III	Major Theological Themes in the Sermons of Dr. King
Chapter IV	Preparation and Delivery
Chapter V	Invention, Arrangement, and Style
Chapter VI	Summary and Conclusions

CHAPTER II

RHETORICAL BIOGRAPHY

"The Soil": His Heritage

I am . . . the son of a Baptist preacher, the grandson of a Baptist preacher and the great grandson of a Baptist preacher. The Church is my life and I have given my life to the Church.¹

With this succinct autobiographical statement, Martin Luther King, Jr., summarizes the professional stock from which he sprang-- one in which oral communication loomed large and meaningful.

The heritage to which he refers is comprised of Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., Rev. A. D. Williams, and another Rev. Mr. Williams. We shall look into the careers of these three predecessors in the order in which they served.

The Baptist preacher of whom Dr. King is a great grandson served during the early days of the family's history in Georgia. Because the patriarchal parson is his maternal great grandfather, Dr. King directed the writer to his mother, Mrs. Alberta King, for biographical information.² Mrs. King graciously responded to the writer's inquiry and said of her son's great grandfather that "Many times I heard my father talk about him, an Old Country preacher, not widely known. I never knew him, as he died long before I was born when my father was very young."³

¹Martin Luther King, Jr., "The UnChristian Christian," Ebony, XX, No. 10 (August, 1965), 77.

²Personal Interview, August 31, 1966.

³Letter, September 7, 1966. This correspondence from Mrs. King, Sr., which followed a personal telephone interview with her, is found in Appendix I - N.

She continued by stating that "All I can remember is he was an Old Country preacher, Rev. Williams, Greene County, Ga."¹

King's maternal grandfather, Adam Daniel Williams, the second preacher in his heritage, began his Atlanta pastorate in 1894, one year after the death of Frederick Douglass and one year before the celebrated "Atlanta Speech" of Booker T. Washington.² Pastoring the Ebenezer Baptist Church until his death in 1931, Rev. Mr. Williams' ministry functioned under the shadow of four significant molders of thought regarding the place of the emancipated Negro in American society. These four--Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, and Marcus Garvey--represented up to that time what is generally regarded as the most talented leadership in the history of Negro resistance to the system of racial segregation and discrimination. Douglass, the protester, (the first great national Negro leader and the boyhood idol of Martin Luther King, Jr.), would seek full citizenship of the Negro by sustained contention and direct action via political and legal maneuvers within the system. Washington, the conciliator, would operate through compromise with, and acceptance of, the system by the proving of self and race via head, hand, and heart education. DuBois, the revolutionary, would work (sometimes on the edges of, and sometimes outside of, the system) by marshalling the white liberal and Negro militant forces mainly through the "mightier pen." It was DuBois who, in June of 1905, summoned the first assembly of the civil and human rights organization (The Niagara Movement), which developed into the

¹Ibid.

²Basil Mathews, Booker T. Washington: Educator and Interracial Interpreter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), pp. 50-1, 58, 91-2.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Garvey, the black nationalist, would call for separation from the system through the abandonment of the United States and the creation of a Negro state in Africa.¹ The modern facsimile of Garvey is Elijah Muhammad, leader of the so-called "Black Muslims," with whom the human rights approach of King, Jr., would later clash. It is quite probable that Williams was not unconscious of these divergent voices and may have been influenced to a degree by all. By virtue of his heading the large Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, the city not only of Washington's famous address and the headquarters (for a while) of DuBois' activities but also the center of Negro militancy, Williams moved to the forefront as one of the early leaders of the NAACP in that southern metropolis.

Martin Luther King, Sr., succeeded his father-in-law, A. D. Williams, as pastor of Ebenezer in 1931.² Continuing the tradition of his predecessor, King, Sr., found a place among the leading and pioneering spirits of the modern Negro resistance cause in Atlanta. The context of his leadership and his method of action were perhaps that which was most prevalent among Negro clergymen of his day as described in the following quotation:

¹Lerone Bennett, Jr., What Manner of Man (A Biography of Martin Luther King, Jr.) (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1964), p. 11f.

²L. D. Reddick, Crusader Without Violence (A Biography of Martin Luther King, Jr.) (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1959), p. 51.

Negro preachers, men made in the image of King the elder and his father-in-law, were pivotally successful in molding the leadership tradition of this movement, a tradition that stressed lyrical and somewhat efulgent oratory and a cautious, "realistic" approach to the problems of a racial minority which lacked absolute initiative vis-a-vis their oppressors and had to attack therefore with tact and with caution. The limitations of this tradition, its inarticulation with the great masses of Negroes and its reliance on the goodwill and generosity of the oppressors, were, in part, a reflection of the Negro situation, a situation defined by powerlessness.¹

The NAACP, dominated in the beginning by white liberals, awakened the Negro to a whole new vista of respectable social protest--litigation, lobbying, propaganda of enlightenment. During the 1920's, branches of the organization sprang up in all sections of the United States, not excluding Atlanta--a hub for the spokes of the "new protest." While frightening some Negroes of that day, the "new protest", nevertheless, seemed tame enough to others, including Asa Philip Randolph,² then a young labor leader deriding sterile protest and calling for a breakthrough to the masses.

Birth, family, and environment.-- Into such an arena of activity, Martin the younger was born on January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia. Ten months later, November 13, the nation would experience the death of the "Big Bull Market," the dying of the "Coolidge-Hoover Prosperity," the "crash" of the American economy.³ Atlanta, like other cities, was striving for survival.

¹Bennett, op. cit., p. 10.

²Asa Philip Randolph was featured on the cover of Life, September 6, 1963, as one of the "minds" behind the organization of the "March on Washington," when over 200,000 Negroes and whites streamed into the nation's capital in support of the Negro's modern protest for equal rights in the United States.

³Frederick Lewis Allen, Only Yesterday (New York: Bantam Books, 1931), pp. 226-242.

During this time of economic turmoil, King, Sr., who served as associate pastor to his father-in-law two years before the latter's death, was also sharing the twelve-room house of his in-laws, thus rendering himself sufficiently secure to provide for his family. He eventually assumed full responsibility for both the parish and the household.

This period of American history witnessed a population decrease in rural living and an increase in urban residence. Particularly Negroes were crusading from the South and its segregationist and discriminatory policies in quest of better times in the North. By 1930, 20% of American Negroes were residing in the cities of the North.¹

In the theological world, Protestantism was going through a transition from hard-core fundamentalism to a searching liberalism. Many Protestant clergymen abandoned traditional Christian doctrines (such as the infallibility of Scripture, the bodily resurrection of Jesus, and the miracles) and embraced what Hordern calls "a reconstruction of orthodox Christianity."² Hordern further describes the tug of war between fundamentalism and liberalism in these words:

Although the fundamentalists saw the liberals as subversives of the faith, liberals saw themselves as the saviours of the essence of Christianity. For the liberal, it was the fundamentalist who was destroying Christianity by forcing it into the molds of the past and making it impossible for any intelligent man to hold it. Typical of the attitude of liberals was the oft-quoted statement of Fosdick that, for him, it was not a question of new theology or old but a question of new theology or no theology.³

¹Arthur S. Link, American Epoch: A History of the United States Since the 1890's (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), p. 296.

²William Hordern, A Layman's Guide to Protestant Theology (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955), 83.

³Ibid.

Because of the impact that liberalism would later have on Martin, Jr., it might be well to offer at this point a brief explanation of theological liberalism. In short, liberalism is an attempt to "modernize" Christianity, to rethink it in thought forms believed to be more comprehensible to the modern world. Seeking to reconcile Christianity with modern science and scholarship, liberalism refuses to follow the practice of accepting religious beliefs on the basis of authority alone; instead, it demands that all theology pass the bar of reason and experience, using as one of its basic tools the method of higher criticism.¹ One of the important elements of liberalism, especially as it affects the ministry of Martin Luther King, Jr., is the "social gospel," a school of theology which could claim as its champions men like Reinhold Niebuhr. (An explanatory discussion of the social gospel school is found on page 90f. of the present study.)

As for liberal theology in general, Martin, Jr., would later have an encounter with it during his senior year at Crozer Theological Seminary. In his book, Strength to Love, page 135f., King graphically describes his intellectual journey from a strict fundamentalist tradition to what he calls a more satisfying liberalism. Aspects of liberal theology which held lasting appeal for young Martin were:

1. Its devotion to the search for truth
2. Its insistence on an open and analytical mind

¹Ibid., p. 84.

3. Its refusal to abandon the best lights of reason¹

Eventually he became disenchanted with liberalism's doctrine of man which taught essentially the natural goodness of man and the natural power of human reason. The reality of the tragedies of history and man's consistent inclination to war, bloodshed, graft, corruption, and injustice caused King to see convincingly the depths and strength of sin. He then charged liberalism with having a "superficial optimism concerning human nature" and with overlooking man's inadequacy in terms of trying to rid himself from his sinfulness. Although King, Jr., abandoned liberal theology as far as the doctrine of man was concerned, he did not return to fundamentalism; on the contrary, he began to consider neo-orthodoxy (or what Dr. L. Harold DeWolf would prefer calling neo-Reformation theology) as championed by such renowned theological thinkers as Karl Barth, Emil Brunner, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Paul Tillich.² King's own assessment of his consideration of neo-orthodoxy is in the following words:

Although I rejected some aspects of liberalism, I never came to an all-out acceptance of neo-orthodoxy. While I saw neo-orthodoxy as a helpful corrective for a sentimental liberalism,

¹In Appendix II U is a classroom paper believed to have been written while King, Jr., was a student at Crozer Seminary in which he gives a very intuitive and perceptive description of his religious development. He includes there statements of what he considers his "natural" penchant for intellectual analysis, criticism, and inquiry. The paper is taken to have been written at Crozer because of internal evidence; he makes the statement that "My days in college WERE very exciting ones" and then later says that "when I came to Crozer." (Underlining and "all caps" supplied). In a personal interview, August 31, 1966, Dr. King informed the writer that he does not recall for which class the paper was written.

²L. Harold DeWolf, Present Trends in Christian Thought (New York: Association Press, 1960), 77-97. See also Hordern, op. cit., 121-164.

I felt that it did not provide an adequate answer to basic questions. If liberalism was too optimistic concerning human nature, neo-orthodoxy was too pessimistic. Not only on the question of man, but also on other vital issues, the revolt of neo-orthodoxy went too far. In its attempt to preserve the transcendence of God, which had been neglected by an overstress of his immanence in liberalism, neo-orthodoxy went to the extreme of stressing a God who was hidden, unknown, and "wholly other." In its revolt against overemphasis on the power of reason in liberalism, neo-orthodoxy fell into a mood of anti-rationalism and semifundamentalism, stressing a narrow uncritical biblicism. This approach, I felt, was inadequate both for the church and for personal life.

So although liberalism left me unsatisfied on the question of the nature of man, I found no refuge in neo-orthodoxy, I am now convinced that the truth about man is found neither in liberalism nor in neo-orthodoxy. Each represents a partial truth. A large segment of Protestant liberalism defined man only in terms of his essential nature, his capacity for good; neo-orthodoxy tended to define man only in terms of his existential nature, his capacity for evil. An adequate understanding of man is found neither in the thesis of liberalism nor in the antithesis of neo-orthodoxy, but in a synthesis which reconciles the truths of both.¹

Discussing liberal theology in an interview with the writer and also in his book (Present Trends in Christian Thought, page 18), Dr. L. Harold DeWolf categorizes King, Jr., with the "moderate" liberals such as Dr. John C. Bennett, President of Union Theological Seminary, and Dr. Walter G. Muelder, Dean of the School of Theology, Boston University. "Moderate liberalism," according to Dr. DeWolf, continues the theological stress of applying "Christian principles, not only to personal life but also to the solution of the great social problems of our time" but differs from pure liberalism in that it ("moderate

¹Martin Luther King, Jr., Strength to Love (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963), p. 136. Dr. King's mentioning to the "wholly other" concept of God is a reference to Dr. Karl Barth, a leading proponent of neo-orthodoxy. A photograph of King and Barth at a theological conference follows Chapter III of our study.

liberalism") is not visionary concerning the nature of man.¹ Instead, moderate liberal theologians feel deeply the desperate sinfulness of humanity and see much of this sinfulness "imbedded and perpetuated in social relations and institutions." Confident that "the power and love of God can outmatch all other powers, moderate liberals have sought to give appropriate and healing expression to this faith in social policy," concerned especially with the selfish and materialistic structures as seen in the following: (1) much of the economic policy, (2) the sensual indulgence of conspicuous consumption, (3) the denial of brotherhood between races and classes, and (4) the warring hostilities of the nations which threaten world catastrophe.²

Under the leadership of King the elder, Ebenezer grew from a membership of 600 to 4,000.³ If such phenomenal growth is indicative of good leadership and effective communication, one does not wonder that King, Jr., probably inherited these qualities.

Not only were young Martin, his sister, Willie Christine (one year older), and his brother, Alfred Daniel (one year younger) reared in an atmosphere which promoted public speaking, but, indeed, public address seemed rather destined to become the salient source of the family's income.

¹Although the specific quotations of this paragraph are taken from Dr. DeWolf's Present Trends in Christian Thought, these exact thoughts were also expressed to the writer in a personal interview, March 6, 1966.

²The successive four paragraphs above are an interim discussion of religious liberalism, particularly in the early and following years of Martin Luther King, Jr. The discussion is placed there because of the chronological setting and the condition of flux and change in the theological world during the 1930's, those years when Rev. Mr. King, Sr., Baptist preacher of the fundamentalist order, was guiding both little Martin, Jr., the whole of the King family, and his church along traditional paths of evangelical religion.

³Reddick, op. cit., p. 86.

While Willie Christine teaches in a Baptist college for girls, Martin, Jr., ministers as associate pastor with King, Sr., in Atlanta; and Alfred Daniel pastors in Birmingham.

That the daughter should follow the occupation of the mother, Mrs. Alberta King, and the sons that of the father might be indicative of the strong influence exerted by the parents. In any event, children of the King household were taught

. . . to love and respect . . . parents and elders. The old-fashioned verities of hard work, honesty, thrift, order and courtesy were adhered to faithfully. Education was looked upon as the path to competence and culture. The church was the path to morality and immortality.¹

King's Personality

Physical aspects.-- Martin Luther King, Jr., could easily be mistaken for a medium sized athlete--five-feet-seven inches tall, broad shoulders, muscular neck, tipping the scales at "A heavy-chested 173 lbs."² Though his physique may generally strike the eye as being that of a lightweight pugilist, his slender hands are those of a less rough profession. Wainwright observed that "they are tapered and slim, delicate adjuncts of his compelling voice."³

The first detailed biographical sketch of King said, in part, that "Dr. King is a rather soft spoken man with a learning and maturity far beyond his twenty-seven years. His clothes are in conservative good taste and he has a small trim mustache. . . ."⁴

¹Ibid., p. 51.

²"Man of the Year," Time, January 3, 1964, p. 13.

³Loudon Wainwright, "Martyr of the Sit-ins," Life, XLIX (November 7, 1960), 124.

⁴New York Times, March 21, 1956, p. 28.

Perhaps the most descriptive observation of the physical King comes from his biographer, Reddick:

King's face is boyish. His features are soft and rounded, except for his eyes, which have a slight Oriental slant. His lips and nose are full and well formed; his forehead is rather high with a receding hairline. His clear brown eyes sparkle. He wears a small mustache King keeps his crinkly black hair close cut and well trimmed. . . .

In a word, Martin Luther King is an attractive, healthy, physical type, easy going, with good motor control and all of his senses active. His robust health is perhaps part of the basis for his energy and poise.¹

In a word, again, one might say that the man is quite gifted physically. In a paper for a class at Crozer Seminary, he admitted as much when he wrote:

From the very beginning I was an extraordinary healthy child. It is said that at my birth the doctors pronounced me a one hundred percent perfect child, from a physical point of view. Even today this physical harmony still abides, in that I hardly know how an ill moment feels.²

Emotional aspects.-- From what the present inquirer has been able to ascertain, King is basically a man of even temperament, amazing calm, and an almost imperturbable equilibrium. King offers the following cryptic self-analysis of himself: I am an "ambivert--half introvert and half extrovert."³

Although biographers invariably relate instances of his early "non-violent" tendencies as a lad, they also point out the element of "tension" lurking, perhaps, between the two opposites of introversion and

¹Reddick, op. cit., 2-3.

²"An Autobiography of Religious Development," The M. L. King Collection. The complete text of this paper is found in Appendix II U.

³Bennett, op. cit., p. 18.

extroversion. One example is that of young Martin's twice attempting suicide before his thirteenth birthday. The first case in point is the time when his brother, A. D., accidentally knocked their grandmother unconscious while sliding down the banister. Thinking his grandmother mortally injured, Martin dashed to a second floor window and jumped. Lying motionless, oblivious to hysterical screams, he seemed dead. But "then, as though nothing had happened, he got up and walked away."¹ A second leap from the second floor window occurred in 1941 on the death of his grandmother. Again, he survived, sustaining mere minor bruises. These experiences, against the backdrop of his customarily shunning school-boy spats and fights, may suggest that with King we are dealing with "a man of considerable complexity."²

Further insight into the emotional network of the man comes from observing his parents. His father is characterized by such terms as "volatile," "emotional," "trigger-tempered;" his mother, "calm," "cool," "slow to anger," "deliberate in speech and action."³ The pendulum of King's emotional make-up seemingly lingers longer in the direction of his mother.

King exudes an easy-going, unaffected friendliness. Reddick records:

King's naturalness is felt by everyone who comes face to face with him. To meet him is to enter an atmosphere of simplicity, free of pretense or posing. He smiles and shakes hands easily. He is unhurried. He never seems to respond impulsively or impatiently.⁴

¹Bennett, op. cit., 18-19.

²Ibid., p. 18.

³Ibid.

⁴Reddick, op. cit., p. 7.

Oftimes depicted as possessing a diminutive sense of humor, or laughing "politely, a split second too late,"¹ he, nevertheless, has been known to be the "life of the party." Again Reddick comments: "Never given to clowning in public, King will regale his friends at private parties with his imitations of religious entertainers and fellow preachers. . . ."² However, King himself does explain a lack of humor due to certain encounters within his life since the Montgomery, Alabama, movement. He admits:

I'm sure I've become more serious. I don't think I've lost my sense of humor, but I know I've let many opportunities go by without using it. I seldom joke in speeches any more. I forget to."³

In the interview with Wainwright, King confessed to being too tolerant:

It is one of my weaknesses as a leader. I'm too courteous and I'm not candid enough. However, I feel that my softness has helped in one respect: People have found it easy to become reconciled around me."⁴

Wainwright warns, however, against misinterpreting the preceding and similar attitudes when he writes:

The impression of otherworldliness, or passivity, does not last. However gentle King's voice, however soft his mien, these attitudes cannot completely mask the mind behind them. It is brilliant, one-track and tough, constantly on the move toward its single goal."⁵

¹Wainwright, loc. cit.

²Reddick, op. cit., p. 8.

³William Peters, "The Man Who Fights Hate With Love," Redbook, CXII (September, 1961), p. 91

⁴Wainwright, op. cit., p. 132.

⁵Ibid., p. 124.

From the same reporter comes the following observation:

When he is not on a platform, King does not at first convey any overpowering strength of personality. A deferential conversationalist, he replies to questions with as much courtesy as conviction. He often seems curiously at rest, even somnolent. He appears beyond surprise, beyond disappointment, beyond jubilation, a man who has seen it all before and knew it would all happen.¹

Spiritual aspect.-- If any one word explains the fabric of King's spiritual cloth, it is "love." He never ceases to emphasize that at the heart of the nonviolent movement and in the heart of the non-violent resister is the principle of love. "The nonviolent resister," he contends, "not only refuses to shoot his opponent but he also refuses to hate him."²

This love to which King would have all humanity subject is described as "understanding," "redeeming good will for all men," "purely spontaneous," "unmotivated," "groundless," "creative." Avers King, "It is not set in motion by any quality or function of its object. It is the love of God operating in the human heart."³

The importance and significance of the ethic of love are presented by Carl T. Rowan, successor to Edward R. Murrow and former Director of the U. S. Information Agency, who sketches a contrast between King, an apostle of love, and W. E. B. DuBois, an apostle of its counterpart:

¹Ibid.

²Martin Luther King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom (First PERENNIAL LIBRARY paperback edition; New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., 1964), p. 85. It should be noted that this is the "paperback" edition of the 1958 "hardback" edition. The pagination of the two editions differs. All references in the present study to Stride Toward Freedom are to the "paperback."

³Ibid.

/DuBois and King/ personify the colored man's quandary: whether to fight hate with hate or with love.

DuBois is an old man whose cup of racial bitterness runneth over-- a monagenarian brooding out his last days in a desperate admiration of things Russian and an irreconcilable hatred of things white American. King, a mere thirty /thirty-seven in 1966/, is a bright new intellectual general in America's racial wars, unique in that he offers the refuge of love to those who might follow DuBois down that forlorn trail of bitterness.

The contrast between these two leaders goes to the very heart of the Negro's dilemma--and perhaps to that of a Western world trying to establish rapport with the emerging masses of Asia and Africa. . . .

Martin Luther King brings to his mission a belief in the power of religion to move men; DuBois brought an open contempt for organized religion. The Montgomery pastor seems to know the difference between being courageous and being pugnacious; DuBois never did. . . .

Because the stakes are so great today for all mankind, one puts down the DuBois biography with a passionate hope that the strife will be neither so grim nor so daily as Will DuBois expects. And one cannot escape the concomitant hope that love can,- indeed, will- be the powerful, saving force that the young man from Montgomery thinks it is.¹ /brackets and underlining supplied/

King the elder, King the younger.-- It is only natural, perhaps, that one would presume to compare the two living Kings who co-pastor the same congregation, Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia. At best, the men probably lend themselves more easily to contrast.² Physically, King, Sr., is a much larger man-- weighing over two hundred pounds to King, Jr.'s more than a score pounds less than two hundred.

¹Carl T. Rowan, "Heart of a Passionate Dilemma," The Saturday Review, XLII (August 1, 1959), 20-21. Rowan here reviews two biographical works, namely: W. E. B. DuBois: Negro Leader in Time of Crisis by Francis L. Broderick, and Crusader Without Violence: A Biography of Martin Luther King, Jr., by L. D. Reddick.

²Note also the emotional make-up of King, Jr., relative to that of his mother and father on page 22 of the present study.

The presence of the father exudes at once a forwardness and confidence that border on arrogance. He is equally outspoken. One day, when King, Jr., was about eight, the father took him downtown to a shoe store and sat in front of the place of business awaiting service when a white clerk approached and said:

"I'll be happy to wait on you if you'll just move back there to those seats in the rear."

"Nothing wrong with these seats," the elder King retorted.

"Sorry," said the clerk, "but you'll have to go back there."

"We'll either buy shoes sitting here," the father shot back, flaring up, "or we won't buy any shoes at all." Then taking the hand of his son, King stomped fumingly from the store.¹ King, Sr., has always been known to demand courteous treatment from whites and also to have expressed his willingness and readiness to demonstrate that his "actions" can speak equally as loudly as his "words." Well within his rights as dictated by self-respect, he often gives overt expression at the moment against the system of segregation. The son tends more toward observing, contemplating, marshalling a strategy and a philosophy with which to strike at the root of the disgraceful system. King, Jr.'s presence is quiet and unassuming, while the father has been known to admit his non-subscription to "nonviolence," the term which has become a watchword of the younger. Whereas the father may smile more freely, laugh more heartily, and get angry more quickly, the son presents a directly opposite tendency. While King the elder is strongly opinionated, the younger offers a more willing ear to the opinions of others. With all due respect for his firstborn son and associate pastor

¹Bennett, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

of Ebenezer, King, Sr., may quite readily inform an audience that has come expecting to hear the son preach that he, too, is a preacher of no mean magnitude. On the other hand, one never hears the slightest suggestion of self-laudation from the son. A former Morehouse Professor who had the rare privilege of teaching both Kings reveals that in academic performance King the younger had the "edge" over his father. He hastens to add, however, that it is to be considered that the elder King entered college as a much older man.¹

There are, of course, points of similarity. Both are staunch supporters of human rights; both affirm that the pulpit holds not only a spiritual but also a social responsibility to the sheep of God's flock. Both are Baptist preachers, the father of the fundamentalist tradition, the son of the more liberal brand.

An excursion over the landscape of the "heritage" of Martin Luther King, Jr., brings to view a soil fertile with discipline, rich with religion, pregnant with possibilities for public speaking.

"The Seed": His Education

When his sister, Christine, started attending the Yonge Street Elementary School in 1934, five-year-old Martin, rather "precocious and talkative," tagged along and enrolled also by pushing his age up a year. The secret became known to the teacher when Martin gave himself away by artlessly talking about his last birthday party. He was put out and made to wait another year.

¹Confidential Interview, December 7, 1965. (This personal interview is termed "confidential" because the interviewee preferred that his name not be revealed.)

Elementary and high school days.-- From the very outset, Martin liked going to school. It is reported that "He was a good pupil, and during the course of his elementary and secondary education skipped about three grades."¹

For two years, 1935-37, he attended Yonge Street Elementary; then he transferred to David T. Howard Elementary School (later Howard became a high school). From Howard, he went to the Laboratory High of Atlanta University, a private school, where he was a B+ student. After two years, the private school closed; consequently, Martin returned to public school, one which his grandfather, A. D. Williams, had been influential in persuading the city of Atlanta to build, namely, the Booker T. Washington High. Here he skipped both the ninth and the twelfth grades.²

The first fifteen years of Martin's life seem fortunate enough;

Physically, he was healthy. Intellectually, he was slightly ahead of his age group. Socially, he was enjoying the threshold years of self-discovery and the companionship of the opposite sex. He wore good clothes, had a little money in the bank--and was willing to work for more.³

For precocious Martin, high school days included membership in several clubs and participation in a number of public speaking activities. During his senior year, 1944, he won both the local and regional Elks oratorical contest. He considered the accomplishment the "summit of his youthful achievements"; and today, some twenty years later, he remembers the subject of the oration as "something about the Negro and

¹Reddick, op. cit., p. 54.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 61.

the Constitution."¹ It was destined to be a recurring theme in his career addresses.

Morehouse College.-- At only fifteen years of age, he matriculated at Morehouse College in Atlanta, of which the famed Dr. Benjamin Mays was (and still is /1966/) president. President Mays, minister-teacher who had received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, had set into operation a plan for early admissions at Morehouse. The plan, essentially, provided for admitting pre-eighteen year olds upon evidence (through a series of qualifying examinations) of high intelligence and emotional maturity.

Dr. Lloyd O. Lewis, Professor-Emeritus of Morehouse College and the first public speaking teacher of King, remembers him as "attentive," "serious minded," "openminded (though having a mind of his own)," and a "thinker at fifteen."² Dr. Mays observed the same student and recollects, too, a "serious minded" lad who "listened more intently than most other students when anyone spoke in chapel."³

According to Dr. Lewis, while there was no Department of Speech as such at Morehouse in the early 1940's, efficient oral expression occupied a salient place among the curriculum requirements. Every student had to take at least one course in the fundamentals of public speaking.⁴ Concerning Martin's performance in the speech class, Professor Lewis

¹Bennett, op. cit., p. 25.

²Personal Interview, December 7, 1965.

³Personal Interview, February 15, 1966.

⁴Personal Interview, December 9, 1965.

remembers little "outstanding" for which to single him out except that Martin possessed unusual "poise" and "self-reliance."¹

The intense interest in public address which Martin revealed in high school continued throughout his tenure at Morehouse. The environment was unusually favorable in view of the varied outlets for speech activities. Professor Lewis referred to several opportunities for oral communication as (1) the weekly assemblies and chapels, (2) the student body meetings (when students could set forth and defend their propositions and opinions), and (3) the classes themselves. Recalling the meaningful informality surrounding a speech situation when a student delivered a public speech, the Professor told of one day when he literally interrupted the address of a student assembly speaker who mispronounced a word. "Nipping it in the bud", or correcting the speech violation then and there rather than awaiting a later time, not only reinforced the correct pronunciation in the mind of the embarrassed speaker but also made an indelible impression on the auditors, among whom were other students of public speaking.

Another opportunity at Morehouse for encouraging the development of good speech was the annual J. L. Webb Oratorical Contest, of which Dr. Mays believes that King was a winner for at least two years.²

Particularly three significant things happened to Martin during his Morehouse days:

1. He acquired a keen awareness of, and began an intellectual and pragmatic quest for, causes and remedies of the plight of the masses.

¹Personal Interview, December 7, 1965.

²Personal Interview, February 15, 1966.

2. He decided to become a minister.

3. He preached his first sermon.

We shall now elaborate on each of these three developments.

Quest for causes.-- During his earlier years in college, in addition to wanting at one time to be a physician and at another time a lawyer, King had been also a sociology major. He made for himself a commendable classroom record. Recognizing as a student of sociology, however, the need for more than mere textbook knowledge, he sought, between semesters, types of employments which would very definitely exposed him to conditions of the masses. Being the son of a prominent Negro clergyman and civic leader, he could easily have landed a job in any of the numerous Negro-owned businesses. Nevertheless, he chose the work of the common laborer, toiling often at menial, backbreaking jobs with the masses to "learn their plight and feel their feelings."¹

One summer was spent unloading trains and trucks at the Railway Express Company and another helping in the stockroom at the Southern Spring Bed Mattress Company. Observing that Negro males received drastically less pay than white males for identical jobs, he saw the reality of a theory expounded in Professor Walter Chiver's sociology classes that the love of money was the root not only of evil but indeed of race.² But such was not the only sociological picture observed by King. When he was a member of Atlanta's integrated Intercollegiate Council, his concept broadened. Associating with whites on a basis of substantial equality

¹Bennett, op. cit., p. 28.

²Ibid.

for the first time, King developed a more varied view on race. He is quoted as remarking concerning this inter-racial experience:

The wholesome relations we had in this group convinced me that we have many white persons as allies, particularly among the younger generation. I had been ready to resent the whole white race, but as I got to see more white people my resentment was softened and a spirit of cooperation took its place.¹

As a nineteen year old college student, King also expressed himself via the written word. In an article, "The Purpose of Education," for the campus newspaper, Maroon Tiger, 1948, he argued well the kind of relationship one's education should sustain to the masses. After noting that "most" of his fellow students thought that education was for the purpose of providing "proper instrument of exploitation" to enable them to perpetuate the plight of the masses, young Martin asserted that education, on the contrary, should equip men with "noble ends rather than means to an end." He continued:

At this point, I often wonder whether or not education is fulfilling its purpose. A great majority of the so-called educated people do not think logically and scientifically. Even the press, the classroom, the platform, and the pulpit in many instances do not give us objective and unbiased truths. To save man from the morass of propaganda, in my opinion, is one of the chief aims of education. Education must enable one to sift and weigh evidence, to discern the true from the false, the real from the unreal, and the facts from fiction.

The function of education, therefore, is to teach one to think intensively and to think critically. But education which stops with efficiency may prove the greatest menace to society. The most dangerous criminal may be the man gifted with reason, but with no morals.

The late Eugene Talmadge, in my opinion, possessed one of the better minds of Georgia, or even America. Moreover, he

¹Ibid.

wore the Phi Beta Kappa key. By all measuring rods, Mr. Talmadge could think critically and intensively; yet he contends that I am an inferior being

We must remember that intelligence is not enough. Intelligence plus character--that is the goal of true education. The complete education gives one not only power of concentration, but worthy objectives upon which to concentrate. The broad education will, therefore, transmit to one not only the accumulated knowledge of the race but also the accumulated experience of social living.¹

For him the pattern was set, the formula clear: education / character / a concern for the masses. Even when he was a teenager, his sky shone with such noble lodestars.

Deciding to become a minister.-- A decision in favor of the ministry as a profession was preceded by a staunch repellent against the religious tradition of the Negro. In spite of a very deep urge in favor of his becoming a preacher, King, Jr., was repulsed by the typical emotionalism, hand-clapping, "amen-ing," "shouting," and a widely untrained clergy which generally characterized the Negro church and which, he felt, were inharmonious with respectable intellectuality and relevant sociology.² He himself further admitted as much when he said,

¹Martin Luther King, Jr., "The Purpose of Education," Maroon Tiger (1948).

²In his uncommon work, The History of the Negro Church (Associated Publishers, 1921), pages 167-184, Carter G. Woodson mentions the probable roots of an uneducated Negro ministry. Dr. Woodson documents that during pre-Civil War days (c. 1830-1860), Negro ministers were generally deemed incapable of the mental development known to the white man. Barred from most theological seminaries in the North, few were favored with finishing a formal discipline preparatory to the parish; consequently, many Negro preachers began, unfortunately, capitalizing upon and taking questionable pride in their predicament. Woodson observes that "Preaching to his congregation, the ignorant minister would often boast of having not rubbed his head against the college walls, whereupon the congregation would respond: 'Amen.' Sometimes one would say: 'I did not write out my sermon.' With equal fervor the audience would cry out: 'Praise ye the Lord.'"

"I had doubts that religion was intellectually respectable, I revolted against the emotionalism of Negro religion, the shouting and the stamping. I didn't understand it and it embarrassed me."¹ His first biographer describes Ebenezer Baptist (the church into which Martin, Jr., was "born" and to which he returned in 1960 as Associate Pastor following his Montgomery pastorate) as once containing a substantial number of these elements when he writes that it

. . . was essentially a congregation of working class people . . . thoroughly familiar with the high charge of emotion--the shouting and the beautiful but full-throated singing--and the general direct behavior of the evangelical denominations to which the majority of Negroes of America belong.²

A person very familiar with Ebenezer and its leadership confided in the writer that once this parish consisted predominantly of the typical, emotionally charged "happy" congregation but that the arrival of King, Jr., as Associate Pastor yielded a two-dimensional appeal, thus making for a greater balance of emotionalism and intellectualism, fundamentalism and liberalism, working class people and professionals.³

Martin's earlier revulsion against the ministry was evoked, however, not merely by the extrinsic forms of Negro worship. He carried a conviction that these outward proclivities simply bore little, if any, relevance to the intrinsic problems and needs of the Negro masses.

However, Morehouse College rose to the occasion in customary fashion and offered several outstanding examples of intelligent,

¹"Man of the Year," Time, January 3, 1964, p. 14.

²Reddick, op. cit., p. 85.

³Confidential Interview, March, 1966.

seminary-trained clergymen, among whom were Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, the President, and Dr. George D. Kelsey, then Chairman of the Religion Department at Morehouse and now Professor of Ethics at Drew University. These ministers mirrored the ideal, and King caught the brilliant reflection and beheld convincing evidence that what he conceived as a respectable ministry was indeed possible. Relating the experience to the present writer, Martin Luther King, Jr., said that in Dr. Mays and Dr. Kelsey he saw that "religion could be intellectually acceptable as well as emotionally satisfying."¹ Furthermore, while a Morehouse student, King concluded that the ministry provided the only framework in which he could properly position his growing concept of responsibility to his social milieu.

In 1947, his senior year at Morehouse, he decided to enter the ministerial profession.

When asked why he thought King decided to ascend the sacred podium of preaching, Dr. Mays replied that he believes King received "a 'call', that inner urge which compels one to do this rather than that."²

Years after accepting the inner challenge to ministerial service, King gave the following resumé of this "call":

My call to the ministry was neither dramatic nor spectacular. It came neither by some miraculous vision nor by some blinding light experience on the road of life. Moreover, it was a response to an inner urge that gradually came upon me. This urge expressed itself in a desire to serve God and humanity, and the feeling that my talent and my commitment could best be expressed through the ministry. At first

¹Personal Interview, August 31, 1966.

²Personal Interview via Telephone, February 15, 1966.

I planned to be a physician; then I turned my attention in the direction of law. But as I passed through the preparation stages of these two professions, I still felt within that undying urge to serve God and humanity through the ministry. During my senior year in college I finally decided to accept the challenge to enter the ministry. I came to see that God had placed a responsibility upon my shoulders and the more I tried to escape it the more frustrated I would become. A few months after preaching my first sermon I entered theological seminary. This, in brief, is an account of my call and pilgrimage to the ministry.¹

The "first sermon."-- Upon informing his pleased parents of the decision to enter the ministerial ranks, young Martin was permitted, perhaps even directed, by his pastor, the elder King, to preach a "trial sermon." Years later his father remarked that ". . . he started giving the sermon--I don't remember the subject--in the first unit of the church and the crowds kept coming, and we had to move to the main auditorium."² Satisfied not only with Martin's decision but also the evidence of ability conveyed by the sermon, the father returned home that night and thanked God. Later in the same year, the son was ordained to the gospel ministry and appointed assistant to his father at Ebenezer Baptist Church.

Crozer Theological Seminary.-- In June, 1948, Martin Luther King, Jr., nineteen years old, graduated from Morehouse with a Bachelor

¹"Folder: Letters Received," The M. L. King Collection. This statement was written by Dr. King on August 7, 1959, in response to a request by Joan Thatcher, Publicity Director of the Board of Education and Publication of the American Baptist Convention, Division of Christian Higher Education, July 30, 1959. Miss Thatcher mentioned in her letter to Dr. King that the American Baptist Convention wrote "twenty persons who we feel are outstanding representatives of various Church vocations. Most of their names will be well known to Baptist young people. We are asking each of you to write a brief statement of 100 to 500 words describing your own call from God to the church vocations. These will then be quoted in a leaflet and in magazine articles we are preparing." The complete text of the letter by Mrs. Thatcher and the response by Dr. King are found in the M. L. King Collection, Boston University Library.

²Bennett, op. cit., 27-28.

of Arts degree. Fall of the same year found the young Atlantan in the North--Chester, Pennsylvania--matriculating at Crozer Theological Seminary, to which, because of promise as both a student and minister, he had been given a scholarship. Crozer at that time was among the top ten theological schools in the United States.

The change from college campus to seminary scene rather paralleled in time a change in the spirit and trend of the world. World War II, just concluded two years prior, did not leave the world unchanged; on the contrary, it discharged forces which began disrupting racial strata. In Asia, Africa, and America, men of color were now expressing concern about world conditions and making significant overtures for a more racially integrated world scene.

During such an era of flux and change, Martin, customarily mature and intelligent beyond his years, sensed more and more the emerging spirit of assertiveness among the world's colored peoples. Asa Philip Randolph (a Negro labor leader /President of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters/ and known as the foremost mass protest organizer at that time) threatened in 1947-48 to get underway a civil disobedience movement protesting against segregation in the U. S. Army.¹ The threat stirred thousands of young Negro collegiates--including King. Newsweek magazine reported that of 2,200 Negro college youth polled on 26 campuses by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 1,619, or 71%, indicated that they favored A. Philip Randolph's proposal for resisting a draft under the then present segregation policy.² At this

¹"Crisis in the Making: U.S. Negroes Tussle with Issue . . . of Resisting a Draft Law Because of Racial Segregation," Newsweek, June 7, 1948, pp. 28-9.

²Ibid.

time, even while King was registering at Crozer, a conflagration of contention swept over the U. S. with regards to President Harry S. Truman's and the Progressive party's uphill battle for a "strong" civil rights legislation.¹ It did not go unnoticed by this young seminary student, who found permissible pride in the expanding ethos of the Negro. What he would later term the Zeitgeist stirring in the womb of time was even then, perhaps, preparing him to stand at the crossroads of outdated traditionalism and a new world outlook regarding the Negro's place in the modern world.²

In the meantime, King pursued his studies. Three years of professional discipline at Crozer consisted of (1) history and criticism of the Bible, (2) Church history and special phases of the lives and works of the major prophets, (3) the psychology of religion, ethics, and social philosophy, and (4) Church administration and homiletics.

Dr. Morton S. Enslin, the New Testament professor for whom King had the greatest of respect, said the following about King-- an aspiring student of theology:

When I first met and observed Martin both in my classroom and in my home (he dined in my house several times), I saw that he was always a perfect gentleman and knew that he was marked for the sword belt /meaning that he was destined to succeed/; he was going to be someone, not a private but an officer in the rank. He was a smooth boy and knew the world was round.³

Professor Robert E. Keighton, King's homiletics teacher, describes the homiletics curriculum as covering four areas, namely:

¹Harry S. Truman, "Civil Rights Message to Congress," Vital Speeches of the Day, XIV (February 15, 1948), 258-61.

²Bennett, op. cit., p. 34.

³Personal Interview, March 7, 1966.

(1) sermon preparation, (2) practice preaching (before classmates), (3) preaching problems, and (4) preaching in public (for seniors).¹

According to Professor Keighton, no textbook was used for the course. He well remembers King but hastens to add that he recalls nothing especially outstanding about the student as far as "preaching" is concerned and has no particularly high esteem for his preaching today. Not commenting very extensively on his former student, the former Professor simply labels him as a "product of his environment," a possible "opportunist." Professor Keighton would not elaborate except to say that he feels that King preaches only to those who agree with him.² The investigator was not permitted to probe the uncomplimentary comments; but he notices that in all of the published works on Martin Luther King, Jr., references to imminent and influential teachers of his seminary and graduate school days do not list his homiletics Professor.

Because King very well knew that serious social problems existed in the world generally and in the U. S. particularly, he began reading furiously book after book at Crozer in "a serious intellectual quest for a method to eliminate social evil."³ The reading list took him on excursions with philosophers Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, and Locke; existentialists Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Sartre, Tillich, Jaspers, and Heidegger; social theorists Niebuhr, Marx, Hegel, Rauschenbusch, and Gandhi. He re-read Thoreau.

¹Telephone Interview, March 6, 1966. Rev. Robert E. Keighton, Professor-Emeritus of Homiletics, Crozer Theological Seminary, is now retired and at the time of the present writing is doing an interim assignment at the Landsdown Baptist Church, Chester, Pennsylvania.

²Ibid.

³Martin Luther King, Jr., Strength to Love (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963), p. 137.

The theological concepts which exerted the most relevant influence on King will be reviewed in the following chapter.

While King's academic performance at Morehouse (1944-48) had been commendable, his three years (1948-51) in racially integrated Crozer Seminary were nothing short of fantastic. So popular a student was he that he was elected president of the student government. As the most outstanding student, he received the Plafker Award and was also Senior Class President. Graduating as valedictorian with an "A" average, he received his Bachelor of Divinity (B.D.) degree in June, 1951, and was awarded the Lewis Crozer Fellowship (\$1,200) to matriculate at the graduate school of his choice for doctoral studies. Dr. Sankey L. Blanton, President of Crozer, could write to Martin following his graduation and say: "I regard you as one of the most promising students I have met."¹

Boston University.-- Irrespective of being buffeted by arguments that he would become "over-educated" and have too many degrees for church congregations that most likely would be lower class or at best lower middle class, the serious student had applied to at least two graduate schools of theology: Edinburgh University (Scotland) and Boston University. Edinburgh acknowledged the receipt of his transcripts and stated that they were of "sufficiently high quality" to be accepted in the Post-Graduate School for 1951.² He headed, instead, for Boston University--

¹Letter, November 1, 1951, "Folder: Letters Received," The M. L. King Collection.

²Letter from Dr. O. S. Ranken, Faculty of Divinity, December 15, 1950, "Folder: Letters Received," The M. L. King Collection.

a leading center for "personalism," a concept in philosophy that emphasizes the value of the human personality. The concept, treated in more detail in the following chapter, would later find homage in many of King's sermons.

King's intellectual pursuit begun at Morehouse and accelerated at Crozer gained momentum at Boston. Unstinted credit goes particularly to the late Dr. Edgar S. Brightman and Dr. L. Harold DeWolf, two foremost exponents of "personalism" or personal idealism, for stimulating his thinking at Boston.

Dr. DeWolf, then Chairman of the Systematic Department, informed the investigator that of all the doctoral students to whom he has served as major advisor at Boston University (some fifty in all) he rates King among the first half dozen and proudly reveals that King is one of only two of his students who completed the Ph.D. requirements within a three-year period.¹ The former Boston Professor describes his former pupil as "a very good student, all business, a scholar's scholar, one digging deeply to work out and think through his philosophy of religion and life."²

Nor did a knowledge of Martin's reputable academic ability come to the notice only of those who taught him. While Dr. Walter G. Muelder, Dean of the School of Theology, Boston University, did not have him in any of his classes, he recalls vividly the "serious, mature, brilliant student in philosophical theology."³

¹Personal Interview, March 6, 1966

²Ibid.

³Personal Interview, March 4, 1966.

The researcher posed the following question: Is it not possible for a pupil to establish himself as an intelligent student by mastering content materials and accurately answering exam questions in a course without necessarily executing efficient oral communication? Both Dr. S. Paul Schilling (also Professor of Systematic Theology, B. U., and the Second Reader of King's doctoral dissertation) and Dr. DeWolf answered "yes." However, commenting on King's facility in self-expression, Dr. Schilling remarks enthusiastically that he was "direct, very effective, not superfluous."¹ Emphasizing further the clarity with which King communicated, even during the defense of his Ph.D. dissertation, Dr. Schilling says that whenever he was talking, a listener never had to interrupt him and ask, "Now what did you mean back there when you said . . . thus and so . . .?"² The student of theology was not gibberish or circumloquacious but always clear. Dr. DeWolf also referred to King's efficiency in oral expression by adding that not only was he "always clear and precise but meticulously systematic and resourceful. His arrangement of ideas, even in ordinary conversation, was superbly organized."³ Only one regret, and that to his student's credit, did Dr. DeWolf mention concerning his relationship with King and that was the following:

Mr. King manifested such initiative and self-disciplined organization of his work that he was rendered more independent than the average doctoral student and, accordingly, sought little time for the guidance and counsel of his major professor.⁴

¹Personal Interview, March 3, 1966.

²Ibid.

³Personal Interview, March 6, 1966.

⁴Ibid.

On the point of "organization," it is interesting to note that when Martin Luther King, Jr., left Boston and took up the pastorate of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church (Montgomery), he sent plans of his church organization to two of his friends for criticism. Both recipients, Major J. Jones (who later became Dean of the Chapel, Fisk University) and Melvin Watson (on the faculty at Morehouse College) complimented Martin for the well-thought-through plans but mildly warned him that his "details" might tend toward "over-organization."¹

Similar to an arrangement he had while at Crozer (taking supplemental courses in philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania), King likewise took classes in philosophy at Harvard while enrolled at Boston.

Another influence on King's speaking, particularly in group discussion, was the Philosophical Club (an extracurricular activity) organized by him and Philip Lenud, a divinity student at Tufts University. What started out as a weekly get-together of a dozen or so students meeting in Martin's apartment soon grew to larger and encouraging proportions.² It apparently was a periodic procedure even to invite a Seminary Professor to address the group or lead them in a discussion of some theological subject, for Martin wrote a letter to Dr. DeWolf on May 15, 1954, thanking him for the interesting lecture he had given to "our Theology Club on last Monday evening." He went on to say in the thank-you-letter that as a result of Dr. DeWolf's lecture, the club members understood more clearly the "meaning of the Kingdom" and "just how it is to come."³

¹"Folder: Letters Received," The M. L. King Collection.

²Reddick, op. cit., p. 88.

³"Folder: Letters Sent," The M. L. King, Jr., Collection.

Although in the midst of a very busy and intensive academic program at Boston University, King, Nevertheless, took time to practice public speaking by preaching on week ends. Cities in which he delivered sermons during his B. U. days included Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Chattanooga, Washington (D. C.), Lansing (Michigan), Methuen (Massachusetts), Montgomery, Philadelphia, and Roxbury (Massachusetts).¹

Successfully passing the oral examination on his dissertation, "A Comparison of the Conceptions of God in the Thinking of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman," King was awarded the Ph.D. in Systematic Theology in June, 1955.

The same month, his major Professor, Dr. DeWolf, wrote his prize student a personal letter in which he said: "I shall be deeply interested in following both your professional and your personal career. . . . I expect splendid achievements from you and shall always regard you with high appreciation and pride."² The teacher's expectation proved prophetic.

Characterized by a brilliant intellect, broad education, powerful capacity for hard work, enormous will power, and a large ambition, King went out to face the world. The seed was, indeed, germinable; the seed, indeed, fell not on stony ground.

¹ Ibid. These cities were extracted from letters which he sent expressing appreciation to various pastors for their having granted him the opportunity to preach in their churches.

² Letter, June 4, 1955, "Folder: Letters Received," The M. L. King, Jr., Collection.

The Fruition: His Career

The milieu.-- May, 1954, will forever be chronicled as historic in the United States. From the chambers of the Supreme Court issued forth the epochal decision to abolish segregation in public schools.¹ The same month and year marked also the genesis of the first church pastorate of Martin Luther King, Jr.

For more than half a century, segregation had been legalized by the Plessy vs. Ferguson case, affirming the Southern premise that the purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment was not to "enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races."² The Negro had argued that social prejudices could be fought by legislative measures; but the Supreme Court, in the 1896 Plessy decision, declared that "If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane."³ Justice John Marshall Harland voiced the lone dissent when he declared:

There is no caste here. Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law.⁴

May 17, 1954, saw the Supreme Court (by a 9 to 0 vote) dissolve the 1896 decision by accepting the weighty and documented arguments of Thurgood Marshall, et al., that racially segregated and discriminated education does have negative effects upon the Negro pupil. Justice

¹347 U.S. 483 (The Case of Brown vs. The Board of Education), 1954.

²163 U.S. 537 (The Case of Plessy vs. Ferguson), 1896.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

Harlan's "color-blind note" resounded once more, and the Court ruled:

We cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when Plessy vs. Ferguson was written. . . . We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.¹

Marriage.-- The year before, in 1953, and while still a resident student at Boston University, King married the beautiful and talented Coretta Scott, who was at that time a student at the New England Conservatory of Music. Born and reared in Heiberger, Alabama, Coretta was the second of three children in the household of Obadiah and Bernie McMurry Scott. Her ancestors had owned land in the area since the Civil War. To the union of Martin and Coretta would be born four children: Yolanda, Martin III, Dexter Scott, and Bernice.

It was in the summer of 1954 when Coretta Scott King was graduated from the New England Conservatory of Music and when her husband passed his preliminary examinations at Boston.

To Dexter Avenue Baptist Church.-- They then moved south to take up duties at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama, the pastorate of which had been officially accepted the preceding spring predicated on three considerations: (1) That the parsonage be completely furnished, (2) That he be granted an allowance of time to complete his work at Boston University, coming to Dexter as full pastor not later than September 1, 1954. In the interval, he would fill the pulpit at least once or twice per month; in such a proposal, expecting Dexter to

¹347 U.S. 483 (The Case of Brown vs. The Board of Education), 1954.

defray expenses in his commuting from Boston to Montgomery, and

(3) That the proposed salary (\$4,200 per year) be increased as the church progresses.¹

Why did Martin go to the Deep South to pastor a church? What led to the decision?

Whatever King lacked upon the completion of his residence requirements at Boston University, it was certainly not opportunities for employment. In addition to at least two from Northern churches and the same number from the South, he could admit being proffered a teaching position, a deanship, and an administrative appointment in three colleges.² The zenith of his ambition called for a minister-teacher career--inspired by the career of his longtime idol, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President of Morehouse College. But the wisdom of better judgment would point to pastoring before accepting a teaching post in the academic world. Coretta agreed but favored the northern pulpits. Would not moving to the South curtail her musical career and stifle opportunities for further study and cultural outlets so handily available in Boston?

The South, with its race problems, held no enchantment. Nevertheless, King argued passionately for the hard and narrow path of duty.³ To the Southland they decided to go.

Dexter was King's preference, too, by virtue of certain advantages. Besides providing upper-income parishioners who were largely professionals from the Alabama State College (the state-sponsored institution for Negroes), Dexter Avenue Baptist Church was rather "intellectual" and

¹Folder: Letters Sent," The M. L. King, Jr. Collection.

²Martin Luther King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., 1964), p. 2.

³Bennett, op. cit., p. 49.

discountenanced "emotionalism" and "amen-ing"-- thus promising a more ideal milieu for a young, sensitive and disciplined preacher. King had already "taken the temperature and checked the pulse of Dexter" when, in January of 1954, he delivered his "trial" sermon.¹ He was satisfied; so was the congregation.

In retrospect five years later, during a "farewell" program called "This Is Your Life" honouring King at the time of his resignation to take up his new pastorate in Atlanta, the narrator of the program described in the following words the attitudes surrounding the initial reception of their pastor:

He was received kindly by Dexter members but not without mixed emotions. Some were impressed by the pending Ph.D. degree, others were dismayed by his youth [then 25 years old]. In spite of some skepticism and mixed emotions, Dexter's members were committed to give their new pastor their best in the spiritual hope that this would elicit from him his best and that in due time he would obtain the stature of greatness. In one respect we were in error, for long before he was "due" as we had envisioned the time table, he had exceeded the greatness much beyond the anticipation of his most devoted admirers.²

The narrator then paid implicit tribute to King's facility in pulpit oratory when he referred to how a certain member of the Pulpit Committee of Dexter, during the Committee's process of deciding which minister they would invite to take charge of its leadership, had been strongly advised to delay any recommendation until the church had "heard the young M. L. King."³

¹With Dexter, as it is with many independently operated parishes, it was a policy first to invite several ministers to preach at different times and then extend an official call based partially on the minister's ability to preach.

²Folder: Dexter Avenue Church," The M. L. King Collection.

³Ibid.

As an indication of the dismay which accompanied some of the members' thoughts of his youth, it has been reported that one lady felt that the twenty-five year old cleric looked kind of lost up there without his mother.

King's first sermon at Dexter was entitled, "The Three Dimensions of a Complete Life"- love of self, love of neighbors, and love of God, thus auguring well the overall scope of his pulpit address.

Dexter's pastor very soon gained the reputation of being a very good preacher. Invitations to preach on special days became a common occurrence. Just after one such engagement, when the young and dynamic pulpiteer had preached as a guest speaker in another church, his dad, the Rev. M. L. King, Sr., wrote the following fatherly commendation and advice to the up-and-coming clergyman:

Alexander called me yesterday just to tell me about how you swept them at Friendship Sunday. Every way I turn people are congratulating me for you. You see, young man, you are becoming popular. As I told you, you must be much in prayer. Persons like yourself are the ones the devil turns all of his forces alose to destroy.¹

What plans would the twenty-five year old pastor outline for his first parish? What nuances of thought resided in his thinking? King himself relates the early days:

The first few weeks in the autumn of 1954 were spent formulating a program that would be meaningful to this particular congregation. I was anxious to change the impression in the community that Dexter was a sort of silk-stocking church catering only to a certain class. Often it was referred to as the "big folks' church." Revolting against this idea, I was convinced that worship at its best is a social experience with people of all levels of life coming together to realize their oneness and unity under God. Whenever the church, consciously or unconsciously, caters to one class it loses the spiritual force of

¹Letter, December 2, 1954, "Folder: Letters Received," The M. L. King Collection. A copy of the letter appears in Appendix II E.

the "whosoever will, let him come" doctrine, and is in danger of becoming little more than a social club with a thin veneer of religiosity.

I was also concerned with broadening the auxiliary program of the church. These activities, when I arrived, consisted chiefly of the Sunday School, where adults and children assembled to study the tenets of Christianity and the Bible; the Baptist Training Union, designed to develop Christian leadership; and the Missionary Society, which carried the message of the church into the community. Among the new functions I decided to recommend were a committee to revitalize religious education; a social service committee to channel and invigorate services to the sick and needy; a social and political action committee; a committee to raise and administer scholarship funds for high school graduates; and a cultural committee to give encouragement to promising artists.¹

How did the congregation at Dexter respond? King reports:

Since many points in the new program represented a definite departure from the traditional way of doing things, I was somewhat dubious about its acceptance. I therefore presented my recommendations to the church with some trepidation; but, to my surprise, they were heartily approved. The response and cooperation of the members from this moment on was impressive. Almost immediately the membership began to grow, and the financial report for the first six months revealed that the income of the church had almost tripled over previous years. The various new committees were functioning well, and the program of religious education was characterized by sturdy growth.²

There Was time, too, for manifest interest in the larger community of the city. Locked in racial segregation's iron grasp, Montgomery presented a typical socio-politico-economic gulf between its 70,000 Caucasians (median income \$1,730) and 50,000 Negroes (median income \$970). While 94% of the white families had flush toilets inside their homes, only 31% of the Negroes enjoyed such facilities. King continues a graphic portrayal of the Montgomery scene as he saw it:

¹ King, Stride, pp. 10-11.

² Ibid., p. 11.

The two communities moved, as it were, along separate channels. The schools of course were segregated; and the United States Supreme Court decision on school integration, handed down in May 1954, appeared to have no effect on Montgomery's determination to keep them that way. If a white man and a Negro wanted to ride in a taxi together, they could not have done so, since by law white operators served white passengers exclusively and Negroes rode in a separate system confined to them. True, Negroes and whites met as employers and employees, and they rode to work together at either ends of the same buses, with a sharp line of separation between the two groups. They used the same shopping centers, though Negroes were sometimes forced to wait until all the whites had been served, and they were seldom given the dignity of courtesy titles. In several sections of town, Negro and white residential neighborhoods adjoined, and in others they interlocked like the fingers of two hands. But each section turned its back on its neighbor and faced into its own community for its social and cultural life.

There were no integrated professional organizations of physician, lawyers, teachers, and so forth; and even when such professionals shared membership in national organizations, they went their separate ways at home. No interracial ministerial alliance existed in Montgomery. There was no local Urban League to bring Negro and white together on an interracial board, and the active membership of the Montgomery Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was entirely Negro. The largest institution of higher learning in Montgomery was the all-Negro Alabama State College, mainly devoted to teacher training, with a faculty of almost 200 and a student body of approximately 2000. . . .

Alabama law and its administration had worked to keep Negro voting down to a minimum. By 1940 there were not more than 2000 Negro voters in all Alabama. Today 1957 the number is closer to 50,000, but although this represents progress, it is still less than 10 per cent of all Negroes of voting age in the state. In 1954 there were some 30,000 Negroes of voting age in Montgomery County, but only a few more than 2000 were registered. This low figure was in part the result of the Negroes' own lack of interest or persistence in surmounting the barriers erected against them; but the barriers were themselves formidable. Alabama law gives the registrars wide discretionary powers. At the registration office are separate lines and separate tables for voters according to race. The registrars servicing Negro lines move at a noticeably leisurely pace, so that of fifty Negroes in line, as few as fifteen may be reached by the end of the day. All voters are required to fill out a long questionnaire as a test of eligibility. Often Negroes fill out the questionnaire at several different times before they have been informed that they have done so

successfully. In the light of these facts it was not surprising to find that there was no Negro in public office in either the city or the county of Montgomery.¹

King's concern for these problems of Montgomery revealed itself in his organizing (in his church) the Social and Political Action Committee, which served to keep the congregation intelligently informed on the social, political, and economic status of things and to keep before them the importance of the NAACP and the necessity of being registered voters, and-- during state and national elections-- to sponsor forums and mass meetings to discuss the major issues.² King himself became a very active member of the local branch of the NAACP, raised money in his church, and delivered several speeches for the organization.

The pulpit at Dexter will be long remembered for its having been occupied by one who led Montgomery's monumental bus boycott, the episode which Louis Lomax views as the "first major battle" of the Negro revolt.³

Ironically, Dexter is less than one hundred yards from the Alabama State Capitol, near which one hundred years before, 1861, Jefferson Davis, the Confederacy's new president, was introduced with these words: "The man and the hour have met." In the mid-nineteen fifties, Montgomery and the world would witness the converging of a new man and a new hour.

The career of Martin Luther King, Jr., was catapulted into national and international attention by leading a bus boycott started from a December 1, 1955, incident when a Negro woman, Mrs. Rosa Parks,

¹Ibid., pp. 14-15.

²Ibid.

³Louis Lomax, The Negro Revolt (Harper & Brothers, 1962), p. 111.

refused to "move back" on a crowded city bus to let a white passenger have her seat. The bus driver had her arrested, the Negro community reacted, the boycott began and lasted for one year until receipt of the Supreme Court order affirming the decision of a special three-judge U. S. District Court which had ruled unconstitutional the Alabama state and local segregation laws on buses.

Fifty thousand Negro citizens of Montgomery (ministers, physicians, professors, porters, maids, laborers, housewives et al.) had shed all claims of rank, class, or creed and rallied under the leadership and direction of the Montgomery Improvement Association,¹ organized as home-base to which all participating in the boycott looked for instruction. The MIA provided not only some three hundred automobiles for regular transportation from forty-six pick-up stations, leased space in buildings to receive additional complaints and requests from citizens, and kept the community informed on developments and strategy, but also arranged for mass meetings by using the facilities, on a rotation plan, of various churches during which time the people could communicate and express themselves. The Montgomery Negro exemplified the crystallization of a racial self and proved an effective opponent of the white city beauracracy. The Nation described the massive front as having "the nature of a miracle, something that has never happened before in the history of the South."²

¹ Organized by Montgomery Negro citizens, the MIA elected as its president the youthful preacher, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Among others serving in leadership capacities were E. D. Dixon, treasurer; Fred D. Gray, attorney; and the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy (then minister of the First Baptist Church, Montgomery), who served then as until now /1966/ King's "right hand man," his counselor and friend. King often serio-comically refers to Abernathy as "my dearest friend and cellmate." (Time, January 3, 1964, p. 14)

² Carey McWilliams, "Miracle in Alabama," Nation, CLXXXII, (March 3, 1956), p. 169.

The very first address that King delivered December 5, 1955, as president of the MIA posited a problem which would perpetually challenge his public speaking in the civil rights context: how could he make a discourse that would be militant enough to keep the Negro aroused to positive action and yet moderate enough to keep this fervor within controllable and Christian bounds?¹ He decided on facing the challenge head-on by attempting to combine two apparent irreconcilables: the militant and the moderate forces.

Interestingly enough, King's message that evening to the first mass meeting in the Montgomery episode did not contain anything explicit of Hegel, Rauachenbusch, or even Gandhi. He did, however, quote Jesus Christ and Booker T. Washington when he said:

Our method will be that of persuasion, not coercion. We will only say to the people, "Let your conscience be your guide" . . . Love must be our regulating ideal. Once again we must hear the words of Jesus echoing across the centuries: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and pray for them that despitefully use you." If we fail to do this our protest will end up as a meaningless drama on the stage of history, and its memory will be shrouded with the ugly garments of shame. In spite of the mistreatment that we have confronted we must not become bitter, and end up hating our white brothers. As Booker T. Washington said, "Let no man pull you so low as to make you hate him" . . . If you will protest courageously, and yet with dignity and Christian love, when the history books are written in future generations, the historians will have to pause and say, "There lived a great people--a black people--who injected new meaning and dignity into the veins of civilization." This is our challenge and our overwhelming responsibility.²

By virtue of the fact that "love" and "forgiveness", Siamese twins of passive resistance, were conspicuous themes of the actions of

¹King, Stride, p. 45.

²Ibid., p. 48.

Dr. King during the Montgomery movement, it is quite convenient to assume that Gandhism was always in the fore. Evidence supports otherwise. Note the reaction of King to the first bombing of his home, January 30, 1956, which threatened the very lives of his wife and baby. Although he had spoken most forcefully and persuasively that same evening on "love" and "forgiveness" at the mass meeting, the demands of husband-hood and fatherhood brought him to feel a need for self-defense. The next day found him in the sheriff's office applying for a gun permit. He was finally denied the permit, but by then had come to the conviction that self-defense was not the way.¹ Although his home was bombed a total of three times, his self-defense would forever be "the weapon of non-violence."²

In his first major interviews (one with editor Robert E. Johnson of Jet, the other with reporter Tom Johnson of the Montgomery Advertiser), however, King made no mention of Mahatma Gandhi. To Tom Johnson, he pinpointed the "social gospel" as his chief motivation. Tom Johnson reported:

Besides the religious philosophers, King was particularly interested in the German philosophers Kant and Hegel. The latter, his favorite, fathered the "dialectical process" which holds that change is the cardinal principle of life and that in every stage of things there is a contradiction which only the "strife of opposites" can resolve.³

The explicit avenue for Gandhism into the protest movement apparently came from a Southern white woman named Juliette Morgan (librarian) who had noted in a letter to the Montgomery Advertiser

¹Bennett, op. cit., p. 71

²"Man of the Year," Time, January 3, 1964, p. 27.

³Montgomery Advertiser, January 19, 1956.

editor that similarities existed between the Montgomery protest and Gandhi's passive resistance. MIA leaders, already headed in this direction, capitalized on the idea, frequently using Gandhi as an authority particularly in their appeals for restraint. Northern and European reporters took it from there.¹

This is not to say, though, that King was unfamiliar with the philosophy of Gandhi. Nothing could be farther from the truth. As a student at Crozer Seminary, he had read and re-read several books on the Indian protest leader.² It is just that Gandhi occupied no overtly conscious position in the initial strategy.

The career of Martin Luther King, Jr., is buttressed by the fact that he is a man of deep, inner strength. If any one experience marks the moment of "conversion" from a mere pastor to a minister with illimitable inner resources, it would probably be that which occurred one night in 1956. Pressured by the claims of leadership, engulfed by the omnipresent conceivability of sudden or violent death, forced, as it were, to the Procrustean bed of responsibility, King sat dejectedly in the kitchen of his home and told God he could go no further alone. His heart overflowed:

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.³

¹Bennett, op. cit., p. 72.

²A closer look into King's first formal contact with the techniques of Mahatma Gandhi will be found in the following chapter.

³King, Stride, p. 114.

What resulted from that prayer of relinquishment? Did God answer the petitioning pastor? Listen to his own testimony:

At that moment I experienced the presence of the Divine as I had never 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." Almost at once my fears began to go. My uncertainty disappeared. I was ready to face anything.¹

And face almost anything he did, including twenty-three arrests from January 26, 1956, through June 11, 1964, and a near fatal stabbing by a deranged woman in Harlem on September 20, 1958, while he was autographing his first published book: Stride Toward Freedom.

By 1957, Martin Luther King, Jr., was "one of America's most sought after speakers and his name was known in almost every corner of America."² In that one year alone, he delivered 208 addresses and traveled some 780,000 miles. James L. Hicks of New York City's Amsterdam News singles out the Prayer Pilgrimage to the Lincoln Memorial, May 17, 1957, as catapulting King from a mere nationally and internationally known preacher to the number one spokesman for the Negro.³ Bellowing "give us the ballot" as his theme, he electrified a crowd of 25,000. He continued: "Give us the ballot, and we will transform the salient misdeeds of bloodthirsty mobs into the abiding good deeds of orderly citizens. Give us the ballot"⁴ Hicks remarked that King "emerged from the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington as the No. 1 leader of

¹Ibid., 114-15.

²Bennett, op. cit., p. 79.

³Reese Cleghorn, "Martin Luther King, Jr., Apostle of Crisis," The Saturday Evening Post, CCXXXVI (June 15, 1963), p. 15.

⁴Ibid.

16 million Negroes . . . At this point in his career, they will follow him anywhere."¹ He had been first quoted in Time, the leading news magazine, on March 5, 1956; by February 18, 1957, Time ran a cover story on the Baptist preacher; this was not to be its last.

Perhaps for half a century, since the age of Booker T. Washington, Negroes had been looking for a leader. Indeed, some had begun to mark off the beginning of a new era with the emergence of Dr. King.² As King's image loomed over the horizon, Negroes en masse were confronting him with the hopeful query: Art thou he who should come or should we look for another?

From Montgomery to Ebenezer and the SCLC.-- Willing to serve in any honourable way available, in addition to pastoring Dexter Avenue Baptist Church and chairing the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), King accepted the presidency of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC, and formerly the Southern Conference on Transportation and Non-violent Integration). January 10-11, 1957, dates the formation of the organization; and upon accepting the presidency, King himself became an institution.

On Sunday, November 29, 1959, Dexter Avenue Baptist Church would hear a saddening announcement. Because of mounting and broadening responsibilities (which he named as (1) his pastorate, (2) presidency of the MIA, (3) presidency of the SCLC, (4) extensive speaking appointments, (5) daily office chores, and (6) "the general strain of being known"),

¹Ibid.

²Lerone Bennett, Jr., "From Booker T. to Martin Luther King," Ebony, XVIII, No. 1 (November, 1962), 152-62.

he released a "painful decision," in the following words: "I would like to submit my resignation as pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church to become effective on the fourth Sunday in January."¹

An associate-pastorate to his father, The Rev. M. L. King, Sr., of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia, would not require nearly so many pastoral responsibilities as a pastorate at Dexter. Consequently, more time could be allotted for the broader universe of the SCLC and the myriad speaking engagements. By 1963, he again bore the reputation of being "the most powerful Negro leader in America."²

Salaried at one dollar a year from SCLC and \$6,000 from Ebenezer Baptist Church, Dr. King receives his income mostly from speaking fees, gifts, books, and magazine articles. In 1958, he reported a total income of \$25,348, over twice as much as the \$10,000 later published by Time.

The SCLC was able to boast a growth from a nucleus of five workers (and a budget of \$63,000) in 1960 to a staff of forty (and a budget of \$800,000) in 1963. As the generally proclaimed number one Negro leader in America, Dr. King would afford prestige for the SCLC, thus rendering that organization a strong rival of, and cooperator with, the other major civil rights groups, namely: the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Urban League, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). A one-page spread from Time (June 28, 1963, p. 16) presenting the basic dogma and emphasis of each of these civil rights organizations appears on page 64 of the present chapter.

¹Bennett, op. cit., p. 106.

²Reese Cleghorn, "Martin Luther King, Jr., Apostle of Crisis," The Saturday Evening Post, CCXXXVI (June 15, 1963), p. 15.

It should be noted that by the spring of 1966, two of these organizations (CORE and SNCC) had changed leaders, revised their attitudes on non-violence, and taken up a new rallying cry of "black power," the precise definition of which has been somewhat elusive. At any rate, because of its connotations, the "black power" slogan has been rejected by both the SCLC and the NAACP. An up-dated one-page spread on the civil rights movements by U. S. News and World Report (July 18, 1966, p. 33) includes three additional groups: (1) the "Black Muslims," (2) the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), and (3) the Deacons for Defense and Justice. (The up-dated account of eight civil rights organizations is on page 65 of this chapter.)

With the dynamic thrust of Wyatt T. Walker, assistant to King and executive director of SCLC, the organization moved into the very fore of the human rights struggle. Others attracted to SCLC included James Bevel, Dorothy Cotton, Andrew J. Young (who, in 1964, succeeded Walker as executive director), Ralph D. Abernathy (who also moved from Montgomery and took a church in Atlanta), James Lawson, and Fred Shuttlesworth.

Between the big civil rights campaigns such as those at Albany, Georgia, the "March on Washington," Selma and Birmingham, Alabama, and Chicago, Dr. King spends a great amount of time in airplanes and hotels, at banquets and receptions, and before lecture platforms and pulpits. Weekly he travels three to four thousand miles, during which time any twenty-four hour period in a major city might mean two to three formal addresses, a press conference, and several interviews with radio, television, and print media personnel.¹

¹Bennett, op. cit., p. 187.

Here is a private citizen concerning whom Reese Cleghorn could write the following during the much publicized Birmingham human rights campaign in 1963:

King's position in the rights movement unquestionably is enhanced by the fact that he has the ear of the President and, for that matter, of figures around the world Not only is he on speaking terms with African leaders; to an extent few white Americans appreciate, his name is known and revered throughout much of the world.¹ (Underlining supplied)

During the Dwight D. Eisenhower administration, King conferred with both the President and Vice-President Richard Nixon and seemed to have had even a closer relationship with President John F. Kennedy. King was also one of the 1,200 invited VIP's who attended the Kennedy funeral in St. Matthew's Cathedral, Washington, D. C. Lyndon Baines Johnson, successor to John F. Kennedy, "summoned him almost immediately to the White House to confer on the change of administration."² In the Appendices will be found copies of letters (relative to the civil rights movement) to Martin Luther King, Jr., from President Harry S. Truman, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Vice-President Richard Nixon, Senator John F. Kennedy (then a declared candidate for the Presidency of the United States), Attorney General Robert Kennedy, and President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Dr. and Mrs. King have been invited guests of President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya (they did not go to Kenya, however, because of the transition following President Kennedy's assassination

¹ Cleghorn, op. cit., p. 19. A photograph of Dr. King in conference with President Lyndon B. Johnson will be found at the end of Chapter III, "Major Theological Themes in the Sermons of King."

² Bennett, op. cit., p. 197.

which necessitated King's remaining in the United States), and of Prime Minister Nehru of India.

How does Martin Luther King, Jr., compare in popularity and effectiveness with other Negro leaders? Newsweek ("The Big Man Is Martin Luther King, Jr.," July 29, 1963, pp. 30-32) conducted a poll among the "rank and file" Negroes in 25 cities and among 100 selected Negro "leaders" to ascertain a reading on the attitudes of Negroes and how they rank their own people regarding the human rights endeavor. Of the fourteen Negroes receiving significant ratings, Dr. King ranked number one with 80% "favorable" rating from the "rank and file" and 95% "favorable" from the 100 selected leaders contacted in the poll. A copy of the ratings is on page 63 of this chapter.

Although the United States may claim many influential Negro leaders, none other but King has received the distinctive honor of "Man of the Year" by Time magazine (January 3, 1964). Not only was King the first Negro so awarded but also only the third personality in the religious world (1932--Mohandas K. Gandhi; 1962--Pope John XXIII are the other two).

The award which unequivocally made him a truly world-wide figure and international preacher was the Nobel Peace Prize of 1964. The thirty-five year old King was "the twelfth American, and the youngest person ever, to be so honored."¹

Martin Luther King, Jr., is "a man who has earned fame with speeches."² Indeed, the flower of his career has blossomed and yet continues to bloom.

¹Time, October 23, 1964, p. 27.

²Time, January 3, 1964, p. 13.

Who Are the Leaders—How They Rate

Ratings by Rank and File

Ratings by the Leaders

Favorable	Poor		Favorable	Poor
88	1	 Martin Luther King Jr.	95	1
80	1	 Jackie Robinson	82	2
79	1	 James Meredith	81	1
78	1	 Medgar Evers	92	1
68	1	 Roy Wilkins	92	0
64	*	 Thurgood Marshall	94	1
62	2	 Ralph Bunche	87	2
60	1	 Dick Gregory	80	3
56	3	 Harry Belafonte	73	2
55	3	 Lena Horne	68	2
53	3	 Floyd Patterson	50	9
51	7	 Adam Clayton Powell	52	16
40	1	 James Baldwin	67	3
15	29	 Elijah Muhammad	17	65

*Less than 1 per cent

THE BIG FIVE IN CIVIL RIGHTS

HOWEVER spontaneous it may seem, the Negro revolution is guided by five civil organizations. Sometimes they work together, but the alliance is uneasy. They employ different strategy and tactics. And as the revolution gathers impetus, there is increasing rivalry—not only for recognized leadership but for the financial backing that it brings. The five top organizations, excluding the Black Muslims, who are not interested in civil rights:

THE N.A.A.C.P.: In the Courts

Founded in 1909, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has become the nation's biggest (400,000 members in 1,200 chapters), best-known civil rights organization. For years it fought the Negro's battles in the courts, achieved its greatest triumph in 1954 after its special counsel, Thurgood Marshall, now a federal appellate judge, successfully argued for the Supreme Court's historic school desegregation decision.

But to Negroes nowadays court action seems not nearly enough, and the N.A.A.C.P. is feeling the pressure. Last week able Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins complained publicly: "The other organizations furnish the noise and get the publicity while the N.A.A.C.P. furnishes the manpower and pays the bills. A good many things have not been made known to our membership. They have come to believe that we are standing on the sidelines working up legal cases while everybody else is participating in nonviolent direct action. We don't like to have people talking about us as if we were old and sitting in the corner knitting." As if to give weight to his words, Wilkins recently went to Jackson, Miss., deliberately got himself arrested as a civil rights demonstrator.

THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE: In the Community

The Urban League's executive director, Whitney Young Jr., is unwilling to follow Wilkins' example. "I do not see," he says, "why I should have to go to jail to prove my leadership." Founded in 1910 and mainly supported by white philanthropic funds (notably including the Rockefeller), the Urban League stresses community action, including job training and social welfare programs. The most "professional" of the organizations, the league, with its fulltime, salaried staffers, furnishes research and planning guidance to almost all the other groups.

With chapters in 65 cities, the Urban League seeks civil rights progress through biracial consultation and co-operation. For that reason it is sometimes accused of Uncle Tomism—but smart, tough Director Young, 42, is certainly no Uncle Tom. Educated at Kentucky State College, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the University of Minnesota, he was dean of the Atlanta University School of Social Work when selected for his Urban League post. As soon as he assumed Urban League leadership, he stepped up the organization's pace. A veteran staffer protested: "We don't work this fast." Replied Young: "From now on, we will. We've got to, or we'll be left behind."

Young argues that the U.S. Negro, having suffered centuries of injustice, requires not mere equality, but a

limited period of special treatment, to enable him to accept his legal rights. He wants a massive, domestic Marshall Plan, with emphasis on slum clearance and job training. Still, Young refuses to let the Urban League name be used in the activist demonstrations going on across the nation. Says he: "You can holler, protest, march, picket, demonstrate; but somebody must be able to sit in on the strategy conferences and plot a course. There must be the strategists, the researchers and the professionals to carry out a program. That's our role."

CORE: On the Road

The Congress of Racial Equality makes claim to inventing the sit-in and the Freedom Ride. Formed in 1942, it first tried the sit-in technique that year on a Chicago restaurateur named Jack Spratt. Says CORE's National Director, James Farmer, 43: "The N.A.A.C.P. is the Justice Department, the Urban League is the State Department, and we are the nonviolent Marines."

Farmer, a World War II conscientious objector, describes himself as a disciple of Gandhi. Says he: "It's going to be a long, hot summer. These spontaneous demonstrations are going to be a problem. Our job is to channelize them constructively. I feel very strongly for nonviolence." Yet for one reason or another, violence often accompanies CORE's demonstrations.

S.C.L.C.: In One Man's Image

The Southern Christian Leadership Council owes its existence almost entirely to the inspirational qualities of its founder: the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. King started S.C.L.C. to give him organizational backing after his successful Montgomery bus boycott in 1956. But for quite a while, King suffered an eclipse—and S.C.L.C. seemed almost ready to go out of business.

King came back this past April, when he organized civil rights demonstrations in Birmingham. Since then, S.C.L.C. has been just about the hottest organization in the civil rights field—much to the discomfiture of other groups. "King," complains the leader of one, "is getting all the money." Yet as an organization, S.C.L.C. would probably fold tomorrow were King to leave it.

S.N.C.C.: On the Streets

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (dubbed "SNICK") was formed in 1960 at a Raleigh meeting of Southern Negro college students. That meeting was called by none other than Martin Luther King—but King was unwilling to move fast enough to satisfy the youngsters. Brash, reckless and disorganized, SNICK is headed by a 35-year-old Chicagoan named James Forman. With its shock troops heading into Southern towns to start segregation protests and voter-registration drives, SNICK counts success in terms of blooded noses, beatings at the hands of cops, and days spent by its members in jail. The bigger, better-organized civil rights organizations shudder at SNICK's bobtail operations. "They don't consult anybody." But for raw courage and persistence, SNICK wins grudging admiration even from its rivals.

WILKINS

YOUNG

FARMER

KING

FORMAN



•

Here are the major civil-rights organizations in the U.S. and their leaders—grouped according to what they stand for:

"BLACK POWER"

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Always a militant group, it has become even more militant in recent months. Ousted its old leaders in May. New head is Stokely Carmichael, age 25, born in Trinidad. He has made the cry "Black power!" the SNCC slogan. He advocates "Black Panther" politics, with all-Negro parties, rejects President Johnson's proposed civil-rights bill as a "sham," opposes Vietnam war and the draft. With no organized membership, SNCC relies heavily on youthful volunteers, directed by a staff of about 100, headquartered in Atlanta, Ga.



Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Also becoming more militant under new director, Floyd B. McKissick. In recent convention, CORE endorsed "black power," refused to rule out violence, declared for self-defense by Negroes when necessary, condemned the Vietnam war and the draft. Claims 80,000 members—about a third of them white—in 200 chapters, mostly in the North. Headquarters: New York.



"NONVIOLENCE"

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). This Atlanta-based, clergy-led organization is headed by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who is known as the originator of nonviolence and who still advocates it. After years of operations in South, Dr. King recently expanded his activities to Chicago. Not a membership organization, SCLC has affiliated groups in many cities.



National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Biggest and oldest of the civil-rights organizations—also regarded as one of the most conservative. Reports 1965 membership of 440,538 in 1,642 units in all 50 States, with 1965 income of \$1,860,000. Executive Director Roy Wilkins rejects "black power" because "it implies antiwhite." He advocates racial integration. NAACP has stressed legal action to obtain Negro rights, was instrumental in winning important rulings in Supreme Court, including 1954 ruling against segregated schools.



National Urban League. Stresses economic progress for Negroes, operates programs for training Negroes, helping them find jobs, improving their health, housing and education. Has branches in about 70 cities, with professional staff of about 600, and claims "tens of thousands of members of both races." Executive director is Whitney M. Young, Jr., who says, "Just as we press for equality without, we must prepare for excellence within." League's headquarters is in New York City.



Outside the civil-rights movement are such Negro organizations as these:

"ARM AGAINST WHITES"

Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM). Most radical of all Negro organizations, committed to "revolution" against whites. Members study techniques of sabotage and guerrilla warfare. RAM operates so secretly its size is unknown, but believed small, confined to a few big cities including New York, Detroit and Philadelphia. Its pamphlets name Robert Franklin Williams as "chairman in exile." Mr. Williams fled U.S. in 1961 while under indictment on a charge of kidnapping a white couple in North Carolina, found asylum in Castro's Cuba. He also has visited Red China and North Vietnam.



Deacons for Defense and Justice. An organization of armed Negro vigilantes prepared to fight back against any white attack on Negroes. Operates in South, with organizations in Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi. Claims to have provided armed guard for "freedom march" on Jackson, Miss., in June. Apparently no central head. One local leader is Charlie Sims, in Bogalusa, La.



"BLACK NATIONALISM"

Black Muslims. A self-styled religious sect, claiming links with Moslem religion. Muslim leader, Elijah Muhammad, preaches that white men are "a race of devils." He spurns integration and calls for complete separation of the races and creation of a black state inside the United States. Muslim leaders claim a membership of about 200,000, but well-informed sources say that actual membership is under 10,000, with many Negroes dropping out after only a short membership. Headquarters in Chicago, with mosques in several cities.



The Settings for Dr. King's Preaching

Now that we have followed Dr. King from his puberty to his pulpit, it is altogether appropriate that we consider the general occasions of his pulpit address. By "occasion" we mean the setting in which, and the people to whom, he presents his propositions. What kind of audience does King usually address? Especially does the setting loom large in significance when we are reminded by Aristotle that a speech situation is composed not only of the speaker and the subject but also the "persons addressed; and the end or object of the speech is determined by . . . the audience."¹

As observed in the study by Dr. Irving J. Lee, an audience consists not merely of "people" but of old people, poor people, rich people, and so on.² Listeners within a given audience may differ also with respect to their attitudes toward a spokesman. Hence, there are several suggested ways in which one may classify auditors. While it appears wise to avoid an attempt to fit arbitrarily King's audiences into some pre-constructed mold, yet one can recognize in the audience classification by Lew Sarett and Irving J. Lee appropriate prototypes which adequately depict those to whom King preaches. Sarett and Lee classify audiences as follows:³

1. The Neutral Audience

"The neutral, or rational and objective, audience is open-minded toward the speaker and his ideas."

¹Thonssen, op. cit., p. 60.

²Irving J. Lee, "A Study of Emotional Appeal in Rhetorical Theory, with Special Reference to Invention, Arrangement, and Style," (Northwestern University, 1939), Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Speech.

³The audience classification as here presented is taken from Principles of Speaking (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1962), pp. 116-120.

2. The Friendly Audience

"This type of audience usually is already convinced of the speaker's proposition--and its members probably like him and his ideas."

3. The Apathetic Audience

"The apathetic audience is neither friendly nor hostile, neither agreed nor opposed to the speaker's ideas."

4. The Hostile Audience

Here the audience "is opposed to . . . [the speaker's] or ideas, or has a personal dislike for them; this is, naturally, one of the risks of having a reputation of any kind."

5. The Mixed Audience

Such an audience is "composed of persons who have differing attitudes toward his proposition."

Dr. King invariably preaches to a "mixed audience, mixed not merely in terms of varying attitudes respecting his propositions but mixed in terms of age, race, education, employment, and intelligence. Because most of his preaching is by special invitation (except, of course, when he occupies his Associate-Pastorate pulpit at Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta), his audiences would normally be classified as "friendly" or at least "neutral"; and this is usually the case on the part of the sponsoring groups themselves, that is, the groups which extend the invitation to King for his services. However, in view of his national and international prominence, the sponsoring groups capitalize upon his reputation and widely advertise the engagement. This inevitably attracts to the preaching situation a heterogeneous congregation.

How does King meet the challenge of preaching to a considerably heterogeneous audience? While no evidence has been found to indicate an adjustment of the general quality of the sermon, King does localize his examples and statistics as a particular audience is likely to be more

familiar with, or even persuaded by, facts indigenous to its own geographical area. For example, while preaching in the Central Methodist Church in Detroit, King did not use statistics and examples characterizing Selma or Birmingham; instead, his facts were of Chicago, another large northern city with which Detroit could more legitimately and practically compare itself. The major adjustments, however, seem to be made in his expression, that is, his rhythm, his voice tones, and his word choice. The practice coincides with that advocated by Oliver and Cortright who advise: "One solution . . . [to the problem of delivering a discourse to an audience composed of both high and low intelligence] is to . . . adapt the quality of your ideas to the highest common denominator; their expression to the lowest."¹

Unlike Booker T. Washington, with whom King is often compared as an influential voice among the Negro masses and the white liberals, he does not have different addresses for different audiences;² instead, he delivers the same discourse before all groups be they Negro, white, Northerners, or Southerners.³ As mentioned under "voice" in the present chapter, King at times will become informal and even "folksy" in terms of articulation and pronunciation when addressing a predominantly unlettered audience, although the basic content of his sermon maintains

¹Robert T. Oliver and Rupert L. Cortright, Effective Speech (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 265.

²In Willis Norman Pitts' study, "A Critical Study of Booker T. Washington as a Speechmaker with an Analysis of Seven Selected Speeches" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1952), it was observed that Washington generally recognized and prepared for three audiences, namely: (1) the southern white audience, (2) the northern audience, and (3) the Negro audience.

³Lerone Bennett, Jr., What Manner of Man (A Biography of Martin L. King) (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, 1964), p. 190.

its good quality with reference to his over-all ethical, logical, and pathetic proofs. In general, it can be said that Dr. King can be commended for such a practice, which does more than merely assist in establishing rapport; it also assists in "encoding" his message in a way suitable to the intended receivers.¹

While Martin Luther King, Jr., is an ordained Baptist clergyman, he preaches to Protestant churches of nearly all denominations and is literally unable to accept the voluminous invitations to deliver baccalaureate sermons. Educational institutions where King has spoken include: Michigan State University, Harvard, Yale, University of California (Berkeley), Texas, Albion College, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Morehouse College, Oakwood College (Huntsville, Alabama), Howard University, Southern University, Tuskegee Institute, and Notre Dame.

Responses to the Preaching of King

In concluding this chapter on the career of Dr. King, we shall now devote attention to possible responses given his public discourse. One may well ask what has Dr. King's preaching accomplished? What are the outcomes?

Except, perhaps, when he delivers a sermon in his Atlanta parish, King does not follow the procedure of "opening the doors of the church" or inviting unchurched listeners to "join." A possible reason for this may hinge on the fact that he preaches in almost all protestant denominations; and as a minister of the Baptist denomination, he probably

¹Jon Eisenson, J. Jeffery Auer, and John V. Irwin, The Psychology of Communication (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), p. 180. Here Dr. Milton Valentine of the University of Colorado (and author of the essay composing Chapter XI in this book by Eisenson, et al.) maintains that "if the language of a speaker is not understood or is misinterpreted by his hearers, his instrumental communication ceases to influence, except perhaps negatively."

would not be expected to ask people to become members of another faith. Admittedly, however, the explicit attitude of Dr. King on the matter of denominational lines of demarcation is not revealed. In any event, there are responses to his preaching--or for what purpose does a speaker speak? Principal responses to the pulpit address of Dr. King as interpreted by the researcher are termed (1) Local, spontaneous responses, (2) Local, delayed responses, and (3) General, implied responses.

Local, spontaneous responses are those which auditors make during and immediately following the sermon. Especially when his listeners include what are generally thought to be typical Southern Negroes, King's sermon in the process of being delivered may be frequently punctuated with such involuntary reactions as "Amen, Brother" or "That's right" or "Preach on now." From more inhibited auditors, the immediate response may consist of a smile or a nod of the head giving assent to some point which King is making. Sometimes, if the host congregation is sponsoring also a civil rights fund rally, listeners contribute a liberal monetary donation after the preaching service. The writer has never, however, known Dr. King himself to solicit the donation.

Local, delayed responses are principally those which have been observed particularly in letters written to Dr. King. For example, following a sermon which he delivered at Albion College (Albion, Michigan), correspondence from Professor Keith J. Fennimore expressed the "sincere gratitude" of the entire Albion community "for the inspiring message."¹ Dr. Fennimore went on to say that "one cannot assess with accuracy the

¹Letter, March 19, 1963, "Folder: Letters Received," M. L. King Collection.

full impact of such an address, but I can assure you that already the waves of its implications are radiating throughout both campus and town."¹ Another example of the kinds of letters sent in response to King's preaching is that from Dr. M. J. Jones, Dean of the Chapel, Fisk University (Nashville, Tennessee), in which he expressed "appreciation" for King's participation in the Religious Emphasis Week. Dr. Jones continued that "Your mere being on our campus lent so much to the spirit of the occasion for you were a living example of the social concern which we feel that Christianity and the Church ought to have in every existing community."² A student at Tuskegee Institute responded, "After listening to your wonderful sermon in Tuskegee's Chapel a few Sundays ago, entitled 'The Three Dimensions of a Complete Life,' I became . . . inspired."³ From Southern University (Baton Rouge, Louisiana) came the reaction that "All day long people have been remarking about the effectiveness of your message Sunday night. It is by far the mountain peak for this year, and I am deeply grateful to you."⁴ A visitor to Dr. King's Montgomery parish (Dexter Avenue Baptist Church) congratulated him for "the grand response the congregation is giving you."⁵

It might be argued that most of the preceding responses expressed via letters are from academic institutions and, therefore, do not typify

¹Ibid.

²Letter, February 28, 1956, "Folder: Letters Received," M. L. King Collection.

³Letter, Sylvester Jones, August 20, 1955, "Folder: Letters Received," M. L. King Collection.

⁴Letter, Dean of Students, Southern University, October 18, 1955, "Folder: Letters Received," M. L. King Collection.

⁵Letter, Dr. Melvin Watson, Department of Religion, Morehouse College, December 15, 1954, "Folder: Letters Received," M. L. King Collection.

responses made by the ordinary audience. It is believed, on the contrary, that these letters do voice the sentiments of the local, delayed responses of the humbler classes and that the absence of such letters from that segment of society (the common people) is due rather to the fact that the masses seldom write their responses. Variables to help account for the obvious abundance of letters in the M. L. King Collection from University auditors over the common mass of listeners may be such facilitating particulars as secretaries, typewriters, and even the ability to express oneself in a satisfactory manner to an international personality. The kind of local, delayed responses which would describe those of most of the masses are voter registration, voting, sit-ins, wade-ins, kneel-ins, and demonstration marches.

General, implied responses to Dr. King's oral communication refer to those observed in organizations and various echelons of the government (federal, state, and local) in terms of revised policies in favor of racial integration and in terms of legislative measures, judicial decrees, and executive orders. The sources of the general, implied responses are not necessarily members of King's immediate audience when the sermon itself is in the process of being delivered. But the preaching of Dr. King is not done in a vacuum. His national and international prestige renders him and his every public word the topic of reporters from every division of news media (newspaper, magazine, radio, and television); consequently, often within a matter of minutes, the audience of King suddenly broadens to include millions. In a very real sense, then, his sermons are eventually delivered to the entire nation and the world, even if only in quoted parts. It is maintained that because of the wide publicity afforded the

declarations of Dr. King, such decisions and actions as the following may be considered as possibly influenced by and, therefore, probable responses to his preaching:

1. In 1954-55, the period when Martin Luther King, Jr., led the momentous bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, the United States Supreme Court decided that in the field of education "the doctrine of 'separate-but-equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."¹ Although the specific area of King's activity at the time was public transportation in Montgomery and not public education, yet his bold and successful endeavor cannot be said to have not given an important measure of impetus to the over-all civil rights cause. The Nation, March 3, 1956, pp. 169, 179, saw the Montgomery episode as a "miracle in Alabama, unheralded, without precedent, . . . [that] put the entire nation to the test."
2. In 1962, President John F. Kennedy signed an executive order outlawing discrimination in housing financed by the Federal Housing Authority or the Veterans Administration.²
3. The year 1965 witnessed President Lyndon B. Johnson's voting-rights bill passed.

¹Time, June 21, 1963, p. 15.

²Time, January 21, 1966, p. 19A.

4. Also in 1965, the Southern Baptist Convention, membership 10.6 million, voted overwhelmingly to accept a report by its Christian Life Commission which said in part: "In a spirit of true repentance, we prayerfully rededicate ourselves to the Christian ministry of reconciliation between Negroes and whites."¹
5. During the current year, 1966, President Johnson has offered to Congress a much broader civil rights package than the late John F. Kennedy. The most controversial element of the bill is his demand for laws "'resting on the fullest constitutional authority of the Federal Government' to prohibit discrimination in housing sales or rentals."²
6. Simultaneous to the time of the writing of the present section of our study, August, 1966, Dr. King is in Chicago, Illinois, where his civil rights organization, The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), has been sponsoring a drive for the last several months to alleviate Negro ghettos and slum conditions. One of the dramatic moments came on Sunday, July 11, 1966, when, following an anti-slum rally attended by some 35,000 at Chicago's Soldier Field, Dr. King led a march to the City Hall, where on the door he posted demands which included better housing, more jobs, and

¹Time, June 11, 1965, p. 68.

²Time, January 21, 1966, p. 19A.

better schools (News-Palladium, Benton Harbor, Michigan, July 11, 1966, p. 1). The event was reminiscent of Martin Luther, the Protestant reformer, who posted his ninety-five theses on the door of the Wittenberg castle in 1517. Since the occurrence of a series of civil rights demonstrations in Chicago, the Mayor, Mr. Richard Daley, has called together business, civic, and religious leaders for an airing out of the protested problems. Dr. King was among them; and at the time of this writing, the response of Mayor Daley's meeting has figured significantly in establishing lines of communication and dialogue between pertinent parties.

The preceding decisions and actions are by no means meant to be all-inclusive of the general, implied responses to the preaching of Dr. King. They are only typical examples of innumerable and like decisions made all over the nation in an effort to redress racial grievances. Nor can it be stated dogmatically that irrefutable causal relationships exist among these decisions and King's oral communication. Nevertheless, it does not seem unreasonable to assume strongly that within the context of civil rights, relevant decisions and actions would in some measure be influenced by the most articulate and persuasive voice in the civil rights cause.

CHAPTER III

MAJOR THEOLOGICAL THEMES IN THE SERMONS OF DR. KING

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is a preacher who possesses, as Dean Muelder expressed it, a "thoroughly thoughtout intellectual and theological position."¹ What is the framework of Dr. King's religious presuppositions? In the present chapter, we shall delineate the salient sources of his theological concepts and then present examples of the statement of these concepts as found in the King sermons.

THE SOURCES

Henry David Thoreau

The first introduction of Dr. King to the tenet of non-violent social resistance came through his reading, as a student at Morehouse College, Thoreau's Essay on Civil Disobedience.² Although Thoreau addressed himself to the immediate issue of slavery and the Mexican War, his appeal soared beyond the context of immediate concern; for he "spoke

¹Personal Interview, Dr. Walter G. Muelder, Dean, School of Theology, Boston University, March 4, 1966.

²In its first form, Thoreau's composition had been presented as a lecture entitled "The Rights and Duties of the Individual in Relation to Government" delivered twice before the Concern Lyceum in 1848. It appeared the next year in Elizabeth Peabody's Aesthetic Papers as "Resistance to Civil Government." Later it was to be called "Civil Disobedience." See the following: Thoreau: People, Principles, and Politics, edited by Milton Meltzer (New York: Hill and Wang, American Century Series, 1963), pp. 35-36; Concord Rebel (A Life of Henry D. Thoreau) by August Derleth (New York: Chilton Company, 1962), pp. 69, 79, 84-5, 204.

to the issue of the moral law in conflict with government law."¹ He contended that "it is not so desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think is right."² The duty of "right" above the question of law would become a fundamental principle of King's social reform movement.

On the relation of unjust laws to moral man, Thoreau declared:

Unjust laws exist: shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded or shall we transgress them at once? . . . If it /the government/ is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law What I have to do is to see ; . . that I do not lend myself to the wrong which I condemn."³

Specifically on the question of slavery, he averred the following:

I know this well. that if one thousand, if one hundred, if ten men whom I could name--if ten honest men only--ay, if one honest man, in this State of Massachusetts, ceasing to hold slaves, were actually to withdraw from copartnership, and be locked up in the county jail therefor, it would be the abolition of slavery in America. For it matters not how small the beginning may seem to be: what is once well done is done forever.⁴

Reportedly, when Thoreau was incarcerated on an occasion for having broken what he considered an unjust law, a friend from the outside recognized him in the jail and remarked, "Why, Thoreau, what are you doing in there?" Replied Thoreau, in typically pregnant overtones, "My

¹Meltzer, loc. cit.

²Carl Bode, ed., The Portable Thoreau (New York: The Viking Press, 1960), p. 111. Also Meltzer, loc. cit.

³Ibid., 119-20.

⁴Ibid., p. 121.

friend, what you doing out there?" "Under a government which imprisons any unjustly," he later wrote, "the true place for a just man is also a prison."¹

So profoundly moved was King by this concept of "non-cooperation with evil"² that he re-read Thoreau time and time again. King later said that "This was my first intellectual contact with the theory of nonviolent resistance."³ At the same time (the middle and late 1940's) while King was being introduced to Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience," one Mahatma K. Gandhi was already implementing the philosophy of passive resistance to free India from British rule. Gandhi's renowned movement is said to have been inspired also by Thoreau's concept.⁴

Walter Rauschenbusch

Not until he matriculated at Crozer Theological Seminary, 1948, did King enter upon a "serious intellectual quest for a method to eliminate social evil."⁵ Among the varied concepts encountered, that of the "social gospel," particularly as propounded by Rauschenbusch, gained the ascendancy in his thinking. King later wrote of the experience:

Although my major interest was in the fields of theology and philosophy, I spent a great deal of time reading the works of the great social philosophers. I came early to Walter Rauschenbusch's Christianity and the Social Crisis, which left an indelible imprint on my thinking by giving me a theological basis for the social concern which had already grown up in me as a result of my early experiences.⁶

¹Ibid., p. 122.

²L. D. Reddick, Crusader without Violence (A Biography of Martin Luther King) (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), pp. 15-18.

³Martin Luther King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom (New York: Harper and Row, Perennial Library, 1964), p. 73.

⁴August Derleth, Concord Rebel (A Life of Henry D. Thoreau) (New York: Chilton Company, 1962), p. 204.

⁵King, loc. cit.

⁶Ibid.

Rauschenbusch's was not, however, a philosophy with which King perfectly agreed. Though finding complete compatibility with the dynamics of a social gospel which demanded that one's religion go beyond himself to a positive influence upon his environ, he, nevertheless, detected in Rauschenbusch's brand at least two unacceptable elements, namely:

- (1) "the nineteenth century 'cult of inevitable progress' which led him [Rauschenbusch] to a superficial optimism concerning man's nature," and
- (2) the danger of "identifying the Kingdom of God with a particular social and economic system--a tendency which should never befall the Church."¹

Two points on which King could find considerable agreement with Rauschenbusch are the following, which the present investigator extracted from works of the social philosopher:

- (1) There are two great entities in human life,--the human soul and the human race,--and religion is to save both.

Christianity must offer every man a full salvation. The individualistic gospel never did this. Its evangelism never recognized more than a fractional part of the saving forces at work in God's world. Salvation was often whittled down to a mere doctrinal proposition; assent to that, and you were saved. Social Christianity hold to all the real values in the old methods, but rounds them out to meet all the needs of human life.²

- (2) . . . if the pulpit is willing to lend its immense power of proclamation and teaching, it will immeasurably speed the spread of the new conceptions. 'With the assistance of the clergy everything in matters of social reforms is easy; without such help, or in spite of it, all is difficult and at times impossible.'

None can deny that the pulpit has the teaching function, and that its obligation runs wherever a moral question can

¹Ibid.

²Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), p. 114.

be raised. Those who think the institutional Church a departure from the spiritual mission of the Church, must concede all the more that the Church should teach plainly on the moral causes and remedies of social misery. If the Church is not to deal with mass poverty by its organized work, its obligation is all the greater to deal with it by the sword of the word. Preaching on social questions is not an innovation in the history of the pulpit. The Fathers, the great medieval preachers, the leaders of the Reformation--all dealt more boldly with public questions than the classical sermonizers of the generations just preceding ours. In all the history of preaching the pulpit has perhaps never been so silent in this direction as in the nineteenth century before the social movement began to affect Christian thought.¹

If a minister uses the great teaching powers of the pulpit sanely and wisely to open the minds of the people to the moral importance of the social questions, he may be of the utmost usefulness. . . .²

The two previously mentioned points of agreement may be summarized thus: (1) Religion must concern itself with not only the future but also the present life, ministering not merely to the individual person but also to the person's environment. (2) The pulpit must lend positive assistance for the effective dissemination of such a concept if social evils are to be eliminated.

After lauding Rauschenbusch for his contribution to the Church in insisting that her gospel deal with both individuals and society, King states his resulting conviction resulting from his having read Rauschenbusch:

It has been my conviction ever since reading Rauschenbusch that any religion which professes to be concerned about the souls of men and is not concerned with the social and economic conditions that scar the soul is a spiritually moribund religion only waiting for the day to be buried. It well has been said: 'A religion that ends with the individual, ends.'³

¹Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianity and the Social Crisis (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917), pp. 357-58.

²Ibid., 367-68.

³King, loc. cit.

Following the reading of Rauschenbusch, King no doubt knew that his own potential pulpit would provide a platform for emphasizing the proverbial "here and now" as well as the "sweet by and by."

Mohandas K. Gandhi

It was also at Crozer Seminary that King first read Gandhi. Having just heard Dr. Mordecai Johnson (then president of Howard University) give a lecture at the Fellowship House of Philadelphia on his visit to India, the young Crozerite was so moved by Johnson's message and so impressed by the idea of the applicability of Gandhi's non-violent movement to the Negro's struggle in America that immediately following the lecture he purchased about six books on the life and work of Gandhi, the renowned personality who led in India's passive resistance against British rule.

Later, writing of his study of Gandhi, Dr. King said:

As I read his works I became deeply fascinated by his campaigns of nonviolent resistance. The whole Gandhian concept of satyagraha (satya is truth which equals love and graha is force; satyagraha thus means truth-force or love-force) was profoundly significant to me. As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi, my skepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished, and I came to see for the first time that the Christian doctrine of love, operating through the Gandhian method of nonviolence, is one of the most potent weapons available to an oppressed people in their struggle for freedom.¹

¹Martin Luther King, Jr., Strength to Love (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963), p. 138. Just as Thoreau created a term, "civil disobedience," to describe his protest, so Gandhi minted a Hindu expression, "Satyagraha," to portray his protest philosophy. Disliking the term "passive resistance," Gandhi offered a prize for a better name embodying his new kind of mass-yet-individual opposition to unfair government. His cousin, Maganlal Gandhi, suggested "Sadagraha"-- meaning "firmness in a good cause." The suggestion was amended by Mohandas Gandhi to become "Satyagraha,"-- truth-force or love-force, being "strong not with the strength of the brute but with the strength of the spark of God." Gandhi says that Satyagraha is "the vindication of truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent but on one's self." In breaking civil law, one accepts (in good conscience) penalty for the violation. See The Life of Mahatma Gandhi by Louis Fisher, p. 77.

King hastens to add, however, that at that particular time he acquired merely an intellectual understanding and appreciation of Gandhi's position and possessed "no firm determination to organize it in a socially effective situation."¹

Before reading Gandhi, King had felt that the ethics of Jesus were effective merely in "individual" relationship. Jesus' imperatives to "turn the other cheek" and "love your enemies" were pertinent only, thought King, in situations when individuals [note the plural] were conflicting with other individuals (such as racial groups vs. racial groups and/or nations vs. nations). Gandhi, however, altered King's thinking.

Gandhi deeply respected Jesus of Nazareth and, furthermore, accepted his pronouncements of the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:1-7:27) as furnishing significant bases for his own (Gandhi's) creed of non-violence.²

It was, indeed, by studying Gandhi that King's personal canon of thought on the power of love vis-a-vis social problems began to crystallize. King maintains:

Gandhi was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale. For Gandhi love was a potent instrument for social and collective transformation. It was in this Gandhian emphasis on love and nonviolence that I discovered the method for social reform that I had been seeking for so many months. The intellectual and moral satisfaction that I failed to gain from the utilitarianism of Bentham and Mill, the revolutionary methods of Marx and Lenin, the social-contracts

¹ Ibid.

² Louis Fisher, Gandhi: His Life and Message for the World (New York: New American Library (A Mentor Book /A Mentor Book/, 1960), p. 129. See also M. K. Gandhi, Harijan (July 7, 1940), quoted in M. K. Gandhi: Non-Violent Resistance, ed. Bharatan Kumarappa (New York: Schocken Books, 1961), p. 176.

theory of Hobbes, the 'back to nature' optimism of Rousseau, and the superman philosophy of Nietzsche I found in the nonviolent resistance philosophy of Gandhi. I came to feel that this was the only morally and practically sound method open to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom.¹

King was quoted in Time (January 3, 1963, p. 14) to the effect that from his background he gained his regulating Christian ideals, while from Gandhi he learned his operational technique.

Reinhold Niebuhr

King's senior year at Crozer brought him into contact with the writings of Niebuhr, who, according to Hordern is "the most important living American theologian."² Niebuhr's theology, an effort to apply Christianity to socio-politico-economic spheres, always "begins with the human, the material, the social."³

Niebuhr seems to have favored violent resistance to totalitarianism. At least he interpreted Gandhi's nonviolent resistance to be dependent on circumstances when he wrote that "violence could be used as the instrument of moral goodwill, if there was a possibility of a triumph quick enough to obviate the dangers of incessant wars," which means, continues Niebuhr, "that nonviolence is a particularly strategic instrument for an oppressed group which is hopelessly in the minority and has no possibility of developing sufficient power to set against its oppressors."⁴

¹King, Stride, pp. 78-9.

²William Hordern, A Laymen's Guide to Protestant Theology (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955), p. 147.

³Ibid., p. 148.

⁴Reinhold Niebuhr, Moral Man and Immoral Society (A Study in Ethics and Politics) (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947), pp. 252, 171f.

On the other hand, and while Martin Luther King, Jr., was only three years of age, in 1932, Niebuhr presaged that "the emancipation of the Negro race in America probably waits upon the adequate development of this kind [nonviolent resistance] of social and political strategy."¹ He recognized, nevertheless, that "the white race in America will not admit the Negro to equal rights if it is not forced to do so. Upon that point one may speak with a dogmatism which all history justifies."² One premise for such a conclusion might be Niebuhr's belief that power and pride are closely allied and that the ego, threatened by insecurity, grasps for more power rather than relinquishes or liberally shares it.³

Whereas King agreed that power concedes nothing without demand, he disagreed with Niebuhr's charge that "pacifism" is a kind of passive nonresistance to evil asserting naive trust in the power of love. Niebuhr apparently viewed pacifism as an unrealistic submission to evil power. But King contends that true pacifism is:

. . . a courageous confrontation of evil by the power of love, in the faith that it is better to be the recipient of violence than the inflicter of it, since the latter only multiplies the existence of violence and bitterness in the universe, while the former may develop a sense of shame in the opponent, and thereby bring about a transformation and change of heart.⁴

Yet there remained much in the thinking of Niebuhr which King found palatable, namely: (1) Niebuhr refuted the false optimism charac-

¹Ibid., p. 252.

²Ibid., p. 253.

³Reinhold Niebuhr, The Nature and Destiny of Man (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941), pp. 186f.

teristic of a large segment of Protestant liberalism, without falling into the anti-rationalism of Karl Barth or the semi-fundamentalism of other dialectical theologians, and (2) he exercised unusual insight into human nature and the behavior of nations and social groups, the complexity of human motives and the relation between morality and power, and kept in view the reality of sin.

Writing with prophetic accuracy, the noted theologian seemed to have prognosticated the eventual emergence of a nonviolent protest movement by Negroes in the following words:

One waits for such a campaign with all the more reason and hope because the peculiar spiritual gifts of the Negro endow him with the capacity to conduct it successfully. He would need only to fuse the aggressiveness of the new and young Negro with the patience and forbearance of the old Negro, to rob the former of its vindictiveness and the latter of its lethargy.¹

Personalism

It is altogether relevant to devote attention to the concept of "personalism," for King considers it his basic philosophical position.¹

While a student at Boston University, under the direction of the late Dr. Edgar S. Brightman (one of America's leading advocates of the concept)² and Dr. L. Harold DeWolf, King delved deeply into the element of personal idealism, or personalism, which maintains that personality comprises the clue to the meaning of ultimate reality and insists further the importance of the dignity of human personality.

¹Niebuhr, Moral Man, p. 254.

²On page 40 of the present study, it is noted that King, before matriculating at Boston University, had been accepted for graduate studies at Edinburgh University (Scotland). When the writer asked Dr. King why he went to Boston instead, Dr. King replied that it was mainly because of his interest in philosophical theology and the presence of Dr. Brightman (a foremost teacher in this area of study) that finally "tipped the scale" in favor of Boston University. (Personal Interview, August 31, 1966).

Borden Parker Bowne, predecessor to Brightman and also a leading exponent of personalism, provides a rather explicit brand of the philosophy as set forth thus:

Personalism conceives reality as a self or belonging to a self. By self is meant a unitary, self-identifying conscious agent. A self capable of the realization of values may be called a person. . . . Synopsis is the ultimate form of intelligibility. All parts can be understood only when interpreted through their membership in the whole person to which they belong Reality is rational and hence in some way an organic whole In the final synopsis of thought all reality must be viewed as conscious experience . . . /signifying/ that concrete reality is a self or person.¹

Providing the present inquirer with a further definition of personalism together with the moral implications thereof and King's relation thereto, Dr. DeWolf says:

Briefly, personalists believe that the basic reality is personal. The Supreme Person, God, is the source of all that process which we call the physical universe and the creator of all other persons. Since human personality is in the likeness of God and the object of God's own love, every human person, however humble or wicked, must be treated as of inestimable dignity and worth. In metaphysics the personalists believe that the physical universe exists only by the energizing of God in the experience of persons, including himself. I do not know whether Dr. King subscribes to this account of the physical universe or not. However, he has been, as he confesses, deeply influenced by other ontological and ethical ideas of personalism.²

Because personalism is a philosophy which assumes a Christian and religio-ethical view of life, King could identify with it and inculcate it into his theological presuppositions. The demand of personalism that only personality (finite and infinite) is ultimate reality afforded

¹Walter G. Muellder and Lawrence Sears, ed., The Development of American Philosophy (Cambridge:

²Personal Interview, March 6, 1966. Following the interview with Dr. DeWolf, the present investigator sent to him notes from the interview for any recommended revisions. This definition of "personalism" is from Dr. DeWolf's reply. His letter is found in Appendix I M.

King two convictions: (1) a metaphysical and philosophical foundation for the idea of a personal God, and (2) a metaphysical footing for the dignity and worth of all human personality.

G. W. F. Hegel

Just prior to the death of his teacher, Edgar S. Brightman, King had been studying under him at Boston University in an analysis of that monumental work of Hegel, Phenomenology of Mind. He read also, in spare time, Hegel's Philosophy of History and Philosophy of Right.

One of the salient philosophies of Hegel with which King came to grips was that of "absolute idealism." A relatively brief definition of the concept is given by Hordern when he writes:

Idealism is based on the belief that, if man is to have any faith in his knowledge, he must presuppose a rational structure to the world apart from his mind. Man's reasoning powers, his logic and his a priori assumptions can only understand the world if the world acts in accordance with them. In other words, we can only trust our minds if the world is ultimately based on mind or reason. Idealism thus came to interpret all reality as the manifestation of a divine mind. Idealism seemed very appealing to many Christians because it attacked all philosophies of materialism.

Idealists like Royce and Hegel had made Christian terminology an inherent part of their systems. But to these men the Christian doctrines were only symbols of rational truths known to man's reason. Thus the divinity of Jesus was a symbolic statement for the fact that all men have a divine aspect to their natures. The basic concept of the Bible, which is that God has revealed himself in certain events of history was considered by the idealists as naive and pre-philosophical.¹

King strongly disagreed with the Hegelian philosophy of "absolute idealism," considering it "rationally unsound" as "it tended to swallow up the many in the one."² There were other aspects of Hegel's

¹Hordern, op. cit., pp. 85-6.

²King, Stride, p. 82.

thinking, however, which King found stimulating and with which he concurred. For example, Hegel's contention that "truth is the whole" led King to what he later termed "a philosophical method of rational coherence."¹ King admits further that the Hegelian analysis of the dialectical process aided him in realizing that growth comes through struggle.

In a laconic tribute to Dr. King's facility in translating his complex learning into appropriately simple symbols and thought forms for sermon situations, Ernest Dunbar, Senior Editor for Look, wrote: "In the pulpit, King summons up masterful oratory that blends Hegel with hallelujahs."²

Agape versus Philia and Eros

That love is the ethic which provides the basic framework within which Dr. King functions as both a preacher and a human rights leader has already been discussed on pages 24 and 25 of the present study. King himself likes to underscore the particular emphasis of love that motivates his activities by referring to the three most popular Greek words for love, namely: eros, philia, and agape.

Offering an explanation for each of these phases of love, King notes that in the philosophy of Plato eros denoted the yearning of the soul for the divine.³ King observes that eros has come now to depict a rather aesthetic or romantic sort of love. The semanticist would probably direct us to the current denotation and connotation of the

¹King, Stride, p. 82.

²Ernest Dunbar, "A Visit with Martin Luther King," Look (February 12, 1963), pp. 92-96.

³King, op. cit., p. 86.

English "erotic" (a derivative) to remind us of the general, present-day interpretation of eros. In antiquity, the Greeks viewed eros as a "daemon" driving man beyond himself to fulfillment which, in Plato's opinion, could be achieved only in a final vision (by the soul) of truth, beauty, and goodness in eternity.¹

Philia is understood by Dr. King to mean an "intimate affection between personal friends," a kind of "reciprocal love; the person loves because he is loved."²

Dr. King is emphatic in explaining that when he preaches about loving those who oppose you, he means neither eros nor philia but agape,--an understanding, redeeming good will for all men, an overflowing love which is altogether spontaneous, unmotivated, groundless, and creative, and is set in operation by no quality or function of its object.³

Further descriptions which King gives for agape are the following: 1. It is disinterested love, that is, the individual exercising it seeks not his own good, but the good of his neighbor. 2. It springs from the need of the other person. 3. It is not a weak and passive but "love in action." 4. It denotes a recognition of the fact that all life is interrelated.⁴ In the New Testament of the Bible, agape reaches its most exalted function in God's love

¹Van A. Harvey, *A Handbook of Theological Terms* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), p. 14.

²King, loc. cit.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

revealed through the giving of Jesus Christ for a sinful world.¹

Dr. King firmly believes that only agape love will heal a community beset by racial ills and that he is called of God to preach and practice this love in order to "restore" the community and to resist injustice and meet the needs of humanity.

The Social Gospel

The social gospel, which is a product of liberal theology,² strongly stresses "the need to apply Christian principles, not only to personal life, but also to the solution of the great social problems of our time."³

Basically, the social gospel, an effort to Christianize society, is not really new in history. Medieval Catholicism, Calvinism, and the Protestant Reformation sects certainly bore a message for society; nevertheless, "there was a modern twist . . . as it appeared among liberal Christians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries."⁴ Social gospelers were insisting that it is not sufficient to preach a fire insurance gospel to save a man from hell. It is useless, they contended, to save men one by one while a corrupt social system is "damning them by the thousands."⁵ As man lives in, and is largely

¹Ibid.

²In the rhetorical biography, Chapter II, pages 15-19, note the discussion of liberalism as it relates to fundamentalism and neo-orthodoxy; also discussed there is Dr. King's relationship to these three emphases of theology and his current theological identification as interpreted by a leading contemporary theologian. A discussion of "liberalism" appears in Chapter II, rather than in the present chapter on theological themes, in order to afford the biographical setting and context in which religious liberalism affected the development and growth of Dr. King.

³L. Harold DeWolf, Present Trends in Christian Thought (New York: Association Press, 1960), p. 18.

⁴Hordern, op. cit., p. 94.

⁵Ibid.

molded by, society, they argued, a corrupt society inevitably corrupts man. Many social gospelers supplanted a life after death with a hope for a utopian earthly community.

Quite frequently, the "Kingdom of God" to which Jesus Christ summoned men was interpreted to mean not life after death nor an earthly society established by God's apocalyptic event in the Second Advent of Christ but rather a society where men live in brotherhood, love, and justice. Not God but man with the help of God was to construct such a society.

Although the social gospel had no one formula for saving society, it did tend to assert that Christians had clear, moral choices to make in areas of economy, politics, and social order. Some social gospel thinkers would go so far as to identify the Christian social order with such ideologies as democracy, socialism, the New Deal, or the cooperative movement.¹

"Peace" and "race" were perhaps the two most discussed issues among social gospelers. Both war and racial discrimination were repudiated.

THE SERMONS

Whether explicitly stated or implicitly implied, the consistent over-all theme of the sermons of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is that all men must live together as equal human beings in a brotherhood or in what the noted philosopher-theologian, Josiah Royce, calls the "Beloved Community."² Other than in those theologians and social philosophers

¹Ibid.

²Hordern, op. cit., p. 86.

discussed in the previous section of this chapter, this predominant theme probably finds its impetus also in Paul Tillich, concerning whom King writes: "All theology as he [Tillich] sees it, has a dual function: to state the basic truth of the Christian faith and to interpret this truth in the existing cultural situation. In other words, theology has both a 'kerygmatic' and an 'apologetic' function."¹ Typical expression of this general theme (regardless of the specific topic of the sermon) is the following:

The real tragedy . . . is that we see people as entities or merely as things. Too seldom do we see people in their true humanness. A spiritual myopia limits our vision to external accidents. We see men as Jews or Gentiles, Catholics or Protestants, Chinese or American, Negroes or whites. We fail to think of them as fellow human beings made from the same basic stuff as we, molded in the same divine image. The priest and the Levite saw only a bleeding body, not a human being like themselves. But the good Samaritan will always remind us to remove the cataracts or provincialism from our spiritual eyes and see men as men. If the Samaritan had considered the wounded man as a Jew first, he would not have stopped, for the Jews and the Samaritans had no dealings. He saw him as a human being first, who was a Jew only by accident. The good neighbor looks beyond the external accidents and discerns those inner qualities that make all men human and, therefore, brothers. (Sermon: "On Being a Good Neighbor")

Ordinarily, perhaps, a homiletician might criticize King for selecting one, constant, and never-wavering theme, because it may seem not to allow for the variety of thematic sermonizing which is thought to

¹Martin Luther King, Jr., "A Comparison of the Conceptions of God in the Thinking of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Graduate School, Boston University, 1955), p. 16. Noticing a conspicuous absence of any explicit reference to Henry Nelson Wieman in King's sermons (particularly in view of several references to Paul Tillich), the writer asked Dr. King if Wieman exerted any influence at all on his theological beliefs. Dr. King's response was mildly negative; then he further explained that the reason for a lack of references to Wieman in his sermons is that Wieman's theology was somewhat humanistic, almost naturalistic in its emphasis and, as such, was rendered more incompatible to his (King's) theology. Dr. King hastened to add, however, that Wieman had made valuable contributions to the over-all body of theological knowledge. (Personal Interview, August 31, 1966).

characterize the best preachers. One must take into account, however, the guideline given by Winas when he reminds us that "a speaker's topic is often suggested, sometimes dictated, at least in a general way, by the occasion."¹ Such is the case with Dr. King, who, as a universally known preacher championing the human rights movement, is generally expected to address himself to the cause he espouses. His first biographer, Reddick, admits that race relations constitutes King's primary concern and expresses hope for the day when his talented preaching will include other areas. At one time, King himself granted that the demanding activity of the civil rights movement had caused him to lead "a life of giving out and never stopping to take in." "I have lost freshness and creativity. I cannot write new speeches each time I talk, and it is a great frustration to have to rehash old stuff again and again."² Such a healthy and wholesome self-analysis contributes toward accounting for the greatness of the man.

There are within his sermons, nevertheless, specific Christian themes observed by the present investigator as appearing most frequently and which, therefore, might be considered a reliable indicator of King's theology. The purpose here is not to offer an exhaustive analysis of but rather to list the kinds of theological conceptions common to his sermonic discourse. We shall now present these tenets.

¹James A. Winas, Speech-Making (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938), p. 49.

²London Wainwright, "Martyr of the Sit-ins," Life, (November 7, 1960), pp. 133-34.

God

Dr. King's most explicit expression on the doctrine of God is found in the sermon "GOD IS ABLE," in which He is described as a supernatural Being who possesses the quality of omnipotence, that is, unlimited power. Delineating three specific abilities of God as against specific "threats" to God (namely, (1) that God is being replaced by man's scientific genius, space travel, and mastery of the cosmic order, (2) that colonialism and segregation are necessary evils substantiated by history, and (3) that problems and disappointments of life may crush mankind), King says respectively that (1) God is able to sustain the vast scope of the physical universe, (2) God is able to subdue all the powers of evil [amid the contemporary cry that "God is dead," King declares that segregation is dying], (3) God is able to give man internal resources to confront the trials and difficulties of life.

As if to combat deism, the belief that God is creator and final judge of man but Who in the interval remains aloof from, and completely beyond the range of, human experience, King says in the sermon "THE DEATH OF EVIL UPON THE SEASHORE" that God sustains His world and its inhabitants. He proclaims:

We must be reminded anew that God is at work in his universe. He is not outside the world looking on with a sort of cold indifference. Here on all the roads of life, he is striving in our striving. Like an ever-loving Father, he is working through history for the salvation of his children. As we struggle to defeat the forces of evil, the God of the universe struggles with us.

A similar picture of a creator-God is seen in the sermon "WHAT IS MAN?". As if to contend with atheism, disbelief in the existence of a supreme being, the sermon "ANTIDOTES FOR FEAR" argues that "Irreligion . . . would have us believe that we are orphans cast into the terrifying

immensities of space in a universe that is without purpose or intelligence."

Assuming that God fosters justice, freedom, and love for the welfare of his creatures, how does Dr. King account for the existence of racial segregation and discrimination in a God-created and God-sustained world? The sermon "SHATTERED DREAMS" answers:

We as a people have long dreamed of freedom, but we are still confined to an oppressive prison of segregation and discrimination Must we conclude that the existence of segregation is a part of the will of God, and thereby resign ourselves to the fate of oppression. Of course not, for such a course would be blasphemy, because it attributes to God something that should be attributed to the devil.

God, then, in the sermons of King, is the sustaining power in the universe whose presence assures the ultimate triumph of good over evil. As the one who provides man with inner resources to meet effectively life's problems, God works not separately but in cooperation with man's faith to cast out evil in any form from man's environment.

Jesus Christ

To Dr. King, Jesus Christ is divinity clothed in humanity. He it is who has come to mankind for the expressed purpose of revealing God. In posing the following epistemological question, the sermon "THREE DIMENSIONS OF A COMPLETE LIFE" provides also an answer:

Where do we find this God? In a test tube? No. Where else but in Jesus Christ, the Lord of our lives. By knowing him we know God. Christ is not only God-like but God is Christ-like. Christ is the word made flesh. He is the language of eternity translated in the words of time. If we are to know what God is like, and understand his purposes for mankind, we must turn to Christ. By committing ourselves absolutely to Christ and his way we will be participating in that marvelous act of faith that will bring us to the true knowledge of God.

Typical expressions which the present writer interprets as indicative of King's belief in a God-Christ are: "our Lord and Master, Jesus

Christ" and "God in Christ" (both from the sermon TRANSFORMED NONCONFORMIST"), the "Body of Christ" (referring to the Christian church, in the sermon "PAUL'S LETTER TO AMERICAN CHRISTIANS"), "God through Christ" (Sermon: "SHATTERED DREAMS"), and the "gospel of Jesus Christ" ("HOW SHOULD A CHRISTIAN VIEW COMMUNISM?").

Jesus Christ provided man with a divine epistemology. He constituted God in human flesh, living among men to demonstrate how man must live in terms of basic virtues and moral relationships with Christians generally recognizes as God-ordained.

The Church

In calling the church the Body of Christ, "PAUL'S LETTER TO AMERICAN CHRISTIANS" portrays a mystical relation between the church and its Spiritual Leader. Dr. King does more than utilize the phrase as a borrowed term from the Apostle Paul (1 Corinthians 12:27). To him the church actually comprises the mystical body of Jesus Christ.

Concerning the relationship of the church to its environment, the sermon "LOVE IN ACTION" declares that the church is the chief moral guardian of the community and as such must implore humanity to be "good" and "well-intentioned" and must also extol "conscientiousness" as well as "kindheartedness." Not only does humanity look to the church for moral guidance but the church, indeed, should disconnect itself with the status quo (the tendency of society to be apathetic about appropriate change) and unequivocally address itself also to man's plight caused by economic deprivation and a corrupt political and social system. ("A KNOCK AT MIDNIGHT")

How must the church relate to the state? The same sermon propounds:

The church must be reminded once again that it is not to be the master or the servant of the state, but the conscience of the state. It must be the guide and the critic of the state,--never its tool. As long as the church is a tool of the state it will be unable to provide even a modicum of bread for men at midnight.

What leads to an irrelevant church, a church which finds itself out of touch with its milieu? After having presented a historical background of how the Protestant Reformation appropriately purged the stagnant medieval church, Dr. King speaks of an extreme element of Reformation theology in the Calvinistic doctrine of the total depravity of man, which encouraged an other-worliness and thus a rather anti-social concern ("THE ANSWER TO A PERPLEXING QUESTION"):

This lopsided Reformation theology has often led to a purely otherworldly religion. It has caused many churches to ignore the "here" and emphasize only the "yonder." By stressing the utter hopelessness of this world and emphasizing the need for the individual to concentrate his efforts on getting his soul prepared for the world to come, it has ignored the need for social reform, and divorced religion from life. It sees the Christian gospel as only concerned with the individual soul. Recently a church was seeking a new minister and the pulpit committee listed several qualifications that he should possess. The first qualification was: 'He must be able to preach the true gospel and not about social issues.' This emphasis has led to a dangerously irrelevant church. It is little more than a country club where people assemble to hear and speak pious platitudes.

Further irrelevancy ensues from the church's apparently typical stand (or lack of a stand) regarding war:

In the terrible midnight of war men have knocked on the door of the church to ask for the bread of peace, but the church has often disappointed them. What more pathetically reveals the irrelevancy of the church in present-day world affairs than its witness regarding war? In a world gone mad with arms buildups, chauvinistic passions, and imperialistic exploitation, the church has either endorsed these activities or remained appallingly silent. During the last two world wars, national churches even functioned as the ready lackeys of the state, sprinkling holy water upon the battleships and joining the mighty armies in singing, 'Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition.' A weary world, pleading desperately for peace, has often found the church morally sanctioning war. ("A KNOCK AT MIDNIGHT")

Dr. King does not hesitate to specify the Christian church, the spiritual body on earth to which he unstintingly devotes his time and talent, as having had an active part in establishing racial segregation and discrimination. He charges in the same sermon:

It is to the everlasting shame of the American church that white Christians developed a system of racial segregation within the church, and inflicted so many indignities upon its Negro worshippers that they had to go out and organize their own churches.

Putting its finger on the divisive and unChristian American system of a "white church" and a "Negro church," the sermon "PAUL'S LETTER TO AMERICAN CHRISTIANS" posits the query: how can segregation exist in the true Body of Christ?

In appraising the Christian church in general, King does not fail to chide the so-called Negro church in particular. He brings to the fore two ineffective extremes often found in the church of this ethnic group:

There are two types of Negro churches that have failed to provide bread at midnight. One is a church that burns up with emotionalism and the other is a church that freezes up with classism. The former is a church that reduces worship to entertainment, and places more emphasis on volume than on content. It confuses spirituality with muscledality. The danger of this church is that its members will end up with more religion in their hands and feet than in their hearts and souls. So many people have gone by this type of church at midnight, and it had neither the vitality nor the relevant gospel to feed their hungry souls. The other type of Negro church that leaves men unfed at midnight is a church that develops a class system within. It boasts of the fact that it is a dignified church, and most of its members are professional people. It takes pride in its exclusiveness. In this church the worship service is cold and meaningless. The music is dull and uninspiring. The sermon is little more than a nice little essay on current events. If the pastor says too much about Jesus Christ the members begin to feel that he is taking the dignity out of the pulpit. If the choir sings a Negro spiritual, the members bow their head in shame feeling that this is an affront to their class status. The tragedy of this type of church is that it fails to see that worship at its best is a social experience with people of all levels of life coming together to realize their oneness and unity under God. This church ends

up losing the spiritual force of the 'whosoever will let him come' doctrine, and is little more than a social club with a thin veneer of religiosity. When men have gone by this church at midnight they have either been ignored altogether because of their limited education or they have been given a loaf of stale bread that has been hardened by the winter of morbid class consciousness. ("A KNOCK AT MIDNIGHT")

According to the sermon "TRANSFORMED NONCONFORMIST," the church has been rendered fragile through a dilution of its gospel and through conforming to the status quo of the world. The challenge is set forth:

Ever since that time [the Apostolic era, first and second centuries A.D., when the church thrived in its primitive power] the church has been like a weak and ineffectual trumpet making uncertain sounds, rather than a strong trumpet sounding a clarion call for truth and righteousness. If the church of Jesus Christ is to regain its power, and its message its authentic ring, it must go out with a new determination not to conform to this world.

In short, the sermons of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., reveal his serious dissatisfaction with, and his expressed hope for, the church. He feels that the church should not be a thermometer, recording and registering the temperature of majority opinion but a thermostat, transforming and regulating through precept and example the temperature of society. As the mystical Body of Christ and as God's supreme channel on earth for truth, righteousness, justice, and peace, the church should serve as a moral conscience to its environment and should seek to contribute to the answer of mankind's social, economic, political, as well as spiritual needs.

The Preacher

References to the ministerial profession in the sermons of King depict a dissatisfaction similar to that regarding the church. Preachers often conform when they should transform, they frequently preach sermons irrelevant to the real needs of mankind, and they

apparently feel safer when functioning within the physical and philosophical walls of the church building.

From "TRANSFORMED NONCONFORMIST," the scathing admission comes:

. . . we preachers have often joined the enticing cult of conformity. We, too, have often yielded to the success symbols of the world, feeling that the size of our ministry must be measured by the size of our automobiles. So often we turn into showmen, distorting the real meaning of the gospel, in an attempt to appeal to the whims and caprices of the crowd. We preach soothing sermons that bypass the weightier matters of Christianity. We dare not say anything in our sermons that will question the respectable views of the comfortable members of our congregations. If you want to get ahead in the ministry, conform! Stay within the secure walls of the Sanctuary. Play it safe. How many ministers of Jesus Christ have sacrificed truth on the altar of their self-interest, and, like Pilate, yielded their convictions to the demands of the crowd.

Additional comments which provide insight into Dr. King's concepts of the ministry are:

1. The minister's sermon, disappointingly, is often "little more than a nice little essay on current events." ("A KNOCK AT MIDNIGHT")
2. The pulpit, in many instances, does not give us "objective and unbiased truth." ("A TOUGH MIND AND A TENDER HEART")
3. "The most popular preachers are those who can preach soothing sermons on 'How to be Happy' and 'How to Relax.' Some have been tempted to re-translate Jesus' command to read 'Go ye into all the world and keep your blood pressure down and lo I will make you a well-adjusted personality.' All of this is indicative of the fact that it is midnight in the inner lives of men and women." ("A KNOCK AT MIDNIGHT")
4. The Christian preacher has a responsibility to discuss Communism with his congregation for three reasons:

- a) Believed in by almost one billion peoples of the world, communism is embraced by many as a religion and is such a force today as cannot be ignored.
- b) Communism is the only serious rival to Christianity. (Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Mohammedanism may stand as possible alternatives to Christianity but communism is the most formidable rival.)
- c) It is unfair and unscientific to condemn a system without first knowing what that system teaches and why it is wrong. ("HOW SHOULD A CHRISTIAN VIEW COMMUNISM?")

Other than the implied solutions accompanying the charges, King's remedy for the ministerial profession is general. He urges that preachers recapture something that early Christians had; they were aglow with a wholesomely radical gospel.

Man

Dr. King's estimate of man is dualistic. In the sermon entitled "WHAT IS MAN," he states that man is created by God in the "image of God," thereby possessing a rational capacity and the ability to fellowship with the Divine; on the other hand, and true to his imputed theological position as a "moderate liberal,"¹ King admits in the same sermon that "man is a sinner" who possesses, however, the God-bestowed "ability to choose between alternatives, so he can choose the good or the evil, the high or the low." The dualism in the nature of man (at once a creature characterized as both good and bad) results, according to King's sermon, from the concept that "he has misused his freedom / This quite

¹L. Harold DeWolf, Present Trends in Christian Thought (New York: Association Press, 1960), p. 18. Also on page 18f. of the present study, the meaning of "moderate liberal" is discussed.

possibly is a reference to the sin of man in the Garden of Eden or at least a reference to the over-all concept of the fall of man⁷"; hence, "some of the image of God is gone. Therefore, man is a sinner in need of God's divine grace." That man is indeed free and fulfills God's purpose in life only by exercising "a voluntary choice" finds brief treatment in "THE DEATH OF EVIL UPON THE SEASHORE."¹ How does Dr. King reconcile the freedom of man with the fatalistic brand of predestination? He does not. He simply recognizes certain inherent limitations upon man by virtue of man's existence in time and space. The sermon, "SHATTERED DREAMS," elaborates:

Since freedom is a part of the essence of man, the fatalist, in his denial of freedom, becomes a puppet and not a person. He is right in his conviction that there is not absolute freedom, and that freedom always operates within the framework of predestined structure. Thus a man is free to go north from Atlanta to Washington or South from Atlanta to Miami. But he is not free to go north to Miami or South to Washington. Freedom is always within destiny. But there is freedom. We are both free and destined. Freedom is the act of deliberating, deciding and responding within our destined nature. Even if destiny prevents our going to some attractive Spain, there still remains in us the capacity to take this disappointment, to answer it, to make our individual response to it, to stand up to it and do something with it. Fatalism doesn't see this. It leaves the individual stymied and helplessly inadequate for life.

"THE ANSWER TO A PERPLEXING QUESTION" proffers a solution to the question of why cannot man deliver himself from his moral, social, economic, and political evils. Emphasizing man's corrupt nature as the

¹In several of Dr. King's sermons, Paul Tillich is a salient source for the doctrine of the freedom of man. In an all-inclusive declaration summarizing his concept of this doctrine, King proclaims: "Man, says Paul Tillich, is man because he is free." ("HOW SHOULD A CHRISTIAN VIEW COMMUNISM?"). All other references to or quotes from Tillich on man's nature in the sermons of Dr. King pertain to Tillich's dogma of the "courage to be" or the incumbency upon man to determine to go on living, asserting, and achieving "in spite of" roadblocks, obstacles, and disappointments. (Sermons containing this concept include: "SHATTERED DREAMS" AND "ANTIDOTES FOR FEAR".)

major element in the problem, Dr. King says:

The answer to this question is rather simple. Man by his own power can never cast evil out of the world. The humanist's hope is an illusion. It is based on too great an optimism concerning the inherent goodness of human nature. There are thousands of sincere and dedicated people outside the churches working unselfishly through various humanitarian movements to cure the world of its social evils. I would be the last to condemn these people because they have not yet found their way to God, for I would rather that a man be a committed humanist than an uncommitted Christian. But so many of these dedicated people, having no one but themselves to save themselves, end up disillusioned and pessimistic. They are disillusioned because they started out with a great illusion. For them there is no sinner or no sin. Human nature is essentially good, and the only evil is found in systems and institutions; just enlighten people and free them from the crippling yoke of poverty, and they will save themselves. All of this sounds wonderful and soothingly pleasant. But it is an illusion wrapped in superficiality. It is a kind of self-delusion which causes the individual to ignore a basic fact about human nature.

More than just the negative aspect, Dr. King also underscores the positive potential of humanity and mankind's value in the reckoning of God as in the following words:

Man, for Jesus, is not mere flotsam and jetsam in the river of life, but he is a child of God. Is it not unreasonable to assume that God, whose creative activity is expressed in an awareness of a sparrow's fall and the number of hairs on a man's head, excludes from his encompassing love the life of man itself? The confidence that God is mindful of the individual is of tremendous value in dealing with the disease of fear, for it gives us a sense of worth, of belonging, and of at-homeness in the universe. ("ANTIDOTES FOR FEAR")

It is not uncommon for Dr. King to abandon the directing of his sermon to the general category of generic man and address himself to a specific man (in terms of race), namely, the "Negro" and the "Caucasian."

The Negro.-- Making a broad application of the text (Matthew 10:16) which advises, "Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves," the sermon "A TOUGH MIND AND A TENDER HEART" offers the

following admonition to Negroes with respect to the race problem:

This text has a great deal of bearing on our struggle for racial justice. We as Negroes must combine tough mindedness and tender heartedness if we are to move creatively toward the goal of freedom and justice. There are those soft minded individuals among us who feel that the only way to deal with oppression is to adjust to it. They follow the way of acquiescence and resign themselves to the fate of segregation. In almost every pilgrimage up freedom's road some of the oppressed prefer to remain oppressed. Almost 2800 years ago Moses set out to lead the children of Israel from the slavery of Egypt to the freedom of the Promised Land. He soon discovered that slaves do not always welcome their deliverers. They would rather bear those ills they have, as Shakespeare pointed out, than flee to others that they know not of. They prefer the 'fleshpots of Egypt' to the ordeals of emancipation. But this is not the way out. This soft minded acquiescence is the way of the coward. My friends, we cannot win the respect of the white people of the South or the peoples of the world if we are willing to sell the future of our children for our personal and immediate safety and comfort. Moreover, we must learn that the passive acceptance of an unjust system is to cooperate with that system, and thereby become a participant in its evil. Noncooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good.

There are those hard hearted individuals among us who feel that our only way out is to rise up against the opponent with physical violence and corroding hatred. They have allowed themselves to become bitter. But this also is not the way out It creates many more social problems than it solves. So I am convinced that if we succumb to the temptation of using violence in our struggle for freedom, unborn generations will be the recipients of a long and desolate night of bitterness, and our chief legacy to them will be an endless reign of meaningless chaos. There is still a voice echoing through the vista of time saying to every potential Peter, 'Put up your sword'

There is a third way open to us in our quest for freedom, namely, non-violent resistance. It is a way that combines tough mindedness and tender heartedness. It avoids the complacency and donthingness of the soft minded and the violence and bitterness of the hard hearted. It is tough enough to resist evil. It is tender hearted enough to resist it with love and nonviolence. It seems to me that this is the method that must guide our action in the present crisis in race relations.

Nor must the Negro assume that his segregated and discriminated lot is providential. The sermon "SHATTERED DREAMS" gives the following

perspective:

Must we conclude that the existence of segregation is a part of the will of God, and thereby resign ourselves to the fate of oppression. Of course not, for such a course would be blasphemy, because it attributes to God something that should be attributed to the devil.

The Caucasian.-- In an effort to palliate the white man's fear of the Negro, King suggests a solution in the sermon "ANTIDOTES FOR FEAR":

If our white brothers are to master fear, they must depend not only on their commitment to Christian love but also on the Christlike love which the Negro generates toward them. Only through our adherence to love and nonviolence will the fear in the white community be mitigated. A guilt-ridden white minority fears that if the Negro attains power, he will without restraint or pity act to revenge the accumulated injustices and brutality of the years. A parent, who has continually mistreated his son, suddenly realizes that he is now taller than the parent. Will the son use his new physical power to repay for all of the blows of the past?

Once a helpless child, the Negro has now grown politically, culturally, and economically. Many white men fear retaliation. The Negro must show them that they have nothing to fear, for the Negro forgives and is willing to forget the past. The Negro must convince the white man that he seeks justice for both himself and the white man. A mass movement exercising love and nonviolence and demonstrating power under discipline should convince the white community that were such a movement to attain strength its power would be used creatively and not vengefully.

What then is the cure of this morbid fear of integration? We know the cure. God help us to achieve it! Love casts out fear.

It is to the balance life that King summons humanity at large.

This has three dimensions, namely, length (the inward drive to achieve one's personal ends and ambitions), breadth (the outward concern for the welfare of others), and height (the upward reach for God). ("THREE DIMENSIONS OF A COMPLETE LIFE")¹

¹Upon noting the similarity between the theme of this sermon by King and that of the "Symmetry of Life" by Phillips Brooks, the writer inquired of Dr. King whether or not there was a conscious relationship. Dr. King answered in the affirmative and stated that Brooks' sermon had inspired him to develop the sermon "THREE DIMENSIONS OF A COMPLETE LIFE." Dr. King proceeded to say that much of his preaching has been influenced by Phillips Brooks. (Personal Interview, August 31, 1966)

Love

Although there have been in the present study three previous discussions of the love ethic in the life and ministry of King (pages 24-5, Carl T. Rowan's contrast between King and DuBois; pages 88-90, a differentiation among "agape," "philia," and "eros;" pages 161-164 love as a target for criticism against King), it appears appropriate to refer to this cardinal virtue again--this time in the immediate context of King's sermons.

It was pointed out in the preceding section of this chapter (under the heading "Man") that love constitutes the mastering remedy for the Caucasian's fear of the Negro. ("ANTIDOTES FOR FEAR"). In the sermon "LOVE IN ACTION," forgiveness is depicted as an active expression of love. In another sermon "LOVING YOUR ENEMIES," Dr. King affords essentially the identical treatment of love as in "LOVE IN ACTION," emphasizing the element of forgiveness as its empirical manifestation. However, in "LOVING YOUR ENEMIES," he goes beyond what he calls the "practical how" of loving enemies to the "theoretical why." Assuming that the absence of love brings inevitably its opposite (hatred), Dr. King presents the following reasons for loving:

1. Hate multiplies hate--the endless cycle must be discontinued.
2. Hate renders not only the hated but the hater scarred and distorted.
3. Love is the only force capable of transforming an enemy into a friend.
4. Loving one's enemies is not only a commandment from God but also a pre-requisite to knowing God.

It is this particular sermon that includes a discussion of the three emphases of love as expressed in the Greek words: agape, philia, and eros. An interesting and perhaps even significant observation by the present investigator concerns a statement that King makes about these three words. Dr. King remarks that "In the Greek New Testament are three words for love . . . eros . . . philia . . . agape" The observation is that the Greek New Testament carries only two words (philia and agape) for love. The other word for love to which he refers (eros), though a part of the Greek language (Classical) is not included in the New Testament (Koine). That "eros is never used in the New Testament"¹ may be rather common knowledge to students of the Bible (particularly New Testament language students). Then why would King make such an erroneous statement? One possible explanation for this perhaps more academic than significant error may be due to the fact that while a student at Crozer Theological Seminary, he did not enroll in any of the Greek language classes.²

Listening to Dr. King preach and perusing his printed sermons reveal almost incontestably that love is the most recurring of theological

¹A Handbook of Christian Theology (Definition Essays on Concepts and Movements of Thought in Contemporary Protestantism) (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1958), p. 217.

²Personal Interview, Dr. Morton S. Enslin, March 7, 1966. In relating to the present writer the courses which Martin Luther King, Jr., took in his department (such as New Testament Life and Literature, The Gospels, and Greek Religion), Dr. Enslin mentioned that, as far as his records indicate, King did not take any Greek language classes. During the August 31, 1966, personal interview, Dr. King himself confirmed Dr. Enslin's information and added that one of his (King's) keenest "regrets" is the fact that in all of his theological training he never took even one course in Greek. Although the present writer recognizes the possibility and even the probability of a causal relationship between Dr. King's not studying Greek and Dr. King's error concerning the "three words for love /In the New Testament7," he does not want to derive unwarranted assumptions from the observation. Admittedly, many other students of theology who have not had formal training in the Greek language have, nevertheless, been known to be informed on the particularly linguistic notation made here. It may be added that some preachers avoid the technical error by prefacing a discussion of these words with such a statement as: "There are three popular words in the Greek language, two of which are found in the New Testament."

themes to be found in his addresses.

Prayer

Dr. King strongly believes in, consistently practices,¹ and urgently advocates the process of communication which men call prayer. His fervent desire, however, is that men would place prayer in a practical perspective.

Associating prayer with race relations, the sermon "THE ANSWER TO A PERPLEXING QUESTION" first points out a misuse and then a suggestive right use of prayer:

The idea that man must wait on God to do everything has led to a tragic misuse of prayer. He who feels that God must do everything will end up asking him for anything. Some people see God as little more than 'a cosmic bellhop' that they will call on for every trivial need. Others see God as so omnipotent and man as so powerless that they end up making prayer a substitute for work and intelligence. A man said to me the other day: 'I believe in integration, but I know it will not come until God gets ready for it to come. You Negroes should stop protesting and start praying.' Well I'm sure we all need to pray for God's help and guidance in this integration struggle. But we will be gravely misled if we think it will come by prayer alone. God will never allow prayer to become a substitute for work and intelligence. God gave us minds to think and breath and body to work, and he would be defeating his own purpose if he allowed us to obtain through prayer what can come through work and intelligence. No, it is not either prayer or human effort; it is both prayer and human effort. Prayer is a marvelous and necessary supplement of our feeble efforts but it is a dangerous and callous substitute. Moses discovered this as he struggled to lead the Israelites to the Promised Land. God made it clear that he would not do for them what they could do for themselves. In the Book of Exodus we read: 'And the Lord said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward.' (Underlining ours)

¹Note on pages 56-7 of the present work that it was a prayer experience which Dr. King says provided him with the necessary inner fortitude to continue leading the Montgomery Protest, 1956. A further indication of King's prayer practice is the fact that in the "M. L. King Collection" the writer observed in King's itinerary schedule that an average of from one to two (and sometimes three) days each week was devoted to "Day of Silence and Meditation." Such days did not include Sundays, when Dr. King is always occupying a pulpit.

In King's thinking, prayer bears an important relation to war.

The same sermon previously quoted declares:

We must pray earnestly for peace. But along with our prayers we must work vigorously for disarmament and suspension of nuclear tests. We must use our minds as rigorously to work out a plan for peace as we have used them to work out a plan for war. We must pray with unceasing passion for the emergence of racial justice. But along with this we must use our minds to develop a program and organize ourselves into mass non-violent action and use every resource of our bodies and souls to end the long night of racial injustice. We must pray unrelentingly for economic justice. But along with our prayers we must work diligently. . . .

Prayer, then, to King, comprises a necessary Christian process that implores the Divine to act in behalf of mankind; but the process must be accompanied by human co-operation and responsibility in terms of work and intelligence.

Faith

Along with candid self-analysis, courage, and love, faith provides a remedy for fear. ("ANTIDOTES FOR FEAR"). Contrasting the efficacy of man's faith in religion with his trust in psychiatry and man's hope in utopianism with stark reality, he expounds:

Abnormal fears and phobias that are expressed in neurotic anxiety may be cured by psychiatry; but the fear of death, non-being, and nothingness, expressed in existential anxiety, may be cured only by a positive religious faith.

A positive religious faith does not offer an illusion that we shall be exempt from pain and suffering, nor does it imbue us with the idea that life is a drama of unalloyed comfort and untroubled ease. Rather, it instills us with the inner equilibrium needed to face strains, burdens, and fears that inevitably come, and assures us that the universe is trustworthy and that God is concerned.

"SHATTERED DREAMS" sees in faith a source of inner strength in the face of disappointments:

In the final analysis our ability to deal creatively with shattered dreams and blasted hopes will be determined by the extent of our faith in God. A genuine faith will imbue us with the conviction that there is a God beyond time and a 'Life beyond Life.' Thus, we know that we are not alone in any circumstance, however dismal and catastrophic it may be. God dwells with us in life's confining and oppressive cells.

Faith seems to be, for King, a medium by which man relies on a power up and beyond himself. That power is supernatural, for that power is God. Man's ability to meet adequately the issues of life is derived in direct ratio to his reliance on the higher power.

Good and Evil

The doctrine of dualistic forces existing in the universe, struggling for supremacy is quite prevalent in the sermons of King. These forces are irreconcilable opposites and known as "good" and "evil",-- "good" eventually to emerge as victor. ("THE DEATH OF EVIL UPON THE SEASHORE").

Is the existence of evil debatable?-- that is, can it be a mere figment of the imagination? In the same sermon, which is King's most extensive discussion of "good" and "evil", he maintains that while we may debate the origin of evil, only a victim of superficial optimism would debate its reality.

What is the relationship of good and evil to man? As discussed under the heading of "Man" in the present chapter, man's nature itself is dichotomized by these forces in that he is at once a creature formed in God's image (good) and also a sinner (evil).

Man, nevertheless, must strive to cast evil (in all of its multiple forms) out of his midst. "But it will not be removed," admonishes King, "by man alone nor by a Dictatorial God who invades our lives. It will be removed when we will open the door and allow God

through Christ to enter. 'Behold I stand at the door and knock,' sayeth the Lord, 'if any man will open the door I will come in to him and sup with him and he with me.'" ("THE ANSWER TO A PERPLEXING QUESTION"). He says in this same sermon, when applying evil to a bad habit in a man's life, that the following is the formula for overcoming:

What, then, is the way out? Not by our own efforts, and not by a purely external help from God. One cannot remove an evil habit by mere resolution; nor can it be done by simply calling on God to do the job. It can be done only when a man lifts himself up until he can put his will into the hands of God's will as an instrument. This is the only way to be delivered from the accumulated weight of evil. It can only be done when we allow the energy of God to be let loose in our souls.

The force of "good" reveals itself in history in the form of justice, truth, righteousness, and peace, while "evil" comes in the form of injustice, falsehood, unrighteousness, and war.

King's concept of good and evil affords a basis for civil disobedience, as is recognized in the sermon "LOVING YOUR ENEMIES." Here he proclaims:

We cannot in all good conscience obey your unjust laws, because nonco-operation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is co-operation with good.

Perfect optimism characterizes the outlook of King with respect to the inevitability of the defeat of evil particularly regarding the ramifications of racial segregation and discrimination. He avers:

Looking back at the 1954 Supreme Court decision to ban segregation from public education/, we see the forces of segregation gradually dying on the seashore. The problem is far from solved and gigantic mountains of opposition lie ahead, but at least we have left Egypt, and with patient yet firm determination we shall reach the promised land. Evil in the form of injustice and exploitation shall not survive forever. A Red Sea passage in history ultimately brings the forces of goodness to victory, and the closing of the same waters marks the doom and destruction of the forces of evil.

. . . evil carries the seed of its own destruction. In the long run right defeated is stronger than evil triumphant

As we struggle to defeat the forces of evil, the God of the universe struggles with us. Evil dies on the seashore, not merely because of man's endless struggle against it, but because of God's power to defeat it. (Brackets supplied)

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., seen with (1) Dr. Karl Barth, Professor of Systematic Theology, University of Basil, during Barth's first visit to the United States, 1962; and seen in (2) consultation with Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States.

Dr. Barth and President Johnson represent three areas of society to which Dr. King's pulpit address is directed: the spiritual, the economic, and the political.



Barth and King: Stellar occasion

(1)



MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.

(2)

CHAPTER IV

PREPARATION AND DELIVERY

. . . the effect of all . . . oratorical devices depends on how they are delivered. Delivery, I assert is the dominant factor in oratory; without delivery the best speaker cannot be of any account at all, and a moderate speaker with a trained delivery can often outdo the best of them.¹

There has been a full recognition of the need for effective delivery.²

Effective speaking depends on meaningful stimuli derived from . . . delivery. It is true that the manner of speaking can make a big difference in whether or not the meaning is put across Good speakers keep the communication process in proper balance by thinking of delivery only as a tool to help them to get their ideas across.³

Broadly conceived and as here considered, "delivery" concerns the following: (1) King's method of preparing his sermons, (2) his method of delivery, (3) physical factors conducive to his effectiveness as a preacher, (4) his bodily action (gestures) in delivery, and (5) his use of the voice as an instrument of persuasion.⁴

¹Marcus Tullius Cicero, De Oratore, Trans. by H. Rackham (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), III, p. 169.

²Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 434.

³K. G. Hance, D. C. Ralph, and M. J. Wiksell, Principles of Speaking (Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1962), pp. 199-200.

⁴Thonssen, op. cit., p. 435.

Method of Sermon Preparation

When King entered upon his first pastorate (Montgomery, 1954), he spent at least fifteen hours each week in preparing his sermon for Sunday morning worship. His systematic procedure usually commenced on Tuesday, when he began outlining ideas of what he wanted to say. Wednesday meant doing necessary research and also thinking of illustrative material, life situations always being included. The actual writing of the discourse took place on Friday and was usually completed on Saturday night.¹ By Sunday morning, the sermon had been committed to memory.

Although Dr. King says he writes out his sermons before delivering them on Sunday morning, investigation has disclosed in the "M. L. King Collection" a letter from a Tuskegee Institute student who requested of King a copy of the sermon, "THREE DIMENSIONS OF A COMPLETE LIFE," which he had recently preached in the Tuskegee Chapel.² While this is the same discourse preached by Dr. King the year before, 1954, as a trial sermon in the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, nevertheless, the response to the student said in part that this particular sermon "was one of the sermons that I do not have written in manuscript form" (Underling Supplied) and that when he had a chance to write it out, he would mail the student a copy.³ Perhaps one should accept Dr. King's statement at face value and simply conclude that this happened to have been an exception to his writing out his pulpit messages. Another possibility is that

¹Martin Luther King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1964), Perennial Library Edition, Paperback, pp. 11-12.

²Letter, August 20, 1955, "Folder: Letters Received," The M. L. King Collection.

³Letter, "Folder: Letters Sent," The M. L. King Collection.

what King meant was that he had no extra copy for distribution.

Such a meticulous approach as that followed by Dr. King in sermon preparation would be later modified, however, by an increasing demand upon his time by human rights activities. [See page 93 of Chapter III for comments by King himself regarding the effect that intense involvement in the civil rights movement has had on him-- including his speech preparation].⁷ Dr. King related to the writer that his current practice of preparing his sermons is far from the rigid procedure of his pre-civil rights involvement. He continued, "I very seldom get to write out my sermons as I did in the past. I frequently have to be content with an outline."¹ Dr. King further stated that his current practice is usually to begin thinking about his Sunday sermon at the beginning of the week, perhaps on Monday, and then to start writing an outline not earlier than about Saturday, one day before the sermon is to be delivered.² Concerning the complex network of activities crowded into a typical week of Dr. King, Dr. Ernest Dunbar, Senior Editor of Look, writes:

During a recent week, he spoke at a fund-raising rally in White Plains, N. Y., on Tuesday. On Wednesday evening, he addressed similar rallies in two other New York towns. On Thursday, he met in Manhattan with fellow board members of the Gandhi Society, an organization that provides legal aid to Negro integration leaders; then consulted with publishers of a forthcoming book of King sermons, and flew to the West Coast to give lectures to the students at Los Angeles State and San Jose State colleges. On Sunday, he went to Houston, Texas, for a fund-raising dinner. On Monday, he flew to Washington, D. C., to join other Negro leaders for a White House audience with President Kennedy on American policies in Africa. Afterwards, Kennedy and King met alone to discuss the continued bombing of Negro churches in Alabama. At the day's end, King returned to the Atlanta, Ga., headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which he is president, to help organize an SCLC voter-registration drive in the South.

¹Personal Interview, August 31, 1966.

²Ibid.

Somewhere, during the day, he managed to write his biweekly column for a Negro newspaper and COMPOSE A SERMON for his next church service King continues to cram his days with organizing demonstrations, fund-raising speeches, morale-building visits with backwoods Negroes, writing columns and DELIVERING SERMONS.¹ (Underlining and all-caps supplied)

On one occasion in Montgomery, December, 1955, King was faced with the predicament of having only twenty minutes to prepare an address, intense involvement in civil rights affairs having consumed much more of his time than anticipated. What would he do under the circumstance? True to his customary approach, he would pray and then formulate an outline. Because of a lack of time in which to write, King could do no more than sketch an outline in his mind. Relating the incident three years later, he remarked that the address had "evoked more response than any speech or sermon I had ever delivered, and yet it was virtually unprepared."² He said that for the first time he came to know pragmatically what the older preachers meant when they would urge, "Open your mouth, and God will speak for you."³

Dr. King, nevertheless, did not permit this singular instance to dilute his general procedure of adequate sermon preparation. He declares, "While I would not let this experience tempt me to overlook the need for continued preparation, it would always remind me that God can transform man's weakness into his glorious opportunity."⁴ The reference to "God" in the preceding statement takes on vital significance when one recognizes

¹Ernest Dunbar, "A Visit with Martin Luther King," Look, (February 12, 1963), 92-94, 96.

²Stride, op. cit., p. 49. It may be mentioned here that although this particular discourse was said to have been "unprepared," the meaning is that it was not the result of direct, specific preparation. It was, however, the product of indirect, general preparation by virtue of the fact that the speaker drew upon his accumulated stock of ideas and experiences.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

that faith in God through prayer consistently precedes and accompanies King's gathering and assessment of sermon materials.¹

The present writer witnesses this dependence on preparatory prayer when, at the Central Methodist Church in Detroit during the Lenten Season, he was privileged to be in the pastor's study with Dr. King. Before leaving the study room for the pulpit, King and fellow clergymen bowed in prayer. For what, precisely, did they pray? Their petitions were for God to bestow upon the preacher of the hour, Dr. King, power, physical strength, and effective oral persuasion for the sermon situation.

Another indication of King's belief in, and dependence upon, prayer as a source of preparation may be derived from the general trend of his weekly schedule. Among the personal papers of King at the Boston University Library, the writer noted in an appointment book of the renowned preacher that often from two to three days each week are set aside for special "Prayer and Meditation."² There was no evidence given that these days were spent solely (or even partially) in specific sermon preparation, per se; however, the practice coincides well with what has been discovered to be a prayer habit of King and thus a source of spiritual power and confidence and, in consequence, general sermon preparation.

Method of Delivery

Of the four principal methods of delivering an address (impromptu, extemporaneous, reading the manuscript, and memorizing the discourse), the

¹Ibid., pp. 3, 45, 49. See also What Manner of Man by Lerone Bennett, p. 65.

²The M. L. King Collection.

method normally employed by Dr. King is extemporaneous. He organizes his thoughts carefully into an outline and then acquires absolute command of the pattern of thought and controlling ideas. As exemplified below, King may, and does, preach the identical sermon twice, yet use different words in some instances to express the same idea. Notwithstanding the fact that he generally writes his sermons out as a finished product, he never carries a manuscript (other than the Bible itself) into the rostrum. When asked if there was any conscious reason for his preaching without a manuscript (or even without notes or a written outline), Dr. King told the writer: "Occasionally, I read a policy speech or an address for civil rights, but I never read a sermon. Without a manuscript, I can communicate better with an audience. Furthermore, I have greater rapport and power when I am able to look the audience in the eye."¹

Dr. King's procedure of not making use of a manuscript may prompt the question: If he does not speak from the completely prepared script, then why would he spend time writing it? Is the process an annihilation of precious time? The answer is "no," for writing out the sermon benefits incalculably King mainly in three ways: (1) It promotes the analysis, synthesis, and organization of materials, (2) It fosters the selection of a planned and orderly use of language (more in detail is said about King's language in the section on "Style" in Chapter V), and (3) It assists in the process of familiarizing himself with the organization and movement of ideas.

On the three occasions when the present inquirer witnessed Dr. King in a sermon situation, King held true to his customary practice of

¹ Personal Interview, August 31, 1966.

preaching without a sermon manuscript or even without notes of any kind. Two of these occasions were on the same day when King delivered the same sermon twice (at a 10:00 a.m. service and a 12:00 noon service),¹ thus affording the writer an opportunity to observe King's mode of delivery by comparing the two separate sermon settings. The writer recorded the two sermons on tape and then transcribed them to written form. Observations concerning their delivery include the following:

The content of the sermons in both services remained the same in terms of theme, controlling thought, and over-all movement of ideas. There were, however, marked variations in delivering those thoughts and ideas, as noted below:

SERMON NO. 1

1. Following the announcement of his sermon title, "A KNOCK AT MIDNIGHT," King announced also the Bible text on which his sermon was based. In Sermon No. 1, however, he gave only the name of the Bible book (St. Luke) and the chapter.
2. Providing examples of the midnight blackness which King says depicts the social order in the United States, King presented the state of Alabama as one example: "In Alabama alone over the last few years, SOME TWENTY-SIX Negro and white civil rights workers have been brutally murdered. In most instances, most of the PEOPLE who COMMITTED THE MURDERS are walking the streets today scot-free."

SERMON NO. 2

1. He announced not only the Bible book and the chapter but also the verses.
2. "In Alabama alone over the last few years, MORE THAN TWENTY-FIVE Negroes and white civil rights workers have been brutally murdered, and in most instances THE PERPETRATORS of these EVIL ACTS are walking the streets scot-free."

¹March 3, 1966, Central Methodist Church, Detroit. The occasion was the Lenten Season. Two worship services were held to accommodate the large crowds desirous of hearing Dr. King. Hereinafter, in the present chapter, the sermon ("A KNOCK AT MIDNIGHT") preached at both services will be referred to as "Sermon No. 1" (when delivered at the 10:00 a.m. service) and "Sermon No. 2" (when delivered at the 12:00 noon service).

3. Turning to the North for an example of midnight in the social order, he cited that in Chicago there are 97.7% of the Negro people living in the ghetto, 41% of the Negro families living in dilapidated, deteriorated rented housing conditions, 90% of Negro students attending schools that have more than 92% Negro enrollment, which, King deduced, means that more than 90% of Chicago schools are segregated. Then he touched on the unemployment problem by saying that the unemployment rate among Chicago Negroes is 3 to 1 (3 Negroes to every 1 white) and that some 100,000 Negroes out of a population of 1,000,000 find themselves chronically unemployed.
3. He began his enumeration of figures by citing not the 97.7% statistic but the 41%, proceeded to the 90% statistic of Negro students' attending the more than 92% racially segregated schools, and then mentioned the case of unemployment of 100,000 Chicago Negroes. Notice that in Sermon No. 2 he omitted both the 97.7% and the 3 to 1 figures which he included in Sermon No. 1.
4. In that part of the sermon where he discussed "midnight in the psychological order," King posited the question, "Today, what are the popular books in psychology?" He himself answered: "They are books entitled Modern Man in Search of a Soul, Man Against Himself, The Neurotic Personality of Our Times." Then he related "best sellers" in the area of religion.
4. Here he answered the question about popular works in psychology by listing "Man Against Himself, Modern Man in Search of a Soul /Note the reverse order of these preceding two books to that in Sermon No. 1/, and The Neurotic Personality of Our Time." Then, before proceeding immediately into a discussion of "best sellers" in religion as does Sermon No. 1 at this point, here he mentioned also three depth psychologists, namely, Freud, Adler, and Jung. They are not included in Sermon No. 1.

5. In several instances, Sermon No. 1 and Sermon No. 2 differed linguistically. A few examples are:

"I would HAVE YOU THINK WITH ME THIS MORNING from the subject. . . ."

"I would LIKE TO PREACH on the subject. . . ."

". . . the CONFLICT in Viet Nam."

". . . the WAR in Viet Nam."

"One hundred years ago, A GREAT AMERICAN, Abraham Lincoln, signed the IMMORTAL DOCUMENT WHICH WE KNOW AS the Emancipation Proclamation. THIS DOCUMENT WAS SIGNED TO FREE the Negro of the long night of chattel slavery."

"One hundred years ago, Abraham Lincoln ISSUED and signed the Emancipation Proclamation, FREE-ING the Negro from the long night of chattel slavery."

"People are more frustrated and bewildered today than any period of human history."

"People are more frustrated, DISILLUSIONED, and bewildered today than AT any period of human history."

6. Sermon No. 1 concluded by reciting words from the Negro spirituals "There Is a Balm in Gilead" and "We Shall Overcome."

6. Sermon No. 2 used words from the same spirituals in its conclusion but then quoted, as a final note, the following words from Job 38:7. "And when we believe this, 'the morning stars will sing together, and the sons of God will shout for joy.'" (The underlined are from Job. The modification is that whereas Job records the action of the verbs as past tense, Dr. King recited the action as future.)

The purpose of the preceding comparison and contrast of the same sermon preached by Dr. King at different times on the same day is to assist in supporting the observation that he does not necessarily use a manuscript when he delivers a sermon and to demonstrate that he has

masterful control over the main ideas and divisions of his sermons while at times employing diversified words to verbalize those ideas. It is demonstrated here also that Dr. King will sometimes vary his supporting materials (as in the case of the statistics cited above).

Dr. King's extemporaneous mode of delivery promotes not only rapport and power but also adaptability, flexibility, awareness of feedback, and naturalness.

The Visible Code (The Preacher as Seen)

Physical Factors Conducive to King's Effectiveness as a Preacher

To those who see Martin Luther King, Jr., for the first time, perhaps the most striking surprise is his relatively small stature. His sixty-seven inch (five foot, seven inch) height does not afford him an imposing physique. A slight stockiness and an upright posture, however, suggest health and heartiness, confident bearing without brazen overconfidence. In the judgment of this researcher, when King stands before an audience, he not only exudes this confidence but also inspires it in his congregation, and thus does much to create an atmosphere quite conducive to persuading his auditors to respond positively to his propositions.

As presented in more detail in the context of biographical considerations on page 20 of Chapter II, other physical assets of King include his "good motor control," "poise," perennially well-trimmed hair and mustache, youthful face with soft features, and clothes which are always in conservative good taste. Unlike the situation when he speaks in a non-worship setting, Dr. King follows the practice of preaching in an elegant, black, pulpit robe, which contributes to the worshipful and reverent atmosphere and platform dignity of the sermon occasion.

Bodily Action in Delivery

Very infrequently during any one sermon does Martin Luther King, Jr., enlist much gross bodily action. More often than not, he remains in the very spot where he initially placed himself; but when he does move, his movements appropriately punctuate his words. Occasionally, to supplement a point, he extends his right hand-- sometimes palm-up, sometimes finger pointing. Most often, King is seen in a characteristic gesture of clenching the fist while bending and straightening out the elbow back and forth (oftimes rapping the pulpit podium) for emphasis.

Facial gestures of King come even less frequently than his other movements, a serious, placid countenance usually maintaining itself even during his use of humor. When his face does register a point which he is setting forth, it is usually a facial expression which conveys emphasis, resolution, and determination.

Eye contact is one of his strong points. Notwithstanding the fact that this medium of communication is nonverbal, it can be (as it is with Dr. King) a vital asset. Looking directly at his audience while speaking not only serves to awaken interest in his information but also helps him to be cognizant of feedback and audience reaction; and, as has been mentioned before in connection with King's mode of delivery, it gives him "greater rapport and power."¹

While the writer believes that there may be room for more gestures in sermon delivery by Dr. King, he does not say that King necessarily should make use of them. It would be well to consider the power inherent in King's customary practice because of its value in avoiding inanity and also its value in blending with his poised, mild, tranquil personality.

¹Personal Interview, August 31, 1966.

The Audible Code (The Preacher as Heard)

Within a very few moments after Dr. King begins preaching, a listener is probably sure to become aware of at least two things: (1) King is a Southerner, (2) King makes effective use of his voice.

His articulation and pronunciation generally comply with the norms of what may be termed an educated Southern expression. Although his vowels and consonants are usually enunciated and articulated very clearly, distinctly, and unaffectedly, he has been known to substitute a "d" sound for initial "th" in such words as "the," "this," and "that" when he thinks it necessary for rapport. When the majority of his auditors are uneducated, he might deliberately become a little folksy and informal. This researcher has not known or heard, however, of King's mispronouncing a word in terms of improper syllabification irrespective of the immediate audience.

One of the marks of genius in Dr. King's effective oral communication is his ability to adapt appropriately and persuasively to any congregation whether it is Marsh Chapel (Boston University), Andrew Rankin Chapel (Howard University), Harvard Chapel, Riverside Church (New York), the Sunday Evening Club (Chicago), or whether it is a less liturgical, less formal, and less polished congregation which may be predominately unlettered. Dean Muelder, of the School of Theology at Boston University, has also observed as much in the following words to the writer:

When he is addressing the predominantly Southern Negro type audience, King's sermon is more rhythmic and emotional; yet I have never heard him use quite this technique when addressing the more sophisticated Boston audience for example. The amazing thing about King is his . . . /ability/ to adapt . . . to varied audiences. He is a master-adaptor.¹

¹Personal Interview, Dr. Walter G. Muelder, March 4, 1966.

Dean Muelder proceeded to volunteer a comparison between Martin Luther King, Jr., and Billy Graham, the world famous evangelist, on the point of adaptability: "King is a more profound leader than Billy Graham. Graham is the same everywhere. King adjusts."¹

Based on the theory that speech is an "overlaid function," that is, speech is produced biologically by muscles and structures which have other primary body functions, voice and health are very intimately related.² It is no small wonder, then, that King (endowed with near perfect health)³ should possess a dynamically forceful voice whose volume is invariably adequate. As a speaker sensitive to his immediate environment, he, therefore, varies the volume in a manner consonant with the subject, the occasion, and the setting.

The pitch of his voice falls within the category of deep baritone, the timbre of which is of rich quality. At the beginning of a sermon, the voice conveys a minimum of emotion; then, as he progresses farther into his message, he may reveal the complete gamut of emotions-- except humor, which is executed via an idea or a turned phrase but never by any change in vocal quality or vocal pitch. Voice range is unimpressively limited in King's oral communication. An analysis of several taped sermons discloses the fact that King's pitch ranges on the musical scale from a high of "A" above middle "C" to a low of "B" below middle "C," less than an octave in range. The most consistent pitch of his public

¹Ibid.

²Virgil A. Anderson, Training the Speaking Voice (New York: Oxford University, 1957), p. 4. See also Effective Speech by Robert T. Oliver and Rupert L. Cortright, p. 357.

³King considers himself as having been specially endowed with the gift of good health. Note pages 20-21 and also Appendix II U ("An Autobiography of Religious Development").

speaking voice seems to be from "F-sharp" to "G-natural." His optimum pitch, the level at which one's voice performs best, would appear to be about "F."

Concerning the rate (or speed of utterance) of his speaking, Dr. King begins his sermons unhurriedly, deliberately, almost "at a snail's pace," soon, however, increasing the rate to what may be considered "normal." His deliberateness in utterance is a distinct asset in his attempt to achieve understandability (clarity of the meaning of his discourse) and attention. He knows also how to make use of pause, meaningfully punctuating his rate.

The duration of sound in King's speechmaking is the factor which, probably more than any other, reveals his regional speech pattern. He is not just a Southerner but a preacher who has deep roots in the Negro Baptist religious heritage and tradition; furthermore, he is thoroughly familiar with and has acquired the relevant tones and rhythm which convey meaning especially to the Negro masses. The over-all melody of his speech is commendably rhythmical without being metrical while transcending regional appeal and attaining universal effectiveness.

Al Kuettner, in The State Journal (Lansing, Michigan), June 16, 1965, page C-5, said that King is "gifted with a magnetic speaking voice" while Loudon Wainwright also applied an all-inclusive description when he commented that Dr. King's voice is "compelling."¹

¹Loudon Wainwright, "Martyr of the Sit-ins," Life, XLIX (November 7, 1960), 124.

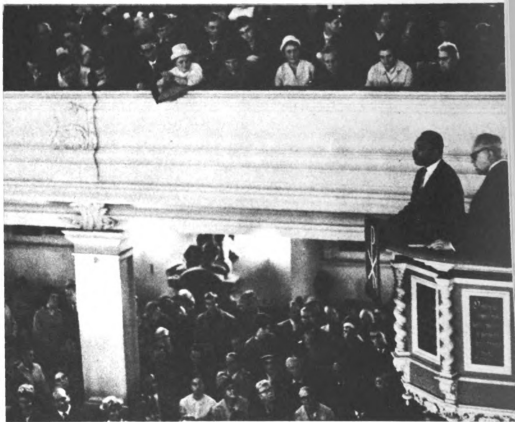


DR. KING ADDRESSES A GROUP OF BAPTIST MINISTERS IN CHICAGO

- (1) Dr. King in his first pastorate, Dexter Avenue Baptist Church (Montgomery, Alabama).
- (2) Dr. King delivering a sermon behind the Iron Curtain in East Berlin's famous Marienkirche (St. Mary's Church).
- (3) Dr. King in several speaking situations which portray a variety of facial expressions.



(1)



(2)



(3)

CHAPTER V

INVENTION, ARRANGEMENT, AND STYLE

INVENTION

He [the speaker]¹ . . . ought first to find out what he should say.

Invention . . . is an investigative undertaking, embracing a survey and forecast of the subject and a search for the arguments suitable to the given rhetorical effort. . . . The concept of invention includes the entire investigative undertaking, the idea of the status, and the modes of persuasion--logical, emotional, and ethical--in all of their complex interrelations.²

The development of a subject--after it has been selected, narrowed, analyzed, and organized--constitutes an important part of the work of speechmaking.³

The quotations above indicate the nature and importance of the constituent of rhetoric known as "invention." This constituent is also treated in such homiletical works as those by T. Harwood Pattison and John A. Broadus, leading homiletics authors of the late nineteenth

¹Marcus Tullius Cicero, De Oratore (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1890), 178. Trans. by J. W. Watson (Bohn Classical Library Edition).

²Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 79.

³Kenneth G. Haace, David C. Ralph, and Milton J. Wiksell, Principles of Speaking (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1962), p. 52.

century.¹ Pattison says that "in every sermon there should be an element of argument. . . and . . . reason. The power of clear statement is the great power in the pulpit as at the bar."² Stating the case even more specifically, Broadus believes that "Of basic importance in preaching is the ability to lay hold of appropriate materials by use of which the subject may be amplified into a full sermon,- the power to discern new relations of ideas and to join them together in effective discourse."³ In further elaboration, Broadus reduces his concept of the inventive process into two main steps:

1. Knowledge, experience stimuli (or acquiring a combination of factual stimuli).
2. Selection, relation, response (or responding to the combination of stimuli).⁴

Interpreting Broadus' two steps in the inventive process in the light of Aristotle's rhetorical framework, we may say that the combination of factual materials or stimuli is also known as "non-artistic" proofs, that is, in the words of Aristotle, "proofs. . . such as are

¹In his doctoral study, "Conceptions of Arrangement in American Protestant Homiletical Theory," (Michigan State University, 1964), Daniel E. Weiss found in a survey of ninety-five professors that among the most significant theorists in terms of use (their works) and/or influence in American homiletical theory during the late nineteenth century were T. Harwood Pattison (the second most influential theorist according to 59 respondents) and John A. Broadus (the first most influential with 82).

²T. Harwood Pattison, The Making of the Sermon (Chicago: The American Baptist Publication Society, 1941), pp. 227-28.

³John A. Broadus, On the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. 76.

⁴Broadus, op. cit., 76-77.

not supplied by our own efforts, but existed beforehand"¹ such as examples, narratives, statistics, quotations.² Also, the speaker's response to the factual materials which he finds for his discourse is described as "artistic" proofs or means of persuasion which, according to Aristotle, "may be furnished by the method of Rhetoric through our own efforts", that is, through the moral and ethical character of the speaker (or "ethos"),³ through the reasoning process of the speaker (or "logos"), and through the emotions he elicits from his listeners for a favorable reaction to his speech (or "pathos").

These introductory comments on the meaning of "invention" will serve as guidelines in our study of the inventive element as found in the sermons of Martin Luther King, Jr.

NON-ARTISTIC ELEMENTS OF INVENTION

Examples

Examples abound plenteously and effectively in the sermons of King, usually in the form of both instances and illustrations.⁴ Most of

¹Aristotle, The Rhetoric of Aristotle (Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1932), p. 8. Trans. by Lane Cooper.

²Hance, loc. cit.

³Some would make a distinction between "ethos" and "ethical proof" by defining "ethos" as what a speaker is and "ethical proof" as what a speaker does to establish his "ethos." In his essay, "Conceptions of Ethos in Ancient Rhetoric" (Speech Monographs, 1947, Vol. 14, pp. 55-65), Dr. William M. Sattler uses the two as synonymous terms. The present study will also employ these terms interchangeably.

⁴In Principles of Speaking, pp. 52-53, a distinction is made among "instances," "illustrations," and narratives/stories by including instances and illustrations under the label of "examples" and defining them as follows: INSTANCES are considered allusions or references to specific cases and are not completely developed descriptions, nor do they contain the details of the case. ILLUSTRATIONS are fully developed instances or an expansion of the instance through the inclusion of pertinent details. The NARRATIVE (or STORY) consists of real or fictional details which are generally arranged chronologically for the purpose of clarifying or proving a point. The NARRATIVE "differs from the EXAMPLE in that its details are arranged in a specific sequence, and its events are unfolded according to a plot or scheme that leads to a climax."

his examples, however, are instances; and they seem to occur most often in the first half of his sermons. This may indicate his desire for clarity in developing his subject. The sources of the examples are usually either persons or nations. For instance, in the sermon "THREE DIMENSIONS OF A COMPLETE LIFE," Dr. King exemplifies the poetic and philosophical insights of Greece by referring to Aeschylus, Euripides, Sophocles, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Emphasizing the musical contribution of western civilization, he lists Handel, Beethoven, and Bach; then he supports the assertion that "we already have inspiring examples of Negroes who have plunged against cloud-filled nights of oppression new and blazing stars of achievement" by mentioning Booker T. Washington, Marian Anderson, George Washington Carver, and Ralph Bunche. Following are additional illustrations of King's use of examples:

Assertion: Regarding racial segregation and discrimination in America, "the wind of change began to blow."

Example: "May 17, 1954, . . . the Supreme Court rendered its historic decision."
("OUR GOD IS ABLE")

Assertion: "Abnormal fears are emotionally ruinous and psychologically destructive."

Example: Differentiating between normal and abnormal fears, "Sigmund Freud spoke of a person who was quite properly afraid of snakes in the heart of an African jungle and of another person who neurotically feared that snakes were under the carpet in his city apartment."
("ANTIDOTES FOR FEAR")

Assertion: Using the Good Samaritan parable (Luke 10) as the foundation, Dr. King says, "One of the great tragedies of man's long trek along the highway of history has been the limiting of neighborly concern to tribe, race, class, or nation."

- Examples:
1. "The God of early Old Testament days was a tribal god and the ethic was tribal. 'Thou shalt not kill' meant 'Thou shalt not kill a fellow Israelite, but for God's sake, kill a Philistine.'"
 2. "Greek democracy embraced a certain aristocracy, but not the hordes of Greek slaves whose labors built the city-states."
 3. "The universalism at the center of the Declaration of Independence has been shamefully negated by America's appalling tendency to substitute 'some' for 'all.' Numerous people in the North and South still believe that the affirmation, 'All men are created equal,' means 'All white men are created equal.'"
 4. "Our unswerving devotion to monopolistic capitalism makes us more concerned about the economic security of the captains of industry than for the laboring men whose sweat and skills keep industry functioning."
("ON BEING A GOOD NEIGHBOR")

The same sermon continues the thought of provincialism and posits the question, "What are the devastating consequences of this narrow, group-centered attitude?" The answer is asserted: "It means that one does not really mind what happens to the people outside his group." Disjunctive examples are:

1. "If an American is concerned only about his nation, he will not be concerned about the peoples of Asia, Africa, or South America. Is this not why nations engage in the madness of war without the slightest sense of penitence? Is this not why the murder of a citizen of your own nation is a crime, but the murder of the citizens of another nation in war is an act of heroic virtue?"
2. "If manufacturers are concerned only in their personal interests, they will pass by on the other side while thousands of working people are stripped of their jobs and left displaced on some Jericho road as a result of automation, and they will judge every move toward a better distribution of wealth and a better life for the working man to be socialistic."

3. "If a white man is concerned only about his race, he will casually pass by the Negro who has been robbed of his personhood, stripped of his sense of dignity, and left dying on some wayside road."

A final model of King's use of example is the following:

Assertion: "One of the great glories of the gospel is that Christ has transformed so many men, and made sons of nameless prodigals."

Examples: "He transformed a Simon of Sand into a Peter of Rock. He changed a persecuting Saul into an Apostle Paul. He changed a lust-infested Augustine into a Saint Augustine. Tolstoi's beautiful confession in 'My Religion' is the experience of men in every nation and every tribe: 'Five years ago I came to believe in Christ's teaching, and my life suddenly became changed: I ceased desiring what I had wished before, and began to desire what I had not wished before. What formerly had seemed good to me appeared bad, and what had seemed bad appeared good The direction of my life, my desires became different: what was good and bad changed places.'"

("THE ANSWER TO A PERPLEXING QUESTION")

A survey of a large body of Dr. King's sermons discloses the fact that the use of examples constitutes the strongest and most prevalent non-artistic element of invention in his pulpit discourse.

Narratives and Stories

In contrast to the incidence of examples in the sermons of King, narratives and stories appear rather infrequently. While more frequent use of stories would probably give his sermons a very beneficial medium through which to help sustain interest, further clarify salient points, and create a varied and change of pace, Dr. King (in the sixteen sermons intensively studied in the present inquiry) does not make use of so many stories as, perhaps, one would expect. It might be that his use of so few stories is due to his having such a large number of experiences in

his human rights activities from which to draw and so many points in any one sermon to make in a limited time that he reduces most of the potential narratives and stories to shorter instances and illustrations. In this way, there is the opportunity to include more real life situations for the purpose of supporting and clarifying more points.

When King does utilize narratives, there is no doubt of the intended purpose. He consistently follows with a clinching, thematic statement. Following are cases in point:

CONVEYING THE VALUE OF INNER SPIRITUAL STRENGTH:

Narrative:

"As I come to the conclusion of my message I would like for you to indulge me as I mention a personal experience" Dr. King here related his experience of being utterly discouraged and despondent at one point during the civil rights movement in Montgomery. After one in a series of threatening telephone calls one night, he could not sleep. King then prayed to God about the situation and "experienced the presence of the Divine as . . . never . . . before." "My experience with God," says King in concluding the narrative, "had given me the strength to face it."

**Thematic Statement
and Application:**

"Yes, God is able to give us the interior resources to face the storms and problems of life."

("OUR GOD IS ABLE")

**EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF BRIGHT OPTIMISM IN THE FACE OF LIFE'S
DARK PROBLEMS:**

Narrative:

"I recall a very meaningful experience during the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. . . ." Here King tells how the successful car pool of eleven months was threatened with extinction by the city Mayor, who instructed the city's legal department to "file such

proceedings as it may deem proper to stop the operation of car pool or transportation system growing out of the bus boycott." As chief defendant, King was summoned to court. During a critical moment of the court session, when things were looking rather bleak for the boycotters, a reporter handed Dr. King a newspaper which stated: 'The United States Supreme Court today unanimously ruled bus segregation unconstitutional in Montgomery, Alabama.' The night before we were in a confusing midnight, but now daybreak had come."

**Thematic Statement
and Application:**

"Yes, the dawn will come. Disappointment, sorrow and despair are all born in midnight, but we may be consoled by the fact that morning will come. 'Weeping may tarry for a night,' says the Psalmist, 'but joy cometh in the morning.'"

("A KNOCK AT MIDNIGHT")

DEPICTING THE IMPORTANCE OF MAN'S INCLUDING GOD IN HIS PLANS:

Narrative:

"The story goes that a wise old preacher went to a distant college to deliver a baccalaureate sermon. After finishing his message he lingered around the campus to talk with some of the members of the graduating class. He soon found himself talking with a brilliant young graduate named Robert. His first question to Robert was: 'What are your plans for the future?' 'I plan to go immediately to law school,' said Robert. 'What then, Robert,' inquired the preacher. 'Well,' responded Robert, 'I plan to get married and start a family and then get myself securely established in my law practice.' 'What then, Robert,' continued the preacher. Robert retorted: 'I must frankly say that I plan to make lots of money from my law practice, and thereby I hope to retire rather

early and spend a great deal of time traveling to various parts of the world--something that I have always wanted to do.' 'What then, Robert?' continued the preacher with almost annoying inquisitiveness. 'Well,' said Robert, 'these are all of my plans.' The preacher, looking at Robert with a countenance expressing pity and Fatherly concern, said: 'Young man, your plans are far too small. They can extend only seventy-five or a hundred years at the most. You must make your plans big enough to include God and large enough to include eternity.'"

Thematic Statement
and Application:

"This is wise advice. I suspect that all too many of us are still dabbling with plans that are big in quantity, but small in quality--plans that move on the horizontal plane of time rather than the vertical plane of eternity."

("THREE DIMENSIONS OF A COMPLETE LIFE")

STRESSING THE NEED FOR DETERMINATION AND FORTITUDE IN ORDER TO
WITHSTAND AND OVERCOME OPPOSITION:

Narrative:

"When I first flew from New York to London, it was in the days of the propellor type aircraft. The flight took over 9½ hours. (The jets can make the flight in 6 hours.) On returning to the States from London I discovered that the flying time would be twelve hours and a half. This confused me for the moment. I knew that the distance returning to New York was the same as the distance from New York to London. Why this difference of three hours, I asked myself. Soon the pilot walked through the plane to greet the passengers. As soon as he got to me I raised the question of the difference in flight time. His answer was simple and to the point. 'You must understand something about the wind,' he said. 'When we leave New York,' he continued, 'the winds are

in our favor; we have a strong tail wind. When we return to New York from London, the winds are against us; we have a strong head wind.' And then he said, 'don't worry though, these four engines are fully capable of battling the winds, and even though it takes three hours longer we will get to New York.'"

Thematic Statement
and Application:

"Well, life is like this. There are times when the winds are in our favor--moments of joy, moments of great triumph, moments of fulfillment. But there are times when the winds are against us, times when strong head winds of disappointment and sorrow beat unrelentingly upon our lives. We must decide whether we will allow the winds to overwhelm us or whether we will journey across life's mighty Atlantic with our inner spiritual engines equipped to go on in spite of the winds. This refusal to be stopped, this 'courage to be,' this determination to go on living 'in spite of,' is the God in man. He who has made this discovery knows that no burden can overwhelm him and no wind of adversity can blow his hope away. He can stand anything that can happen to him."

("SHATTERED DREAMS")

Statistics

Of the sixteen sermons studied in the inquiry, only four were found to contain significant statistical data. By significant, the investigator means figures employed not just as a passing reference but as material used for the obvious purpose of buttressing a specific point. Typical of the kind of statistics in the King sermons are those he presented when the present writer heard him in the Central Methodist Church (Detroit, March 3, 1966). Dr. King stated that in Chicago there are

97.7% of the Negro people living in the ghetto, 41% of the Negro families living in dilapidated, deteriorated rented housing conditions, 90% of Negro students attending schools that have more than 92% Negro enrollment--which means, he continued, that more than 90% of Chicago schools are segregated. Concerning the unemployment rate among Chicago Negroes, he said that three Negroes to every one white are without work--which means that some 100,000 Negroes out of a population of 1,000,000 find themselves chronically unemployed.

Statistics are not utilized regularly by Dr. King although he has been known to repeat the same set of figures in different sermons. His statistics are of a high order principally because of relevance and meaningfulness and almost always pertain to the nation's number one domestic item-- the race problem. A listener might be inclined to wonder, however, as does the present investigator, about the validity of Dr. King's statistics, inasmuch as he seems never to cite documented sources.

Quotations (or Appeal to Authority)

The fourth type of non-artistic argument which King uses is that of quoting, paraphrasing, or referring to authority. The citations usually originate either from literary materials such as the Bible, the Constitution of the United States, the Declaration of Independence, and the Emancipation Proclamation or from testimony of fact and/or opinion as found in the prose and poetry of experts in theology, philosophy, sociology, and even anthropology.

In the illustration on page 144, it is shown that the 16 sermons in the sampling contain a total of 178 quotations: 70 or 39.3% of these come from the Bible, 21 or 12% from other literary sources, and 87 or 49% from persons. As observed, the Bible is quoted more than all other

literary sources combined, while citations from non-Biblical, historical, and contemporary personalities exceed in number all other quoted sources. It is precisely because of this phenomenon (his liberal utilization of non-Biblical and philosophical sources to prove or even to support Biblical themes) that Dr. King has been attacked and called an eclectic rather than a real Christian preacher.¹ According to Dr. DeWolf, King's answer to the attack is the fact that historically great theologians have been glad to use as many elements in philosophy and non-Christian sources as would help the cause of religion. It might be noted further that one of the greatest of Christian preachers, the Apostle Paul, when standing on the podium of Mars' Hill, quoted the non-Christian Athenian poets when he declared, ". . . as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also His offspring." (Acts 17:28) One writer, Ellen G. White, comments that Paul "stood undaunted, meeting his opposers on their own ground, matching logic with logic, philosophy with philosophy, eloquence with eloquence."² It would appear, then, that Martin Luther King, Jr., in making use of non-Biblical and philosophical sources as supporting materials in his sermons, is but following a legitimate tradition of employing "all the available means of persuasion."³ Relevant and applicable to Dr. King's concept of preaching is the definition of the art

¹It was during a personal interview with one of Dr. King's Boston University professors, Dr. L. Harold DeWolf, March 6, 1966, that the charge was first brought to the attention of the investigator. Dr. DeWolf directed the investigator to a source of the charge, namely, Dr. Joseph Washington's book, Black Religion (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964). Page 10 criticizes King because of a syncretistic element "due to the dominance of philosophy over systematic theology."

²Ellen G. White, Acts of the Apostles (Mountain View: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1911), pp. 235-236.

³Aristotle, The Rhetoric of Aristotle (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1932), p. xxxvii, trans. by Lane Cooper.

provided by Dr. Charles E. Weniger, who said that it is "that branch of speech which, employing all available means and taking to itself the whole realm of human knowledge with emphasis on the Bible, seeks by persuasion to draw men to a better life and a more abundant entrance into the Kingdom of God."¹

The number of Bible references in a given sermon reached a high of 12 in one discourse and a low of 1 in another; hence, no sermon was devoid of at least one Bible quotation. A grand total of 70 such references in 16 sermons yields a mean (average) of 4.6 per sermon, a relatively generous use of Bible texts particularly in view of Dr. King's liberal theology. His plenteous use stirs little more than gentle surprise, however, when one takes into account King's early roots and strict discipline in fundamental theology as a son of a Southern Baptist clergyman. The New Testament, with a total of 53 quotations, provides more topoi for his sermons than the Old Testament, with a total of only 17, 3.2 times fewer than the New Testament. Another feature regarding Dr. King's use of the Bible pertains to specific books (i.e., Exodus, 1 John, et cetera). As there are 66 books comprising the Old Testament, the nine which he uses for sources of quotations indicate that he utilized only 13.6% of Old Testament books. The 13 New Testament books are a plenteous 48% of that section of the Holy Bible. For the specific Biblical books, chapters, and verses quoted by Dr. King, see the table on page 141 of this chapter.

¹Norval Pease, "Charles E. Weniger's Theory of Speech and Homiletics as Revealed in His Teaching Procedures, His Writings, and His Public Addresses" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Speech, Michigan State University, 1964), p. 7.

TABLE 2
A TABLE OF BIBLE REFERENCES QUOTED BY DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
IN THE SIXTEEN SERMONS STUDIED

OLD TESTAMENT	NEW TESTAMENT	
<u>Exodus</u>	<u>Matthew</u>	<u>Romans</u>
14:15	5:1-12	8:38-39
14:30	5:10	10:2
16:3	5:11-12	12:2 (twice)
20:13	5:28	15:24
	5:33-35	
<u>2 Kings</u>	5:44	<u>2 Corinthians</u>
5:1	6:32	5:17
	6:33	
<u>The Psalms</u>	10:16	<u>Galatians</u>
8:4	17:18	3:28
8:4-5	17:19	
30:5	17:20	<u>Philippians</u>
139:7-12	18:21	4:11
	18:22	
<u>Proverbs</u>	21:31	<u>Hebrews</u>
3:19	22:37	12:11
	25:40 (twice)	
<u>Isaiah</u>	26:52 (twice)	<u>1 John</u>
40:4		4:18
40:4-5	<u>Mark</u>	
	8:33	<u>Jude</u>
<u>Jeremiah</u>		24
10:19	<u>Luke</u>	
	1:52-53	<u>Revelation</u>
<u>Ezekiel</u>	4:18-19	3:20
2:1	10:25	21:16
	10:27	
<u>Daniel</u>	10:28	
3:17	10:29 (twice)	
	11:5-6	
<u>Amos</u>	11:7	
5:24 (twice)	12:15 (twice)	
	12:19	
	12:20	
	23:34	
	<u>John</u>	
	3:19	
	14:27 (twice)	
	<u>Acts</u>	
	16:12	
	17:24, 26	

TABLE 3

SOURCES OF ALL THE QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES IN THE SIXTEEN SERMONS OF

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

TITLE of Sermon	BIBLE	OTHER LITERARY WORKS		PERSONALITIES	
		(Quoted)	(Referred to)	(Quoted)	(Referred to)
"A Tough Mind and a Tender Heart"	Matthew 10:16 Matthew 5:1-12 Matthew 26:52 Exodus 16:13	Mein Kampf by Adolf Hitler <u>Pelase of Art by Tennyson</u>	God the Invisible <u>King by H. G. Wells</u>	French Philosopher Hegel Elderly segregation- ist in the South Adolf Hitler Shakespeare (poetry) Aristotle	Mkurumbi of Ghana Nehru of India H. G. Wells Tennyson Capernicus Galilee Darwin Margaret Mead (Anthro- pologist) Ruth Benedict (Anthro- pologist)
"Transformed Nonconformist"	Romans 12:12 Acts 16:12 Luke 12:15 Matthew 5:28 Matthew 5:10 Matthew 21:31 Matthew 5:44 Matthew 26:52 Matthew 25:40 Amos 5:24 Daniel 3:17 Mark 8:33	"Essay on Self- Reliance" by Emerson		Nietzsche Thomas Jefferson (2) James Russell Lowell (poetry) Abraham Lincoln King's six year old daughter John Bunyan	Paul McCarthy (ism) John Birch (Society) White Citizens' Council Seerates Professor Bixler

(CONTINUATION OF QUOTATION/REFERENCE SOURCES)					
TITLE of Sermon	BIBLE	OTHER LITERARY WORKS		PERSONALITIES	
		(Quoted)	(Referred to)	(Quoted)	(Referred to)
"On Being a Good Neighbor"	Luke 10:29 (2) Luke 10:25 Luke 10:27 Luke 10:28 Exodus 20:13		Declaration of Independence Emancipation Proclamation	Himself (in conversation with Mrs. King)	Albert Schweitzer Abraham Lincoln Harry Emerson Fosdick
"Love in Action"	Luke 23:34 Matthew 18:21 Matthew 18:22 Romans 10:2 John 3:19			Shakespeare (poetry) John Bowring (poetry)	Samsen Socrates Saul (Paul) Cepurnius Darwin Aristotle Ruth Benedict (Anthropologist) Margaret Mead (Anthropologist) Melville J. Herskovits (Anthropologist) Dante
"Loving Your Enemies"	Matthew 5:33-35		"The Pathology of Race Prejudice" by Dr. E. Franklin Frazier Greek New Testament	Nietzsche Ovid (Latin Poet) Plato Paul Napoleon Bonaparte Isaiah Watts (poetry) John Oxenham (poetry)	Abraham Lincoln Starbuck H. G. Wells Paul
"A Knock at Midnight"	Luke 11:5-6 Luke 11:7 Psalm 30:5	Negro Spiritual Negro Spiritual Negro Spiritual	Man Against Himself The Neurotic Personality of Our Times Modern Man in Search of a Soul Peace of Mind Peace of Soul	Harrison Salisbury William Wilberforce William Pitt Lord Acton Schopenhauer (Philosopher) Shakespeare (poetry) Ralph Borsodi	Darwin

(CONTINUATION OF QUOTATION/REFERENCE SOURCES)					
TITLE of Sermon	BIBLE	OTHER LITERARY WORKS		PERSONALITIES	
		(Quoted)	(Referred to)	(Quoted)	(Referred to)
"The Man Who Was a Fool"	Luke 12:20 Luke 12:19 Luke 12:15 Matthew 6:32 Matthew 6:33		Paraphrase of portion of twenty-third Psalm (poetry)	Dr. George A. Buttrick Sir James Jeans (Physicist) Arthur Balfour (Philosopher) Rousseau Alfred the Great G. K. Chesterton An Oriental Writer	Herbert Spencer Darwin
"The Death of Evil upon the Seashore"	Exodus 14:30 Hebrews 12:11 Psalm 139:7-12		Emancipation Proclamation	Hinduism Zoroastrianism Judaism Christianity William Cullen Bryant Thomas Carlyle Shakespeare James Russel Lowell Tennyson (poetry) Churchill Thomas Jefferson Abraham Lincoln Frederick Douglass Charles A. Beard (Historian) Matthew Arnold Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.	Mahatma Gandhi
"Three Dimensions of a Complete Life"	Revelation 21:16 2 Kings 5:1 Psalm 8:4 Matthew 22:37	Peace of Mind by Rabbi J. Liebman		Longfellow Ralph W. Emerson Douglas Mallock (poetry) John Donne Professor Sevelin Reinhold Niebuhr Plato St. Augustine	Aeschylus Sophocles Euripides Socrates Plato Aristotle Handel Beethoven (2) Bach B. T. Washington Marian Anderson George Washington Carver

(CONTINUATION OF QUOTATION/REFERENCE SOURCES)					
TITLE of Sermon	BIBLE	OTHER LITERARY WORKS		PERSONALITIES	
		(Quoted)	(Referred to)	(Quoted)	(Referred to)
"Shattered Dreams"	Romans 15:24 Jeremiah 10:19 Philippians 4:11 John 14:27	Christian Hymn <u>Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire</u> by Gibbon Negro Spiritual Christian Hymn		Osar Khayyam (poetry) Paul Tillich	Snubert George Frederick Watts Mahatma Gandhi Woodrow Wilson Charles Darwin Robert Louis Stevenson Helen Keller Handel
"What Is Man?"	Psalms 8:4-5	<u>Pilgrim's Progress</u> by J. Bunyan The Messiah Moral Man and Immoral Society by Reinhold Niebuhr		Shakespeare Carlyle John Oxenham (poetry)	Shakespeare Beethoven Michelangelo
"How Should a Christian View Communism?"	Amos 5:24 Matthew 23:40 Luke 1:52-53 Luke 4:18-19 Isaiah 40:4-5	Poetry	<u>Communist Manifesto</u>	Lenin Paul Tillich William Temple (Archbishop of Canterbury) John Oxenham (poetry)	Karl Marx
"Our God Is Able"	Jude 24 Isaiah 40:4 John 14:24	<u>Les Miserables</u> by Victor Hugo		Swainburne Keats Prime Minister McMillan James Russell Lowell (poetry) Paul L. Dunbar (poetry)	

(CONTINUATION OF QUOTATION/REFERENCE SOURCES)					
TITLE of Sermon	BIBLE	OTHER LITERARY WORKS		PERSONALITIES	
		(Quoted)	(Referred to)	(Quoted)	(Referred to)
"Antidotes for Fear"	1 John 4:18 Proverbs 3:19	Journal by Henry David Thoreau Confession by Tolstoi Poetry (anonymous)		K. Horney Shakespeare Angelo Petri Sigmund Freud Plato Aristotle Thomas Aquinas Epictetus Paul Tillich Erich Fromm Mother Pollard	Sigmund Freud
"The Answer to a Perplex- ing Ques- tion"	Matthew 17:19 Matthew 17:18 Matthew 17:20 Exodus 14:15 Ezekiel 2:1 2 Cor. 5:17 Revelation 3:20	Origin of Species by Darwin		Rousseau Condorcet (French Humanist) A Modern Humanist Gabriel Marcel Tolstoi	
"Paul's Let- ter to American Christians"	Romans 12:2 Galatians 3:28 Acts 17:24, 26 Romans 8:38-39 Matthew 5:11-12			Thoreau	The Epicureans The Stoics Plato Aristotle
TOTALS . . .	70	21	12	87	69
				GRAND TOTAL OF "QUOTES", 178	

ARTISTIC ELEMENTS OF INVENTION

Next to be considered are the three avenues of artistic persuasion: the speaker as a person (ethos), the speaker's lines of "argument" and supporting materials in his sermons (logos), the emotions and/or motivations to which he appeals for acceptance of his propositions (pathos).

This investigation will take into account, in particular, the words of Dean Muelder, "Dr. King possesses not only analytical but also constructive (creative) power. You might call it 'constructive conceptualization.' His artistic homiletical power matches his analytical power, an efficiency and combination very rare in human beings indeed."¹

Ethical Proof (Ethos)

Our discussion of the ethos which Dr. King brings to his preaching will follow as a guideline the tripartite components of ethos: competence, good character, and good will. These components may be viewed from a two dimensional standpoint, that is, they may find their source "outside" the sermon composition and/or "inside" the sermon composition. Evidences of ethical proof outside the composition may stem from the previous reputation of the speaker, advance notices concerning the occasion, introduction by the chairman and the speaker's response to the introduction, and delivery of the address in terms of posture, attitude, and over-all manner as discussed in Chapter IV under "The Visible Code." Evidences inside the composition entail direct references by the speaker to himself and to

¹ Personal Interview, Dr. Walter G. Muelder, Dean, School of Theology, Boston University, March 4, 1966.

others and include also the ethos of the speaker as implied in the choices he makes for a speech subject, trends of thought, supporting evidence, lines of reasoning, arrangement of composition materials, and language or style.

Because the ethical proof of Dr. King as found inside his sermon composition is implied in other sections of the present study which deal with his effective implementation of logos, pathos, arrangement, and style, our discussion of ethos in this section concerns itself principally with those indications of personal proof as derived from outside his sermon composition. We shall now discuss the three components of ethos or source credibility.

That Martin Luther King, Jr., has attained a high level of competence in his ministerial profession is attested in part by the following statement from another leading contemporary theologian, Dr. L. Harold DeWolf: "Martin Luther King, Jr., is an able religious thinker, as well as a man of action."¹ As a scholar, the young minister from Atlanta appeals also to both Negroes and Caucasians of middle and upper classes. The fact that he is not a "jack-leg" preacher but one who has undergone the academic disciplines of his profession (B.D. and Ph.D. degrees) should tend to enhance tremendously the auditor's confidence in King's ability to execute efficiently the responsibilities and expectations incumbent upon his ministerial office. His competence results from no happenstance. As a youth, he wanted to possess rather than merely simulate proficiency; and while his religious home taught him to believe that the "church was the path to morality and immortality," he was also taught that "education

¹ L. Harold DeWolf, Present Trends in Christian Thought (New York: Association Press, 1960), p. 18.

was . . . the path to competence."¹ Another factor contributing to the competence concept is his reputation as a persuasive speaker which comes to the listener's mind not only when he sees Dr. King sitting or standing on the rostrum but also when he hears the chairman's introduction. Three of the most recurring "reminders" or "indicators" of King's reputation for competence as revealed in the introductions which chairmen make before he stands to speak are: (1) He was chosen "Man of the Year" by Time magazine (January 3, 1964), (2) he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (1964), and (3) he has been the recipient of over fifty (50) honorary degrees. Typical titles of magazine articles suggesting a degree of efficiency and ability in terms of leadership include: "Render Unto King" (Time, March 25, 1966), "King Acts for Peace" (Christian Century, September 29, 1965), "Big Man Is Martin Luther King" (Newsweek, July 29, 1963), "Martin Luther King, Jr., Apostle of Crisis" (Saturday Evening Post, June 15, 1963), "Nobelman King" (Newsweek, October 26, 1964), "Top Man of the Negro Revolution" (U. S. News and World Report, June 10, 1963), "Tribute to Martin Luther King, Jr." (Ebony, December, 1964), "Long Live the King" (Newsweek, April 2, 1956), "Dr. King, Symbol of the Segregation Struggle" (New York Times Magazine, January 22, 1961).

In addition, Dr. King evinces not only competence but also character. His being a minister of the gospel of Christ would make this an obvious expectation. Particularly does this hold true in the southern Negro community, for there the church has been for decades the center of Negro life both socially and politically as well as religiously, and as such possesses a primacy in the Negro cultural milieu. Is it not a

¹L. D. Reddick, Crusader without Violence (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 51.

foregone conclusion, then, that high status would be ascribed to a leader of the church institution? One writer observed that the Negro Protestant minister plays most of the leader role among Negroes.¹ In the specific case of King, he is a minister in the largest Negro religious denomination in the United States-- the National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., which has a membership of over five million persons.² This in itself affords abundant opportunity for one who would lead. Time noted one of King's characteristics related to leadership of the masses when it reported that "he has an indescribable capacity for empathy that is the touchstone of leadership."³ Dr. King measures favorably well with Quintilian's "good man" concept. "One must not only preach a sermon with his voice," says King, "he must preach it with his life," to which Ernest Dunbar, Senior Editor of Look, adds that "King does just that."⁴ As a sincere man, he is not a "zeal without knowledge" fanatic; and he suffers no illusions about the constant and impending dangers on his life but recognizes full well that to which he commits himself. He has been the victim of beatings, jailings (approximately 20 times), stabbings, bombings (his home), and various kinds of attacks. The present writer has often heard King say

¹Daniel C. Thompson, The Negro Leadership Class (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1963), p. 34.

²Reader's Digest Almanac (Pleasantville: The Reader's Digest Association, Inc., 1966), p. 372. First Edition. This particular group of Baptists, the parent body of which Dr. J. H. Jackson is President, is to be distinguished from the National Baptist Convention of America (Dr. C. D. Pettaway, President), which has a membership of over 3,000,000.

³Time, January 3, 1964, p. 14.

⁴Ernest Dunbar, "A Visit with Martin Luther King," Look, February 12, 1963, p. 96.

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WHILE RECEIVING AN AWARD FROM THE CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL.





DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., 1964 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER, IN OSLO, NORWAY
(Award in hand)

that every man should have something for which he would die, otherwise he has nothing for which to live. This conviction which gives expression in a willingness to suffer violence, even martyrdom, is a thorough-going religious conviction rooted in the Christian tradition. His sermon, "PAUL'S LETTER TO AMERICAN CHRISTIANS," states the ground of such a conviction in these words:

Do not despair if you are condemned and persecuted for righteousness' sake. When you testify for truth and justice, you are liable to scorn. Often you will be called a Communist merely because you believe in the brotherhood of man. Sometimes you may be put in jail. . . . It may mean losing a job or social standing with your group. Even if physical death is the price that some must pay to free their children from psychological death, then nothing could be more Christian. Do not worry about persecution, American Christians; you must accept this when you stand up for a great principle. . . . 'Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.'

King has never been known to compromise his convictions. At a Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) convention in Birmingham, Alabama, a visibly disturbed white youth leaped onto the speaker's rostrum and began pummeling King; but King made no effort to defend himself and even refused to file charges against the youth who, admittedly, made the attack because of the preacher's integrationist views. Clearly, King is a man of love. He is also a man of humility. Again, Ernest Dunbar crystallizes the opinion of many when he declares that "adulation might make some men pompous, but Martin Luther King remains a warm, friendly, human being."¹

Dr. King also evinces good will. His image does not convey the idea that he is motivated by personal profit or gain. Upon receiving the

¹Dunbar, op. cit., p. 94.

Nobel Peace Prize in December, 1964, he announced that all of the \$58,000 accompanying the award would go for the human rights endeavor. It has been reported that as President of SCLC, the civil rights organization to which he gives the greater portion of his time and talent, he receives a mere \$1.00 a year in pay and limits himself to less than \$10,000 annual salary as Associate Pastor at Ebenezer Baptist Church.

What is the value of the preceding laudations accorded Dr. King? The student of rhetoric and public address believes that "source credibility" or the ethical proof of a speaker whether ascribed (what the speaker is thought to be) or earned (what the speaker proves himself to be) assumes immense importance.¹ A study by Berlo and Gulley affirmed concerning the effect of an audience's prior judgments about the speaker's ethos that the audience's attitude changes would always proceed in the direction that increases harmony between the attitude changes and existing listener frames of reference or what the audience expects of the particular speaker.²

In King there resides a complementary combination of competence, character, and good will. The King mystique is almost inexplicable; yet he remains a living, practical, and to some people, a disturbing reality. "By deed and by preachment," Time lauds, "he has stirred in his people a Christian forbearance that nourishes hope and smothers injustice."³ His

¹Jon Eisenson, J. Jeffery Auer, and John V. Irwin, The Psychology of Communication (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), p. 287.

²David K. Berlo and Halbert E. Gulley, "Some Determinants of the Effect of Oral Communication in Producing Attitude Change and Learning," Speech Monographs, Vol. 24, No. 1, (March, 1957), 10-20.

³Time, January 3, 1964, p. 14.

for example, was made in the spring of 1960 by former President of the United States, Mr. Harry S. Truman. Dr. King answered in a letter to Mr. Truman the following:

For many years I have admired you. Like many other Negroes I have deeply appreciated your civil rights record. But I must confess that some of your recent statements have completely baffled me, and served as an affront and disappointment to millions of Negroes of America. Your statement that appeared in the morning paper affirming that the 'sit-ins' were Communist inspired is an unfortunate misrepresentation of facts. The more you talk about the sit-ins the more you reveal a limited grasp and an abysmal lack of understanding of what is taking place. It is a sad day for our country when men come to feel that oppressed people cannot desire freedom and human dignity unless they are motivated by Communism. Of course, we in the South constantly hear these McCarthy-like accusations and pay little attention to them; but when the accusations come from a man who was once chosen by the American people to serve as the chief custodian of the nation's destiny then they rise to shocking and dangerous proportions. We are sorry that you have not been able to project yourself in our place long enough to understand the inner longing for freedom and self respect that motivate our action. We also regret that you have not been able to see that the present movement on the part of the students is not for themselves alone, but a struggle that will help save the soul of America. As long as segregation exists, whether at lunch counters or in public schools, America is in danger of not only losing her prestige as a world leader, but also of losing her soul.

I have worked very closely with the students in this struggle and the one thing that I am convinced of is that no outside agency (Communist or otherwise) initiated this movement, and to my knowledge no Communist force has come in since it started, or will dominate it in the future. The fact that this is a spiritual movement rooted in the deepest tradition of nonviolence is enough to refute the argument that this movement was inspired by Communism which has a materialist and anti-spiritualistic world view. No, the sit-ins were not inspired by Communism. They were inspired by the passionate yearning and the timeless longing for freedom and human dignity on the part of a people who have for years been trampled over by the iron feet of oppression. They grew out of the accumulated indignities of days gone by, and the boundless aspirations of generations yet unborn. We are very sorry that you have missed this point, and that you have been misled either by your own analysis of the struggle or by misinformation that

I cannot conceive of Mr. Hoover making a statement like this without /his/ being under extreme pressure. He has apparently faltered under the awesome burdens, complexities, and responsibilities of his office. Therefore, I cannot engage in a public debate with him. I have nothing but sympathy for this man who has served his country so well.¹

Newsweek also noted that general and public "puzzlement persisted over Hoover's decision to speak out when he did, and it posed the query about the seventy-year old Hoover's readiness for retirement."² The article did more than imply doubt regarding Hoover's wisdom and even veracity when it quoted an editorial of The New York Herald Tribune ("The Strange World of J. Edgar Hoover") as saying that the FBI director had shown "a cavalier recklessness with fact and fancy" and further when it quoted a New York Times editorial that "it would be wise to let the mandatory provisions of the Federal retirement law take effect on Mr. Hoover's 70th Birthday."³ The next month, December, Dr. King initiated a move toward reconciliation or at least an understanding between himself and Mr. Hoover and met with him in Washington. Whatever the session accomplished, no formal apology was reported; but King himself described the meeting as a "quite amicable discussion."⁴

Love and nonviolence an affront to Negroes.-- It is an irrefutable and common fact that Negroes, as a race, have been the object of race hatred and humiliation in America-- even since the Emancipation Proclamation. It is also a fact that the normal reaction of recipients of such

¹Newsweek, November 30, 1964, p. 30

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴"The Hoover-King Meeting," Newsweek, December 14, 1964, p. 22.

treatment is a reaction of retaliation. Against this backfrop, especially, two kinds of forces vie for the allegiance of the Negro, namely, that represented by the doctrine of the Muslims led by Mr. Elijah Muhammad (together with other militant groups: SNCC, CORE, etc.) and that represented by the teaching of Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Muslim doctrine, simply stated, advocates the elevation of separatism into a religious ethic and proclaims that the Negro should not abandon all notions of racial integration (since the white American majority are not going to give him a fair deal) but should face the fact that the white man is incapable of treating him fairly because the white man is a devil doomed to destruction.¹ The Muslim leader, Elijah Muhammad, is quoted as proclaiming:

The white devil's day is over. He was given six thousand years to rule. His time was up in 1917. These are his years of grace-- seventy of them. He's already used up most of those years trapping and murdering the black nations by the hundreds of thousands. Not he's worried, worried about the black man getting his revenge.²

Muhammad goes on to assert that Allah (God) has postponed the Battle of Armageddon for the purpose of giving the brainwashed American Negro the opportunity to separate himself, but "the time of God's coming is upon us."³ If white America does not repent and grant Muslim demands for separate geographical territory, Mr. Muhammad predicts:

All of you. . . , your government, and your entire race will be destroyed and removed from this earth by Almighty God. And those black men who are still trying to integrate will

¹Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in Black and White (New York: Random House, 1964), pp. 148-9.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

inevitably be destroyed along with the whites; only the faithful will be saved.¹

Admittedly, the Muslims have an immense audience because, as conceded by many, they articulate the innermost feelings of anger, hatred, and revenge shared by most Negroes although these feelings are seldom voiced publicly.

The criticism aimed at Martin Luther King is that his movement asks not only that the Negro exercise nonviolence in the face of injustice but also that he actually love his oppressor, a deed which some psychologists say few persons can fulfill.² Furthermore, so goes the charge, it is tantamount to surrender.

Nevertheless, King, whose approach is rooted in Jesus Christ and Gandhi, preaches with boldness and confidence the doctrine of "nonviolence" and "love," at the same time maintaining that his approach is neither surrender nor passive. "I believe," King affirms, "in a militant, nonviolent approach in which the individual stands up against an unjust system, using sit-ins, legal actions, boycotts, votes and everything else-- except violence or hate."³ The five basic aspects of King's philosophy of nonviolent direct action are:⁴

1. Nonviolence is not a method for cowards; it does resist and that creatively.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Dunbar, loc. cit.

⁴Martin Luther King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1964), pp. 83-5. Perennial Library Paperback Edition. Note on page 83, a discussion of "nonviolence" as the renowned theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr, envisioned it and related it to the Negro's struggle in America. Appendix II J(1) contains a copy of the "Commitment" to non-violence which a person must sign before he can participate as a demonstrator in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the civil rights organization headed by Martin Luther King, Jr.

2. Nonviolence does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent but to win his friendship and understanding. The non-violent resister realizes that his noncooperation with injustice is not an end in itself but simply a means by which to awaken in the opponent a sense of moral shame; hence, the ultimate end is reconciliation and redemption.
3. It is directed against forces of evil rather than against persons who happen to be doing the evil.
4. It possesses a willingness to accept suffering without retaliation, to accept blows from the opponent without striking back. It may also violate existing unjust laws, but it willingly accepts the penalty.¹ Nonviolence accepts violence but does not inflict it.
5. Nonviolence avoids not only external physical violence but also internal violence of spirit. The nonviolent person not only refuses to shoot his opponent but also refuses to hate him. At the core of nonviolence stands the ethic of love.

Dr. King's activities a misuse of the pulpit.-- That King as a minister should devote so much time to "socio-economic-political" activities and do so on such a tremendously large scale is the object of attack

¹Dr. King's concept of violating existing unjust laws and willingly accepting the penalty, a clear outgrowth of his reading Henry D. Thoreau's Civil Disobedience /See discussion on pages 76-78 of the present study/, is not altogether a new approach to America's race problem as it regards the Negro. It may be of interest to note that among the religious voices addressing themselves to the question of Negro slavery in America immediately after the Civil War, Ellen G. White, leading spokesman of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination during the second half of the 19th century, also advocated "civil disobedience" in the following words: "When the laws of men conflict with the word and the law of God, we are to obey the latter, whatever the consequences may be. The law of our land requiring us to deliver a slave to his master, we are not to obey; and we must abide the consequences of violating the law." (Testimony for the Church, Vol. I, Pacific Press Publishing Association, Mountain View, California, 1948), pp. 201-2.

because, so the argument generally runs, the preacher's place is in the church (as the physician's place is in the hospital, or the teacher's in the classroom, et cetera). It would probably be superfluous here to enumerate the legion of ordinarily termed "secular" affairs engaged in by King which bring to him a barrage of criticism from all quarters, including those criticisms which come from persons of his own clerical profession. Suffice it to say that at the time of the present writing (Summer of 1966) Dr. King is leading a movement in Chicago for open-housing for Negroes and all citizens, a movement which is currently receiving no small measure of attention in news media. One source which rather typifies the kind of criticism which King receives concerning his ministerial function is Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Democrat-Connecticut, who charged that King "has taken advantage of his pulpit and his leadership in the civil rights movement to meddle in U. S. foreign policy."¹ Senator Dodd warned that the Nobel Peace Prize winner "would endanger the respect in which he is held by government leaders including the Senate Foreign Relations Committee" if he were to continue. Dr. King had submitted to United Nations Ambassador Arthur Goldberg a four-point program for a peaceful settlement in Viet Nam which included: (1) seating Red China at the United Nations, (2) a statement of willingness to negotiate unconditionally with the Viet Cong, (3) a re-evaluation of U. S. foreign policy, and (4) an end to the bombing of North Vietnamese targets.

Is there a contradiction between King's ecclesiastical function and his immense involvement in the social, economic, and political arenas?

¹"King's Use of Pulpit Assailed," State Journal (Lansing, Michigan), September 11, 1965.

This momentous question was put to four theological leaders and former teachers and/or academic administrators of King: Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College (Atlanta); Dr. Walter G. Muelder, Dean, School of Theology, Boston University; Dr. S. Paul Schilling, Professor, Boston University; and Dr. L. Harold DeWolf, former Professor at the School of Theology, Boston University, and new Dean, Wesley Theological Seminary, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Mays answered a firm "no" and then added, "I see no conflict here. Take the prophets of Israel (like Amos, et cetera), they entered the area of social justice and cried out again and again. There are no areas a minister may not enter from ethical and moral conviction and Christian insight."¹

Dean Muelder also answered in the negative, elaborating that there are "many uses of the pulpit."² In the main, he said, the preacher may be either a "mediator" or a "prophet leader,"³ the former conciliating and interceding for and among the people, whereas the latter goes beyond ministering merely within the confines of the immediate company by leading the people into new and appropriate spheres of witness in their cultural environment. "King is a prophet leader," says Dean Muelder, "whereas most other ministers are mediators. Yet King is versatile and mediates too."⁴ The observation certainly coincides with Dr. King's own

¹Personal Interview via Telephone, February 15, 1966. It may not be co-incidental that the prophet Amos is mentioned as an example of the kind of ministry Dr. King practices, for King is popularly known to quote frequently this particular prophet's words of Amos 5:24, "Let justice run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream."

²Personal Interview, March 4, 1966.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

succinct assessment of his ecclesiastical function when he said that "As a minister of the Gospel, I have a priestly function and a prophetic function."¹ Requested to explain these two ministerial functions as he conceives of them, Dr. King stated to the writer that the priestly function performs the various duties of the church whether they be by the ministry of the sacraments or some other such parish ceremony or service; it is the relating of the individual to God. The prophetic function brings to bear our Judaeo-Christian faith on our society in a most concrete and active way. It views the structures of evil in society and constantly sees the necessity of applying thereto the principles of Christianity, thus relating the gospel to the individual's environment. The prophets, Dr. King continued, always possessed a great sense of justice, a "feeling for."² Dr. King summarized, with a figure of speech, by saying that the priestly function and the prophetic function of the ministry remind us that Christianity is a dual-lane highway-- it ministers to both the individual person and to his environment.

Dr. Schilling expressed his belief that King's civil rights activities were no violation of the ministerial function by pointing out that "there is the 'dogmatic' function of the pulpit, and there is the 'kerygmatic' function."³ Dogma (from the Greek word meaning "that which seems good") refers to cardinal doctrines as interpreted by individuals and the church.⁴ From the standpoint of the clergyman, dogmatic function

¹Personal Interview, August 31, 1966.

²Ibid.

³Personal Interview, March 3, 1966.

⁴Van A. Harvey, A Handbook of Theological Terms (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), p. 72.

would refer to his effort to explore, discover, and authenticate Biblical truth. Dogma would include also the act of interpreting the gospel for the contemporary scene. On the other hand, kerygma (from the Greek word meaning "to proclaim") entails the proclamation, with little or no interpretation, of the message of the Bible.¹ Dr. King drew sharp and distinctive lines separating the two main functions of the preacher in a discussion of Paul Tillich and Karl Barth:

All theology as he Tillich sees it, has a dual function: to state the basic truth of the Christian faith and to interpret this truth in the existing cultural situation. In other words, theology has both a 'kerygmatic' and an 'apologetic' function. Barth's theology performs the first of these tasks admirably. By lifting the message above any frozen formula from the past, and above the very words of the Scripture, Barth has been able to recover the great recurrent refrain that runs through all Scripture and Christian teaching. But he refuses, with the most persistent pertinacity, to undertake the apologetic task of interpreting the message in the contemporary situation. 'The message must be thrown at those in the situation-- thrown like a stone.' Tillich is convinced, on the contrary, that it is the unavoidable duty of the theologian to interpret the message in the cultural situation of his day. Barth persists in avoiding this function²

It would appear, then, that Dr. Schilling views the human rights endeavor by Dr. King to be simply a phase of ministerial service which fulfills a necessary and important responsibility incumbent upon the minister.

Nor did Dr. DeWolf consider the civil rights involvement of King to be antithetical to his clerical profession. "I see this," asserts

¹ Ibid.

² Martin Luther King, Jr., "A Comparison of the Conceptions of God in the Thinking of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman" (Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate School, Boston University, 1955), p. 16. Whereas Dr. S. Paul Schilling discusses the ministerial function by distinguishing between the "kerygmatic" and the "dogmatic", Dr. King does so by distinguishing between the "kerygmatic" and the "apologetic." The present writer understands that the concepts of dogmatics and apologetics are essentially synonymous and, therefore, that Dr. Schilling and Dr. King are making the same comparison and contrast between the two functions of the minister.

Dr. DeWolf, "as a natural and proper outgrowth of his pulpit ministry. The central core of his actions is that whatever he does he always wants to make sure he is doing it as a Christian minister."¹ Dr. DeWolf proceeded to touch on the Viet Nam issue as an example of Dr. King's ministerial fulfillment by stating that adverse criticisms against King regarding his views on the Viet Nam war are no worry to the human rights champion because "he is not interested in building himself up; on the contrary, he is interested in the reconciliation of the peoples of the world."²

Employment of non-Biblical sources to support Biblical concepts is unChristian.-- This particular charge comprehends that Dr. King is not really a Christian preacher inasmuch as he uses non-Christian and philosophical sources to establish Christian themes. Both the origin of the criticism as leveled against King and possible answers in support of his practice are discussed under the section dealing with his use of the "Appeal to Authority," page 139.

Logical Proof (Logos)

Whereas under the heading of "Non-artistic Elements of Invention" are presented the types of evidence found in the sermons of Dr. King, here will be demonstrated King's process of inferring conclusions from those bodies of evidence. The purpose of this section is to illustrate the fact that the logical proof of Dr. King is balanced and inculcates the spectrum of the reasoning process.

¹Personal Interview, March 6, 1966.

²Ibid.

(Reasoning from Example or Generalization)

The sermon, "TRANSFORMED NONCONFORMIST," seeks to discourage the trend toward apathy and the status quo which often characterizes society. In one part of the sermon, King makes a point of the desire of some people to become "adjusted" and says that he believes in a certain kind of "maladjustment." "The world is in dire need of a society of the creative maladjusted," declares King. "It may well be," he continues, "that the salvation of our world lies in the hands of such a creative minority." King then presents examples of persons who were appropriately "maladjusted":

1. "We need men today as maladjusted as the PROPHET AMOS, who in the midst of the injustices of his day could cry out in words that echo across the centuries: 'Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like a might stream.'"
2. "... as maladjusted SHADRACH, MESHACK, and ABEDNEGO who, in the midst of an order from King Nebuchadnezzar to bow down and worship the golden image, said in unequivocal terms: 'If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us, but if not we will not bow.'"
3. "... as maladjusted as ABRAHAM LINCOLN who had the vision to see that this nation could not survive half slave and half free."
4. "... as maladjusted as THOMAS JEFFERSON, who in the midst of an age amazingly adjusted to slavery could scratch across the pages of history these profound and eloquent words: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'"
5. "... as maladjusted even as our Lord who, in the midst of the intricate and fascinating military machinery of the Roman Empire, reminded his disciples that 'they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.'"

"OUR GOD IS ABLE" affirms the omnipotence of Divinity and the inevitability of the triumph of God's will by generalizing from the following examples:

1. "The Hitlers and the Mussolinis may have their day, and for a period they may wield great power, spreading themselves like a green bay tree, but soon they are cut down like the grass and wither as the green herb."
2. "We saw an evil system known as colonialism soar high. Like a plague, it swept across Africa and Asia. . . . But then the quiet invisible law began to operate . . . The powerful colonial empires began to disintegrate"
3. "In our nation we have seen an evil system known as segregation rise to the throne. . . But as on the world scale, so in our nation, the wind of change began to blow. Since May 17, 1954, when the Supreme Court rendered its historic decision, one event has followed another to bring a gradual end to the system of segregation."

"Yes, God is able to conquer the evils of history."

(Reasoning from Analogy)

"THE DEATH OF EVIL UPON THE SEASHORE" provides an example of Dr. King's use of analogy. Here he compares the enslavement and liberation of the American Negro to the enslavement and liberation of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage:

The Emancipation Proclamation did not, however, bring full freedom to the Negro, for although he enjoyed certain political and social opportunities during the Reconstruction, the Negro soon discovered that the pharaohs of the South were determined to keep him in slavery. Certainly the Emancipation Proclamation brought him nearer to the Red Sea, but it did not guarantee his passage through parted waters. Racial segregation, backed by a decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1896, was a new form of slavery disguised by certain niceties of complexity. In the great struggle of the last half century between the forces of justice attempting to end the evil system of segregation and the forces of injustice attempting to maintain it, the pharaohs have employed legal

maneuvers, economic reprisals, and even physical violence to hold the Negro in the Egypt of segregation. Despite the patient cry of many a Moses, they refused to let the Negro people go.

Today we are witnessing a massive change. A world-shaking decree by the nine justices of the United States Supreme Court opened the Red Sea and the forces of justice are moving to the other side. The Court decreed an end to the old Plessy decision of 1896 and affirmed that separate facilities are inherently unequal and that to segregate a child on the basis of race is to deny the child an equal legal protection. This decision is a great beacon light of hope to millions of disinherited people. Looking back, we see the forces of segregation gradually dying on the seashore. The problem is far from solved and gigantic mountains of opposition lie ahead, but at least we have left Egypt, and with patient yet firm determination we shall reach the promised land. Evil in the form of injustice and exploitation shall not survive forever. A Red Sea passage in history ultimately brings the forces of goodness to victory, and the closing of the same waters marks the doom and destruction of the forces of evil.

Another sermon, "ANTIDOTES FOR FEAR," in discussing the fear of war, propounds of panacea; then it suggests that fear of integration can be eradicated by the same solution:

What method has the sophisticated ingenuity of modern man employed to deal with the fear of war? We have armed ourselves to nth degree. The West and the East have engaged in a fever-pitched arms race. Expenditures for defense have risen to mountainous proportions, and weapons of destruction have been assigned priority over all other human endeavors. The nations have believed that greater armaments will cast out fear. But alas! they have produced greater fear. In these turbulent, panic-stricken days we are once more reminded of the judicious words of old, 'Perfect love casteth out fear.' Nor arms, but love, understanding, and organized goodwill can cast out fear. Only disarmament, based on good faith, will make mutual trust a living reality.

Our own problem of racial injustice must be solved by the same formula. Racial is buttressed by such irrational fears as loss of preferred privilege, altered social status, intermarriage, and adjustment to new situations. Through sleepless nights and haggard days numerous white people attempt to combat these corroding fears by diverse methods. By following the path of escape, some seek to ignore the question of race relations and to close their mind to the issues involved. Others placing their faith in such legal maneuvers as interposition and nullification, counsel massive resistance. Still

others hope to drown their fear by engaging in acts of violence and meanness toward their Negro brethren. But how futile are all these remedies! Instead of eliminating fear, they instill deeper and more pathological fears that leave the victims inflicted with strange psychoses and peculiar cases of paranoia. Neither repression, massive resistance, nor aggressive violence will cast out the fear of integration; only love and goodwill can do that.

(Reasoning from Causal Relation)

Dr. King employs also the logical mode of persuasion known as "cause to effect" and "effect to cause" reasoning. In the sermon "ON BEING A GOOD NEIGHBOR," he holds that civil law and measures of legislation (in spite of admitted limitations) can produce vital and necessary aspects in helping to remedy the race problem:

Let us never succumb to the temptation of believing that legislation and judicial decrees play only minor roles in solving this problem. Morality cannot be legislated, but behavior can be regulated. Judicial decrees may not change the heart, but they can restrain the heartless. The law cannot make an employer love an employee, but it can prevent him from refusing to hire me because of the color of my skin. The habits, if not the hearts, of people have been and are being altered every day by legislative acts, judicial decisions, and executive orders. Let us not be misled by those who argue that segregation cannot be ended by the force of law.

But acknowledging this, we must admit that the ultimate solution to the race problem lies in the willingness of men to obey the unenforceable.

From these materials and others which we have read and heard, we conclude that Dr. King's logical proof, which represents a variety of approaches, is commendably balanced. The structure of his reasoning process varies also and is composed consistently of both the inductive and deductive methods.

Emotional Proof (Pathos)

When the writer asked Dr. King to describe the characteristics of an excellent and most effective sermon, Dr. King replied that "a good, solid sermon has to have three elements which I call 'three p's': it proves an appeal to the intellect, it paints an appeal to the imagination, and it persuades an appeal to the heart."¹ In the present section of this study, we shall discuss that element of persuasion which Dr. King says is "an appeal to the heart." This heart-appeal, which is emotional proof, may be defined as "the affective or 'feeling' response we make to any situation."² Contrary to the belief of some persons, purely logical persuasion to the nth degree is an impractical expectation. The speechmaker would do well, then, to heed the counsel of the classical triumvirate (Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian) and also of leading 18th and 19th century rhetoricians (Campbell, Blair, and Whately), as well as others, by giving emotional proof serious consideration. "A purely intellectual argument," maintains Oliver, "may make the audience say, 'Yes, that is true'; but the addition of an emotional plea is needed to make the listeners add, 'And let's do something about it!'"³ As can be seen above in Dr. King's description of an excellent and effective sermon, he himself gives due consideration to the emotional values of his listeners; and perhaps this is what Ernest Dunbar meant when he said that King "combines intellect with intensity" and that "his sermons have

¹Personal Interview, August 31, 1966.

²Robert T. Oliver, The Psychology of Persuasive Speech (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1957), p. 251.

³Ibid., p. 257.

an electric effect on the congregation."¹ Whereas, logical proof informs, emotional proof prompts the auditor to conform (in terms of acceptance and action) to the speaker's information.

Now that we have seen briefly the fundamental importance of emotional proof in the thinking of Dr. King himself and have defined what we mean by this third artistic element of invention, we shall now discuss some of the basic kinds of "emotions" and "motives" to which his sermons make their appeal and shall then illustrate the process by providing quotations from his sermons.

It is appropriate here to note the distinction which some rhetoricians make between "emotion" and "motivation."² Emotion may be thought of as including such emotional states as "love," "hatred," "envy," "jealousy," "fear," and "disgust"; on the other hand, motivation refers to emotional drives or desires which give rise to emotions. Arthur E. Phillips was perhaps the first to use the expression "impelling motives" for emotional drives and to provide us with the following classification, which has since served as a basis for subsequent groupings: (1) Self-Preservation, (2) Property, (3) Power, (4) Reputation, (5) Affections, (6) Sentiments, and (7) Tastes.³ One example of a later classification of emotional drives is that by Frederic Wickert as listed by Oliver: (1) Freedom for themselves- (from restraints, routine duties, and external domination), (2) Helpfulness- (working for the

¹Ernest Dunbar, "A Visit with Martin Luther King," Look, February 12, 1963, pp. 92, 96.

²Aristotle, The Rhetoric of Aristotle (New York Appleton-Century-Grofts, Inc., 1932), Book II, 92-131, Book I, 24-44, trans. Lane Cooper.

³Arthur Edward Phillips, Effective Speaking (Chicago: The Newton Company, 1908), pp. 48-62. It is noted that in the homiletics text, How to Prepare Sermons and Gospel Addresses (Chicago: Moody Press, c1913) by William Evans, p. 103f., Phillips' "impelling motives" remain in tact.

welfare of others), (3) New experience- (finding novelty and variety in life), (4) Power and influence- (controlling others), (5) Recognition- (social acceptance, admiration, fame), (6) Response- (enjoying friendship, fellowship, and intimate personal contacts), (7) Security and stability- (doing what is sage and conservative), (8) Submission- (following along with the crowd), (9) Workmanship- (doing things well and making them right the first time).¹ According to the study by Dr. Irving J. Lee, the trend in the twentieth century is to obliterate the distinction between "emotion" and "motivation." ("A Study of Emotional Appeal in Rhetorical Theory with Special Reference to Invention, Arrangement, and Style," Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1939).

Perusing these lists of basic emotions and drives, one becomes readily aware that some of them can be selfish and questionable when measured by Christian criteria. This raises the problem of ethics in appealing to these states and urges. The minister of the gospel of Christ would be expected to appeal only to those which are consonant with or which would ultimately fulfill the high standards and purposes of the Christian pulpit. Broadus expressed the case very directly though briefly when he said: "A preacher must of course appeal to none but worthy motives that are harmonious with Christian moral ideals."²

A study of Dr. King's sermons reveals that his dominant objective is to persuade men to live together as brothers, and thereby fulfill

¹Oliver, op. cit., 254-55.

²John A. Broadus, On the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. 215.

also a prerequisite to experiencing effectually the spiritual relationship with God as their Father and establishing the Kingdom of God both on earth and in human hearts. In order to reach this objective, what emotions and/or impelling motives does King elicit? The writer finds that although several of the motives and drives as listed by Phillips and Wickert have a place in King's persuasion, yet it is the three principal emotions as mentioned by Broadus which furnish the over-all backdrop and setting of his appeal, namely: (1) Happiness, (2) Holiness, and (3) Love.¹ In other words, for example, when King seeks acceptance of his proposition by connecting it to the motive of "self-preservation," this impelling motive should be understood in the general context of "happiness" (the listener's accomplishing genuine personal ends and ambitions), of "love" (the listener's acquiring a wholesome concern for his fellowman), and of "holiness" (the listener's achieving an effectual relationship to God). His appeals, generally, can be said to stem from a high level of motives.

Following are patterns of some of the basic drives to which the sermons of King appeal:

1. Freedom

"Under Communism man has no inalienable rights. His only rights are those derived from and conferred by the state. Under such a system the fountain of freedom runs dry. Man's liberties of press and assembly, his freedom to vote, his freedom to listen to what news he likes or to choose his books to read are all restricted. Art, religion, education, music and science are all under the gripping yoke of governmental control. Man has to be a dutiful servant to the omnipotent state.

"Now there can be no doubt that all of this is contrary not only to the Christian doctrine of God, but

¹Broadus, loc. cit.

also to the Christian estimate of man. Christianity at its best has always insisted that man is an end because he is a child of God, and because he is made in God's image. Man is more than a producing animal guided by economic forces; he is a being of spirit. He is crowned with glory and honor, endowed with the gift of freedom. The ultimate weakness of Communism is that it robs man of that quality which makes him man. Man, says Paul Tillich, is man because he is free."

("HOW SHOULD A CHRISTIAN VIEW COMMUNISM?")

2. Response

"The greatest challenge facing the church today is to keep the bread fresh [the bread of faith, hope, love, social justice, and peace] and remain a Friend to men at midnight."

("A KNOCK AT MIDNIGHT")

3. Helpfulness and Affections

"True altruism is more than the capacity to pity; it is the capacity to sympathize. Pity may represent little more than the impersonal concern which prompts the mailing of a check, but true sympathy is the personal concern which demands the giving of one's soul. Pity may arise from interest in an abstraction called humanity, but sympathy grows out of a concern for a particular needy human being who lies at life's roadside. Sympathy is fellow feeling for the person in need-- his pain, agony, and burdens. Our missionary efforts fail when they are based on pity, rather than true compassion. Instead of seeking to do something with the African and Asian peoples, we have too often sought only to do something for them. An expression of pity, devoid of genuine sympathy, leads to a new form of paternalism which no self-respecting person can accept."

("ON BEING A GOOD NEIGHBOR")

4. Power and Influence

"Ever since that time [c. 4th Century, when the Christian Church began comprising with Rome], the church has been like a weak and ineffectual trumpet making uncertain sounds, rather than a strong trumpet sounding a clarion call for truth and righteousness. If the church of Jesus Christ is to regain its power, and its message its authentic ring, it must go out with a new determination not to conform to this world."

("TRANSFORMED NONCONFORMIST")

5. Reputation

"America is a great nation-- but. Behind that but stands two hundred and forty four years of chattel slavery. Behind that but stands twenty million Negro men and women being deprived of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Behind that but stands a practical materialism that is often more interested in things than values. So almost every affirmation of greatness is followed not by a period symbolizing completeness, but by a comma punctuating it into nagging partialness."

("THE THREE DIMENSIONS OF A COMPLETE LIFE")

6. Security and Stability

"Once a helpless child, the Negro has now grown politically, culturally, and economically. Many white men fear retaliation. The Negro must show them that they have nothing to fear, for the Negro forgives and is willing to forget the past. The Negro must convince the white man that he seeks justice for both himself and the white man. A mass movement exercising love and nonviolence and demonstrating power under discipline should convince the white community that were such a movement to attain strength its power would be used creatively and not vengefully."

("ANTIDOTES FOR FEAR")

7. New Experience

"For years we have genuflected before the god of science, only to find that it has given us the atomic bomb, producing fears and anxieties that science can never mitigate. We have worshipped the god of pleasure only to find that thrills play out and sensations are short-lived. We have bowed before the god of money only to find that there are things that money can't buy-- love and friendship-- and that in a world of possible depressions, stock market crashes, and bad business investments, money is a rather uncertain deity. No, these transitory gods are not able to save us or bring happiness to the human heart. Only God is able. It is faith in Him that we must re-discover in this modern world."

("OUR GOD IS ABLE")

8. Self-preservation

"We must decide whether we will allow the winds to overwhelm us or whether we will journey across life's mighty Atlantic with our inner spiritual engines equipped to go on in spirit of the winds. This refusal

to be stopped, this 'courage to be,' this determination to go on living 'in spite of,' is the God in man. He who has made this discovery knows that no burden can overwhelm him and no wind of adversity can blow his blow away. He can stand anything that can happen to him."

("SHATTERED DREAMS")

9. Property

"Only an irrelevant religion fails to be concerned about man's economic well-being. Religion at its best realizes that the soul is crushed as long as the body is tortured with hunger pangs and harrowed with the need for shelter. Jesus realized that we need food, clothing, shelter, and economic security. He said in clear and concise terms: 'Your Father knoweth what things ye have need of.'"

("THE MAN WHO WAS A FOOL")

10. Workmanship

"All labor that uplifts humanity has dignity and significance. It should be carried out with painstaking excellence. If a man discovers that he is called to be a street sweeper, he should seek to sweep streets like Michael Angelo painted pictures, like Beethoven composed music, and like Shakespeare wrote poetry. He should 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.'"

These, then, are the salient motives to which the sermons of King direct their appeal. The perpetual backdrop of these motive appeals are happiness, love, and holiness. A further and very important emotion which Dr. King recognizes and appeals to is that of "anger," particularly within Negro auditors. Although he rarely, if ever, makes a direct, overt appeal to this emotion, nevertheless, his perennially present program of nonviolent demonstrations and marches furnishes an avenue for psychological release of pent-up hostilities due to racial injustices.

Dr. King uses also such psychological elements as identification, suggestion, and attention.

On all of the occasions when Dr. King as preacher was heard by this writer, he invariably established common ground or identified himself with the auditors. For example, at the Central Methodist Church, Detroit, when King stood to preach, he identified with the congregation by unaffectedly expressing mutual commendations regarding its revered former pastor, Rev. Henry Hitt Crane. He, with the members of the congregation, shared kindred admiration. Further, in all of his sermons, Dr. King makes plenteous use of the collective pronouns "we," "ours," and "us." Even in reproving the ministerial profession in general for conformity, he tactfully declares:

Even we preachers have often joined the enticing cult of conformity. We, too, have often yielded to the success symbols of the world, feeling that the size of our ministry must be measured by the size of our automobiles. So often we turn into showmen, distorting the real meaning of the gospel, in an attempt to appeal to the whims and caprices of the crowd. We preach soothing sermons that bypass the weightier matters of Christianity. We dare not say anything in our sermons that will question the respectable views of the comfortable members of our congregations. If you want to get ahead in the ministry, conform! Stay within the secure walls of the Sanctuary.

("TRANSFORMED NONCONFORMIST")

America's industrial progress is "our" nation's progress ("THE MAN WHO WAS A FOOL"), and Jesus' imperative to love challenges "us" with a new urgency ("LOVING YOUR ENEMIES").

Dr. King's image itself is suggestive, especially to the Negro. This King mystique is graphically described in the following words:

. . . every Negro woman who sees Martin Luther King on a platform, looking, for all his youthfulness and unimpressive stature, so dignified and in command of himself, so well-dressed and graceful, feels that there, somehow, is a son; and more than one Negro, plus some assorted psychiatrists, have said that, for the very young Negro whose own father had probably been powerless or apathetic before the white world, this man who could successfully challenge the white world

would become the model, the image of the father-that-might-have-been. In this model, too, there would, presumably, be another element. The young Negro is bound to feel, in some reach of his being, that success in the white world is the real success; and Martin Luther King had not only challenged the white world, he had made a large segment of the white world like it. He was respected by the far-off white world, he was admired, he was an idol, he was on the cover of Time.

It was a new kind of success. It combined the best of Joe Louis and Ralph Bunche. It was mass and elite in one package. It was power, black power, but black power revered by the white power that it confounded. So the image was a double one, not only offering a model of aggressive assertion, but a model for public acceptance. The image was, in fact, the answer to the question which Izell Blair had put to himself: 'Well, what am I?' It was the image that gave identity. No longer, to use Izell Blair's words again, need you 'feel you're rubbed out, as if you never existed.' The image gave you a place, a profile, program, and a promise.

But there is one more element in the image which Martin Luther King afforded the young. It converted the inferior outsider-- the Negro stranded in the shallows beyond the mainstream of American life-- into the superior insider; for the Negro, by appealing to the fundamental premises of American society, to the Declaration of Independence and the subsequent muniments, puts the white community in the position of the betrayers of the dream. The Negro becomes the defender of the faith for the salvation of all. He not only affirms his right to join society; he affirms his mission to redeem society by affirming the premises of society. He is not only an 'old American' in the cultural sense; he becomes, as Stokely Carmichael has said of Negroes, 'more American than the Americans.' He also becomes, if he chooses to play it that way, more Christian than the Christians, and there are enough professing white Christians left in the country to make this line embarrassing-- especially in Mississippi, which is a praying country. So, in either social or theological terms, the Negro can enjoy the superiority of being 'the conscience of the community and can act out for it the work the community is reluctant to do.'¹

In Dr. King's sermons themselves, suggestion is usually direct and positive, although indirect and negative suggestion also finds a place in his emotional proof. The advantage of his using direct over

¹Robert Penn Warren, Who Speaks for the Negro? (New York: Random House, 1965), pp. 372-73. As can be readily recognized, this quotation, particularly the third paragraph, contains very strong evidence of the tremendous ethos accompanying Dr. King as a spiritual leader and spokesman.

indirect suggestion is attributable to the fact that his audiences are customarily "selected" (that is, a group assembled with a common interest [racial segregation vs. racial integration]) and, therefore, have a relatively high degree of polarization or receptivity. In his book, The Psychology of the Audience, pages 19-32, H. L. Hollingworth presents a classification of audiences based on their degree polarization, namely: (1) The Pedestrian Audience (casual and accidental listeners as on a street-corner), (2) The Passive Audience (listener assembled for, perhaps, a debate or other performance which demands little or no response to the speaker), (3) The Selected Audience (listeners assembled for a common core of interest, as a church or a club, although they may possess differing points of view, (4) The Concerted Audience (auditors bent upon accomplishing the same and identical end as, for example, raising money for a charitable organization or for purchasing a gift), and (5) The Organized Audience (listeners congregated on a specific project and already loyally attached and persuaded to the authority of the leader). Another type of group in this scheme of polarization has been added by Robert T. Oliver, the "Discussion Audience" (composed of speakers as well as listeners- a forum, round-table, or parliamentary session), which he places between numbers (2) and (3) above of Hollingworth's original design.¹ Oliver would posit that direct suggestion is most effective when the audience is polarized, when it feels itself intellectually inferior to the speaker, when it is conscious of the speaker's high prestige, when it consists mostly of youthful auditors, and when it is required to respond to some immediate, definite, precise form of action.

¹Oliver, op. cit., 85-88.

Regarding the element of attention, Hollingworth maintains that the process of getting the attention of the audience is not ordinarily a task remaining to be accomplished by the speaker when he is to address a "Selected" congregation, the type of audience to which Dr. King generally preaches. In the following illustration of Hollingworth's construct, under each kind of audience is shown at which point of motivation the speaker's task commonly begins and the processes still to be accomplished if the typical tasks are carried to completion:¹

Pedestrian Audience	Passive Audience	Selected Audience	Concerted Audience	Organized Audience
ATTENTION	.....	.....	.....	.....
INTEREST	INTEREST	.....	.....	.....
IMPRESSION	IMPRESSION	IMPRESSION	.....	.....
CONVICTION	CONVICTION	CONVICTION	CONVICTION	.....
DIRECTION	DIRECTION	DIRECTION	DIRECTION	DIRECTION

As far as soliciting "attention" is concerned, Dr. King's typical preaching situation, being a "Selected Audience," renders it unnecessary to have to "get" attention while he is delivering a sermon, inasmuch as his national and international prominence as the spiritual and leading spokesman regarding America's number one domestic problem should make him an effective attention arresting agent. Not only are there no conspicuous attention getting devices surrounding his pulpit setting but also public announcements and placards which sponsoring organizations sometimes employ to advertise Dr. King's engagement are usually unadorned and simply indicate his name, the occasion, place and time of

¹H. L. Hollingworth, The Psychology of the Audience (New York: American Book Company, 1935), pp. 19-32.

his preaching appointment.¹ Perhaps no other name itself of a contemporary clergyman commands more public attention than that of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. His sermons themselves contain elements of attention in terms of concreteness (through illustrations, stories, examples), conflict (the war between segregationists and integrationists), the familiar-unusual combination (although King preaches a gospel the essentials of which are very familiar to both fundamentals and liberals, he combines it with an unusually practical application to man's environment), humor (which he employs effectively though sparingly), and the vital (the controlling theme of his sermons, Christian brotherhood, is presented as a matter which which no human being can escape confrontation; it is a personal and important matter with everyone).

A broad example of the "vital" element in connection with Dr. King is detected also in a recent newspaper release by the Associated Press which carried the caption: "Hurry! Rev. King Tells Northern Cities: Work Fast to Prevent Violence, He Says." [The News-Palladium, Benton Harbor, Michigan, March 10, 1966]. King's exclamatory warning was meant to influence large cities to act quickly to alleviate the economic and social conditions prevalent in the Negro ghettos lest there should occur another outbreak of violence and rioting akin to that which wreaked havoc in the Watts area of Los Angeles (See Time magazine, August 20, 1965, pp. 11-19). Even as the present lines are being written, the summer of 1966, four months after Dr. King's warning,

¹In a telephone interview, August 11, 1966, with Rev. M. L. King, Sr., the father of our subject and co-pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, the present writer was informed that absolutely no advertising is done for the every 1st. Sunday (and sometimes 3rd. Sunday) when Dr. King, Jr., occupies the pulpit at Ebenezer. Rev. King, Sr., added that these dates are generally known to "belong" to Dr. King, Jr., and, therefore, attract larger crowds than the Sundays when he is not preaching.

racial violence and rioting are erupting in Chicago, New York, Omaha, Cleveland, Lansing (Michigan), Milwaukee, Baltimore, Waukegan (Illinois), Columbus, and Benton Harbor. What is the relation of this to preaching? The relation is that the quality of Dr. King's counsel, whether in or out of the pulpit desk, is vitally and strikingly relevant to the cultural scene. Here is a man whose preachments are practical and, as such, are worthy to be heeded. Other factors which elicit attention are several of Dr. King's sermon titles such as: "A Tough Mind and a Tender Heart," "Transformed Nonconformist," "A Knock at Midnight," "The Man Who Was a Fool," "The Death of Evil Upon the Seashore," "Shattered Dreams," "The Answer to a Perplexing Question," and "Paul's Letter to American Christians." Although these titles should successfully assist in creating interest and capturing attention, they are not the sensational, "gimmick-brand" titles that rarely fulfill what they promise.

Another element of Dr. King's emotional proof is the conformity of certain of his sermons to Alan Monroe's "motivated sequence."¹ Particularly does this hold significance in view of the fact that King's first public speaking teacher at Morehouse College (Atlanta), Dr. Lloyd O. Lewis, told the present investigator that Monroe's book was the basic text for his public speaking course and that his class "stressed no one element of public address more than another but rather a combination of elements" based mainly on "the building up of a speech according to the aims of the audience, that is, what the speaker wants the audience to do."²

¹Alan H. Monroe, Principles and Types of Speech (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1962), Fifth Edition, pp. 280-302.

²Personal Interview, December 9, 1965.

One sermon, "OUR GOD IS ABLE," includes Monroe's five steps of motivated sequence in the following manner:

1. ATTENTION: The center of the Christian faith, the conviction that God is a Power able to do exceedingly abundant things in nature and history, is being seriously threatened by those who would convince us that only man is able.
2. NEED: The fact that man has been plagued by such evils as personal trials (diseases, et cetera), colonialism, racial segregation, and nuclear weapons capable of destroying the world, points to his need for a power able both to cure his personal and social ills and also to sustain the physical universe.
3. SATISFACTION: God is able. Christianity must affirm that He is Power.
4. VISUALIZATION: For years we have genuflected before the god of science only to receive the atomic bomb. We have done likewise with the god of pleasure, the god of money only to discover that thrills and sensations are short-lived and that love and happiness are not guaranteed by materialism. A rediscovered faith in God is the answer.
5. ACTION: "Yes, God is able Go out this morning, and let this affirmation be our ringing cry. It will give us courage to face the uncertainties of the future. . . . This is our hope for becoming better men. This is our mandate for seeking to make a better world.

A final and very important psychological technique in Dr. King's sermon situation which should be mentioned here is his appeal to the emotion of anger. It should be recognized, however, that while he seldom makes a direct, overt appeal to this emotion, yet his ever-present program

of nonviolent demonstrations and marches furnishes an avenue for psychological release of pent-up hostilities due to socio-economic-political inequities and injustices.

ARRANGEMENT

. . . next, the speaker should . . . dispose and arrange his matter, not only in a certain order, but with a sort of power and judgment.¹

Arrangement, or disposition, deals with the "selection, orderly arrangement, and proportion of the parts of an address."²

The speaker must make some sense of them his speaking materials. That is. . . he will have to put them together according to a plan.³

The structure of King's sermons generally conforms to the traditional trichotomic partition of introduction, body, and conclusion, although an occasional exception may appear. For example, among the personal papers of Dr. King at the Library of Boston University, it was observed that the margin of a non-sermonic address entitled "Civil Rights, the Central Issue of America's Growth" carried handwritten notations by King indicating the following divisions:⁴

- I. Introduction
- II. Body and Historical Background
- III. Recital of Evidence
- IV. Conclusion

¹ Cicero, op. cit.

² Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 392

³ Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell, op. cit., 25-26.

⁴ "Folder: Proposed Speeches," The M. L. King Collection.

As the student of rhetoric will recognize, this arrangement is strikingly similar to that of Aristotle's when he advised that if more parts than the "statement of the case" and the "proof" were needed in an address, the total number should not exceed four: (1) the exordium, (2) the exposition or statement of the case, (3) the proof, and (4) the peroration.¹ However, the sermons studied in the present research do not reveal this fourfold development. Instead, they have (1) an introduction, (2) a body of numbered points developed either deductively or inductively and buttressed by ethical, logical, and emotional persuasion, and (3) a conclusion. Dr. King confirmed the observation concerning the three-part arrangement of his sermons and added that the "body" generally contains three main points.² His sermons usually follow either a textual development (that is, permitting the divisions of the Bible text itself to determine the structure of the sermon) or a topical development (that is, allowing the Bible text to provide the theme to be contemporary scene but devising his own disposition of points within the sermon).

AN EXAMPLE OF THE TEXTUAL ARRANGEMENT IN DR. KING'S SERMONS:

Sermon:	"THREE DIMENSIONS OF A COMPLETE LIFE"
Text:	"The <u>length</u> and the <u>breadth</u> and the <u>height</u> of it are equal." (Revelation 21:16)
Introduction:	
Body:	I. "Let us turn first to the <u>length</u> of life"

¹Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 398.

²Personal Interview, August 31, 1966. During this interview, Dr. King volunteered that his relatively consistent adherence to a three-point "body" was first influenced by Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick.

- II. "So if life is to be complete it must move beyond length to the dimension of breadth"
- III. "Now one more dimension of the complete life still remains, namely, the height"

Conclusion:

AN EXAMPLE OF THE TOPICAL ARRANGEMENT IN DR. KING'S SERMONS:

Sermon: "THE DEATH OF EVIL UPON THE SEASHORE"

Text: "And Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea shore." (Exodus 14:30)

Introduction:

- Body:
- I. "A graphic example of this truth /good eventually emerging as victor over evil/ is found in the early history of the Hebrew people"
 - II. "The truth of this is revealed in the contemporary struggle between good in the form of freedom and justice, and evil in the form of oppression and colonialism"
 - III. "We must be careful at this point not to engage in a superficial optimism or to conclude that the death of a particular evil means that all evil lies dead upon the seashore. . . ."

Conclusion:

It might be said that the framework of Dr. King's sermons measures well with commonly accepted norms of sermon structure: Title, Bible text, Introduction, Body, and Conclusion. Only one of his sermons "PAUL'S LETTER TO AMERICAN CHRISTIANS" is not begun with a Bible scripture or text due probably to the over-all framework of the discourse.

The sermon is rather allegorical in nature in that King presents the apostle Paul as writing a modern epistle to contemporary America; hence, the entire sermon is likened unto Scripture.

Although a thematic (or purpose) sentence appears in each of the sermons studied, it does not consistently appear in any one division; that is, the purpose sentence may be stated in the introduction of one sermon, the body of another, or the conclusion of another. The thematic sentence, crystallizing the sermon's kernel thought or central idea, is most frequently stated by King, however, in the sermon body.

Introductions to King's sermons are generally long (five to eight minutes), but this is not always the case. One sermon, "A KNOCK AT MIDNIGHT," introduces itself with only four sentences (a total of sixty-seven words); that is the shortest of introductions in the collection. The longest introduction is that of "THE THREE DIMENSIONS OF A COMPLETE LIFE" and is composed of approximately eighty sentences (and an approximate total of eight-hundred and sixty-four words). Yet the rather lengthy introduction to this particular sermon, when the writer heard Dr. King preach at Howard University, 1961, did not seem to bore his listeners or detract from the material to be presented following the introduction. Nor did the unusually short introduction, when the writer witnessed the preaching of "A KNOCK AT MIDNIGHT" at the Central Methodist Church (Detroit), 1966, produce abruptness; but rather the brevity seemed to have served more as an attention-arresting device. The appropriateness of King's introductions, whether they are long or short, is probably due to the fact that they faithfully orient the audience toward the subject in terms of not merely its general nature but also its relationship to audience needs and desires.

The body of King's sermons consistently contains identifiably separate yet coherent proofs and arguments, supporting main points which he almost never announces in advance. By "no advance announcement" is meant that whereas some speakers may say, "There are three questions or points I should like to treat, namely, number one . . . , number two . . . , and number three . . . ," and then proceed to go back and develop each point, Dr. King simply presents his main points unannounced, although he has been known to announce sub-points under a particular main point.

The conclusion to Dr. King's sermons customarily consists of both a summarizing statement of his arguments in support of his propositions and also an appeal to motivate his listeners to accept his propositions as a means of fulfilling their needs and desires. The conclusion itself usually ends in what might be termed an imotional manner, taking the form of a statement re-affirming Dr. King's dedication to nonviolent human rights endeavors or taking the form of words found in poetry, a hymn, or a spiritual.

In general, the sermons of Martin Luther King, Jr., evince a plan of arrangement characterized by such qualities as unity, order, proportion, and smooth transitions.

STYLE

. . . the speaker's duty is then to clothe and deck his thoughts with language.¹

Style, said Hugh Blair, is 'the peculiar manner in which a man expresses his conceptions, by means of Language . . . it has always some reference to . . . manner of thinking . . .

¹ Cicero, op. cit.

and . . . is nothing else than that sort of expression which our thoughts most readily assume.¹

. . . style is language; language is a system of symbols called words. It is through words that communication is carried on.²

When Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was asked to describe an excellent sermon, he said that "it proves an appeal to the intellect, it paints an appeal to the imagination, and it persuades an appeal to the heart."³ Style, a most distinguishing characteristic of the King sermon in terms of vividness, force, coherence, emphasis, appropriateness, and concreteness, is that constituent of rhetoric to which Dr. King basically refers when he speaks of "an appeal to the imagination." As an "English minor" in college, King learned the beauty and facility of the language and concedes today that the "eloquent statement of ideas is his greatest talent, strongest tradition, and most constant interest."⁴

For a fundamental index in considering the style of the sermons of King, the constituents of style as suggested by Thonssen and Baird are selected as guidelines: (1) choice of words, (2) composition, (3) and embellishment.⁵ "Word choice" is essentially a study of vocabulary, dealing with such qualities as correctness and clearness of perspicuity. Basically it entails the speaker's selection of the best words for his particular task and, as such, is a highly individual matter touching upon such variables as the speaker's knowledge, language facility, understanding of his speech situation, and the nature of the response he seeks.

¹Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 405.

²Hance, Ralph, Wiksell, op. cit., p. 181.

³Personal Interview, August 31, 1966.

⁴L. D. Reddick, Crusader Without Violence (A Biography of Martin Luther King, Jr.) (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 11.

⁵Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., 416-23.

"Composition" is the orderly arrangement of the speaker's chosen words, involving structure (syntactical considerations) and rhythm. "Embellishment," as here used, refers to the judicious employment of figures of speech.

The Yardstick by Rudolf Flesch.-- A usable approach which assists in making a value judgment of the first two constituents of style, word choice and word composition, is that by Rudolf Flesch in his book, The Art of Plain Talk (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1946).

Flesch's yardstick, which is a quantitative plan for measuring readability and understandability of a discourse, seems to be kindred to the suggestion by I. A. Richards that in assessing the worth of a speech, critics should study the language of the speech. This approach, according to Dr. Richards, is advantageously more microscopic than macroscopic.¹

The schematic design by Flesch presents (1) sentence length, (2) word, and (3) personal reference (or human interest) scales. Combining individual totals of these three areas yields what Flesch terms a "difficulty score," which determines the readability, the understandability, or the comprehensibility of the speech. Following is an illustration of the Flesch scale to be utilized in measuring the readability of the sermons of Dr. King:

¹Marie Hochmuth, "I. A. Richards and the 'New Rhetoric'," The Quarterly Journal of Speech, February, 1958, Vol. XLIV, No. 1, pp. 1-16.

TABLE 4

QUICK REFERENCE CHART

Description of style	Difficulty score	Words in average sentence	Affixes per 100 words	Personal references per 100 words	Typical magazine	Potential audience (Typical audience one step below)	
						School grades completed	Percent of U. S. adults
VERY EASY	up to 1	8 or less	22 or less	19 or more	Comics	4th grade	90%
EASY	1 to 2	11	26	14	Pulp-fiction	5th grade	86%
FAIRLY EASY	2 to 3	14	31	10	Slick-fiction	6th grade	80%
STANDARD	3 to 4	17	37	6	Digests	7th or 8th grade	75%
FAIRLY DIFFICULT	4 to 5	21	42	4	Quality	Some high school	40%
DIFFICULT	5 to 6	25	46	3	Academic	High school or some college	24%
VERY DIFFICULT	6 and up	29 or more	54 or more	2 or less	Scientific	College	4½%

Appendix

—from The Art of Plain Talk

by Rudolf Flesch

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The "Difficulty Score" is determined as follows: First, count the total number of words and the number of sentences in a speech, get the average, and multiply that average by .1338. This gives an average sentence length score or what the illustrated chart terms "Words in Average Sentence." Then, count the number of affixes per 100 words in the speech and multiply this total by .0645. This gives a number of affixes score or what the chart calls "Affixes Per 100 Words." Add these two scores together (the "Words in Average Sentence" score and "Affixes Per 100 Words" score). Next, count the number of "Personal References Per 100 Words." Personal references consist of human interest words like names of people, personal pronouns (except antecedents of inanimate objects), and other words like man, woman, boy, girl, et cetera (Flesch provides a guideline list on page 55 of his book). When the number of personal references per 100 words is

multiplied by .0659, the result is a "Personal Reference" score. Subtract this score from the sum of the first two scores (sentence and affixes). Finally, subtract .75. The result is the "DIFFICULTY for READABILITY SCORE," which will probably be a figure between 0 and 7.¹ Referring to the Quick Reference Chart illustrated above, you discover that difficulty scores range from "Very Easy" to "Very Difficult."

The sermon samples.-- From the total number of sixteen sermons in the study, three sample sermons were chosen for the purpose of applying the yardstick discussed above. In order to help facilitate the probability that these three sermons would be representative of the sixteen, required assumptions were obtained such as "independence" (the choice of one sermon's having no bearing on the choice of another to be included among the samples) and "randomization" (the property of each sermon's having an equal chance of being selected). These assumptions were obtained by ascribing a number to each of the sixteen sermons, placing the numbers in a container, and then drawing (with replacement)² three numbers. The three sermons selected are: (1) "SHATTERED DREAMS," (2) "THE MAN WHO WAS A FOOL," and (3) "LOVE IN ACTION."

The sermons as measured by the yardstick.-- The application of the Flesch criterion to the random sampling of three sermons revealed the following results:

¹Rudolf Flesch, The Art of Plain Talk (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1946), p. 58.

²Hubert M. Blalock, Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960), pp. 109, 393f. In statistical analysis, "replacement" refers to the process of putting each sample back into the container after its withdrawal, thus permitting the original total number of samples to be always in the container for each subsequent sample drawing. The replacement process is a prerequisite for the assumptions of independence and randomization.

TABLE 5

SERMON	AVERAGE SENTENCE LENGTH IN WORDS	AFFIXES PER 100 WORDS	PERSONAL REFERENCES PER 100 WORDS	DIFFICULTY SCORE
"SHATTERED DREAMS"	11.7 ("Easy")	32 ("Fairly Easy")	7 ("Fairly Easy")	2.42 ("Fairly Easy")
"THE MAN WHO WAS A FOOL"	15.4 ("Fairly Easy")	27 ("Easy")	17 ("Easy")	1.93 ("Easy")
"LOVE IN ACTION"	11.4 ("Easy")	29 ("Easy")	10 ("Fairly Easy")	2 ("Fairly Easy")

Taking the results of these three sermons as illustrated and interpreting them according to the Quick Reference Chart on page 195, one sees that the sermons of Dr. King generally measure "fairly easy" and "easy" in readability. This affords him the advantage of addressing the comprehension of a potential 80% to 86% of the adults in the United States. Furthermore, as indicated on the chart, typical 5th and 6th grade academic levels of understanding are able to comprehend his sermons. Irrespective of the fact that the three sermons taken together average a commendable 29.3 affixes per 100 words ("Easy" in word understandability), they do not quite equal the simplicity of the King James Version of the Bible, the word difficulty of which, says Flesch, measures 20 affixes per 100 words (or "Very Easy"). It may be of interest to note that Dr. Flesch's book, The Art of Plain Talk, carries a word difficulty of 33 affixes per 100 words or "Fairly Easy"-- less simple than the sampling of three sermons by Dr. King.

Word Choice

The overwhelming majority of Dr. King's words may be described as simple. In the sermon "LOVE IN ACTION," for example, there are a total of 3,353 words, 2,920 (or 87.1%) of which are one and two syllables in length (proper names were not included in the tally). Nevertheless, he makes use also of three syllable words (which tallied 249 or 7.4%) and of four or more syllable words (184 or 5.5%). Examples of the four-plus syllabic words in the sermon mentioned above are: "magnanimity," "ignominious," "retribution," "schizophrenia," "antithesis," "dichotomy," "retaliation," "immutable," "inexorably," "uniformity," "criminality," "reverberates," "rationalization," "justification," "pseudo-scientific," "disillusionment," "disarmament," "annihilation," and "academician." Occasionally, unusual or even coined words find a place in King's sermons, for example, "manyness" ("ANTIDOTES FOR FEAR"), "phobiaphobia" (if not coined, probably a misspelling of "phobophobia": "ANTIDOTES FOR FEAR"), "humanness" ("ON BEING A GOOD NEIGHBOR"), and "donothingness" ("TOUGH MIND AND A TENDER HEART"). While as an academically trained clergyman, Dr. King frequently makes use of theologically and philosophically technical word symbols, in general (as indicated in the Flesch "word difficulty" design) his vocabulary is simple and informal and, therefore, presumably more conducive to listener comprehension.

Dr. King's meticulous and versatile use of words is one of the most outstanding elements in his oral discourse. His choice of words (in different sermons and occasionally within the same sermon) ranges from the theological, scholarly, and philosophical as in "WHAT IS MAN?," "THE DEATH OF EVIL UPON THE SEASHORE," and "HOW SHOULD A CHRISTIAN VIEW COMMUNISM?," respectively, to the informal, "folksy," and "down to earth"

expressions which typify a mass meeting rally. Listening to Dr. King on several occasions and studying his sermons, one observes here a preacher who, on the one hand, is able to discuss with the most comfortable facility such technical and specialized topics as Platonism, Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Communism and yet, on the other hand, is able to communicate effectively to also the common man. As one reporter observed:

Many admit they don't always understood his words, but, as one of his congregation put it, 'We sure get the force of his meaning.' ('He knows how to speak to the Ph.D.'s and to the No D.'s.').¹

This identical trend of thought was expressed by Dean Muelder when he affirmed the following in a personal interview, March 4, 1966:

The amazing thing about Dr. King is his mastery of many forms of address. He is able to adapt the form and mode of address to varied audiences; he has versatility. His command of vocabulary ranges all the way from what can be understood by the most ignorant man on the street to the most sophisticated audience He is not tied to any one set of symbols or signs.

Dr. King's word choice, then, is characterized as clear, forceful, and adaptable.

Word Composition

Direct and varied describe the word composition, or sentence structure, of the King sermons. A case in point is "SHATTERED DREAMS," which is composed of 255 sentences. As to form, the kind of sentence used most often by King in this sermon is the simple sentence which constitutes 70.1% of the total number of sentences. As to purpose, the declarative sentence has the highest incidence with 92%. Dr. King's custom of

¹George Barrett, New York Times Magazine, March 3, 1957, p. 74.

employing more simple and declarative sentences than any others seems to indicate his consideration for the quality of directness in style. A broader view of this particular sermon reveals the entire gamut of varied sentence composition both according to purpose and to form:

TABLE 6

ACCORDING TO <u>PURPOSE</u>	TOTAL NUMBER	PROPORTION TO TOTAL
Declarative	235	92.1%
Interrogative	9	3.5%
Imperative	6	2.4%
Exclamatory	5	2 %

ACCORDING TO <u>FORM</u>	TOTAL NUMBER	PROPORTION TO TOTAL
Simple	179	70.2%
Compound	30	11.8%
Complex	38	14.9%
Compound-Complex	8	3.1%

The fact that the sermons of Dr. King ordinarily contain all eight kinds of sentences points toward variety and thus, an avoidance of monotony in sentence composition. Notwithstanding the fact that he seems to exercise conscious thought and planning, Dr. King does so with an economy of effort. It is quite evident, too, that correct grammatical principles consistently operate in his composition, governing such elements as tense, mood, number, gender, and case. However, in the sense

that oral style appears at times to be less formal in structure than written style, syntactical elements in King's sermons (although grammatically correct) usually appear also more informal than formal. Conveying his emotional fervor, the prose of his word composition is rhythmic without being metrical. An indication of his appreciation for rhythm and appropriate cadence in oral communication may be derived from ✓ the high incidence of poetry quoted in his sermons. Of the sixteen sermons analyzed in detail in this study, fourteen (or 87.5%) incorporate recitations from poetic works.

Embellishment

Vividness and imagery in the sermons under study consist principally in the selective employment of figures of speech. A total ✓ of eighteen different types of figures of speech have been found in Dr. King's pulpit address, of which the following are examples:

1. ALLITERATION (Repetition of the same sound at the beginning of words)

"Even the white religious leaders who have a heartfelt desire to open the door and provide the bread /of social justice/ are often more CAUTIOUS than COURAGEOUS and more prone to follow the EXPEDIENT path than the ETHICAL path."
("A KNOCK AT MIDNIGHT")

"Let us never feel that God's creative power is exhausted by this earthly LIFE, and his majestic LOVE is LOCKED within the LIMITED walls of time and space."
("SHATTERED DREAMS")

2. ANACHRONISM (As used here, the antedating of a custom)

"With his own hands /the Good Samaritan in Christ's parable/ he bound the wounds of the man and then set him on his own beast. It would have been easier to pay an AMBULANCE to take the unfortunate man to the HOSPITAL, rather than risk having his neatly trimmed SUIT stained with blood."
("ON BEING A GOOD NEIGHBOR")

3. ANAPHORA [also known by Epanalepsis or Ephanaphora] (Repetition of a word or words at the beginning of successive clauses)

"Professor Bixler reminded us some years ago of the danger of over-stressing the well-adjusted life. Everybody is passionately seeking to be well adjusted; nobody wants to be maladjusted As for me I must confess that there are some things to which I'm proud to be maladjusted. I NEVER INTEND to become adjusted to the evils of segregation and the crippling effects of discrimination. I NEVER INTEND to become adjusted to the moral degeneracy of religious bigotry and the corroding effects of narrow sectarianism. I NEVER INTEND to adjust myself to economic conditions that will take necessities from the many to give luxuries to the few. I NEVER INTEND to become adjusted to the insanities of militarism and the self-defeating effects of physical violence."
("TRANSFORMED NONCONFORMIST")

4. ASYNDETON (Omission of conjunctive particles which are dropped to express vehemence or speed or contrast or)

"Hatred and bitterness can never cure the disease of fear; only love can do that. Hatred paralyzes life; love releases it. Hatred confuses life; love harmonizes it. Hatred darkens life; love illumines it."
("ANTIDOTES FOR FEAR")

"We is my neighbor? . . . He is neither Jew nor Gentile; he is neither Russian nor American; he is neither Negro nor white. He is 'a certain man'-- any needy man-- on one of the numerous Jericho roads of life."
("ON BEING A GOOD NEIGHBOR")

5. COMPARISON

"His [God's] boundless love supports and contains us as a might ocean contains and supports the tiny drops of every wave."
("ANTIDOTES FOR FEAR")

"All labor that uplifts humanity has dignity and importance and should be undertaken with painstaking excellence. If a man is called to be a street sweeper, he should sweep streets even as Michelangelo painted, or Beethoven composed music, or Shakespeare wrote poetry. He should sweep streets so well that all the host of heaven and earth will pause and say, 'Here lived a great street sweeper who did his job well.'"
("THE THREE DIMENSIONS OF A COMPLETE LIFE")

6. CONTRAST

"I have learned," he Paul said, "in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content." Paul did not mean that he had learned to be complacent. There is nothing in the life of Paul which could characterize him as a complacent man . . . Paul is not saying that he had learned to dwell in a valley of stagnant complacency. Neither is he saying that he had learned to resign himself to some tragic fate. Paul meant that he had learned to stand up amid the disappointment of life without despairing. He had discovered the distinction between a tranquil soul and the outward accidents of circumstance."
 ("SHATTERED DREAMS")

7. KNANTIOSIS (Placing together or comparing things which are very different, by which they mutually set off and enhance each other.)

"Once a helpless child, the Negro has now grown politically, culturally, and economically. Many white men fear retaliation. The Negro must show them that they have nothing to fear, for the Negro forgives and is willing to forget the past. The Negro must convince the white man that he seeks justice for both himself and the white man. A mass movement exercising love and nonviolence and demonstrating power under discipline should convince the white community that were such a movement to attain strength its power would be used creatively and not vengefully."

("ANTIDOTES FOR FEAR")

"Each of us lives in two realms, the INTERNAL and the EXTERNAL. The INTERNAL is that realm of spiritual ends expressed in art, literature, morals, and religion. The EXTERNAL is that complex of devices, techniques, mechanisms, and instrumentalities by means of which we live. These include the house we live in, the car we drive, the clothes we wear, the economic resources we acquire-- the material stuff we must have to exist. There is always a danger that we will permit the means by which we live to replace the ends for which we live, the INTERNAL to become lost in the EXTERNAL. The rich man was a fool because he failed to keep a line of distinction between means and ends, between structure and destiny. His life was submerged in the rolling waters of his livelihood.

"This does not mean that the EXTERNAL in our lives is not important. We have both a privilege and a duty to seek the basic material necessities of life. Only an irrelevant religion fails to be concerned about man's

economic well-being. Religion at its best realizes that the soul is crushed as long as the body is tortured with hunger pangs and harrowed with the need for shelter. Jesus realized that we need food, clothing, shelter, and economic security. He said in clear and concise terms: 'Your Father knoweth what things ye have need of.' But Jesus knew that man was more than a dog to be satisfied by a few economic bones. He realized that the INTERNAL of a man's life is as significant as the EXTERNAL. So he added, 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.' The tragedy of the rich man was that he sought the means first, and in the process the ends were swallowed in the means."

("THE MAN WHO WAS A FOOL")

8. EPIPHONEMA (A pertinent and instructive remark at the end of a discourse)

"Fear knocked at the door.
faith answered.
There was no one there."

("ANTIDOTES FOR FEAR")

9. EROTESIS (Expressing the emotion of our minds and infusing an ardor and energy into our discourse by proposing questions. The Rhetorical Question could probably be included here)

"Can man be explained in such shallow terms? Can we explain the literary genius of Shakespeare, the musical genius of Beethoven, and the artistic genius of Michelangelo in materialistic terms? Can we explain the spiritual genius of Jesus of Nazareth in materialistic terms? Can we explain the mystery and the magic of the human soul in materialistic terms?"

("WHAT IS MAN?")

"Another thing that disturbs me about the American church is that you have a white church and a Negro church. How can segregation exist in the true Body of Christ?"

("PAUL'S LETTER TO AMERICAN CHRISTIANS")

10. THE HISTORICAL PRESENT (Description of a historical event as though it is taking place in the present)

"The moment of testing emerges. Christ, the innocent Son of God, IS stretched in painful agony on an uplifted cross . . . Jesus LIFTS his thorn-crowned head and CRIES in words of cosmic proportions: 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.'" ("LOVE IN ACTION")

11. IRONY (Speaking one thing but designing another in order to give the greater force and vehemence to the meaning)

"Even . . . preachers have often joined the enticing cult of conformity . . . [and] preach soothing sermons that bypass the weightier matters of Christianity If you want to get ahead in the ministry, CONFORM! STAY WITHIN THE SECURE WALLS OF THE SANCTUARY. PLAY IT SAFE."
 ("TRANSFORMED NONCONFORMIST")

"The popular clergyman preaches soothing sermons on 'How to be Happy' and 'How to Relax.' Some have been tempted to revise Jesus' command to read, 'Go ye into all the world, keep your blood pressure down, and, lo, I will make you a well-adjusted personality.'"
 ("A KNOCK AT MIDNIGHT")

12. METAPHOR (Removing of a word from its proper signification into that of another, thus suggesting an analogy or likeness between them)

"Man is not a helpless invalid who is left in a valley of total depravity until God pulls him out; he is rather an upstanding human being whose vision has been impaired by the CATARACTS OF SIN and whose soul has been weakened by the VIRUS OF PRIDE. But there is enough vision left for man to lift his eyes unto the hills, and there is enough of God's image left for man to turn his weak and sin-battered life toward the GREAT PHYSICIAN, the curer of the DISEASE OF SIN."
 ("THE ANSWER TO A PERPLEXING QUESTION")

"It would be both cowardly and immoral for you patiently to accept injustice. You cannot in good conscience sell your BIRTHRIGHT OF FREEDOM for a MESS OF SEGREGATED POTTAGE."
 ("PAUL'S LETTER TO AMERICAN CHRISTIANS")

"Without God . . . life is a meaningless drama in which the decisive scenes are missing. But with him, we are able to rise from tension-packed valleys to the sublime heights of inner peace, and find radiant stars of hope against the nocturnal bosom of life's most depressing nights. St. Augustine was right: 'Thou hast created us for thyself, and our heart cannot be quieted till it finds repose in thee.'"
 ("THREE DIMENSIONS OF A COMPLETE LIFE")

13. OXYMORON (Combination for epigrammatic effect of contradictory or incongruous words)

"... the church has often lagged in its concern for social justice and too often has been content to mouth PIOUS IRRELEVANCES and SANCTIMONIOUS TRIVIALITIES."
("HOW SHOULD A CHRISTIAN VIEW COMMUNISM?")

14. PARANOMASIA (Words similar in sound or meaning are set in opposition, so as to give antithetical force)

"Let us never succumb to the temptation of believing that legislation and judicial decrees play only minor roles in solving this problem. Morality cannot be LEGISLATED, but behaviour can be REGULATED. Judicial decrees may not CHANGE THE HEART, but they can RESTRAIN THE HEARTLESS."
("ON BEING A GOOD NEIGHBOR")

"This universe is not a tragic expression of meaningless CHAOS but a marvelous display of orderly COSMOS"
("ANTIDOTES FOR FEAR")

"The trouble with Communism is that it has neither a THEOLOGY nor a CHRISTOLOGY, therefore, it ends up with a mixed up ANTHROPOLOGY."
("HOW SHOULD A CHRISTIAN VIEW COMMUNISM?")

15. PROLEPSIS (Anticipation of objections in order to weaken their force)

"Soft mindedness is also one of the basic causes of race prejudice. The tough minded always examines the facts before they reach conclusions; in short they post-judge. The tender minded will reach a conclusion before they have examined the first fact; in short they prejudge, hence they are prejudiced. All race prejudice is based on fears, suspicions, and misunderstandings that are usually groundless. So there are those who are soft minded enough to believe that the Negro is inferior by nature because of Noah's curse upon the children of Ham. There are those who are soft minded enough to believe in the superiority of the white race and the inferiority of the Negro race in spite of the tough minded research of anthropologists like Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict revealing the falsity of such a notion. There are those who are soft minded enough to argue that racial segregation should be maintained because Negroes lag behind in academic, health and moral standards. They are not tough minded enough to see that if there are standards in the Negro they are themselves the result of segregation and discrimination. They are not discerning enough to see that it is both rationally unsound and sociologically untenable to use the tragic effects of segregation as an argument for its continuation."
("A TOUGH MIND AND A TENDER HEART")

17. SIMILE (Likening of one thing, action, or relation to something of a different kind or quality)

"The Hitlers and the Mussolinis may have their day, and for a period they may wield great power, spreading themselves LIKE A GREEN BAY TREE, but soon they are cut down like the grass and wither AS THE GREEN HERB."

("OUR GOD IS ABLE")

"To believe that human personality is the result of the fortuitous interplay of atoms and electrons is AS ABSURD AS to believe that a monkey by hitting typewriter keys at random will eventually produce a Shakespearean play."

("THE MAN WHO WAS A FOOL")

18. SYNECDOCHE (Putting the name of the whole for the part or the part for the whole)

(a) Frequently, Dr. King uses the term "the Negro" or

"the white man or Caucasian" when in fact he is

referring to the whole of the particular race.

(b) In the sermon "OUR GOD IS ABLE", Dr. King refers to

the passing glory and power of "the Hitlers and

Mussolinis," signifying the tyranny and exploits of

all such turants.

Oral and Written Style

Classical and later rhetoricians recognized a distinction between spoken and literary style in communication. Martin Luther King, Jr., as a serious practitioner of public speechmaking, follows this tradition and employs in his preaching a style which fosters "instant intelligibility."¹ In the preface to his published book of sermons, Strength to Love, pages ix-x, Dr. King expresses his awareness of the distinction between an oral and a written style in the following words:

¹William N. Brigance, Speech Composition (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1937), p. 200.

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All of these sermons were preached during or after the bus protest in Montgomery, Alabama, I have been rather reluctant to have a volume of sermons printed. My misgivings have grown out of the fact that a sermon is not an essay to be read but a discourse to be heard. It should be a convincing appeal to a listening congregation. Therefore, a sermon is directed toward the listening ear rather than the reading eye. While I have tried to rewrite the sermons for the eye, I am convinced that this venture could never be entirely successful. So even as this volume goes to press I have not altogether overcome my misgivings. But in deference to my former congregation, my present congregation, my close associates in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and my many friends across the nation who have asked for copies of individual sermons, I offer these discourses in the hope that a message may come to life for readers of these printed words.¹

"PILGRIMAGE TO NONVIOLENCE", appearing in King's book of sermons but which also he says is not a sermon but an essay included at the urging of the publisher, has a readability difficulty score of 4.55 or "Fairly Difficult" according to Rudolf Flesch's scale (see pages 194-197 of the present chapter for a discussion of the Flesch yardstick). Because this readability score of the essay, "PILGRIMAGE TO NONVIOLENCE," registers a less comprehensible style than the three sample sermons which register "Fairly Easy" and "Easy," the suggestion is reinforced that Dr. King, indeed, not only recognizes but also practices the idea of distinguishing between constructing a composition for reading and preparing one for hearing. The distinction is made not merely in terms of language but also in objective, for when Dr. King related his conception of the difference between the sermon (the "spoken" word) and the essay (the "written" word), he elaborated that "a good sermon differs from an essay in that an essay explains a subject, but a sermon appeals to people to make basic

¹ Martin Luther King, Jr., Strength to Love (Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963), pp. ix-x.

changes in their lives and to mend their ways so that they will be in harmony with the principles of God and Jesus Christ."¹

In the main, it seems to be generally accepted that certain causal relationships exist between the speaker's style and his ultimate effectiveness, significant elements among these relationships including listener comprehension and listener attitudes. The sole major study, according to Eisenson, Auer, and Irwin,² is that by Gordon L. Thomas, which examines the effect of word choice in public address upon audience intelligibility.³ The study by Dr. Thomas found that a certain oral style enhances intelligibility by 10%. The eight elements of oral style which Dr. Thomas' investigation discusses and which also may be said to characterize in reasonable quantity and quality the sermons of Dr. King are: specific words, colorful words, informal and simple vocabulary, figurative language, personalization, informal syntax, questions, and direct quotations.

And so, Martin Luther King, Jr., who, as a very young boy, once said to his mother, "I'm going to get me some big words," has, as a very effective pulpit orator, attained excellence with words in terms of choice, composition, and embellishment.

¹Personal Interview, August 31, 1966.

²The Psychology of Communication, p. 301.

³Gordon L. Thomas, "Oral Style and Intelligibility," Speech Monographs, XXIII (August, 1956), 46-54.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The expressed objective of the present investigation was to study the public address of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as manifested in his sermons. Though no formal, lengthy comparisons and/or contrasts are presented to distinguish between the "sermon" and the "oration" (i.e., his civil rights mass meeting rally talks), nevertheless, inherent in the study are four variables which would set the sermon apart as a unique discourse, namely: (1) The sermon is a medium of divine truth, that is, the gospel as revealed in Jesus Christ; (2) It is a Biblically based message; (3) It presupposes a setting of religious worship; and (4) The sermon assumes moral and spiritual motivation. For purposes of facility, however, such terms as "sermon," "speech," "discourse," "address," and even "oration" were employed by the writer interchangeably-- though cognizant of possible, technical points of distinction.

Focusing in depth on the sermons of Dr. King contributes toward placing him in the correct perspective as a clergyman, a patron of the pulpit, rather than as a political or sociological figure.

Rhetorical and Theological Background

The early environment of King was significantly conducive for his choice of a career in the Christian ministry, for he was born not only into a Christian home but also into a family of three generations of

preachers. In his family the art of public speaking enjoys a cherished tradition. King himself began preaching as a boy member of his father's Ebenezer church in Atlanta.

Seriously and enthusiastically interested in perfecting his craft of pulpit communication, King pursued academic excellence (Morehouse College, B.A.; Crozer Theological Seminary, B.D.), ultimately being awarded the Ph.D. degree in Systematic and Philosophical Theology at Boston University, 1955. He practiced preaching while a student in all three of the academic institutions which he attended; and while he was at Boston University, week-ends often meant traveling to various cities to deliver sermons, the activity which then, as now, he loves best.

Chapter III reveals that the theological framework of King's sermons is that of a "moderate" liberal and social gospeler whose principal doctrines and philosophies are provided by Jesus Christ, Henry David Thoreau, Walter Rauschenbusch, Mohandas K. Gandhi, Reinhold Niebuhr, and George W. F. Hegel. The sermons' thematic spectrum covers such theological topoi as God, Jesus Christ, the Church, the preacher, man, love, prayer, faith, and good and evil. The consistent over-all theme of every sermon is that all men must live together as equal human beings in a brotherhood. This general theme is cast as a prerequisite to an effectual relationship with God.

Rhetorical Criticism of the Sermons

Chapter IV delineates Dr. King's early propensity toward adequate preparation and organization which carried over into his approach of preparing his sermons. Generally, his sermon preparation is highly systematic, though his increasing involvement in civil rights activities takes

its toll by leaving him scant time for composing "new" sermons; consequently, sermon "preparation" often means simply up-dating necessary materials of a previously preached discourse. Irrespective of his extemporaneous mode of delivery, King usually follows the practice of writing out his sermons in full. His writing out of his sermons accrues to himself three advantages, namely: (1) Writing promotes the analysis, synthesis, and organization of materials, (2) It fosters the selection of a planned and orderly use of language, and (3) It assists in the process of familiarizing himself with the sermon outline and the movement of ideas-- hence, with memorization.

Although he is relatively short of stature, King uses his five feet, seven inch height to commendable advantage through correct posture which suggests confidence. Among other physical factors conducive to effectiveness in his sermon delivery is his custom of wearing a pulpit robe which helps to promote appropriate atmosphere and dignity.

Gestures, or bodily action, are few but timely, while eye contact serves as one of his strongest assets.

Vocal expression is distinctively but not distractingly Southern. Articulation and pronunciation are very good, clear, and unaffected, although he adjusts and adapts depending on the immediate congregation. Vocal qualities (in terms of volume, pitch, range, rate, and duration), too, have proven adequate in his oral persuasion.

Chapter V includes a discussion of the fact that King's sermons are preached to an extensive range of kinds of audiences (in terms of educational, economic, and social status); yet by classification they are generally "mixed", that is, composed of auditors who hold differing attitudes regarding his propositions.

King's sermons are heavily oriented with "non-artistic" elements of invention (examples, narratives, statistics, and quotations for authority) as well as "artistic" elements (ethical, logical, and pathetic proofs). His ethical proofs are developed through establishing himself as a clergyman of competence, character, and good-will. Logical proofs comprehend reasoning from example, enthymeme, analogy, and causal relation. Pathetic or emotional proof consists of appeals to a threefold backdrop of "happiness", "holiness," and "love." These three emotions provide the broad context in which King addresses such impelling motives as freedom, response, helpfulness, power and influence, reputation, security, new experience, self-preservation, and property. Other psychological elements in King's emotional proof are identification, suggestion, attention, and the emotion of anger which grants release via nonviolent demonstrations and marches frequently accompanying the ends of his sermons.

Responses to King's preaching are categorized as (1) local, spontaneous responses, (2) local, delayed responses, and (3) general, implied responses. The first kind of response consists of involuntary reactions ("Amen, Brother!" or a smile or a nod of the head). The second comprises those expressions of help which Dr. King receives verbally or in letters and also those responses which come in the form of participating in King's campaigns for voter registration, voting, sit-ins, wade-ins, kneel-ins, et cetera. The third type of response is that which an organization or some echelon of the government might make in the form of legislative measures, judicial decrees, and executive orders.

Arrangement in the sermons of King generally adheres to the tripartite partition of introduction, body, and conclusion with smooth transitions, unity, order, and proportion.

Style is a constituent of rhetoric in which Dr. King surpassingly excels. Perspicuity, forcefulness, and adaptability characterize his word choice, while variety and rhythm describe his word composition. A unique feature of King's sermons is language adaptability or adjustment. He is widely known for his ability to express himself in thought forms and word symbols commensurate to the audience level of education, status, or religion; and he makes these adjustments with the greatest of facility. Embellishment through figures of speech constitutes a very prevalent component of King's style and one which he regards as necessary to "paint a picture to the imagination," a most important element in effective oral communication. The following are included among his figures: alliteration, anachronism, anaphora, asyndeton, comparison, contrast, enantiosis, epiphonema, erotesis, historical present, irony, the metaphor, oxymoron, paranomasia, prolepsis, restatement, simile, and synecdoche. By skillful and appropriate employment of these constituents of style, word choice, word composition, and embellishment, the sermonic addresses of Dr. King assume proportions in "elocutio" that deserve a place among the nobility in the art of effective expression.

Dr. King's career may be described laconically by a favorite term of Paul Tillich's, namely, "historical kairos" or a creative, critical moment bursting with possibilities for great things when a decision has to be made; and if the right decision is not made, time may be set back many years. In Dr. King's experience, the man and the moment met; he made a Christian decision in behalf of socio-economic-political justice, and the world has yet to witness the results. In any event, the history of the Christian Church in the mid-twentieth century contains now a vibrantly new and significant chapter of eternal import, and what is more, the

chapter yet is in the process of being written mainly through the preaching of men like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

King's Contribution to Preaching and Theology

When asked if Dr. King had made any significant contributions to the contemporary scene, Professors Muelder, Schilling, and DeWolf stated firmly that the Nobel Peace Prize preacher had indeed contributed very definitely to his profession both dogmatically and kerygmatically.

Dean Muelder succinctly affirmed that Dr. King has "helped thousands of ministers to recover the relevance of preaching for our day" by showing the "continuity between the pulpit in the church and on the courthouse steps."¹ In other words, continued Dean Muelder, King has "taken preaching out of the sanctuary and has put it everywhere."²

Even more succinct was Dr. Schilling when he expressed his concept of King's contribution by saying that King has "forced Christians and Christian theologians to see the implication of their faith in God as suffering, victorious love for the human and social struggle of man."³

Dr. DeWolf's expression was just as emphatic as revealed in the following assessment of King's place in the modern world:

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., has disclosed to great numbers of people the meaning and the power of the cross as a contemporary reality. Many under his leadership have come to the point where they, in love, would be willing to engage in activities that risk their lives. They are convinced that this is an avenue to take up their cross and follow Christ.⁴

¹Personal Interview, March 4, 1966.

²Ibid.

³Personal Interview, March 3, 1966.

⁴Personal Interview, March 6, 1966.

Then, seemingly thinking of the institutional church, Dr. DeWolf posits that "Nothing has done more to bring the protestant churches out of their walls into the world during the last ten years than the Christian action branch of the civil rights movement which Dr. King heads."¹

In the theological and rhetorical dimensions, according to Dr. DeWolf, King has "strengthened the trend in theology" toward "renewed involvement with philosophy" and with "reasoning in defense of Christian doctrine."²

Dr. King is generally considered to be a tremendously influential personality of the mid-twentieth century and, according to the preceding evaluations, has made the following salient contributions to the present era:

1. He has helped the clergy to discover the relevance of preaching in our times by making a practical application of Christianity to the contemporary scene.
2. He has caused Christians (laymen, theologians, and pastors) to experience a fresh encounter with Divinity and to understand that faith in God means also love for man in his socio-economic-political struggle. This includes a disclosure of the meaning of the cross of Christ as not merely an historical but also a contemporary reality.
3. He has assisted in strengthening the renewed trend toward the preacher's use of philosophy and formal

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

reasoning to defend and proclaim Christian doctrine or the "Good News" of salvation. (A pertinent observation at that point is that during the previously mentioned interview of August 31, 1966, Dr. King said that as a student of philosophical theology at Boston University, he underwent intense discipline in formal logic.)

All in all, the ministerial function of Dr. King takes place amid the growing propensity of many Protestant leaders to feel that the institutionalized Christian church as it now popularly stands cannot survive and, indeed, may not even now be so vitally alive as some would have us think. It has been declared that "the church can live again only when it abandons protective buildings, orthodoxy, bureaucracy-- and takes its place in the daily world of doubt." (T. George Harris, "The Battle of the Bible," Look, July 27, 1965, p. 17.) Though a number of religious leaders would avoid proposing that "God is dead," nevertheless, many more would probably unite in a chorus to sing the belief that unless the Church reaches more practically into the human situation, it will continue to experience a kind of mortification that belies its divine claims. The impact of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., offers hope to the belief that the Church can live-- and that more abundantly.

A P P E N D I C E S

I A - N

RESPONSES TO PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING DR. KING

North Ave.
St. George's 30
St. George's 222
St. George's 110

iburn Ave., N.E.
Georgia 30303
phone 522-1420

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President*

Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer*

Andrew J. Young, *Executive Director*

December 15, 1965

Mr. Mervyn A. Warren
370 N. McCord Street
Benton Harbor
Michigan

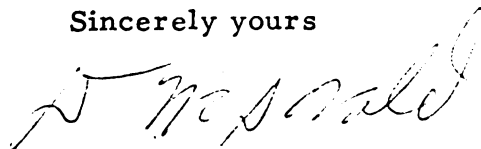
Dear Mr. Warren:

I have just had an opportunity to discuss your letter of recent date with Dr. King. When Mrs. Smith referred your request to our office, I thought that we wrote you at that time. I am sorry about this.

Dr. King would need to know exactly how much time you will require for the personal interview. He will be spending quite a bit of time in Chicago after the first of the New Year, and we may be able to arrange for you to talk with him there on one or two occasions. Dr. King would like to cooperate with you in your study, but we would hope your interview-time would not take two or three days (as some students request.)

Please remember us to Don Smith. It was a delight to work with him. We look forward to seeing him on some of our trips to Chicago.

Sincerely yours



(Miss) D. McDonald

APPENDIX I B

Citizenship Education Program

Septima P. Clark
Dorothy F. Cotton
Andrew J. Young

December 17, 1965

SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE

Martin Luther King, Jr., President
Wyatt Tee Walker, Director

Mr. Mervyn A. Warren
370 North McCord Street
Benton Harbor, Michigan

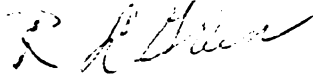
Dear Mr. Warren:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter regarding
an interview with Dr. King.

Miss Dora McDonald, Dr. King's secretary has informed
me that she has written you concerning an interview
with Dr. King in Chicago.

Good luck in your work, and best wishes towards your
Ph.D.

Respectfully,



Robert L. Green
Director of Education

RLG/dh

APPENDIX I C

DET NORSKE NOBELINSTITUTT
INSTITUT NOBEL NORVÉGIEN
DIREKTØREN

Oslo January 28th 1966.
Drammensveien 19
Telf. 44 34 89

Mr. Mervyn A. Warren,
370 N. McCord Street,
Benton Harbor, Michigan.
U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of January 11th I can inform you that we have today sent you a copy of Mr. Jahn's speech for Martin Luther King. It is difficult to give a more explicit answer to your inquiry.

Yours truly,

August Schou
(August Schou).

Director.

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APPENDIX I D

Not to be published before 3 p.m., Thursday 10th Dec., 1964.

Gunnar Jahn: Speech in the Oslo University festival hall,
on the occasion of the presentation of the 1964 Nobel peace
prize.

Not many years have passed since the name Martin Luther King became known all over the world. Nine years ago, as leader of the coloured people in ~~his home town of~~ Montgomery in the state of Alabama, he launched a campaign to secure for negroes the right to use public transport on an equal footing with whites.

But it was not because he led a racial minority, treated as inferior to the whites, in their struggle for equality, that Martin Luther King achieved fame. Many others have done the same, and their names have been forgotten.

Martin Luther King's name will endure for the way in which he has waged his struggle, personifying in his conduct the words that were spoken to mankind :

'Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek,
turn to him the other also!

Fifty thousand negroes obeyed this commandment in December 1955, and won a victory. This was the beginning. At that time Martin Luther King was only twenty-six years old; he was a young man, but nevertheless a mature one.

His father is a clergyman, who made his way in life unaided, and provided his children with a good home, where he tried to shield them from the humiliations of racial discrimination. Both as a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and as a private citizen, he has been active in the movement to end such discrimination, and his children have followed in his footsteps. As a boy Martin Luther King soon learnt the role played by economic inequality in the life of the individual and of the community.

From his childhood years this left its indelible mark on him, but there is no evidence to suggest that already as a boy he had made up his mind to devote his life to the struggle for negro rights.

He spent his student years in the Northern States, where the laws provided no sanction for the discrimination he had encountered in the South, but where, nevertheless, coloured and white did not mix in their daily lives. Yet living in the Northern States - especially in a university milieu - was like a breath of fresh air. At Boston University, where he took a doctor's degree in philosophy, he met Coretta Scott, who was studying singing. She was a negress, from his own state of Alabama, a member of the coloured middle class which also exists in the South.

The young couple were faced with a choice: should they remain in the North, where life offered greater security and better conditions, or return to the South? They elected to go back to Montgomery, where Martin Luther King was installed as minister of a Baptist congregation.

- 2 -

Here he lived in a society where a sharp barrier existed between negroes and whites. Worse still, the coloured community in Montgomery was itself divided, its leaders at loggerheads and the rank and file paralysed by the passivity of its educated members. As a result of their apathy, few of them were engaged in the work of improving the status of the negro. The great majority were indifferent; those who had something to lose were afraid of forfeiting the little they had achieved.

Nor, as Martin Luther King discovered, had all the negro clergy tackled the social problems of their community; many of them were of the opinion that ministers of religion had no business getting involved in secular movements aimed at improving people's social and economic conditions. Their task was "to preach the gospel and keep men's minds centered on the heavenly."

Early in 1955 an attempt was made to unite the various groups of coloured people. The attempt failed. Martin Luther King says that "the tragic division in the Negro community could be cured only by some divine miracle!"

The picture he gives us of conditions in Montgomery is not an inspiring one; even as late as 1954 the negroes accepted the existing status as a fact, and hardly anyone opposed the system actively. Montgomery was a peaceful town.

But beneath the surface discontent smouldered. Some of the coloured clergy, in their sermons as well as in their personal attitude, championed the cause of negro equality, and this had given many fresh confidence and courage.

Then came the bus boycott of December the Fifth, 1955.

It almost looks as if the boycott was the result of a mere coincidence. The immediate cause was the arrest of Mrs. Rosa Parks for refusing to give up her seat on a bus to a white man. She was in the section reserved for negroes, and was occupying one of the seats just behind the section set aside for whites, which was full up.

The arrest of Mrs. Parks not only aroused great resentment, but provoked direct action, and it was in this way that Martin Luther King was to become the central personality in the negroes' struggle for human rights.

In his book "Stride towards Freedom" he has described not only the actual bus conflict, but also how, on December the Fifth, after the strike had been started, he was elected chairman of the organisation formed to conduct the struggle.

He tells us that the election came as a surprise to him; had he been given time to think things over he would probably have said No. He ~~would probably have~~ supported the boycott when asked to do so on the Fourth, but he was beginning to doubt whether it was morally right, according to Christian teaching, to start a boycott. Then he remembered David Thoreau's "Essay on Civil Disobedience" which he had read in his earlier years, and which had made a profound impression on him. A sentence of Thoreau's

came back to him: "We can no longer lend our cooperation to an evil system."

But he was not convinced that the boycott would attain its object. As late as the evening of Sunday December the Fourth he believed that if sixty per cent of the negroes co-operated, they would prove successful.

During the morning of December the Fifth, as bus after bus without a single negro passenger passed his window, he realised that the boycott had proved a hundred per cent effective.

But final victory had not yet been won, and as yet no one had announced that the campaign was to be conducted in accordance with the slogan: "Thou shalt not requite violence with violence." This message was given to the negroes by Martin Luther King in the speech he made to thousands of his people on the evening of December the Fifth, 1955. He calls this speech the most decisive he ever made.

Here are his own words:

"We have sometimes given our white brothers the feeling that we liked the way we were being treated. But we come here tonight to be saved from the patience that makes us patient with anything less than freedom and justice."

"But," he continues, "our method shall be that of persuasion not coercion. We will say to our people 'Let your conscience be your guide'. Our actions must be guided by the deepest principles of our Christian faith. Once again we must hear the words of Jesus echoing across the centuries: 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and pray for them that despitefully use you'."

He concludes as follows:

"If you will protest courageously and yet with Dignity and Christian love, when the history books are written, the historians will say: 'There lived a great people - a black people - who injected new meaning and dignity into the veins of civilisation'. This is our challenge and overwhelming responsibility."

This battle-cry - for such it was - was enthusiastically received by the audience. This was "Montgomery's historic moment", as Martin Luther King calls it.

The battle-cry rallied the overwhelming majority of negroes during their active struggle for human rights. All round the South, inspired by this slogan, they declared war on the discrimination between negro and white in eating places, shops, schools, public parks and playgrounds.

Despite laws passed by Congress and judgments given by the American Supreme Court, this struggle has not proved successful everywhere, since these laws and judgments have been sabotaged, as anyone who has followed the course of events subsequent to 1955 will know.

Despite sabotage and imprisonment, the negroes have continued

their unarmed struggle. Only on rare occasions have they violated the letter of their slogan and requited violence with violence, even though for many of us this would have been the immediate reaction. What are we to say of the young students who sat down in an eating place reserved for whites? They were not served, but remained seated. White teen-agers mocked and insulted them, and stubbed their lighted cigarettes out on their necks. The negro students sat unmoved, without retaliating. They possessed the strength that only the belief can give that they are fighting in a just cause, and that their struggle will be crowned with success. precisely because it is being waged with peaceful means.

Martin Luther King's belief is rooted first and foremost in the teaching of Christ, but no one can really understand him without the knowledge that he has been influenced by the great thinkers of the past and the present. He has been inspired above all by Mahatma Gandhi, whose example convinced him that it is possible to achieve victory in an unarmed struggle. Before he had read about Gandhi he had almost accepted that the teaching of Jesus could only be put into practice as between individuals, but after making a study of Gandhi he realised that he had been mistaken.

"Gandhi", he says, "was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force."

In Gandhi's teaching he found the answer to a question that had long troubled him: how does one set about carrying out a social reform?

"I found", he tells us, "in the nonviolent resistance philosophy of Gandhi the only morally and practically sound method open to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom."

Martin Luther King has been attacked from many quarters. Apart from the resistance he encountered from white fanatics, moderate whites - and even the more prosperous members of his own race - consider that he is proceeding too fast, that he should wait, and let time work for him and weaken the opposition.

In an open letter to the press, eight clergymen reproached him for this and other aspects of his campaign. Martin Luther King answered these charges in a letter written in Birmingham Jail in the spring of 1963, from which I should like to quote a few lines:

"Actually time itself is neutral. Human progress never rolls
← in on wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts of men, willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hard work time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation."

In answer to the charge that he has omitted to negotiate, he replies:

"You are quite right in calling for negotiation. This is the very purpose of direct action. Non-violent action seeks to foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate, is forced to confront an issue."

He reminds them that the negroes have not won a single victory for civil rights without struggling persistently to achieve it in a lawful way without recourse to violence. When reproached for breaking the laws in the course of his struggle, he replies as follows:

"There are two types of laws: just and unjust. An unjust law is a code which is out of harmony with the moral law....."

"A law is unjust, for example, if the majority group compels a minority group to obey the statute but does not make it binding on itself....."

"One who breaks an unjust law must do so openly, lovingly and with a willingness to accept the penalty."

Martin Luther King also takes the church to task. Even during the bus conflict in Montgomery, he had expected that white clergy and rabbis would prove the negroes' staunchest allies. But he was bitterly disappointed. "All too many" ~~others~~, he recalls, "have been more cautious than courageous and have remained silent and secure behind stained-glass windows."

It is not difficult to understand Martin Luther King's disappointment with the white church, profoundly religious as he is. Nor must we ignore the fact that he is the minister of a negro church, or the importance of their church to the negro population. It is the only hallowed spot where they can be raised above the problems of every-day. Besides, how could such wide-spread agreement to spurn the use of violence have been reached, unless the negroes had been so deeply religious?

Yet even if victory is won in the fight against segregation, discrimination will still persist in the economic field and in social intercourse. Realistic as he is, Martin Luther King knows this. In his book "Strength to Love" he writes:

"Court orders and federal enforcement agencies are of inestimable value in achieving desegregation, but desegregation is only a partial, though necessary, step towards the final goal which we seek to realise, genuine intergroup and inter-personal living....."

"But something must touch the hearts and souls of men so that they will come together spiritually because it is natural and right...."

"True integration will be achieved by true neighbours who are willingly obedient to unenforcable obligations."

x x x

Martin Luther King's unarmed struggle has been waged in his own country; its result has been that an obdurate, centuries-old and traditional conflict is now nearing its solution.

Is it possible that the road he and his people have charted will bring a ray of hope to other parts of the world, a hope that conflicts between races, nations and political systems can be solved, not by fire and the sword, but in a spirit of true brotherly love?

It sounds like the dream of a remote future; but life would not be worth living unless we cherished our dreams and had a chance of working to make them come true.

- 6 -

To-day, now that mankind is in possession of the atom bomb, the time has come to lay our weapons and armaments aside and listen to the message Martin Luther King has given us through the unarmed struggle he has waged on behalf of his race. His eyes, too, gaze beyond the frontiers of his own country. He says:

"More than before, my friends, men of all races and nations are to-day challenged to be neighbourly.....No longer can we afford the luxury of passing by on the other side. Such folly was once called moral failure; to-day it will lead to universal suicide....

"If we assume that mankind has a right to survive then, we must find an alternative to war and destruction. In our days of space vehicles and guided ballistic missiles, the choice is either non-violence or non-existence."

Though Martin Luther King has not personally committed himself to the international conflict, his own struggle is a clarion call to all who work for peace.

He is the first person in the western world to have shown us that a struggle can be waged without violence. He is the first to make the message of brotherly love a reality in the course of his struggle, and he has proclaimed a message to all men, to all nations and races.

To-day we pay our tribute to Martin Luther King, the man who has never abandoned his faith in the unarmed struggle he is waging, who has suffered for his faith, been imprisoned on many occasions, whose home has been subject to bomb attacks, whose life and those of his family have been threatened, and who nevertheless has never faltered.

To this undaunted champion of peace the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Storting has awarded the Peace Prize for the year 1964.

x x x

1867-1967

APPENDIX I E

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

30314

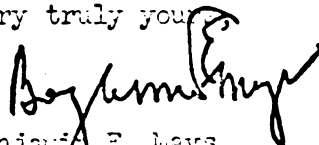
February 3, 1966

Mr. Mervyn A. Warren
370 North McCord Street
Benton Harbor, Michigan

Dear Mr. Warren:

If you plan to come to Atlanta I should be very glad to see you provided I am in the city. I take it that you will be coming to Atlanta to talk to people other than myself. If you communicate with me by telephone, I will be glad to talk with you.

Very truly yours



Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEH:mlq



APPENDIX I F

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE
BRYN MAWR, PENNSYLVANIA 19010

DEPARTMENT OF
HISTORY OF RELIGION

February 8, 1966

Mr. Mervyn A. Warren
370 North McCord Street
Benton Harbor
Michigan

Dear Mr. Warren:

Your letter of February 1 has been forwarded to me from Crozer Theological Seminary, with which institution I have had no connection, despite the indication "Professor Emeritus" seemingly carried in their catalogue, for years.

I am interested in your proposed study of Dr. Martin Luther King. It is quite true that while he was a student at Crozer he took many courses with me -- in fact, I think I am correct that he took every course I offered. Should you chance to be in this area, I should be very glad to see you although I am far from sure that I should be in a position to give you much factual information, for naturally the lapse of years has made my memory of particular details a bit hazy. My office here at Bryn Mawr is in the Library, room 132. Should you plan to be in this neighborhood and desire to see me, I would suggest that if possible you let me know beforehand in order that we may arrange for an hour. My telephone, should you care to use it, is 215-525-1000, ext. 333.

Very sincerely,

Morton S. Enslin

Morton S. Enslin

MSE:nea

APPENDIX I G

First Baptist Church

17TH AND SANSOM STREETS
PHILADELPHIA 3, PA.

Feb. 11, 1966

Mr. Mervyn A. Warren,
370 McCord St.
Benton Harbor, Mich.

Dear Mr. Warren:

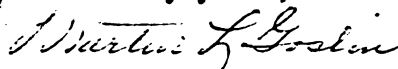
In reply to your letter of inquiry regarding the Homiletics teacher during the years of Dr. Martin Luther King's student days at Crozer, I am sorry that I can't claim to have taught him.

However, his teacher during the years 1948-51 was Professor Robert E. Keighton, who retired a few years ago and now resides here in Chester. He is in good health, at present doing an interim assignment in the Lansdown Baptist Church, and could be reached at

621 E. 20th Street
Chester, Pa. 19013

I am sure that Professor Keighton would be glad to either correspond with you or give you an interview. With my best wishes for success in your research, I am

Sincerely yours,



Martin L. Goslin

APPENDIX I H

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE
BRYN MAWR, PENNSYLVANIA 19010


DEPARTMENT OF
HISTORY OF RELIGION

February 18, 1966

Dear Mr. Warren,

Your letter of February 15 and subsequent postcard are before me. I shall be glad to see you on Monday, February 28. During the morning I have no free time, for I have several classes, but if you find it convenient to come to my office about 12:15, we can have lunch together here on the campus and during that time we can chat. I am sure that that will provide ample time for you to extract what little of any very exact knowledge I have of Dr. King. Unless I hear from you to the contrary I shall expect to see you at that time. My office is in the library, Room 132.

Very sincerely,


Morton S. Enslein

APPENDIX I-I

February 19, 1966

Mr. Mervyn A. Warren
370 N. McCord Street
Benton Harbor, Michigan

Dear Mr. Warren,

You have undertaken what will
very probably be an interesting study.
For some of us preaching still remains
a worthy object of concern.

Unfortunately I shall not be
available on the week end you suggest;
i.e., February 26-28.

Best wishes for your enterprise.

Respectfully yours,

Robert E. Leighton



DREW UNIVERSITY

Madison, New Jersey

June 15, 1966

Mr. Mervyn A. Warren
370 North McCord Street
Benton Harbor, Michigan 49022

Dear Mr. Warren:

During your February visit to Madison, New Jersey you undoubtedly learned that I was in England on a Sabbatical year.

I hope your dissertation project is moving on schedule. I am not sure that I could have been of much help to you even if I had been here. Although Martin Luther King was one of my students, I have heard him speak as a clergyman only a very few times.

May you enjoy the blessings of God in your word.

Sincerely yours,

George D. Kelsey
George D. Kelsey

GK/cs

236
1867-1967

APPENDIX I K

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

30314

February 22, 1966

Mr. Mervyn A. Warren
370 N. McCord Street
Benton Harbor, Michigan

Dear Mr. Warren:

I have your letter of February 16. The latest address we have for Howard Thurman is

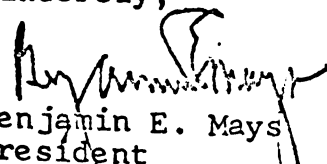
Boston University
152 Bay State Road
Boston, Massachusetts 02215

There is not much I can add to my definition of a sermon. I might add to the definition which you sent me by stating the following:

A sermon is religiously oriented and it is designed to give people religious motivation that will enable them to carry on in the days ahead without breaking under the strain of everyday life. It is designed to enable people to live better lives spiritually and morally. An oration is seldom biblically based and it is not necessarily religiously oriented. Orations are not usually designed to motivate people to enable them to live better lives and to carry on without breaking under the everyday strain of life. Orations lack the spiritual note that is characteristic of a sermon.

You may need to edit this. You may do so as long as you do not do violence to the thought.

Sincerely,


Benjamin E. Mays
President



N.B. you do better to the
Dean of the Chapel, Boston University requesting
Thurman's address

From the desk of
L. HAROLD DEWOLF

Feb. 23, 1964.

Mr. Warren:

Your letter and card reached me today, forwarded from Boston to my office at Wesley Theological Seminary. I accepted the dearship here in Washington, D.C. last July.

In Boston you should try to see Dr. S. Paul Schubert and Dean Walter E. Mueller.

Best wishes in your project.

Sincerely yours,

L. Harold DeWolf

APPENDIX I M



Office of the Dean

WESLEY

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

4400 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington 16, D. C.

March 18, 1966

Reverend Mervyn A. Warren
370 N. McCord Street
Benton Harbor, Michigan

Dear Mr. Warren:

Thank you for your letter of the 14th.

In response to your queries, I reply:

1. The quotation is correct.
2. The second quotation is also correct. The third summary comment I should like to have changed to read:

Mr. King manifested such initiative and self-disciplined organization of his work that he was rendered more independent than the average doctoral student and, accordingly, sought little time for the guidance and counsel of his major professor.

You are quite correct in saying that the comment was a compliment.

Now regarding the three requests at the end of your letter, I would say:

1. I have only a very hazy idea of the number of doctoral students I have directed, but I would estimate, roughly, that I have been major advisor to about forty or fifty. Of course, I have been second reader and a member of examining committee for many more.
2. The gist of the answer which Dr. King gave to his questioner at Ford Hall Forum in Boston was that the civil rights movement of which he was a leader was based on belief in God, while communism was based on an atheistic philosophy which rejected all religion; the civil rights movement was based on non-violent methods, seeking always the reconciliation of conflicting forces in the community, whereas the communists sought to sharpen the class struggle, bring it into open conflict and so precipitate a violent revolution; the civil rights movement was pervaded by a spirit of love, whereas the communist movement was pervaded by a spirit of anger and deepening hatred toward the people regarded as unjust. Since the two movements are based on opposite philosophy, opposite objectives and opposite spirit, it is difficult to see how they could possibly co-operate. Perhaps I should have said that Dr. King began this

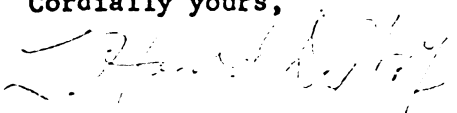
- 2 -

statement by saying that the Negroes were glad for help from any quarter, but as far as cooperation was concerned, there were certain difficulties.

3. I find it difficult to explain the philosophy of personalism in a few sentences. Briefly, personalists believe that the basic reality is personal. The Supreme Person, God, is the source of all that process which we call the physical universe and the creator of all other persons. Since human personality is in the likeness of God and the object of God's own love, every human person, however humble or wicked, must be treated as of inestimable dignity and worth. In metaphysics the personalists believe that the physical universe exists only by the energizing of God in the experience of persons, including himself. I do not know whether Dr. King subscribes to this account of the physical universe or not. However, he has been, as he confesses, deeply influenced by other ontological and ethical ideas of personalism.

It was a pleasure to meet you, and I wish you the best of success in your venture.

Cordially yours,



L. Harold DeWolf

LHD:f

W. L. KING
W. L. KING
W. L. KING

W. L. KING

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W. L. KING

W. L. KING

W. L. KING

Ebenezer Baptist Church

407 - 413 Auburn Ave., N.E.

ATLANTA 12, GA.

MINISTERS:

M. L. KING SR.

M. L. KING JR.

September 7, 1966

Dear Mr. Warren,

In reply to your call, and the information you are seeking, relative to my grandfather, I regret to say I do not have his first name.

Many times I heard my father talk about him, an Old Country preacher, not widely known. I never knew him, as he died long before I was born, when my father was very young.

I My reason for saying I would write, was the fact, I remembered a book, written about my father which I thought I could find, which I believe ~~had~~ made a little mention of my grandfather, but being unable to

2

2

2

2

II A - U

**MATERIALS DIRECTLY CONNECTED WITH, OR FOUND IN, THE
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS
AND PERSONAL PAPERS AT THE BOSTON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY**

BOSTON UNIVERSITY



UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

705 Commonwealth Avenue, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02215

September 17, 1965

Mr. Mervyn A. Warren
Michigan State University
931-G Cherry Lane
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Mr. Warren:

I have your letter of September 8 relative to the Martin Luther King, Jr. Collection.

The Collection has been indexed and is available for research. The correspondence, manuscripts, and printed materials cover the period of Dr. King's student days through the year 1962.

The Library has prepared a guide to the Collection, and this might be utilized in conjunction with the Collection should you decide on a research trip here. The use of the guide would be necessary since to-date there are some fifteen filing cases of papers.

I would require advance notice of your intention to use the Collection. The Library is open between the hours of nine and five, Monday through Friday, during the regular term which commences next week.

Sincerely yours,

Howard B. Gottlieb
Chief of Reference and
Special Collections.
Boston University Libraries

HBG:aw

BOSTON UNIVERSITY



UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

705 Commonwealth Avenue, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02215

February 21, 1966

Mr. Mervyn A. Warren
370 North McCord Street
Benton Harbor, Michigan

Dear Mr. Warren:

You may make use of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Collection March 1 - 4. Will you please ask to see me personally in my temporary office in the Chenery Library, 5th floor, 705 Commonwealth Avenue.

The Guide which we have prepared to the King Collection is for internal use within the Library only. This is because the complete and final Guide is in preparation and I prefer that the current Guide (which is basically for our own use in order to service the Collection) not be given circulation.

When you arrive, I will give you the present Guide in order that you might inform us what you wish brought for your use from the vaults.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Howard B. Gotlieb".

Howard B. Gotlieb
Chief of Reference and
Special Collections.
Boston University Libraries

HBG:mr

APPENDIX II C

REQUEST TO QUOTE FROM UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS IN THE SPECIAL COLLECTIONS OF THE
BOSTON UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.

March 1 1966

Name Mervyn A. Harrison

Occupation Clergyman

Address 370 N. McCord Street; Benton Harbor, Mich.

I request permission to quote the following material:

The Martin Luther King, Jr., Collection

for Ph.D. Michigan State
University. Dept. of Speech

Contained in Boston University Library
of the Boston University Libraries Special Collections.

To be published by _____

Or, to be submitted for publication to _____

Approved: Harold B. Galt for Boston University Libraries.

Please fill out this form in duplicate and send both copies to the
Director, Boston University Libraries. The return of the second
copy, bearing the signature of the Director of Libraries or his
authorized representative, will constitute permission to quote the
extracts requested, within the context of the attached rules for use.

NEWS BUREAU
232 Bay State Road
Boston 15, Massachusetts
KENmore 6-8138



Press Bulletin No.

APPENDIX II D

The personal papers and manuscripts of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a leading spokesman for the civil rights movement, have been presented to the Boston University Library, according to an announcement by University President Harold C. Case. ^{and Dr. King} The Collection will be housed in Boston University's projected \$5,500,000 Central Library.

In designating the Library as the official repository of his archives, Dr. King, who is a holder of earned and honorary doctorate degrees at Boston University, stipulated that he would annually add files of his papers accumulated in his present capacity to the materials already in the possession of the University.

The collection of papers which Dr. King has accumulated over the years is voluminous, and the correspondence files reflect the wide degree of influence which his movement and his views have had upon a varied segment of the American population and world opinion as a whole.

According to Dr. Gustave A. Harrer, Director of Libraries at Boston University, in the collection there are letters from Presidents of the United States, Senators, ~~governments~~ ^{international} Congressmen, government leaders, prominent figures in the world of arts and of literature, as well as officials on the state and local levels. In addition,

there are letters from ordinary citizens who at one time or another have felt the compulsion to write either ^{favorably} ~~in support~~ or in violent opposition to Dr. King's views.

The King Collection also contains the manuscripts and notes of lectures and speeches, reports of press interviews, engagement books, records of incoming and outgoing telephone calls, citations, accolades, and memorabilia. There are manuscripts of the King books, Stride Toward Freedom (1958), The Measure of Man (1959), Strength to Love (1963), and the recently published Why We Can't Wait.

Dr. Harrer noted the wide research value of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Collection, and pointed out that historians and future chroniclers of the American social and political scene have in these papers a primary documentary source which is rich in the area of contemporary affairs. "Of particular interest to scholars will be the exhaustive studies which Dr. King and his colleagues have made of specific cities relative to the civil rights movement and the detail with which actions and programs are outlined," said Dr. Harrer.

The King materials carry no restrictions as to use for scholarly research purposes. The Boston University Central Library, once the archival arrangement and housing of the material is complete, will accept requests for access to the Collection. The King Collection will be administered by the Library's Division of Special Collections headed by Dr. Howard B. Gotlieb.

Martin Luther King, Jr., was born in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1929, the son of a Baptist minister. It was while an undergraduate at Morehouse College that he decided upon a ministerial career. He attended Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pa., and received a Ph.D. in theological studies in 1955 from Boston University's Graduate School. In 1959, he received an honorary D.D. degree from Boston University.

Dr. King came to national attention at the time of the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott of 1955-56. It was here that his principle of non-violent resistance to segregation was successfully tested. The result of the Montgomery incident

catapulted Dr. King into the upper echelon of Negro leadership, a position which he has steadily solidified through his activities and his publications.

The establishment of the King Collection at Boston University was coordinated by Dr. L. Harold DeWolf, Professor of Systematic Theology in the University's School of Theology, and a long-time teacher ^{and} friend ~~of Dr. King~~ of Dr. King.

Boston University's new multi-million dollar Central Library, which will house the King Collection, will consist of six stories with two underground floors. It will ultimately house 1,400,000 volumes and will allow for consolidation of nine of the University's present branch libraries. The structure will be situated on the University's Charles River campus between the recently completed George Sherman Union and the new 19-story "high-rise" Law-Education Building. Ground will be broken this year for the Library which is expected to be completed by the fall of 1966.

###

E. C. J.
Cm
J. H. F.
Cm
P. O. V.
Chuz

APPENDIX II E
 "Hitherto Hath The Lord Helped Us"

Office Phone: MAIn 7263

H. C. EDWARDS
 Chmn. Bd. of Deacons

J. H. REESE
 Chmn. Trustee Board

P. O. WATSON
 Church Clerk

Ebenezer Baptist Church

AUBURN AVENUE AT JACKSON STREET

M. L. KING, PASTOR
 Residence: 193 Boulevard, N. E.
 Phone: WALnut 7164

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

G. W. SCOTT
 Treasurer

WILLIAM SUMMERLIN
 Fin. Sec'y

MISS L. DELORYSE WATKINS
 Secretary

December 2, 1954

Rev. M.L. King, Jr.
 309 South Jackson
 Montgomery, Alabama.

My dear M.L. :

I received your letter today, contents noted with care. Glad to know you and Coretta are doing fine. This leaves us all well.

Sister Luella Allen lost her husband yesterday. I am sure you remember her, she is the little Sister that usually sits on the left side of the church, shouts up against the wall. With the exception of that every thing seems to be moving on very well around the church.

Alexander called me yesterday just to tell me about how you swept them at Friendship Sunday. Every way I turned people are congratulating me for you. You see young man you are becoming very popular. As I told you you must be much in prayer. Persons like yourself are the ones the devil turns all of his forces a loose to destroy.

I will get the clerics to you as soon as they are released. I am enclosing your bank book as you will see it is marked up to date. Noticed a \$20.00 withdrawal which was not on the book. I am also enclosing My Harper's address.

Love to Coretta from us all.

Yours,

M. L. King Jr.

Daddy

ENC2
 MLK.v

APPENDIX II F
ALBION COLLEGE
ALBION, MICHIGAN

file

MAR 21 1963

March 19, 1963

Dr. Martin Luther King
334 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. King:

This is my first opportunity "to take pen in hand" to express the sincere gratitude of our entire Albion community for the inspiring message you brought us last week. Thus early one cannot assess with accuracy the full impact of such an address, but I can assure you that already the waves of its implications are radiating throughout both campus and town.

May I likewise convey our especial appreciation for your generous cooperation during your only too brief stay with us and the warm cordiality you demonstrated wherever you were placed. From every side I have received nothing but the highest praise for the dignified restraint and elevated style of your splendid address and the dedicated sincerity of your manner. We all feel that it was a rare privilege to meet with you and to share your thoughts.

Should you pass our way again, I do hope you will find it possible to stop by as long as the occasion permits. With a new high school, urban renewal projects, and housing developments in the offing, Albion may have need of leadership like yours. At any rate, keep us in your mind and prayers. Godspeed to you and your dreams.

Most sincerely your,

Keith J. Fennimore
Keith J. Fennimore

P. S. Please give our best regards to your wife and new arrival. I trust that all will go well for them both.

KJF

APPENDIX IV
ALBION COLLEGE
ALBION, MICHIGAN

March 19, 1905

MAR 21 1905

File

Dr. Martin Luther King
334 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear Dr. King:

This is my first opportunity to take you in hand to express the sincere gratitude of our entire Albion community for the inspiring message you brought us last week. I am sure we cannot express with accuracy the full impact of such an address, but I can assure you that already the waves of its implications are radiating throughout both campus and town. May I likewise convey our especial appreciation for your generous expression during your visit to our college and the warm cordiality you demonstrated wherever you were placed. From every side I have received nothing but the highest praise for the dignified, restrained and elevated style of your speaking address and the dedicated sincerity of your manner. We all feel that it was a rare privilege to meet with you and to share your thoughts.

Should you pass our way again, I believe you will find it possible to stop by as long as the occasion permits. With a new high school, urban renewal projects, and housing developments in the offing, Albion may have a lot of interesting things to say. At any rate, keep us in your kind and generous thoughts and your dreams.

Most sincerely yours,

W. B. King
John A. Thompson

P. S. Please give our best regards to your wife and new child. I trust that all will go well for them both.

APPENDIX II G

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

DEAN OF THE CHAPEL

February 28, 1956

Dr. Martin Luther King
309 South Jackson Street
Montgomery
Alabama


Dear Martin:

May I take this opportunity to express our appreciation for your participation in the activities of Religious Emphasis Week. Your mere being on our campus lent so much to the spirit of the occasion for you were a living example of the social concern which we feel that Christianity and the church ought to have in every existing community.

I need not tell you how concerned and interested we are in the ultimate outcome of the situation there in Montgomery. I hope, in the near future, we will express this in a more tangible way than just words of concern.

Give my regards to all and our campus sends its prayers that the sacrifices which you people are making will not be in vain.

Sincerely yours,


M. J. Jones
Dean of Chapel

MJJ
a
r
p

RISK UNIVERSITY

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

January 25, 1965

Mr. Martin Luther King
505 South Jackson Street
Montgomery
Alabama

Dear Martin:

May I take this opportunity to express my appreciation for your participation in the activities of Religion House in Memphis. Your name being on our program last so much to the spirit of the occasion for you were a living example of the social concern which we feel that Christianity and the church ought to have in every crisis of community.

I need not tell you how concerned and interested we are in the ultimate outcome of the situation there in Montgomery. I hope, in the near future, we will express this in a more tangible way than just words of concern.

Give my regards to all and our prayers are for you and the situation which you people are making with not be in vain.

Sincerely yours,

M. J. Jones
M. J. Jones
Dean of Chapel

MJ

APPENDIX II H

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 9, TENNESSEE

February 1, 1956

DEAN OF THE CHAPEL

Dr. Martin Luther King
309 South Jackson Street
Montgomery
Alabama

Dear Martin:

Mattie and I were very concerned upon learning that your house was bombed Monday evening. We were relieved, however, to hear later that no one was injured.

I tried to reach you yesterday by phone but after thinking it through, I thought probably it would not have been the best method of communication anyway under the circumstances. I am very concerned, as you know, about the implications of this and its weight upon you personally but the issues are of such that I can not give you any personal advice but only hope that you will take every precaution and be careful in what you do and say.

Please accept my prayers in all that you do.

Sincerely yours,



M. J. Jones
Dean of Chapel

MJJ

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r
p

*Give my regards to all
May*

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

February 1, 1960

Dr. Martin Luther King
 609 South Jackson Street
 Montgomery
 Alabama

Dear Martin:

Martin and I were very concerned upon learning that your house was bombed Monday evening. We were relieved, however, to hear later that no one was injured.

I tried to reach you yesterday by phone but with-
 out success. I thought probably it would not have been the best
 method of communicating anyway under the circumstances. I am very
 concerned, as you know, about the implications of this and the
 weight upon you personally but the issues are so vast that I can not
 give you any personal advice but only hope that you will take every
 precaution and be careful in what you do and say.

Please accept my prayers in all that you do.

Sincerely yours,

M. L. Davis
 Dean of Chapel

Handwritten: Please my prayers to all
 M. L. Davis

First Baptist Church

819 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

PHONE 6-8787

KELLY MILLER SMITH
MINISTER

February 25, 1956

Dr. M. L. King
454 Dexter Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear "Mike,"

Although I can't for the life of me see how you will have time to do anything with it, here is the "immodest" sketch you requested.

Your contribution to our fare in America is rare. Not as an NAACP executive but as a Gospel minister you are doing these things. The mantle of the prophets rests well upon your shoulders.

We are trying to have an affair at our NAACP Branch meeting Tuesday night to help out the cause there in Montgomery. You will be hearing from us soon.

We bid you God's speed.

Yours sincerely,

Kelly Miller Smith
Kelly Miller Smith

KMS:meb

ATTENTION IN-1
West Virginia State
1000 Market Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004

February 25, 1956

Dr. M. L. King
44 Dexter Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear "Niko",

Although I can't for the life of me see how you
will have time to do anything with it, here is the
"transcript" which you requested.

Your contribution working in America is here.
Not as an NAACP executive but as a Gospel minister
you are doing these things. The mantle of the
prophets rests well upon your shoulders.

We are trying to have an affair at our NAACP
branch meeting Tuesday night to help out the cause
there in Montgomery. You will be hearing from us soon.

We bid you God's speed.

Yours sincerely,

Robert R. Taylor
Robert R. Taylor

RM:mas

Morehouse College 254
 Atlanta, Georgia
 August 14, 1952.

Dear Little Dr. Coming Doctor!

I thought I would take a few minutes and set down my reaction to your sermon on last Sunday: The Challenge of Communism to Christianity.

In spite of the fact that you announced that you were presenting a religious lecture, you did succeed very well indeed in sermonizing your theme. It was really not just a lecture. From where I sat it seemed to me that you should have been encouraged by the response. Some people did sleep, but some would have slept regardless of the theme.

Your major points seemed to me to be sound: ① Social Justice ② Dedication ③ Unity for Action.

There are one or two details that came out in your development that I would like to mention:

① In discussing Communist theory in the early part of the sermon it was not clear to me whether you understood Communist materialism. The Communist theorists were definitely not materialists after the fashion of the Greek atomists. Marx's position was that the culture, thought, in fact, the whole life of man is conditioned (seems to use the word, determine, at times by the means of production, but I will not go into the instrument to necessary to the making

of a living. This variety of materialism is very difficult to²⁵⁵ refute and is a very disturbing phenomenon. Whether a man stands in relation to the means of production as an owner or a mere user does make a difference in the way he thinks, acts, etc. It is exceedingly difficult to deny this and make it stick!

② Most folk who speak of religion and the communist attitude toward it discuss the question out of context. What you said about the communist attitude toward religion was true. But you don't have a proper appreciation of the communist attitude toward religion until you read the history of the church in Russia. When you set Marx's attitude toward religion in the context of the history of the Christian Church in Russia, the conclusion you reach is likely to be very sobering and ~~is~~ probably not make especially good sermonizing material.

③ Stalin would certainly not make the question of race a sub-point as you did on Sunday. With him it is a major point. It was he who as Commissar of Nationalities ~~who~~ wrote into the Soviet Constitution the proposition which makes the treatment of persons on the basis of race a national offence in the Soviet Union and it was he who argued that the Soviet Union would be a model for nations of the East.

APPENDIX II J(1)

COMMANDMENTS FOR THE VOLUNTEERS¹

I HEREBY PLEDGE MYSELF--MY PERSON AND BODY--TO THE NONVIOLENT MOVEMENT. THEREFORE, I WILL KEEP THE FOLLOWING TEN COMMANDMENTS:

1. Meditate daily on the teachings and life of Jesus.
2. Remember always that the nonviolent movement in Birmingham seeks justice and reconciliation--not victory.
3. Walk and Talk in the manner of love for God is love.
4. Pray daily to be used by God in order that all men might be free.
5. SACRIFICE personal wishes in order that all men might be free.
6. OBSERVE with both friend and foe the ordinary rules of courtesy.
7. SEEK to perform regular service for others and for the world.
8. REFRAIN from the violence of fist, tongue or heart.
9. STRIVE to be in good spiritual and bodily health.
10. FOLLOW the directions of the movement and of the captain on a demonstration.

I sign this pledge, having seriously considered what I do and with the determination and will to persevere.

NAME _____
 (Please print neatly)
 ADDRESS _____
 PHONE _____
 NEAREST RELATIVE _____

Besides demonstrations, I could also help the Movement by:
 (Circle the proper items)

Run errands, Drive my car, Fix food for volunteers,
 Clerical work, Make phone calls, Answer phones,
 Mimeograph, Type, Print signs, Distribute leaflets.

¹Lerone Bennett, Jr., What Manner of Man (A Biography of Martin Luther King, Jr.) (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., Inc., 1964), p. 135.

APPENDIX II

CONTENTS OF THE VOLUME

I. GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE THEORY OF THE EARTH

1. The Earth as a body of matter

2. The Earth as a body of matter

3. The Earth as a body of matter

4. The Earth as a body of matter

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25. The Earth as a body of matter

APPENDIX II K

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

December 23, 1957

The Reverend
Martin Luther King
530 South Union Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Reverend King:

On behalf of the President's Committee on Government Contracts I would like to invite you to attend a conference on January 15, 1958 at 10:00 a.m. at the Willard Hotel, 14th and Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The purpose of this conference will be to discuss the policies and program of the President's Committee and ways in which interested persons and organizations might assist the Committee in advancing its program of eliminating discrimination in employment on Government contracts because of race, religion, color or national origin.

The Committee knows that there is a changing economic climate prevailing throughout the Nation, which has resulted in many job areas being opened to members of minority groups heretofore not available.

The Committee believes that one of the ways to make these employment gains permanent, is to have minority group youth informed about these advances and thus be motivated to acquire the necessary training and skills to complete effectively in this expanding national labor market.

Our conference should be a valuable aid in bringing together resources from all over the country to discuss ways and means of motivating minority youth to realize their full potential.

A detailed agenda for this conference will be mailed to you in the near future.

We would appreciate hearing from you as to whether you will be able to attend. We look forward with great pleasure to meeting you at this significant conference.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed)
Richard Nixon

Cchard Nixon

ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
MONTGOMERY

January 11, 1937

The Governor
Jefferson Building
700 South Union Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Governor:

On behalf of the Alabama State Bar Association, I would like to express my sincere appreciation for the many ways in which you have aided the Bar in its efforts to improve the administration of the courts.

The members of this Association are deeply indebted to you for the many ways in which you have aided the Bar in its efforts to improve the administration of the courts. We are sure that your continued support will be of great help to the Bar in its efforts to improve the administration of the courts.

The Association would like to express its appreciation to you for the many ways in which you have aided the Bar in its efforts to improve the administration of the courts. We are sure that your continued support will be of great help to the Bar in its efforts to improve the administration of the courts.

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A full list of the ways in which you have aided the Bar in its efforts to improve the administration of the courts will be found in the enclosed report.

We would appreciate it if you would return this report to the Association at your earliest convenience. We are sure that your continued support will be of great help to the Bar in its efforts to improve the administration of the courts.

Sincerely,
[Signature]

Respectfully,
[Signature]

Very truly,
[Signature]

APPENDIX II L

T H E W H I T E H O U S E

WASHINGTON

November 13, 1958

PERSONAL

Dear Dr. King:

Thank you very much for sending to me a copy of your book entitled, "Stride Toward Freedom." I greatly appreciate your thought of me, as do I your cordial personal inscription.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

(Signed)
Dwight D. Eisenhower

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
309 South Jackson
Montgomery, Alabama

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APPENDIX II M

H A R R Y S. T R U M A N

INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI

December 10, 1958

Dear Dr. King:

Thank you very much for sending me an inscribed copy of your book, Stride toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story.

I am delighted to have it and know that I will read it with the greatest interest.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed)
Harry S. Truman

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
309 South Jackson
Montgomery, Alabama

RECEIVED

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 1, 1907

Dear Mr. [Name]

I have your letter of the 28th of December and am glad to hear that you are well. I am also glad to hear that you are still in the service of the Government. I am sure that you will continue to do good work for many years to come.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

Very truly yours,
[Signature]
[Name]
[Title]

APPENDIX II N

JOHN F. KENNEDY
Massachusetts

COMMITTEES:
Foreign Relations
Labor and Public Welfare
Joint Economic Committee

UNITED STATES SENATE
Washington, D.C.

November 10, 1959

Rev. Martin Luther King
454 Dexter Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Rev. King:

Our mutual friend, Mrs. Majorie McKenzie Lawson, has suggested to me that you might be interested in the enclosed statement concerning my record in civil rights and race relations.

Mrs. Lawson has suggested further that we put your name on our mailing list to receive other material which we send out from time to time.

With every good wish, and in appreciation for your interest,
I am

Sincerely,

(Signed)
John F. Kennedy

JFK:cjr

jms 21

Enclosure 1

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 DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
 WASHINGTON, D. C.
 NOVEMBER 10, 1918

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 WASHINGTON, D. C.

NOVEMBER 10, 1918

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 DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
 WASHINGTON, D. C.

NOV 10 1918

THE FIRST OF THESE, THE "HISTORICAL RECORD OF THE ARMY," IS A
 WORK OF THE FIRST CLASS, AND IS A MOST INTERESTING AND
 VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE ARMY.

THE SECOND OF THESE, THE "HISTORICAL RECORD OF THE ARMY," IS A
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DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

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NOV 10 1918

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

APPENDIX II-O

T E L E G R A M

MARCH 9, 1960

PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
WASHINGTON, D. C.

A REIGN OF TERROR HAS BROKEN OUT IN MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA. GESTAPO-LIKE METHODS ARE BEING USED BY POLICE AND CITY AUTHORITIES TO INTIMIDATE NEGROES WHO HAVE BEEN PURSUING PEACEFUL AND NONVIOLENT TECHNIQUES TO ACHIEVE THEIR MORAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS. WHILE STUDENTS OF ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE WERE CONVENED IN AN ORDERLY PROTEST ON THEIR CAMPUS, CITY OFFICIALS AND POLICE LAUNCHED AN INCREDIBLE ASSAULT, AND INFILTRATED THE COLLEGE CAMPUS WITH POLICE ARMED WITH RIFLES, SHOT GUNS, AND TEAR GAS. YESTERDAY, THEY ARRESTED MORE THAN THIRTY-FIVE STUDENTS, A FACULTY MEMBER, AND A PHYSICIAN. TODAY, THEY HAD NUMEROUS TRUCKS PARKED NOT FAR FROM THE CAMPUS WITH THE THREAT OF ARRESTING THE ENTIRE STUDENT BODY.

POLICE ARE PARADING IN FRONT OF CHURCHES. THEY INHIBIT THE HOLDING OF MEETINGS AND RELIGIOUS SERVICES. THEY HAVE ACTUALLY PHYSICALLY INTRUDED THEMSELVES INTO THE RELIGIOUS SERVICES. YESTERDAY, A BISHOP WAS CONDUCTING A CHURCH MEETING WHEN POLICE INVADED THE MEETING IN A RAID. TELEPHONES ARE BEING TAPPED AND TELEPHONE LINES OF NEGRO LEADERS ARE LEFT DISCONNECTED SO THAT THEY CANNOT MAKE NOR RECEIVE CALLS. THIS CALCULATED AND PROVOCATIVE CONDUCT OF THE POLICE BACKED BY THE MUNICIPAL AND STATE AUTHORITIES LEADS INESCAPABLY TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THEY ARE TRYING TO INCITE A RIOT IN THE HOPE THAT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE INJURIES AND DEATHS THAT MIGHT RESULT WILL BE FASTENED ON THE NEGROES.

THE NEGRO COMMUNITY AND STUDENTS CANNOT PERMIT THEMSELVES TO BE INTIMIDATED. THEY WILL NOT TURN AWAY FROM THEIR PURSUIT OF JUSTICE. THEY MUST AND WILL PURSUE THEIR RIGHTEOUS AND NONVIOLENT COURSE. LEST BLOODSHED STAINS THE STREETS OF AMERICA WE ASK THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THROUGH YOU BE MADE AWARE OF THE BRUTAL AND FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.

MR. PRESIDENT, WE APPEAL TO YOU TO INTERVENE BY INSTRUCTING THE ATTORNEY GENERAL TO TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION IN YOUR NAME TO RESTORE LAW AND ORDER IN THE CAPITAL OF ALABAMA. WE ARE PREPARED TO GO WITH THE ATTORNEY GENERAL INTO THE FEDERAL COURT FOR INJUNCTIVE RELIEF. WE APPEAL TO YOU TO URGE THE CITY AUTHORITIES TO PUT DOWN THEIR GUNS, TO GARAGE THEIR VEHICLES OF AGGRESSION. WE ARE UNARMED AND DEDICATED TO NONVIOLENCE. THOUGH DETERMINED TO RESIST EVIL, WE PRAY THAT NO HARM MAY COME EITHER TO OUR PEOPLE OR TO THOSE WHO OPPRESS US. THOUGH IT APPEARS THAT THE AGGRESSORS MAY UNLEASH WORSE VIOLENCE AGAINST US NO MATTER HOW RESTRAINED OUR CONDUCT, MAY GOD HELP US TO MAINTAIN OUR ENDURANCE AGAINST PROVOCATIONS. WE ARE CONSCIOUS OF THE MANY PRESSING DUTIES OF YOUR OFFICE, BUT WE FEEL THIS TERROR WHICH GRIPS A WHOLE COMMUNITY IN AN AMERICAN CITY VIOLATING ELEMENTARY CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS REQUIRES IMMEDIATE FEDERAL EMERGENCY ACTION. OUR CONCERN FOR THE HONOR OF THE NATION WHICH WE LOVE, DESPITE OUR SUFFERING, IMPELS US TO MAKE THIS PUBLIC OUTCRY AND APPEAL FOR JUSTICE AND HUMAN DECENCY.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., PRESIDENT
THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

EXHIBIT A

EXHIBIT A

A review of the records of the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, shows that the following lands were acquired by the United States Government for the purpose of establishing a national monument:

1. A certain tract of land situated in the County of ... State of ... containing ... acres, more or less, was acquired by the United States Government in the year ... for the purpose of establishing a national monument.

2. A certain tract of land situated in the County of ... State of ... containing ... acres, more or less, was acquired by the United States Government in the year ... for the purpose of establishing a national monument.

3. A certain tract of land situated in the County of ... State of ... containing ... acres, more or less, was acquired by the United States Government in the year ... for the purpose of establishing a national monument.

It is the policy of the Department of the Interior to acquire lands for the purpose of establishing national monuments in order to preserve the natural resources of the United States. The following lands were acquired by the United States Government for the purpose of establishing a national monument:

1. A certain tract of land situated in the County of ... State of ... containing ... acres, more or less, was acquired by the United States Government in the year ... for the purpose of establishing a national monument.

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3. A certain tract of land situated in the County of ... State of ... containing ... acres, more or less, was acquired by the United States Government in the year ... for the purpose of establishing a national monument.

EXHIBIT A

APPENDIX II P

April 19, 1960

Dear Mr. Truman:

For many years I have admired you. Like many other Negroes I have deeply appreciated your civil rights record. But I must confess that some of your recent statements have completely baffled me, and served as an affront and disappointment to millions of Negroes of America. Your statement that appeared in the morning paper affirming that the "sit-ins" were Communist inspired is an unfortunate misrepresentation of facts. The more you talk about the sit-ins the more you reveal a limited grasp and an abysmal lack of understanding of what is taking place. It is a sad day for our country when men come to feel that oppressed people cannot desire freedom and human dignity unless they are motivated by Communism. Of course, we in the South constantly hear these McCarthy-like accusations and pay little attention to them; but when the accusations come from a man who was once chosen by the American people to serve as the chief custodian of the nation's destiny then they rise to shocking and dangerous proportions. We are sorry that you have not been able to project yourself in our place long enough understand the inner longing for freedom and self-respect that motivate our action. We also regret that you have not been able to see that the present movement on the part of the students is not for themselves alone, but a struggle that will help save the soul of America. As long as segregation exists, whether at lunch counters or in public schools, America is in danger of not only losing her prestige as a world leader, but also of losing her soul.

I have worked very closely with the students in this struggle and the one thing that I am convinced of is that no outside agency (Communist or otherwise) initiated this movement, and to my knowledge no Communist force has come in since it started, or will dominate it in the future. The fact that this is a spiritual movement rooted in the deepest tradition of nonviolence is enough to refute the argument that this movement was inspired by Communism which has a materialist and anti-spiritualistic world view. No, the sit-ins were not inspired by Communism. They were inspired by the passionate yearning and the timeless longing for freedom and human dignity on the part of a people who have for years been trampled over by the iron feet of oppression. They grew out of the accumulated indignities of days gone by, and the boundless aspirations of generations yet unborn. We are very sorry that you have missed this point, and that you have been misled either by your own analysis of the struggle or by misinformation that has come to you. If you feel that this movement is Communist inspired we feel that you should give the public some proof of such a strong indictment. If you cannot render such proof we feel that you owe the nation and the Negro people a public apology. Believing in your sense of goodwill and humanitarian concern,

we are confident that you would want to make such an apology.

I would appreciate hearing from you on this matter if you find it possible.

Yours for the Cause of Freedom,

Martin Luther King, Jr., President
The Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Mr. Harry Truman
Independence, Missouri

MLK:mlb

and the fact that the world was a very different place
 I would appreciate having you on this matter. It was the
 original.

Yours for the cause of freedom.

With best wishes,
 The Editor, The New York Times
 New York

Mr. Harry Truman
 Independence, Missouri

Dear Sir:

APPENDIX II Q

L Y N D O N D. J O H N S O N

SENATE DEMOCRATIC LEADER

November 28, 1960

Dear Dr. King:

Now that the election is over and our Democratic Party has won, I want to let you know how much I particularly appreciate having had your support.

The election was close and hard-fought. I am proud it was a clean and high-level campaign, and our country emerges from it without scars or embitterments that would keep us from working together in the crucial years lying ahead.

I want you to know that you may look to me for cooperation in those years, and I know that I can expect the same from you.

With best wishes, always,

Sincerely,

(Signed)
Lyndon B. Johnson

Rev. Martin Luther King
407 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATION 21

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APPENDIX II R

March 16, 1961

President John F. Kennedy
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear President Kennedy:

First, let me offer my belated congratulations to you for being elected President of our great nation. You conducted a marvelous campaign and stood up superbly against tremendous odds. May I assure you that you will have my support and prayers as you lead us through the difficult yet challenging days ahead.

If it is at all possible. I would like to have a conference with you within the next three or four weeks to discuss some important matters concerning the civil rights issue. I realize that this is asking a great deal in the light of your extremely busy schedule, but I am sure that a brief discussion on the present status of the civil rights struggle may prove to be mutually beneficial. If a date can be worked out I would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible so that I can re-arrange my schedule accordingly.

With warm personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Km

June 11, 1941

President John F. Kennedy
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am very pleased to hear that you are
interested in the work of the
National Archives and Records Administration.
I am sure that you will find the
work of this organization very interesting
and important.

I am sure that you will find the
work of this organization very interesting
and important. I am sure that you will
find the work of this organization very
interesting and important. I am sure
that you will find the work of this
organization very interesting and important.
I am sure that you will find the work
of this organization very interesting and
important.

Sincerely,
John F. Kennedy

Very truly yours,
John F. Kennedy

John F. Kennedy

APPENDIX II S
O F F I C E O F T H E A T T O R N E Y G E N E R A L
WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 18, 1961
(Stamped)

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.
President, Southern Christian
Leadership Conference
309 South Jackson Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. King:

Your telegram was most gratifying and I appreciate receiving it very much.

I hope that my appearance in Georgia was helpful in contributing to a better civil rights atmosphere so that we can make significant progress in this field during the next few years.

I hope you will continue to make your views known to me.

Sincerely,

(Signed)
Bob Kennedy
Attorney General

Many thanks to you
(Initialed)
B K

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. J. B. ...
...

Very truly yours,
...

Best of luck

Very truly yours,
...

I hope that my ...
...

...

...

Very truly yours,
...

APPENDIX II T
W E S T E R N U N I O N
T E L E G R A M

Nov 1 1961

VIA PIE CLSD TRIED RES NH

WUF329 (AP WB087) GOVT DT PD AR THE WHITE HOUSE WUX

WASHINGTON DC 31 406PEST

DR MARTIN LUTHER KING

EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH 407 AUBURN AVE NE ATLA

THE PRESIDENT INVITES YOU TO STAG LUNCHEON AT WHITE HOUSE FOR

PRESIDENT OF SENEGAL ON FRIDAY NOVEMBER THIRD AT ONE OCLOCK

PLEASE WIRE REPLY

LETITIA BALDRIGE SOCIAL SECRETARY THE WHITE HOUSE

ALPHABETICALLY

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z

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A paper (in Martin Luther King, Jr.'s own handwriting) which he wrote for a class while a student at Crozer Theological Seminary.

APPENDIX II U

*An Autobiography Of Religious
Development*

By :
M. L. King Jr.

I have been thinking of you
 and wondering how you are
 getting on. I hope you are
 well and happy. I have been
 very busy lately, but I have
 managed to find some time
 to write you. I have been
 thinking of you very much.

Yours truly,

Wm. Lloyd Garrison
 Boston

My birthplace was Atlanta Georgia, the capital of the state and the so-called "gate-way to the south." I was born in the late twenties on the verge of the great depression, which was its spread its disastrous arms into every corner of this nation for over a decade. I was much too young to remember the beginning of this depression, but I do recall how I questioned my parent about the numerous people standing in bread lines when I was about five years of age. I can see the effect of this early childhood experience on my present anti-capitalistic feelings.

I was the second child of a family of three children, having one brother and one sister. Because of our relative closeness of ages we all grew up together, and to this day there still exist that intimate relationship which existed between us in childhood. Our parents themselves were very intimate, and they always maintained

an intimate relationship with us. In our immediate family there was also a saintly grandmother (my mother's mother) whose husband had died when I was one year old. She was ^{very} dear to each of us, but especially to me. I sometimes think that I was his favorite grandchild. I can remember very vividly how she spent many evenings telling us interesting stories.

From the very beginning I was an extraordinarily healthy child. It is said that at my birth the doctor pronounced me a one hundred percent perfect child, from a physical point of view. Even today this physical harmony still abides, in that I hardly know how an ill moment feels. I guess the same thing would apply to my mental life. I have always been somewhat precocious, both physically and mentally. My I. Q. stands somewhat above the average. So it seems that from a hereditary point of view nature was very kind to me.

Good!
I like to
know who
has an
interesting
conclusion
of his
analysis.

The same applies to my environment. I was born in a very congenial home situation. My parents have always lived together very intimately, and I can hardly remember a time that they ever argued (My father happens to be the kind who just won't argue), or had any great fall out. I have never experienced the feeling of not having the basic necessities of life. These things were always provided by a father who always put his family first. My father has always been a great father. This is not to say that I was born with a silver spoon in my mouth; far from it. My father has never made more than an ordinary salary, but the secret is that he knows the art of saving and budgeting. He never wastes his money at the expense of his family. He has always had sense enough not to live beyond his means. As for this reason he has been able to provide

The same old man
 of whom I have heard so much
 in the past. The great
 the very old, and I have
 of course a little bit of
 (My father's house is built
 upon, on the old site of
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 first. My father's house
 is now a great house in the
 city that I am sure will be
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 an ordinary house, but the
 that I know the rest of my
 and history. The man who
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 in the old house, and the
 this part of the house, and the
 house. The house is the house

us with the basic necessities of life with little strain. For the past three years he has had the tremendous responsibility of keeping all of us in school, (my brother in college, my sister in graduate school, and me in the seminary) and although it has been somewhat a burden from a financial angle, he has done it with a smile. Our mother has also been behind the scene setting forth those motherly cares, the lack of which leaves a missing link in life.

The community in which I was born was quite ordinary in terms of social status. No one in our community had attained any great wealth. Most of the Negroes in my home town who had attained wealth lived in a section of town known as "Hunter Hills." The community in which I was born was characterized with a weight of unsophisticated simplicity. No one in our community was in the extremely poor

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 kind in life.

The community in which we
 have now put nothing in the way of
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 community now in the same way

class. This community was not the slum district. It is probably fair to class the people of this community as those of average income. Yet I insist that this was a wholesome community, notwithstanding the fact that none of us were ever considered members of the "upper upper class." Crime was at a minimum in our community, and most of our neighbors were deeply religious. I can well remember that all of my childhood playmates were regular Sunday School goers (H), not that I chose them on that basis, but because it was very difficult to find playmates in my community who did not attend Sunday School.

I was exposed to the best educational conditions in my childhood. At three I entered nursery school. This great childhood contact had a tremendous effect on the development of my personality. At five I entered kindergarten and there I remained for one year until -

entered the first grade.

One may ask at this point, why discuss such factors as the above in a paper dealing with one's religious development? The answer to this question lies in the fact that the above factors were highly significant in determining my religious attitudes. It is quite easy for me to think of a God of love mainly because I grew up in a family where love was central and where lovely relationships were ever present. It is quite easy for me to think of the universe as basically friendly mainly because of my uplifting hereditary and environmental circumstances. It is quite easy for me to lean more toward optimism than pessimism about human nature mainly because of my childhood experiences. It is impossible to get at the roots of one's religious attitudes without taking in account the psychological and historical factors that play upon the individual. So that

the above biographical factors are absolutely necessary in understanding my religious development.

Now for a more specific episode of my religious development. It was at the age of five that I joined the church. I well remember how this event occurred. Our church was in the midst of the spring revival, and a guest evangelist had come down from Virginia. On Sunday morning the guest evangelist came into our Sunday school to talk to us about salvation, and after a short talk on this point he extended an invitation to any of us who wanted to join the church. My sister was the first one to join the church that morning, and after seeing her join I decided that I would not let her get ahead of me, so I was the next to join. I never given this matter a thought, and even at the time of my baptism I was sure of what was to be done. From this I am quite sure that I joined the church.

not out of any dynamic conviction, but out of a childhood desire to keep up with my sister.

Conversion for me was never an abrupt something. I have never experienced the so called "crisis moment." Religion has just been something that ~~it~~ grows up in. Conversion for me has been the gradual intaking of the noble ^{ideals} set forth in my family and my environment, and I must admit that this intaking has been largely unconscious.

The church has always been a second home for me. As far back as I can remember I was in church every Sunday. I guess this was inevitable since my father was the pastor of my church, but I never regretted going to church until I passed through a state of scepticism in my second year of college. My best friends were in Sunday school, and it was the Sunday school that helped me to

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build the capacity for getting along with people.

The lessons which I was taught in Sunday School were quite in the fundamentalist line. None of my teachers ever doubted the infallibility of the Scriptures. Most of them were unlettered and had never heard of Biblical criticism. Naturally I accepted the teachings as they were being given to me. I never felt any need to doubt them, at least at that time I didn't. I guess I accepted Biblical studies uncritically until I was about twelve years old. But this uncritical attitude could not last long, for it was contrary to the very nature of my being. I had always been the questioning and precocious type. At the age of 13 I shocked my Sunday School class by denying the bodily resurrection of Jesus. From the age of thirteen on doubts began to spring forth.

I have been thinking of you very much lately
 and wondering how you are getting on.
 I hope you are well and happy.
 I have been very busy lately
 but I have managed to find some time
 to write you a few lines.
 I have been thinking of you very much lately
 and wondering how you are getting on.
 I hope you are well and happy.
 I have been very busy lately
 but I have managed to find some time
 to write you a few lines.
 I have been thinking of you very much lately
 and wondering how you are getting on.
 I hope you are well and happy.
 I have been very busy lately
 but I have managed to find some time
 to write you a few lines.

unrelentingly. At the age of fifteen I entered college and more and more could I see a gap between what I had learned in Sunday School and what I was learning in college. This conflict continued until I studied a course in Bible in which I came to see that behind the legends and myths of the Book were many profound truths which one could not escape.

One or two incidents happened in my late childhood and early adolescence that had tremendous effect on my religious development. The first was the death of my grandmother when I was about nine years old. I was particularly hurt by this incident mainly because of the extreme love I had for her. As stated above, she assisted greatly in raising all of us. It was after this incident for the first time that I talked at any length on the doctrine of immortality. My parents

attempted to explain it to me and I was assured that somehow my grandmother still lived. I guess this is why today I am such a strong believer in personal immortality.

The second incident happened when I was about six years of age. From about the age of three up until this time I had had a white playmate who was about my age. We always felt free to play our childhood games together. He did not live in our community, but he was usually around every day until about 6:00; his father owned a store just across the street from our home. At the age of six we both entered school - separate schools of course. I remember how our friendship began to break as soon as we entered school, of course this was not my desire but his. The climax came when he told me one day that his father had demanded that he would play

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with me no more. I never will forget what a great shock this was to me. I immediately asked my parents about the motive behind such a statement. We were at the dinner table when the situation was discussed, and here for the first time I was made aware of the existence of a race problem. I had never been conscious of it before. As my parents discussed some of the tragedies that had resulted from this problem and some of the insults they themselves had confronted on account of it I was greatly shocked, and from that moment on I was determined to hate every white person. As I grew older and older this feeling continued to grow. My parents would always tell me that I should not hate the white ^{man}, but that it was my duty as a Christian to love him. At this point the religious element came in. The question arose in my mind; how

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could I lose a race of people ^{who} hated me and who had been responsible for breaking me up with one of my best childhood friends? This was a great question in my mind for a number of years. I did not conquer this anti White feeling until I entered college and came in contact with white students through working in interracial organizations.

My days in college were very exciting ones. As stated above, my college training, especially the first two years, brought many doubts into my mind. It was at this period that the shackles of fundamentalism were removed from my body. This is why, when I came to Europe, I could accept the liberal interpretation with relative ease.

It was in my senior year of college that I entered the ministry. I had felt the urge to enter the

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 children friends. This was a fine
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 of years. I did not expect to
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My hope in college was very
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It was in my mind for
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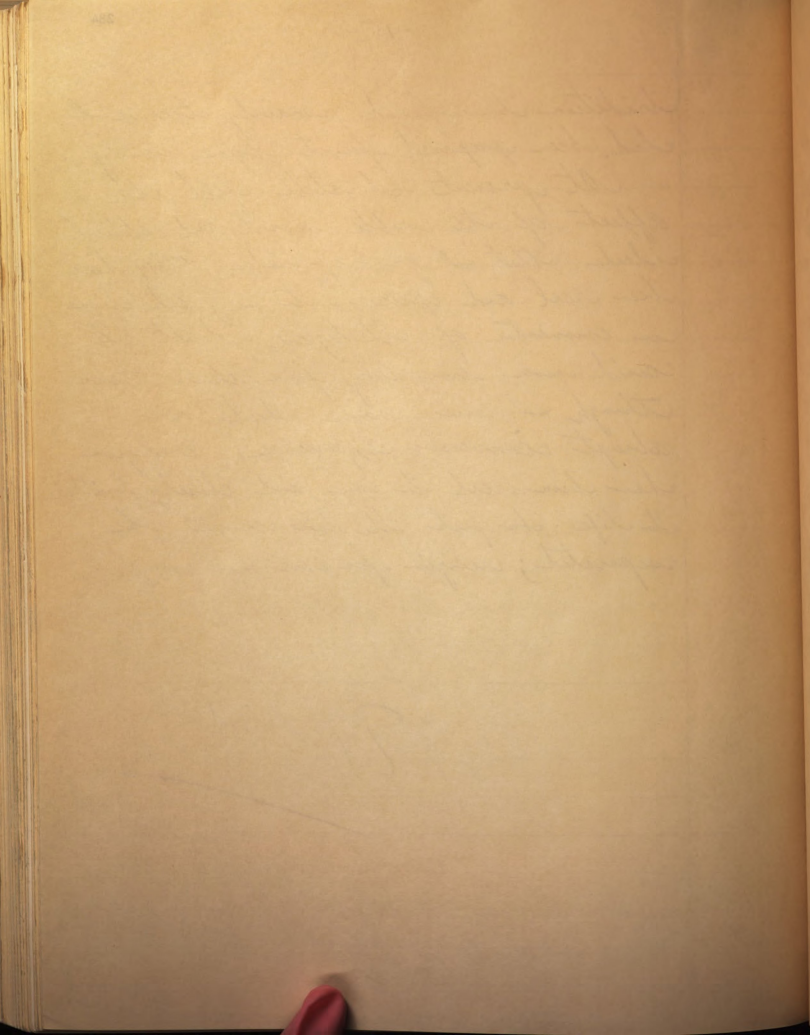
the ministry from my latter high school days, but accumulated doubts had somewhat blocked the urge. Now it appeared again with an inescapable drive. My call to the ministry was not a miraculous or supernatural something, on the contrary it was an inner urge calling me to serve humanity. I guess the influence of my father also had a great deal to do with my going in the ministry. This is not to say that he ever spoke to me in terms of being a minister, but that my admiration for him was the great moving factor; He set forth a noble example that I didn't mind following. Today I differ a great deal with my father theologically, but that admiration for a real father still remains.

At the age of 19 I finished college and was ready to enter the Seminary. On coming to the Seminary I found it quite easy to fall in line with the liberal

tradition there found, mainly because I had been prepared for it before coming.

At present I still feel the affects of the noble moral and ethical ideals that I grew up under. They have been real and precious to me, and even in moments of theological doubt I could never turn away from them. Even though I have never had an abrupt conversion experience, religion has been real to me and closely knitted to life. In fact the two cannot be separated; religion for me is real.

W. H. H.



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12

Notes, dated 21. 10. 1900, on the subject of the "Hawthorne Effect" in the "Hawthorne Experiment" conducted by L. M. Terman at the Hawthorne Works, Lowell, Mass., U.S.A.

William, 17th Nov. 1900. The following is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting of the Hawthorne Works, Lowell, Mass., U.S.A., on the 17th Nov. 1900.

1. Mr. L. M. Terman, President of the Hawthorne Works, Lowell, Mass., U.S.A.
2. Mr. J. H. Brown, Secretary of the Hawthorne Works, Lowell, Mass., U.S.A.
3. Mr. W. H. Crompton, Treasurer of the Hawthorne Works, Lowell, Mass., U.S.A.
4. Mr. J. H. Brown, Secretary of the Hawthorne Works, Lowell, Mass., U.S.A.
5. Mr. W. H. Crompton, Treasurer of the Hawthorne Works, Lowell, Mass., U.S.A.







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