**RHET 110 and 110N**

**Unit 1 Workbook**

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**Summary and Response Essay**

**Background:**

Given the foundations of *Eloquentia Perfecta* that we have discussedin our various readings, you will use your understanding of pathos and ethos to form a summary/response essay that analyzes the rhetorical/stylistic choices of Martin Luther King Jr.'s "Letter from Birmingham Jail."

**Your Task:**

In a **1000-1250 word** essay, you will explore the answers to the following questions: How, why, and to what effect does King use either pathos or ethos in his letter to persuade his audience(s) to agree with his main point? Be sure to use summary, paraphrase, quotations, and analysis to support and illustrate your thesis.

**Essay Structure:**

**I. INTRODUCTION FORMAT**

**A.** The first page should include a **summary** of King’s letter (1 paragraph, approximately 1 page) that follows the rules for summary. Be sure to include M.L.A. style in-text parenthetical citation for every sentence.

**B**. Then you will transition into a more **traditional introduction** (1 paragraph) that contextualizes your **thesis statement**, which will come near the end of the introduction paragraph and will generally answer the questions located in the task above.

**C.** Be sure to consider your **audience** when writing your introductory paragraphs: an educated and interested reader, but perhaps they do not know all of the details that you know after exploring this topic.

**II. BODY PARAGRAPH FORMAT**

**A.** You should have a minimum of **2-3 body paragraphs** (each paragraph will be between 1/2 -1 page long) supporting your thesis statement.

**B**. Each **topic sentence** needs to make a claim that supports some aspect of your thesis. The topic sentences must follow these guidelines: they should not simply be facts but rather sub-points to be proven; they should be different from but related to some aspect of your thesis; they should be different from the other topic sentences.

**C.** Be sure to use a combination of paraphrase, summary, quotations, and your own analysis to develop your argument.

**III. TITLE, CONCLUSION, and WORKS CITED PAGE**

**A**. After you have written your essay, please craft a **title** that represents its content so that your reader will know what your essay is about before they begin to read it. Please indicate the **word count** beneath your title.

**B.** Please include an M.L.A. formatted **Works Cited** page at the end of your essay.

**C**. As a suggestion for **concluding** this essay, instead of repeating exactly what you wrote in your introduction and thesis, consider sharing with your reader what happened after “Letter from Birmingham Jail” was published.

**The following Student Learning Outcomes will be met upon completion of this assignment:**

1. Critical Reading: Students learn to comprehend, analyze, and assess arguments presented both in assigned short to medium length non-fiction prose texts and in written texts found in independent research.

* "A Call for Unity" by eight Alabama clergymen
* "Letter from Birmingham Jail" by Martin Luther King Jr.
* Excerpt from *King* by Harvard Sitkoff
* "Martin Luther King, Jr." *Contemporary Black Biography*

2. Formulating Thesis/Primary Claim: Students learn to develop, in response to important civic and academic questions at issue raised in course readings and research, a specific contestable claim to serve as focus and governing principle of an argumentative essay.

* For the first essay, this general question-at-issue will help you formulate your thesis: How, why, and to what effect does King use either pathos or ethos in his letter to persuade his audience(s) to agree with his main point?

3. Arrangement/Structure: Students learn to organize papers on the whole-text and paragraph levels to facilitate reader comprehension and to meet the specific needs of different rhetorical situations.

* Students will consider why the summary of "Letter from Birmingham Jail" comes first followed by your own introduction/thesis.
* Students will focus and order body paragraphs based not on King's organization only but on your own logic.
* The conclusion will feel like an "outro" rather than being a repetition of your "intro."

4. Development: Students learn to support their claims with sufficient, relevant, and credible evidence derived from reading and research (primary and secondary) and to acknowledge and address counter-arguments.

* Students will gather relevant textual evidence from "A Call for Unity" and "Letter from Birmingham Jail," and practice integrating those illustrations using a combination of quotations, paraphrase, and summary.

5. Grammar and Style: Students learn to write in a mature and credible civic and academic manner by avoiding basic usage errors, using accurate punctuation, and employing stylistic strategies that improve clarity and concision, as well as to document reading and research in accordance with MLA.

* Students will use a variety of coordinating and correlative conjunctions, paying close attention to parallel structure and punctuation.
* Students will consider an academic audience ranging from freshman to professors in order to maintain collegiate style and relevant context.
* Students will cite every quoted, paraphrased and summarized idea that is not their own, using MLA in-text parenthetical documentation and a Works Cited page.

6. Revision: Students learn to revise drafts in order to improve content, structure, and clarity and correctness of expression, as well as to document sources accurately.

* Students will engage in a peer-response session with a rough draft before the final draft in order to revise.

**Essay Structure: Page layout for**

**Summary and Rhetorical Analysis of “Letter from Birmingham Jail”**

**(The essay will be 5 full pages of text plus a sixth works cited page)**

**activity one: Discussion Questions**

¶ Body Paragraphs continued

¶ Outro Paragraph (ie. a brief conclusion). This should be approximately 1/4 of a page.

¶ Body Paragraphs continued

¶ Body Paragraphs continued

¶ 2 Transition/Thesis paragraph: You should include additional context for your thesis statement and the thesis statement itself. This should be approximately 1/2 to 3/4 of a page.

¶ 3, 4, 5, and optional 6: Body paragraphs.

¶ 1 Introductory paragraph: You may begin with a couple of sentences of historical background, followed by a 1-2 sentence summary of the clergymen's letter, with the rest of the paragraph being your summary of King's letter. This should be approximately one page.

*Directions:* Please take a few moments to record all that you know about the subjects and person on the list below. Please do not get any help from anyone or anything (books, Internet). I would like us to know what you know. ☺

1. What year was the United States found?
2. In the Unites States, when did slavery begin?
3. When did slavery end?
4. What ended slavery?
5. What are the dates of the Civil War? Why was the Civil War fought?
6. What are segregation or Jim Crow laws? Can you give an example of one?
7. What did “separate but equal” mean?
8. What are the founding beliefs of the United States?
9. What are the years of the Civil Rights Movement?
10. Why was there a Civil Rights Movement?
11. Write down everything you know about Martin Luther King, Jr.
12. What is civil disobedience?
13. What was Martin Luther King Jr.’s philosophy about civil disobedience?
14. And whom did King model his philosophy about civil disobedience after?
15. What ended the Civil Rights Movement?

**Birmingham, Alabama Racial Segregation Ordinances**

(City of Birmingham, Alabama, “Birmingham, Alabama Issues Racial Segregation Ordinances,” *HERB: Resources for Teachers.* 2011.Web. 23 May 2013.)

This selection of city ordinances from Birmingham, Alabama, highlights the often absurd lengths to which local leaders in the Deep South were willing to go in order to maintain the strict separation of races. These "Jim Crow" laws, passed by Birmingham lawmakers between 1944 and 1951, governed both public spaces (such as restaurants and bus stations) and private interactions (such as game playing). Civil rights activists targeted such state and local laws with increasingly high-profile demonstrations during the 1950s and 1960s; the laws were eventually overturned by the federal Civil Rights Act of 1964.

1. SECTION 369. SEPARATION OF RACES.

It shall be unlawful to conduct a restaurant or other place for the serving of food in the city, at all which white and colored people are served in the same room, unless such white and colored persons are effectually separated by a solid partition extending from the floor upward to a distance of seven feet or higher, and unless a separate entrance from the street is provided for each compartment.

2. SECTION 597. NEGROES AND WHITE PERSONS NOT TO PLAY TOGETHER

It shall be unlawful for a negro and a white person to play together or in company with each other in any game of cards or dice, dominoes or checkers.

Any person, who being the owner, proprietor or keeper or superintendent, of any tavern, inn, restaurant or other public house or public place, or the clerk, servant or employee or such owner, proprietor, keeper or superintendent, knowingly permits a negro and a white person to play together or in company with each other at any game with cards, dice, dominoes or checkers, in his house or on his premises shall, on conviction, be punished as provided in section 4.

3. SECTION 1002. SEPARATION OF RACES.

Every common carrier engaged in operation streetcars in the city for the carriage of passengers shall provide equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races by providing separate cars or by clearly indicating or designating by physical visible marks the area to be occupied be each race in any streetcar in which the two races are permitted to be carried together and by confining each race to occupancy of the area of such streetcar so set apart for it.

4. Every common carrier engaged in operating streetcars in the city for the carrying of passengers shall provide for each car used for white and colored passengers, separate entrances and exits to and from such cars in such a manner as to prevent intermingling of the white and colored passengers when entering or leaving such a car….

5. And it shall be unlawful for any person, contrary to the provisions of this section providing for equal and separate accommodations for the white and colored races on streetcars, to ride or attempt to ride in a car or a division of a car designated for the race to which such person does not belong.

**Birmingham in the 1960s**

The following is King’s description of Birmingham in 1963. A complimentary primary source document is Birmingham’s Racial Segregation Ordinances.

(Clayborne Carson, ed., *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* New York: Warner Book, 1998.)

6. If you had visited Birmingham before the third of April in the one hundredth-anniversary year of the Negro's emancipation, you might have come to a startling conclusion. You might have concluded that here was a city which had been trapped for decades in a Rip Van Winkle slumber; a city whose fathers had apparently never heard of Abraham Lincoln, Thomas Jefferson, the Bill of Rights, the Preamble to the Constitution, The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, or the 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court outlawing segregation in the public schools.

7. If your powers of imagination are great enough to enable you to place yourself in the position of a Negro baby born and brought up to physical maturity in Birmingham, you would picture your life in the following manner:

8. You would be born in a Jim Crow hospital to parents who probably lived in a ghetto. You would attend a Jim Crow school. You would spend your childhood playing mainly in the streets because the "colored" parks were abysmally inadequate. When a federal court order banned park segregation, you would find that Birmingham closed down its parks and gave up its baseball team rather than integrate them.

9. If you went shopping with your mother or father, you would trudge along as they purchased at every counter except one, in the large or small stores. If you were hungry or thirsty, you would have to forget about it until you got back to the Negro section of town, for in your city it was a violation of the law to serve food to Negroes at the same counter with whites.

10. If your family attended church, you would go to a Negro church. If you attended your own Negro church and wanted to play safe, you might select a church that didn't have a pastor with a reputation for speaking out on civil rights. If you wanted to visit a church attended by white people, you would not be welcome. For although your white fellow citizens would insist that they were Christians, they practiced segregation as rigidly in the house of God as they did in the theater.

11. If you wanted to contribute to and be a part of the work of the National Association for the

Advancement of Colored People, you would not have been able to join a local branch. In the state of Alabama, segregationist authorities had been successful in enjoining the NAACP from

performing its civil rights work by declaring it a "foreign corporation" and rendering its activities illegal.

12. If you wanted a job in this city-one of the greatest iron- and steel producing centers in the nation-you had better settle on doing menial work as a porter or laborer. If you were fortunate enough to get a job, you could expect that promotions to a better status or more pay would come, not to you, but to a white employee regardless of your comparative talents.

13. If you believed your history books and thought of America as a country whose governing officials-whether city, state, or nation are selected by the governed, you would be swiftly disillusioned when you tried to exercise your right to register and vote. Your race, constituting two-fifths of the city's population, would have made up one-eighth of its voting strength.

14. You would be living in a city where brutality directed against Negroes was an unquestioned and unchallenged reality. One of the city commissioners, a member of the body that ruled municipal affairs, would be Eugene "Bull" Connor, a racist who prided himself on knowing how to handle the Negro and keep him in his "place." As commissioner of public safety, Bull Connor,

entrenched for many years in a key position in the Birmingham power structure, displayed as much contempt for the rights of the Negro as he did defiance for the authority of the federal government.

15. You would have found a general atmosphere of violence and brutality in Birmingham. Local racists intimidated, mobbed, and even killed Negroes with impunity. One of the more vivid examples of the terror of Birmingham was the castration of a Negro man, whose mutilated body had then been abandoned on a lonely road. No Negro home was protected from bombings and burnings. From the year 1957 through January 1963, while Birmingham was still claiming that its Negroes were "satisfied," seventeen unsolved bombings of Negro churches and homes of civil

rights leaders occurred.

16. In Connor's Birmingham, the silent password was fear. It was a fear not only on the part of the black oppressed, but also in the hearts of the white oppressors. Certainly Birmingham had its white moderates who disapproved of Bull Connor's tactics. Certainly Birmingham had its decent white citizens who privately deplored the maltreatment of Negroes. But they remained

publicly silent. It was a silence born of fear-fear of social, political, and economic reprisals. The ultimate tragedy of Birmingham was not the brutality of the bad people, but the silence of the good people.

17. In Birmingham, you would be living in a community where the white man's long-lived tyranny had cowed your people, led them to abandon hope, and developed in them a false sense of inferiority. You would be living in a city where the representatives of economic and political power refused to even discuss social justice with the leaders of your people.

18. You would be living in the largest city of a police state, presided over by a governor-George Wallace-whose inauguration vow had been a pledge of "segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever!" You would be living, in fact, in the most segregated city in America.

**Martin Luther King, Jr. (Biography)**

*Contemporary Black Biography*, July 7, 1992

Updated: April 3, 2008

**Source Citation:**

"Martin Luther King, Jr." *Contemporary Black Biography*. Vol. 1. Detroit: Gale, 1992. *Gale*

*Biography In Context*. Web. 16 May 2012.

**Born:** January 15, 1929 in Georgia, Atlanta, United States

1. **Died:** April 04, 1968 in Memphis, United States, Tennessee
2. **Nationality:** American
3. **Occupation:** Civil rights activist

Licensed to preach by Ebenezer Baptist Church deacons, 1947; ordained Baptist minister, 1948; Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, AL, pastor, 1954-60; president, Montgomery Improvement Association, 1965-66; Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Atlanta, founder, 1957, president and leader of civil rights campaigns, 1957-68; Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, co-pastor with father, 1960-68. Vice-president, National Sunday School and Baptist Teaching Union Congress of National Baptist Convention.

Spingarn Medal from the NAACP, 1957; L.H.D. from Morehouse College, 1957, and Central State College, 1958; LL.D. from Howard University, 1957, and Morgan State College, 1958; Anisfield-Wolf Award, 1958, for *Stride Toward Freedom;* named Man of the Year, 1963; Nobel Peace Prize, 1964; Judaism and World Peace Award from Synagogue Council of America, 1965; Brotherhood Award, 1967, for *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?;* Nehru Award for International Understanding, 1968; Presidential Medal of Freedom, 1977; received numerous awards for leadership of Montgomery movement; literary prizes were named in King's honor by the National Book Committee and by Harper & Row.

Original given name, Michael, changed to Martin; born January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, GA; assassinated April 4, 1968, in Memphis, TN; originally buried in South View Cemetery, Atlanta, reinterred at Martin Luther King, Jr., Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Atlanta; son of Martin Luther (a minister) and Alberta Christine (a teacher; maiden name, Williams) King; married Coretta Scott (a concert singer), June 18, 1953; children: Yolanda Denise, Martin Luther III, Dexter Scott, Bernice Albertine. **Education:** Morehouse College, B.A., 1948; Crozer Theological Seminary, S.D., 1951; Boston University, Ph.D., 1955, D.D., 1959; Chicago Theological Seminary, D.D., 1957; attended classes at University of Pennsylvania and Harvard University. **Religion:** Baptist. **Memberships:** National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Alpha Phi Alpha, Sigma Pi Phi, Elks.

In the years since his assassination on April 4, 1968, as he stood on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee, Martin Luther King, Jr., has evolved from a prominent civil rights leader into the symbol for the civil rights movement in the United States. He is studied by schoolchildren of all backgrounds; his words are quoted by the powerless and the powerful, by anyone who has a dream to make her or his life better, to better the nation, or the world. Monuments have been dedicated in his honor and institutions such as the Center for Nonviolent Social Change in Atlanta which bears his name have been established to carry on his work. In 1986, the U.S. Congress made King unique among twentieth-century Americans by designating his birthday a federal holiday.

King was born into a family of Baptist ministers. Martin Luther King, Sr., his father and namesake, was the pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia, a position the elder King had inherited from his wife's father, Adam Daniel Williams. As the son of a pastor growing up among the black middle class, the young King was afforded some opportunities for education and experience not available to children in poorer urban and rural areas. Yet despite his social standing, he was still subjected to the lessons of segregation because of his color. Although his family tradition was intertwined with the church and expectations were high that "M. L." would follow in the footsteps of his father and grandfather, King first resisted the ministry as a vocation, finding it ill-suited to allow him to address the social problems he had experienced in the South. So, after completing high school early, he entered nearby Morehouse College in 1944 with thoughts of becoming a lawyer or doctor. Later, influenced by the teachings of George D. Kelsey, a religion professor, and Dr. Benjamin Mays, the college's president, King came to understand the social and intellectual tradition of the ministry. By graduation in 1948, he had decided to accept it as his vocation.

In 1948 King entered the Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, where for the next three years he studied theology, philosophy, ethics, the Social Gospel of Walter Rauschenbusch, and the religious and social views of Reinhold Niebuhr. It was also during this time that King first learned of the nonviolent activism of Mohandas Gandhi. While at Crozer, King earned the respect of his professors as well as his classmates. He was elected student-body president, was valedictorian of his class, won a prize as outstanding student, and earned a fellowship for graduate study. He was accepted for doctoral study at Yale, Boston University, and Edinburgh in Scotland. He chose to attend Boston University, where he studied systematic theology with Edgar Sheffield Brightman and L. Harold DeWolf. Again he impressed his professors with his passion for learning and his intellect. After completing his coursework, King began a dissertation in which he would compare the religious views of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman.

Emerging from Boston University, King had a number of avenues available to him--pursuing a career as a professor, returning to Atlanta to join his father at Ebenezer, or becoming the pastor of his own church, in the North or in the South. He decided to accept the pastorship at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in the Deep South of Montgomery, Alabama. He installed himself as full-time pastor in September of 1954. During his first year at Dexter, King finished his dissertation and worked to organize his new church, to activate the social and political awareness of his congregation, and to to blend his academic learning with the emotional oratory of the Southern preacher. He had begun to settle into his role as preacher and new father when the events of December, 1955, thrust upon him the mantle of local civil rights leader.

On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to abide by one of Montgomery's laws requiring segregated seating on city buses. In response to this incident, several groups within the city's black community, long dissatisfied with the treatment of blacks on public transportation, came together to take action. The NAACP, the Women's Political Council, the Baptist Ministers Conference, the city's AME Zionist ministers, and the community at large united to organize a boycott of the buses. After a successful first day of boycotting, the groups formed the Montgomery Improvement Association to oversee the community action and to work with the city and busline officials to bring about fairer treatment of blacks within the existing laws. King was elected the MIA's first president.

For 382 days, King and the black community maintained the boycott while white officials from the city and the busline resisted their modest demands: courtesy toward black riders, a first-come-first-serve approach to segregated seating, and black drivers for some routes. During this period, the MIA convinced black-owned taxis to reduce their fares to enable boycotters to afford a means of transportation. Then, when the city blocked that measure, the group organized carpools. King was arrested, slandered, received hate mail and phone threats, and his house was bombed; but from the outset he preached nonviolence to the black boycotters. After the Montgomery city officials refused to be moved to change by a number of related federal court decisions, the black community finally won more than it had asked for when the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a federal court decision that ruled against segregation in Montgomery. On December 21, 1956, the integration of Montgomery city buses became mandatory.

To continue the momentum gained from the victory in Montgomery and to spread the movement across the South, King and other black leaders gathered in early 1957 to form the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. As president of the SCLC, King spent the next few years consolidating the organization's position as a social force in the region and establishing himself as its leader. King toured the country giving speeches, appearing at rallies, meeting with elected officials and candidates, and writing a book about the Montgomery experience. In 1958 he traveled to Ghana to join in its independence celebration; in 1959 he traveled to India to meet with Nehru and other associates of Gandhi. With demands on his time growing, King decided to resign from the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery and to accept his father's offer to become co-pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta. This arrangement afforded the younger King the flexibility to devote more time to SCLC activities.

From 1960 to 1962 King and the SCLC renewed their direct action against segregation at the voting booth, at schools, at lunch counters, and at bus stations. King also threw his organization's support behind other groups fighting the same battles. There were black college students, who would later organize as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), staging sit-ins at segregated lunch counters in Nashville, Montgomery, and Atlanta. There were Freedom Rides initiated by the Council on Racial Equality (CORE) to challenge segregation in interstate bus transportation. These efforts contributed to the eventual desegregation of stores, busses, and bus stations.

Yet, along with these successes, King and the civil rights movement also encountered failures. In December of 1961 the SCLC joined members of the black community of Albany, Georgia, in their effort to end segregation in that city. In the end, the white city government and the law enforcement officials refused to make any substantial concessions and avoided resorting to violence. The black organizations involved, on the other hand, were unable to cooperate among themselves and unable to keep Albany's blacks from turning to violence. With the failure in Albany, King's leadership and philosophy of nonviolence as well as the SCLC's planning came under criticism.

King was able to redeem himself in the spring of 1963 in Birmingham, Alabama, a city considered by many to be the most segregated in the country. King and the SCLC were invited by local black leaders to help them organize a protest to end segregation in downtown stores, to achieve equal opportunity in employment, and to establish a biracial commission to promote further desegregation. In order to attract attention to their demands and to put pressure on local businesses, the protesters employed the march. Birmingham police moved against the first march with clubs and attack dogs and the state court issued an injunction barring further protests. When King and close associate Ralph Abernathy defied the court order, they were arrested and placed in solitary confinement. During his incarceration, criticism by local white clergymen of the movement and King's actions prompted him to write his famous "Letter from a Birmingham Jail."

After being tried for contempt and found guilty, King was released on appeal. He rejoined the protesters. When the adult marchers began to lose their enthusiasm, high school students and younger children joined the march. Around 3,000 marchers were arrested, filling up the jails. Later marches were broken up by police using clubs and dogs and firemen with high-pressure hoses. The police brutality directed toward unarmed black men, women, and children outraged the nation and the Kennedy administration. The growing tide of negative publicity soon convinced Birmingham's white businessmen to seek an agreement with the protesters.

In the aftermath of the agreement, white extremists bombed King's hotel and his brother's home, igniting riots by blacks. However, the black leaders, the white businessmen, and federal troops sent in by the Kennedy administration were successful in their efforts to halt the violence; the agreement was given time to take hold.

With the success of Birmingham still fresh in the minds of blacks and whites in the South and North, King was poised to assert himself as a national and international leader. On August 28, 1963, approximately 250,000 blacks and whites marched on Washington, D.C., to raise the nation's consciousness of civil rights and to encourage the passage of the Civil Rights Bill before Congress at that time. The march was a cooperative effort of several civil rights organizations--including the Negro American Labor Council, the Urban League, the SCLC, NAACP, SNCC, and CORE--and the movement's largest demonstration. King was the last speaker scheduled to address the crowd gathered in the shadow of the Lincoln Memorial. He began a speech that referred to the lack of progress in securing black rights in the hundred years since Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation; by the time he finished, he had deviated from his prepared speech to offer a speech drawn from past sermons and from the inspiration of the moment, his famous "I Have a Dream" address.

King's stature as a leader of national and international prominence was confirmed in 1964. In January of that year he became the first black American to be named *Time* magazine's "Man of the Year." And, in December of that year he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, the youngest person ever to win the award. The recognition that followed from these and other honors prompted journalists and politicians from around the world to seek King's views on a wide range of the world issues. Even so, King remained focused on the "twenty-two million Negroes of the United States of America engaged in a creative battle to end the long night of racial injustice," as he stated in his Nobel acceptance speech. Earlier in 1964 he had attended the signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the law that had put the federal government firmly behind ending segregation and discrimination in public institutions. But blacks still faced barriers to voting throughout the South, and they faced more subtle economic barriers in other regions.

In 1965 and 1966 King and the SCLC decided to take on these barriers. Civil rights groups stepped up their voter registration drives in the South and King took his strategy of nonviolent confrontation to Selma, Alabama. Marches in Selma and from Selma to the state capital of Montgomery brought publicity to the movement's voting rights demands and gave momentum to congressional efforts to enact legislation to remedy the situation. In August, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was passed into law. It gave federal authorities the power to end literacy tests and poll taxes and to monitor all elections.

In 1966 King and the SCLC launched a campaign in Chicago, both to expand their influence into the North and to raise awareness of the issues of urban discrimination and poverty as manifested in housing, schooling, and unemployment. The SCLC influenced some changes and put some long-term operations in place such as Operation Breadbasket. However, the campaign was unable to score the kind of success that it had in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma. Discrimination was more subtle in this northern metropolis than in the segregated South; city officials, including Mayor Richard Daley, were less extreme and more politically astute than their southern counterparts in their response to confrontation; furthermore, Chicago's black population was more divided, with some elements very much prone to violence.

In the last year of his life, King actively expanded the scope of his efforts to include not only civil rights issues but also human rights issues important to people the world over. As the war in Vietnam escalated in the second half of the 1960s, King had grown dissatisfied with the situation. In 1967 he began to speak out consistently against the war. In speeches and rallies around the country, he called for a negotiated settlement. King was recruited by anti-war activists to head an independent ticket for the presidential election of 1968, a position he declined in order to keep his social and moral concerns free from political obligations.

Late in 1967 King directed his organization to begin laying the groundwork for what would be known as the Poor People's Campaign. He wanted to recruit the poor from urban and rural areas--men and women of all races and backgrounds--and lead them in a campaign for economic rights. The recruited poor, trained in nonviolent direct action, would descend on Washington, D.C., and begin a three-month campaign of marches, rallies, sit-ins, and boycotts to pressure the Johnson administration and leading businessmen to put a more human face on American capitalism.

In March of 1968, while touring the U.S. to raise support for this new march on Washington, King accepted an invitation to speak on behalf of sanitation workers in Memphis, Tennessee, who were striking in an attempt to improve their poor working conditions. After a march organized by local leaders was postponed because of a heavy snowstorm, King joined the rescheduled event on March 28. Shortly after the march began, young gang members initiated violence igniting a riot that ended with one dead, numerous injuries, and widespread property damage. King vowed to return to personally direct another demonstration in order to reestablish nonviolence in this local dispute.

Again in Memphis to plan this march, King was assassinated on April 4, 1968, as he stood on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel. The night before, addressing an audience of 500 at the Mason Temple in downtown Memphis, King had given his last speech, which included these words: "Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will. And he's allowed me to go up to the mountain, and I've looked over, and I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight that we as a people will get to the promised land."

Although widely regarded as one of the great social leaders of the twentieth century, King has not been without critics. He was closely scrutinized during his life by his colleagues in the SCLC, by other leaders in the civil rights movement, by those he sought to change, and by state and federal officials affected by his actions; he is still scrutinized today by those trying to get behind the symbol to the man and his place in American history.

In SCLC meetings, King often faced disagreements with his lieutenants and advisors over organization, tactics, and campaigns. He received little initial support for his idea to launch the Poor People's Campaign. Within the civil rights movement of the 1960s, King was not universally accepted as its leader and spokesman. Roy Wilkins, his NAACP, and its strategy of seeking change through legislation and court action were in constant competition with King, his SCLC, and its nonviolent direct confrontation for the support of blacks and white integrationists.

The SNCC criticized King for becoming a symbol and his SCLC adults for interfering with student-initiated grass-roots movements. Later in the movement, the two groups grew farther apart when the SNCC and its leader, Stokely Carmichael, espoused the "black power" ideology of violence and black separatism as the only means to bring about change. Local civil rights organizations were often put off by King's outsiders invading their cities, making headlines, then leaving never to follow through. Furthermore, numerous civil rights leaders and social commentators severely faulted King for his stand against the war in Vietnam. Some felt he was abusing his prominence to step beyond his expertise; others feared that his linking of the civil rights and the anti-war movements would weaken their cause.

King has also received criticism for more personal aspects of his life. During his career as a civil rights leader, his actions and character were repeatedly placed under a microscope through spying and wiretapping ordered by FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover. Information about King's advisors outside SCLC and their links to communism and homosexuality as well as King's own extramarital relationships was gathered for use to discredit the leader and his organization. Most recently, scholars working on a collection of King's papers confirmed November, 1990, press reports that significant parts of King's Ph.D. dissertation had been lifted from the work of Jack Boozer, a fellow student, and the theologian Paul Tillich.

At a time when new generations of Americans more easily see the symbol of the civil rights movement than the man, the gifted yet human activist, many who were close to King fear that his dream for America runs the risk of fading along with the memories of his life. In his biography of King, *Bearing the Cross,* David J. Garrow quotes one of King's college classmates, educator Charles V. Willie: "By idolizing those whom we honor, we do a disservice both to them and to ourselves. By exalting the accomplishments of Martin Luther King, Jr., into a legendary tale that is annually told, we fail to recognize his humanity--his personal and public struggles that are similar to yours and mine. By idolizing those whom we honor, we fail to realize that we could go and do likewise."

**Appeals Chart**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Appeal** | **Explanation and effects of appeal** | **Example of appeal** | **Analysis of the example: What are the effects of this illustration?** |
| PATHOS: Emotional Appeal |  |  |  |
| ETHOS:  Appeal based on character |  |  |  |
| LOGOS:  Appeal based on fact, reason, logic |  |  |  |

**"A Call for Unity"**

**(The following is the public statement directed to the non-violent civil-rights activists written by eight Alabama clergymen and published in the *Birmingham News* on April 12, 1963)**

We the undersigned clergymen are among those who, in January, issued "an appeal for law and order and common sense," in dealing with racial problems in Alabama. We expressed understanding that honest convictions in racial matters could properly be pursued in the courts, but urged that decisions of those courts should in the meantime be peacefully obeyed.

Since that time there had been some evidence of increased forbearance and a willingness to face facts. Responsible citizens have undertaken to work on various problems which cause racial friction and unrest. In Birmingham, recent public events have given indication that we all have opportunity for a new constructive and realistic approach to racial problems.

However, we are now confronted by a series of demonstrations by some of our Negro citizens, directed and led in part by outsiders. We recognize the natural impatience of people who feel that their hopes are slow in being realized. But we are convinced that these demonstrations are unwise and untimely.

We agree rather with certain local Negro leadership which has called for honest and open negotiation of racial issues in our area. And we believe this kind of facing of issues can best be accomplished by citizens of our own metropolitan area, white and Negro, meeting with their knowledge and experience of the local situation. All of us need to face that responsibility and find proper channels for its accomplishment.

Just as we formerly pointed out that "hatred and violence have no sanction in our religious and political traditions," we also point out that such actions as incite to hatred and violence, however technically peaceful those actions may be, have not contributed to the resolution of our local problems. We do not believe that these days of new hope are days when extreme measures are justified in Birmingham.

We commend the community as a whole, and the local news media and law enforcement officials in particular, on the calm manner in which these demonstrations have been handled. We urge the public to continue to show restraint should the demonstrations continue, and the law enforcement officials to remain calm and continue to protect our city from violence.

We further strongly urge our own Negro community to withdraw support from these demonstrations, and to unite locally in working peacefully for a better Birmingham. When rights are consistently denied, a cause should be pressed in the courts and in negotiations among local leaders, and not in the streets. We appeal to both our white and Negro citizenry to observe the principles of law and order and common sense.

Bishop C.C.J. Carpenter, D.D., LL.D., Episcopalian Bishop of Alabama

Bishop Joseph A. Durick, D.D., Auxiliary Bishop, Roman Catholic Diocese of Mobile, Birmingham

Rabbi Milton L. Grafman, Temple Emanu-El, Birmingham, Alabama

Bishop Paul Hardin, Methodist Bishop of the Alabama-West Florida Conference

Bishop Nolan B. Harmon, Bishop of the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church

Rev. George M. Murray, D.D., LL.D, Bishop Coadjutor, Episcopal Diocese of Alabama

Rev. Edward V. Ramage, Moderator, Synod of the Alabama Presbyterian Church in the United States

Rev. Earl Stallings, Pastor, First Baptist Church, Birmingham, Alabama

Works Cited Entry:

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Summary Practice

*When summarizing any text, a student must be able to identify the difference between a specific detail and a general point. Levels of specificity and generality are often hard to discern between, especially when reading complex texts. Please read the example paragraph below and the three different student summaries.*

"King was born into a family of Baptist ministers. Martin Luther King, Sr., his father and namesake, was the pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia, a position the elder King had inherited from his wife's father, Adam Daniel Williams. As the son of a pastor growing up among the black middle class, the young King was afforded some opportunities for education and experience not available to children in poorer urban and rural areas. Yet despite his social standing, he was still subjected to the lessons of segregation because of his color. Although his family tradition was intertwined with the church and expectations were high that 'M. L.' would follow in the footsteps of his father and grandfather, King first resisted the ministry as a vocation, finding it ill-suited to allow him to address the social problems he had experienced in the South. So, after completing high school early, he entered nearby Morehouse College in 1944 with thoughts of becoming a lawyer or doctor. Later, influenced by the teachings of George D. Kelsey, a religion professor, and Dr. Benjamin Mays, the college's president, King came to understand the social and intellectual tradition of the ministry. By graduation in 1948, he had decided to accept it as his vocation." (from Martin Luther Kings Jr.'s Biography)

*The students were asked to sum up the paragraph in 1-2 sentences. Please explain which of these student summaries is the strongest and weakest, and say why. Remember, you want the summary that allows you to know what the paragraph is about without having to read the whole paragraph.*

**Student #1 Summary:** Even though King's family was rich and he was well educated, he was discriminated against.

**Student #2 Summary:** King was reared to be a religious leader, as his family was steeped in the ministry, but he wanted to pursue a career that involved more social justice. However, he eventually learned that being a minister was indeed a profession that could help his race.

**Student #3 Summary:** King decided to become a minister.

*Please summarize the main point of the paragraph in 1-2 sentences.*

"In 1948 King entered the Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, where for the next three years he studied theology, philosophy, ethics, the Social Gospel of Walter Rauschenbusch, and the religious and social views of Reinhold Niebuhr. It was also during this time that King first learned of the nonviolent activism of Mohandas Gandhi. While at Crozer, King earned the respect of his professors as well as his classmates. He was elected student-body president, was valedictorian of his class, won a prize as outstanding student, and earned a fellowship for graduate study. He was accepted for doctoral study at Yale, Boston University, and Edinburgh in Scotland. He chose to attend Boston University, where he studied systematic theology with Edgar Sheffield Brightman and L. Harold DeWolf. Again he impressed his professors with his passion for learning and his intellect. After completing his coursework, King began a dissertation in which he would compare the religious views of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman." (from Martin Luther King Jr.'s Biography)

**Writing a Summary**

At some point in a course, your instructor may ask you to write a summary of a book, an article, a TV show, or the like. In a summary, you reduce material in an original work to its main points and key supporting details. Writing a summary brings together a number of important reading, study, and writing skills. To condense the original assigned material, you must preview, read, evaluate, organize, and perhaps outline it. Summarizing, then, can be a real aid to understanding; you must "get inside" the material and realize fully what is being said before you can reduce its meaning into a summary.

**How to Summarize an Article: The Process**

To write a summary of an article, follow the steps described below.

1. Take a few minutes to preview the work. You can preview an article in a magazine by taking a quick look at the following:
2. Title.

A title often summarizes what an article is about. Think about the title for a minute, and about how it may condense the meaning of the article.

1. Subtitle.

A subtitle, if given, is a short summary appearing under or next to the title. For example, in a Newsweek article entitled "Growing Old, Feeling Young," the following caption appeared: "Not only are Americans living longer, they are staying active longer-and their worst enemy is not nature, but the myths and prejudices about growing old." In short, the subtitle, the caption, or any other words in large print under or next to the title often provide a quick insight into the meaning of an article.

1. First and last several paragraphs.

In the first several paragraphs, the author may introduce you to the subject and state the purpose of the article. In the last several paragraphs, the writer may present conclusions or a summary. The previews or summaries can give you a quick overview of what the entire article is about.

1. Other items.

Note any heads or subheads that appear in the article. They often provide clues to the article's main points and give an immediate sense of what each section is about. Look carefully at any pictures, charts, or diagrams that accompany the article. Page space in a magazine or journal is limited, and such visual aids are generally used only to illustrate important points in the article. Note any words or phrases set off in italic type or boldface print; such words have probably been emphasized because they deal with important points in the article.

1. Read the article for all you can understand the first time through**.** Do not slow down or turn back. Check or otherwise mark main points and key supporting details. Pay special attention to all the items noted in the preview. Also, look for definitions, examples, and enumerations (lists of items), which often indicate key ideas. You can also identify important points by turning any heads into questions and reading to find the answers to the questions.
2. Go back and reread more carefully the areas you have identified as most important. Also, focus on other key points you may have missed in your first reading.
3. Take notes on the material. Concentrate on getting down the main ideas and the key supporting points. Challenge yourself by attempting to sum up each paragraph in 1 sentence!
4. Prepare the first draft of your summary.

##### How to Summarize an Article: The Product

1. Identify at the start of your summary the complete title of the article or selection, the full name of the author of the article and the name of the book, magazine, or newspaper enclosed in parenthesis, and the date of publication if you know it. For example, In Martin Luther King’s “Letter from Birmingham Jail” (*The Christian Century*), first published in 1963, he states… You should include the author’s thesis (main point or main argument) in the very first sentence. If you find that the author has a sentence that best represents his/her thesis, then you may quote that statement. However, most pieces of writing will not have a clear thesis statement, so you must, in your own words, summarize the thesis and include it in your first, introductory sentence, the one which will open your summary.
2. Do not write an overly detailed summary. Remember that the purpose of a summary is to reduce the original work to its main points and essential supporting details. As a rule of thumb, your summary should be about one-fourth of the original article or selection. However, you may be asked to write a summary of a certain length—one sentence, one page, one-fourth of the original. You then need to proceed from the assignment, including the most important information given the parameters of length.
3. Express the main points and key supporting details in your own words. Do not imitate the style/diction of the original work. Although the words should be yours, the ideas still belong to the author, so most (if not all) of your sentences should begin, “King then goes on to explain” or “Next, he discusses.”
4. Quote from the material only to illustrate key points. Also, limit your quotations. All direct quotations should be carefully selected, and properly cited.
5. Preserve the balance and proportion of the original work. If the original devoted 70 percent of its space to one idea and only 30 percent to another, your summary should reflect that emphasis.
6. Preserve the order of ideas, except for the opening sentence. If an author writes about race in his first paragraph and civil disobedience in his last, your summary should reflect that organization.
7. Do not include any of your own opinions, critical ideas, judgments, or biases. At its most pure, a summary should just be a thumbnail sketch of another person’s ideas in your own words!

In short, a summary is a brief restatement, in your own words, of the content of an essay (a group of paragraphs, a chapter, an article, or a book). This restatement should focus on the central idea of the essay. The shortest of all summaries (one or two sentences) will do no more than this. A longer, more complete summary will indicate, in condensed form, the main points in the essay that support or explain the central idea. It will reflect the order in which these points are presented. It may include some important examples, but it will not include minor details. It will not contain any of your own opinions or conclusions. A good summary therefore has three central qualities:

1. Brevity, 2. Completeness, 3. Objectivity

"Letter from a Birmingham Jail"

16 April 1963, published (among other places) in *The Christian Century*

My Dear Fellow Clergymen:

1 While confined here in the Birmingham city jail, I came across your recent statement calling my present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. If I sought to answer all the criticisms that cross my desk, my secretaries would have little time for anything other than such correspondence in the course of the day, and I would have no time for constructive work. But since I feel that you are men of genuine good will and that your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I want to try to answer your statement in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

2 I think I should indicate why I am here in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the view which argues against "outsiders coming in." I have the honor of serving as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization operating in every southern state, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. We have some eighty five affiliated organizations across the South, and one of them is the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Frequently we share staff, educational and financial resources with our affiliates. Several months ago the affiliate here in Birmingham asked us to be on call to engage in a nonviolent direct action program if such were deemed necessary. We readily consented, and when the hour came we lived up to our promise. So I, along with several members of my staff, am here because I was invited here. I am here because I have organizational ties here.

3 But more basically, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just as the prophets of the eighth century B.C. left their villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their home towns, and just as the Apostle Paul left his village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to the far corners of the Greco Roman world, so am I compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my own home town. Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid.

4 Moreover, I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. Anyone who lives inside the United States can never be considered an outsider anywhere within its bounds.

5 You deplore the demonstrations taking place in Birmingham. But your statement, I am sorry to say, fails to express a similar concern for the conditions that brought about the demonstrations. I am sure that none of you would want to rest content with the superficial kind of social analysis that deals merely with effects and does not grapple with underlying causes. It is unfortunate that demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham, but it is even more unfortunate that the city's white power structure left the Negro community with no alternative.

6 In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist; negotiation; self purification; and direct action. We have gone through all these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of brutality is widely known. Negroes have experienced grossly unjust treatment in the courts. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than in any other city in the nation. These are the hard, brutal facts of the case. On the basis of these conditions, Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the latter consistently refused to engage in good faith negotiation.

7 Then, last September, came the opportunity to talk with leaders of Birmingham's economic community. In the course of the negotiations, certain promises were made by the merchants--for example, to remove the stores' humiliating racial signs. On the basis of these promises, the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth and the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights agreed to a moratorium on all demonstrations. As the weeks and months went by, we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise. A few signs, briefly removed, returned; the others remained.

8 As in so many past experiences, our hopes had been blasted, and the shadow of deep disappointment settled upon us. We had no alternative except to prepare for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and the national community. Mindful of the difficulties involved, we decided to undertake a process of self purification. We began a series of workshops on nonviolence, and we repeatedly asked ourselves: "Are you able to accept blows without retaliating?" "Are you able to endure the ordeal of jail?" We decided to schedule our direct action program for the Easter season, realizing that except for Christmas, this is the main shopping period of the year. Knowing that a strong economic-withdrawal program would be the by product of direct action, we felt that this would be the best time to bring pressure to bear on the merchants for the needed change.

9 Then it occurred to us that Birmingham's mayoral election was coming up in March, and we speedily decided to postpone action until after election day. When we discovered that the Commissioner of Public Safety, Eugene "Bull" Connor, had piled up enough votes to be in the run off, we decided again to postpone action until the day after the run off so that the demonstrations could not be used to cloud the issues. Like many others, we waited to see Mr. Connor defeated, and to this end we endured postponement after postponement. Having aided in this community need, we felt that our direct action program could be delayed no longer.

10 You may well ask: "Why direct action? Why sit ins, marches and so forth? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are quite right in calling for negotiation. Indeed, this is the very purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. My citing the creation of tension as part of the work of the nonviolent resister may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word "tension." I have earnestly opposed violent tension, but there is a type of constructive, nonviolent tension which is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, so must we see the need for nonviolent gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood.

11 The purpose of our direct action program is to create a situation so crisis packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. I therefore concur with you in your call for negotiation. Too long has our beloved Southland been bogged down in a tragic effort to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

12 One of the basic points in your statement is that the action that I and my associates have taken in Birmingham is untimely. Some have asked: "Why didn't you give the new city administration time to act?" The only answer that I can give to this query is that the new Birmingham administration must be prodded about as much as the outgoing one, before it will act. We are sadly mistaken if we feel that the election of Albert Boutwell as mayor will bring the millennium to Birmingham. While Mr. Boutwell is a much more gentle person than Mr. Connor, they are both segregationists, dedicated to maintenance of the status quo. I have hope that Mr. Boutwell will be reasonable enough to see the futility of massive resistance to desegregation. But he will not see this without pressure from devotees of civil rights. My friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and nonviolent pressure. Lamentably, it is an historical fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but, as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups tend to be more immoral than individuals.

12 We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct action campaign that was "well timed" in the view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant "Never." We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that "justice too long delayed is justice denied."

14 We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jetlike speed toward gaining political independence, but we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward gaining a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. Perhaps it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say, "Wait." But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate filled policemen curse, kick and even kill your black brothers and sisters; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six year old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see ominous clouds of inferiority beginning to form in her little mental sky, and see her beginning to distort her personality by developing an unconscious bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five year old son who is asking: "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross county drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" and "colored"; when your first name becomes "nigger," your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs."; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tiptoe stance, never quite knowing what to expect next, and are plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness"--then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into the abyss of despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

15 You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, at first glance it may seem rather paradoxical for us consciously to break laws. One may well ask: "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer lies in the fact that there are two types of laws: just and unjust. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but a moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with St. Augustine that "an unjust law is no law at all."

16 Now, what is the difference between the two? How does one determine whether a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of St. Thomas Aquinas: An unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal law and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. Segregation, to use the terminology of the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber, substitutes an "I it" relationship for an "I thou" relationship and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. Hence segregation is not only politically, economically and sociologically unsound, it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich has said that sin is separation. Is not segregation an existential expression of man's tragic separation, his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness? Thus it is that I can urge men to obey the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court, for it is morally right; and I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances, for they are morally wrong.

17 Let us consider a more concrete example of just and unjust laws. An unjust law is a code that a numerical or power majority group compels a minority group to obey but does not make binding on itself. This is difference made legal. By the same token, a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow and that it is willing to follow itself. This is sameness made legal.

18 Let me give another explanation. A law is unjust if it is inflicted on a minority that, as a result of being denied the right to vote, had no part in enacting or devising the law. Who can say that the legislature of Alabama which set up that state's segregation laws was democratically elected? Throughout Alabama all sorts of devious methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters, and there are some counties in which, even though Negroes constitute a majority of the population, not a single Negro is registered. Can any law enacted under such circumstances be considered democratically structured?

19 Sometimes a law is just on its face and unjust in its application. For instance, I have been arrested on a charge of parading without a permit. Now, there is nothing wrong in having an ordinance which requires a permit for a parade. But such an ordinance becomes unjust when it is used to maintain segregation and to deny citizens the First-Amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and protest.

20 I hope you are able to see the distinction I am trying to point out. In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law, as would the rabid segregationist. That would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do so openly, lovingly, and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and who willingly accepts the penalty of imprisonment in order to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the highest respect for law.

21 Of course, there is nothing new about this kind of civil disobedience. It was evidenced sublimely in the refusal of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to obey the laws of Nebuchadnezzar, on the ground that a higher moral law was at stake. It was practiced superbly by the early Christians, who were willing to face hungry lions and the excruciating pain of chopping blocks rather than submit to certain unjust laws of the Roman Empire. To a degree, academic freedom is a reality today because Socrates practiced civil disobedience. In our own nation, the Boston Tea Party represented a massive act of civil disobedience.

22 We should never forget that everything Adolf Hitler did in Germany was "legal" and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was "illegal." It was "illegal" to aid and comfort a Jew in Hitler's Germany. Even so, I am sure that, had I lived in Germany at the time, I would have aided and comforted my Jewish brothers. If today I lived in a Communist country where certain principles dear to the Christian faith are suppressed, I would openly advocate disobeying that country's antireligious laws.

23 I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First, I must confess that over the past few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in his stride toward freedom is not the White Citizen's Counciler or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate, who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says: "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I cannot agree with your methods of direct action"; who paternalistically believes he can set the timetable for another man's freedom; who lives by a mythical concept of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait for a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection.

24 I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that law and order exist for the purpose of establishing justice and that when they fail in this purpose they become the dangerously structured dams that block the flow of social progress. I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that the present tension in the South is a necessary phase of the transition from an obnoxious negative peace, in which the Negro passively accepted his unjust plight, to a substantive and positive peace, in which all men will respect the dignity and worth of human personality. Actually, we who engage in nonviolent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open, where it can be seen and dealt with. Like a boil that can never be cured so long as it is covered up but must be opened with all its ugliness to the natural medicines of air and light, injustice must be exposed, with all the tension its exposure creates, to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion before it can be cured.

25 In your statement you assert that our actions, even though peaceful, must be condemned because they precipitate violence. But is this a logical assertion? Isn't this like condemning a robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robbery? Isn't this like condemning Socrates because his unswerving commitment to truth and his philosophical inquiries precipitated the act by the misguided populace in which they made him drink hemlock? Isn't this like condemning Jesus because his unique God consciousness and never ceasing devotion to God's will precipitated the evil act of crucifixion? We must come to see that, as the federal courts have consistently affirmed, it is wrong to urge an individual to cease his efforts to gain his basic constitutional rights because the quest may precipitate violence. Society must protect the robbed and punish the robber.

26 I had also hoped that the white moderate would reject the myth concerning time in relation to the struggle for freedom. I have just received a letter from a white brother in Texas. He writes: "All Christians know that the colored people will receive equal rights eventually, but it is possible that you are in too great a religious hurry. It has taken Christianity almost two thousand years to accomplish what it has. The teachings of Christ take time to come to earth." Such an attitude stems from a tragic misconception of time, from the strangely irrational notion that there is something in the very flow of time that will inevitably cure all ills. Actually, time itself is neutral; it can be used either destructively or constructively. More and more I feel that the people of ill will have used time much more effectively than have the people of good will. We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the hateful words and actions of the bad people but for the appalling silence of the good people. 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. We must use time creatively, in the knowledge that the time is always ripe to do right. Now is the time to make real the promise of democracy and transform our pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. Now is the time to lift our national policy from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of human dignity.

27 You speak of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergymen would see my nonviolent efforts as those of an extremist. I began thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency, made up in part of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, are so drained of self respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation; and in part of a few middle-class Negroes who, because of a degree of academic and economic security and because in some ways they profit by segregation, have become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness and hatred, and it comes perilously close to advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up across the nation, the largest and best known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. Nourished by the Negro's frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination, this movement is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incorrigible "devil."

28 I have tried to stand between these two forces, saying that we need emulate neither the "do nothingism" of the complacent nor the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. For there is the more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I am grateful to God that, through the influence of the Negro church, the way of nonviolence became an integral part of our struggle.

29 If this philosophy had not emerged, by now many streets of the South would, I am convinced, be flowing with blood. And I am further convinced that if our white brothers dismiss as "rabble rousers" and "outside agitators" those of us who employ nonviolent direct action, and if they refuse to support our nonviolent efforts, millions of Negroes will, out of frustration and despair, seek solace and security in black nationalist ideologies--a development that would inevitably lead to a frightening racial nightmare.

30 Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning for freedom eventually manifests itself, and that is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom, and something without has reminded him that it can be gained. Consciously or unconsciously, he has been caught up by the Zeitgeist, and with his black brothers of Africa and his brown and yellow brothers of Asia, South America and the Caribbean, the United States Negro is moving with a sense of great urgency toward the promised land of racial justice. If one recognizes this vital urge that has engulfed the Negro community, one should readily understand why public demonstrations are taking place. The Negro has many pent up resentments and latent frustrations, and he must release them. So let him march; let him make prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; let him go on freedom rides -and try to understand why he must do so. If his repressed emotions are not released in nonviolent ways, they will seek expression through violence; this is not a threat but a fact of history. So I have not said to my people: "Get rid of your discontent." Rather, I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channeled into the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action. And now this approach is being termed extremist.

31 But though I was initially disappointed at being categorized as an extremist, as I continued to think about the matter I gradually gained a measure of satisfaction from the label. Was not Jesus an extremist for love: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you." Was not Amos an extremist for justice: "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an ever flowing stream." Was not Paul an extremist for the Christian gospel: "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Was not Martin Luther an extremist: "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise, so help me God." And John Bunyan: "I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make a butchery of my conscience." And Abraham Lincoln: "This nation cannot survive half slave and half free." And Thomas Jefferson: "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal . . ." So the question is not whether we will be extremists, but what kind of extremists we will be. Will we be extremists for hate or for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice or for the extension of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill three men were crucified. We must never forget that all three were crucified for the same crime--the crime of extremism. Two were extremists for immorality, and thus fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Christ, was an extremist for love, truth and goodness, and thereby rose above his environment. Perhaps the South, the nation and the world are in dire need of creative extremists.

32 I had hoped that the white moderate would see this need. Perhaps I was too optimistic; perhaps I expected too much. I suppose I should have realized that few members of the oppressor race can understand the deep groans and passionate yearnings of the oppressed race, and still fewer have the vision to see that injustice must be rooted out by strong, persistent and determined action. I am thankful, however, that some of our white brothers in the South have grasped the meaning of this social revolution and committed themselves to it. They are still all too few in quantity, but they are big in quality. Some -such as Ralph McGill, Lillian Smith, Harry Golden, James McBride Dabbs, Ann Braden and Sarah Patton Boyle--have written about our struggle in eloquent and prophetic terms. Others have marched with us down nameless streets of the South. They have languished in filthy, roach infested jails, suffering the abuse and brutality of policemen who view them as "dirty nigger-lovers." Unlike so many of their moderate brothers and sisters, they have recognized the urgency of the moment and sensed the need for powerful "action" antidotes to combat the disease of segregation.

33 Let me take note of my other major disappointment. I have been so greatly disappointed with the white church and its leadership. Of course, there are some notable exceptions. I am not unmindful of the fact that each of you has taken some significant stands on this issue. I commend you, Reverend Stallings, for your Christian stand on this past Sunday, in welcoming Negroes to your worship service on a non-segregated basis. I commend the Catholic leaders of this state for integrating Spring Hill College several years ago.

34 But despite these notable exceptions, I must honestly reiterate that I have been disappointed with the church. I do not say this as one of those negative critics who can always find something wrong with the church. I say this as a minister of the gospel, who loves the church; who was nurtured in its bosom; who has been sustained by its spiritual blessings and who will remain true to it as long as the cord of life shall lengthen.

35 When I was suddenly catapulted into the leadership of the bus protest in Montgomery, Alabama, a few years ago, I felt we would be supported by the white church. I felt that the white ministers, priests and rabbis of the South would be among our strongest allies. Instead, some have been outright opponents, refusing to understand the freedom movement and misrepresenting its leaders; all too many others have been more cautious than courageous and have remained silent behind the anesthetizing security of stained glass windows.

36 In spite of my shattered dreams, I came to Birmingham with the hope that the white religious leadership of this community would see the justice of our cause and, with deep moral concern, would serve as the channel through which our just grievances could reach the power structure. I had hoped that each of you would understand. But again I have been disappointed.

37 I have heard numerous southern religious leaders admonish their worshipers to comply with a desegregation decision because it is the law, but I have longed to hear white ministers declare: "Follow this decree because integration is morally right and because the Negro is your brother." In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro, I have watched white churchmen stand on the sideline and mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard many ministers say: "Those are social issues, with which the gospel has no real concern." And I have watched many churches commit themselves to a completely other worldly religion which makes a strange, un-Biblical distinction between body and soul, between the sacred and the secular.

38 I have traveled the length and breadth of Alabama, Mississippi and all the other southern states. On sweltering summer days and crisp autumn mornings I have looked at the South's beautiful churches with their lofty spires pointing heavenward. I have beheld the impressive outlines of her massive religious education buildings. Over and over I have found myself asking: "What kind of people worship here? Who is their God? Where were their voices when the lips of Governor Barnett dripped with words of interposition and nullification? Where were they when Governor Wallace gave a clarion call for defiance and hatred? Where were their voices of support when bruised and weary Negro men and women decided to rise from the dark dungeons of complacency to the bright hills of creative protest?"

39 Yes, these questions are still in my mind. In deep disappointment I have wept over the laxity of the church. But be assured that my tears have been tears of love. There can be no deep disappointment where there is not deep love. Yes, I love the church. How could I do otherwise? I am in the rather unique position of being the son, the grandson and the great grandson of preachers. Yes, I see the church as the body of Christ. But, oh! How we have blemished and scarred that body through social neglect and through fear of being nonconformists.

40 There was a time when the church was very powerful--in the time when the early Christians rejoiced at being deemed worthy to suffer for what they believed. In those days the church was not merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion; it was a thermostat that transformed the mores of society. Whenever the early Christians entered a town, the people in power became disturbed and immediately sought to convict the Christians for being "disturbers of the peace" and "outside agitators."' But the Christians pressed on, in the conviction that they were "a colony of heaven," called to obey God rather than man. Small in number, they were big in commitment. They were too God-intoxicated to be "astronomically intimidated." By their effort and example they brought an end to such ancient evils as infanticide and gladiatorial contests.

41 Things are different now. So often the contemporary church is a weak, ineffectual voice with an uncertain sound. So often it is an archdefender of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the church, the power structure of the average community is consoled by the church's silent--and often even vocal--sanction of things as they are.

42 But the judgment of God is upon the church as never before. If today's church does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early church, it will lose its authenticity, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century. Every day I meet young people whose disappointment with the church has turned into outright disgust.

43 Perhaps I have once again been too optimistic. Is organized religion too inextricably bound to the status quo to save our nation and the world? Perhaps I must turn my faith to the inner spiritual church, the church within the church, as the true ekklesia and the hope of the world. But again I am thankful to God that some noble souls from the ranks of organized religion have broken loose from the paralyzing chains of conformity and joined us as active partners in the struggle for freedom. They have left their secure congregations and walked the streets of Albany, Georgia, with us. They have gone down the highways of the South on tortuous rides for freedom. Yes, they have gone to jail with us. Some have been dismissed from their churches, have lost the support of their bishops and fellow ministers. But they have acted in the faith that right defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. Their witness has been the spiritual salt that has preserved the true meaning of the gospel in these troubled times. They have carved a tunnel of hope through the dark mountain of disappointment.

44 I hope the church as a whole will meet the challenge of this decisive hour. But even if the church does not come to the aid of justice, I have no despair about the future. I have no fear about the outcome of our struggle in Birmingham, even if our motives are at present misunderstood. We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with America's destiny. Before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth, we were here. Before the pen of Jefferson etched the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence across the pages of history, we were here. For more than two centuries our forebears labored in this country without wages; they made cotton king; they built the homes of their masters while suffering gross injustice and shameful humiliation--and yet out of a bottomless vitality they continued to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

45 Before closing I feel impelled to mention one other point in your statement that has troubled me profoundly. You warmly commended the Birmingham police force for keeping "order" and "preventing violence." I doubt that you would have so warmly commended the police force if you had seen its dogs sinking their teeth into unarmed, nonviolent Negroes. I doubt that you would so quickly commend the policemen if you were to observe their ugly and inhumane treatment of Negroes here in the city jail; if you were to watch them push and curse old Negro women and young Negro girls; if you were to see them slap and kick old Negro men and young boys; if you were to observe them, as they did on two occasions, refuse to give us food because we wanted to sing our grace together. I cannot join you in your praise of the Birmingham police department.

46 It is true that the police have exercised a degree of discipline in handling the demonstrators. In this sense they have conducted themselves rather "nonviolently" in public. But for what purpose? To preserve the evil system of segregation. Over the past few years I have consistently preached that nonviolence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek. I have tried to make clear that it is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends. But now I must affirm that it is just as wrong, or perhaps even more so, to use moral means to preserve immoral ends. Perhaps Mr. Connor and his policemen have been rather nonviolent in public, as was Chief Pritchett in Albany, Georgia, but they have used the moral means of nonviolence to maintain the immoral end of racial injustice. As T. S. Eliot has said: "The last temptation is the greatest treason: To do the right deed for the wrong reason."

47 I wish you had commended the Negro sit inners and demonstrators of Birmingham for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer and their amazing discipline in the midst of great provocation. One day the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, with the noble sense of purpose that enables them to face jeering and hostile mobs, and with the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old, oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a seventy two year old woman in Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride segregated buses, and who responded with ungrammatical profundity to one who inquired about her weariness: "My feets is tired, but my soul is at rest." They will be the young high school and college students, the young ministers of the gospel and a host of their elders, courageously and nonviolently sitting in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience' sake. One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters, they were in reality standing up for what is best in the American dream and for the most sacred values in our Judaeo Christian heritage, thereby bringing our nation back to those great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in their formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

48 Never before have I written so long a letter. I'm afraid it is much too long to take your precious time. I can assure you that it would have been much shorter if I had been writing from a comfortable desk, but what else can one do when he is alone in a narrow jail cell, other than write long letters, think long thoughts and pray long prayers?

49 If I have said anything in this letter that overstates the truth and indicates an unreasonable impatience, I beg you to forgive me. If I have said anything that understates the truth and indicates my having a patience that allows me to settle for anything less than brotherhood, I beg God to forgive me.

50 I hope this letter finds you strong in the faith. I also hope that circumstances will soon make it possible for me to meet each of you, not as an integrationist or a civil-rights leader but as a fellow clergyman and a Christian brother. Let us all hope that the dark clouds of racial prejudice will soon pass away and the deep fog of misunderstanding will be lifted from our fear drenched communities, and in some not too distant tomorrow the radiant stars of love and brotherhood will shine over our great nation with all their scintillating beauty.

Yours for the cause of Peace and Brotherhood, Martin Luther King, Jr.  
  
Martin Luther King Jr.

**Revision of Rough Summary**

1. Add the proper MLA style heading to the top right hand corner of the paper (see the Purdue OWL's website). And add a page number and your last name to the header, right hand corner, in MLA style (Purdue OWL). This will alter the space you will have available for your summary, so edit the summary appropriately so you do not go too much over 1 page.

2. Add 1-2 sentences at the beginning of the summary that includes any relevant historical information about the Birmingham campaign. Please use any of the following texts to help you do this: King's Bio (WB), Sitkoff's excerpt (CANVAS), Birmingham in the 60s (WB).

3. Blend your summary of the clergymen's letter, "A Call for Unity," with your summary of King's "Letter." The clergymen's letter should come first, followed by King's letter, but now you should make sure the adjacent sentences do not repeat information. You want the sentences to read as though a chronological "story" is unfolding.

4. In addition, you should be sure that as sentences progress within the King summary you are using elegant transitions so the sentences do not read as unrelated ideas. For example, "King goes on to explore the history of civil disobedience in the United States..." or "In an attempt to illustrate the history of civil disobedience in the United States, King then claims ..." Please revise for more "graceful" transitions between sentences.

4. Add page numbers to the ends of all your sentences for King's summary, in MLA in-text citation style.

5. Revise any repeated verbs by substituting signal phrases that are more expressive, for example, "King denies..." instead of "King states..." .

6. Edit out any unneeded words, phrases, or details that put your summary over 1 page. You may go a few lines beyond page 1, but no more.

7. Go to the TurnItIn report that accompanies your first draft and edit out any highlighted similar language to avoid plagiarism.

**Thesis Statements**

Thesis statements, the main idea of an essay, help your reader understand what you are writing about and why. The thesis statement acts as a map of your essay, one which can show the reader where you will be going; this way they can follow your points, knowing how they all fit into the big picture. Your thesis statement should follow certain general rules listed below, but you should always be sure you consider the assignment and the audience in addition to the general requirements.

**A successful thesis statement does the following things:**

* Gives you something to prove, develop, support
* Sets up what you are going to discuss, argue, or explain
* Acts as a summary of your entire essay, especially the point you will prove
* Is neither too general (vague) nor too specific (listy) for the scope of the assignment
* Does more than state a fact; it makes an arguable assertion that you must prove to your reader
* Establishes a contract between you and your readers; they can expect that you will not confuse them with unrelated information
* Is usually 1-3 sentences long and comes within or after an introduction

Thesis statements should feel like the conclusion of your essay, not the introduction. You should be able to create a thoughtful question at issue for your topic (during the writing process), and then fully answer it within the thesis so that your reader knows your opinion and can read on to find out how you support that opinion.

Often times, student writers will save his/her “answer” to the question at issue until the final paragraph because the writer him/herself has not figured out what the answer is until many pages have been written. However, experienced writers will then move that idea—that final conclusion—to the thesis, and then proceed to revise the essay so that everything relates back to that concluding thesis.

In other words, your writing process should not be reflected in the final product. Even if you do not figure out what you think until the fifth page, your reader should not have to wait that long!

**Thesis Exercises and Transition from Summary**

**End of Summary:**

…King concludes his letter by reflecting on the length and spirit of his correspondence, expressing his hope to one day meet the clergymen.

(There must be a connection between the last sentence of your summary and the first sentence of the transition/thesis paragraph so that one paragraph flows logically from one to the other.)

**Transition:**

Although King’s letter seems to only address the Alabama clergymen directly, his audience was more widespread than these eight men. Because the letter was printed in several newspapers during turbulent race relations in the United States, all of America became the audience for King’s “Letter from Birmingham Jail.” And King knew this! His goal was not simply to change the minds of the clergymen, but to change the minds of any American, especially the White moderate, who still believed in segregation. In an attempt to sway the public, King employed several rhetorical strategies in his letter, establishing his own morality while appealing to the morality of his readers. While King’s establishment of his own credibility was priceless in the letter, his use of pathos—an appeal which affects the psychological state of the reader—allowed him not only to gain sympathy for his cause, but also to draw from peoples’ sense of right and wrong.

**Thesis Statements: Using the rules for thesis statements, decide what is strong and/or weak about each of these thesis statements.**

1. I think that the reason King uses pathos is because it allows him to make Americans feel guilty for causing such pain to a large group of people.
2. By building an emotional and moral bridge between him and his readers, King simultaneously makes his audience feel the suffering of his people and the judgment of their inaction. He successfully makes the reader experience both sadness and guilt, two emotional states often followed by action.
3. King’s use of pathos affects not only the clergymen but also the average Joe, so that everyone who reads his letter will be moved emotionally. He effectively targets a large audience by using emotional appeals.

**Coordinating Conjunctions**

##### JOINING SENTENCES WITH COORDINATORS

We use special joining words – coordinating conjunctions – to join sentences and show the logical relationship between them. There are seven coordinators that are most easily remembered by the acronym FANBOYS. Note the logical relationships coordinators express:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Coordinator** | **Sample Sentence** | **Logical Relationship** |
| **F** | **For** | Mary enjoys math, **for** it is challenging. | **RESULT/CAUSE** |
| **A** | **And** | Sue has won several trophies, **and** she has worked hard for them. | **ADDITION** |
| **N** | **Nor** | She doesn’t work, **nor** does she go to school. | **ADDITION OF NEGATIVES** |
| **B** | **But** | Jack was pretty good at gymnastics, **but** he preferred swimming. | **CONTRAST** |
| **O** | **Or** | Jim needs a vacation, **or** he’ll go crazy. | **ALTERNATIVE** |
| **Y** | **Yet** | He doesn’t earn much, **yet** he spends like a millionaire. | **CONTRAST** |
| **S** | **So** | The coach praised the team excessively, **so** the players stopped believing him. | **CAUSE/RESULT** |

Coordinators are important because:

* They allow writers to join their sentences, which helps eliminate choppiness in their writing.
* Unlike other joining words, they can show logical relationships between **two separate** sentences:

Jane practiced ping-pong every day. So she eventually excelled at it.

* You can use **But** and **And** to begin sentences, but you want to do this sparingly, for you are drawing your reader’s attention to the second sentence that begins with either **But** or **And**. If you abuse this by using it too often, it loses its effectiveness.
* Most importantly, coordinators help express logical relationships within **one sentence**:

Gerald spends all his time with his dog, so he won an award for most dedicated pet owner.

* Use a comma before the coordinator when it comes between clauses.

**Coordinating Conjunctions Activity: Love!**

*Directions:* Rewrite and combine the following pairs of sentences using a coordinator. Place a comma correctly in the sentence*.* Remember to use all seven only once: For, And, Nor, But, Or, Yet, So.

1. In Boston, Martin Luther King Jr. always wore a dress suit.

He drove a green Hudson Hornet.

2. The bourgeois beauties considered King a “prize catch.”

Coretta Scott thought differently of young King.

3. Coretta Scott saw King as too short, too spoiled, and too impressed with himself.

She resisted his overtures.

4. Coretta Scott was not interested in competing with other beauties for King’s attention.

She did not think being a preacher’s wife offered her a life worth trading for her concert ambitions.

5. King realized Coretta Scott was different than the other girls he courted.

Coretta Scott was a woman of purpose and was dedicated to a career as concert singer.

6. King's father wanted young King to marry into a family with money.

He wanted a daughter-in-law from a prominent Atlanta family, not a farm girl from Alabama, like Coretta Scott.

7. Coretta Scott was not looking for a husband

King's father performed King and Coretta Scott’s wedding ceremony 18 June 1953 on the Scott family home’s lawn.

**Correlative Conjunctions**

**Definition:** A paired [conjunction](http://grammar.about.com/od/c/g/conjuncterm.htm) (such as *not only . . . but also*) that links balanced words, phrases, and clauses. The elements connected by correlative conjunctions are usually [parallel](http://grammar.about.com/od/pq/g/parallelstructureterm.htm)—that is, similar in length and grammatical form.

These are the primary correlative conjunctions in English:

*both . . . and*

*either . . . or*

*neither . . . nor*

*not . . . but*

*not only . . . but also*

*whether . . . or*

**Correlative Conjunctions with Parallel Structure:** Pairing ideas calls for parallel structure. Parallelism is a way to show emphasis and variety within a sentence. Identify the grammatical structure directly after the first conjunction, and then check to see if the grammatical structure after the second conjunction is parallel, that is, the same structure.

Examples:

1. With coordinating conjunctions in a list

King uses pathos, ethos, *and* uses logos. **(incorrect)**

noun noun verb

King uses ethos, pathos *and* logos. **(correct)**

noun noun noun

1. with correlative conjunctions

King uses *not only* pathos *but* he also uses ethos. **(incorrect)**

noun independent clause

King uses *not only* pathos *but also* ethos. **(correct)**

noun noun

**Correlative Conjunctions: Exercise (I)**

**Directions:** Find the correlative conjunctions first (underline). Next,identify the grammatical structure directly after the first conjunction, and then check to see if the grammatical structure after the second conjunction is parallel, that is, the same structure.

1. "I have neither been there nor done that." (Bart Simpson, *The Simpsons*, 1999)
2. "Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety." (Benjamin Franklin)
3. "To accomplish great things, we must not only act, but also dream." (Anatole France)
4. "The man of knowledge must be able not only to love his enemies but also to hate his friends."

(Friedrich Nietzsche, *Ecce Homo*)

1. "Education is not the filling of a pail but the lighting of a fire." (William Butler Yeats)

**Correlative Conjunctions: Exercise (II)**

Write of your own sentences using correlative conjunctions that can be used in your final essay. Be sure to use parallel grammatical structures.

##### Guidelines for MLA style quoting

## Quoting:

*Referring to the ideas and information provided in other texts is often essential to support the ideas in your own paper. You may want to quote an author's exact words (rather than summarize/paraphrase them) if they are:*

* so impressive and clever that to put them into your own words would lessen the impact.
* so precise that putting them in your own words would change the meaning.
* so concise that you would need twice as many words to paraphrase the passage.

*If you choose to quote an author, however, you must follow certain rules.*

## Introducing a quotation:

*The* ***first time*** *you refer to a text in your paper, you must provide the title, the author's full name, and the page number. To do so, use one of the following patterns. The next time you use King’s name, only use his last name.*

* **IN + TITLE, + AUTHOR'S FULL NAME + *WRITES*, + QUOTE + PAGE NUMBER**

In “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” Martin Luther King Jr. writes, “I am in Birmingham because injustice is here” (357).

(Note: you need not make the first letter of King’s sentence lower case.)

* **IN + TITLE+ AUTHOR *CLAIMS THAT* + QUOTE + PAGE NUMBER**

In “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” King claims that he is “in Birmingham because injustice is here” (357).

* ***ACCORDING TO* + AUTHOR “in” TITLE, QUOTE + PAGE NUMBER**

According to King in “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” “Sometimes a law is just on its face and unjust in its application” (362).

Other introductory phrases include—King (the author) **argues that, says that, assumes that, says, states, notes, writes, comments that, concludes that, believes that, asks,** and so on.

## Subsequent References:

*The* ***next time*** *you refer to that same text, you do not need to provide the article’s title or the author’s first name, but you need to supply the author’s last name and the page number.*

**All quotations must be IN your own sentence:**

*Simple*

King states, writes, asserts THAT or Comma “

*More complex with some context*

1. All quotations/paraphrases/summary must have in-text citation.

In response to the clergymen’s praise of the Birmingham police department, King writes,“I doubt that you would so quickly commend the policemen if you were to observe their ugly and inhumane treatment of Negroes here in the city jail; if you were to watch them push and curse old Negro women and Negro girls” (369).

1. All in-text citations must connect to an entry on the Works Cited page. What would the Works Cited Entry look like exactly for *Argument in America*? It’s an anthology (are you using the whole anthology? No.)One or more selections from an anthology.
2. All quotations must accurately reflect the meaning of the original, but should not include any extraneous words or phrases that take up space.

**Ellipsis and Brackets—(paraphrase of King with syntax flowing into phrase grammatically):**

King points out that the clergymen would not have praised the police officers if they had seen “their ugly and inhumane treatment of Negroes here in the city jail… [or watched] them push and curse old Negro women and Negro girls” (369).

1. Quote within a quote (since King quotes the clergymen a bit)

In an attempt to refute the clergymen’s arguments, King begins his letter by directly quoting their criticisms, stating, “I came across your recent statement calling my present activities ‘unwise and untimely’” (356).

**Body Paragraph: P.I.E. Paragraph\***

**P= POINT**

The point of the paragraph, the claim is being made, the topic sentence. It usually comes early in the paragraph, and should usually be 1-2 sentences.

**I = INFORMATION**

Supportive information, like specific experiences, data, or other factual material. The evidence used to support/develop the point. It occurs throughout paragraph.

**E=EXPLANATION**

Elaboration, evaluation, interpretation, or explanation of why or how information connects to the point. The writer analyzes the point and information that is given. It occurs throughout paragraph.

\*Process of Paragraph Focus/Development: When writing a rhetorical or literary analysis, one of the ways to develop a body paragraph is to find information, in this case a quotation or paraphrase from the text. Next, the writer should analyze and explain the quotation in several sentences. Then, the writer will choose other closely related quotations to explain as well. Finally, the writer should write/revise the point— the topic sentence—so that it summarizes what all of the quotations have in common. The quote sandwich is a delicious way to help you build your P.I.E. paragraph.

**The Quote Sandwich**

## the textual evidence sandwich

The textual evidence that you choose to support your topic sentence is important, but what you surround it with—your introduction and analysis—is equally important. Here is one way to look at how you should set up the quotes in your essays. Please refer to *A Pocket Style Manual* Using Quotations Appropriately on page 111 to determine when to use direct quotes.

## the introduction

Following MLA format, introduce the textual evidence by stating from whom and where you received the information and a present tense descriptive verb (refer to APSM 113 for a list of verbs).

## the textual evidence

## (direct quote, paraphrase, summary)

In MLA format, present the textual evidence that supports your position, citing the page number in parenthesis before the period.

## the follow-up (analysis)

Follow the textual evidence with analysis that expresses the significance of the textual evidence and why you chose to use it.

## examples of delicious sandwiches

**The Introduction:** This is the first time the work has been introduced because the text’s title and author’s full name are present with a present tense active verb and information to situate the audience with the text.

##### examples of delicious sandwiches

**The paraphrase** is the idea of what King states in the writer’s words. (*APSM* 109-10, 114)

Example One (Direct Quote):

The **direct quote** is a piece of what King wrote. Please refer to *APSM* 111 for the rules.

In the “Letter from Birmingham Jail,” Martin Luther King Jr. states that African Americans have “waited for more than 340 years for [their] constitutional and God given rights” (3). The United States of America is 223 years old, yet King points out that African Americans have been waiting longer than the age of nation for rights and freedom that has been granted to people who cannot trace their roots as deeply in American soil as African Americans. King notes that God grants these rights, which directly relates to the teachings and beliefs of the Clergymen. The Clergymen feel guilty, for they know that slaves helped build the country they live and prosper in, and they are denying African Americans rights that the Clergymen belief all humans should be granted under the love of God.

**The Introduction:** notice in MLA format the author’s last name followed by an expressive present tense verb and additional information which situates the audience ***before*** the textual evidence. Look at *APSM* page 115 for various verbs to use.

**The follow-Up** for all three types of textual evidence is longer than the textual evidence and analyzes it, showing its importance. Remember textual evidence does not speak for itself.

Example Two (Paraphrase):

King compares himself to Apostle Paul, who spread the word of God to the Greco Roman world risking his life, which moves the Clergymen to see King differently because they are religious men (1). They value Apostle Paul and his work spreading the Gospel, which gives them an understanding King’s fight because they can relate King’s work spreading the teachings of and risking his life for desegregation. The Clergymen see King in Paul’s likeness and support his teachings, as they do Paul’s.

Example Three (Summary):

King refutes the Clergymen’s belief that he is “‘extreme,’” arguing that his actions in Birmingham are no more extreme than the great men of the *Bible* and in American history (1, 5-8). King proves to the Clergymen that his actions are admirable, perhaps not at his moment, but in the span of history, King’s actions will be remembers as these men’s actions are now, and he will bring about change.

The **page number/s** in MLA in-text citation format! (*APSM* 122-30)

**The summary** is less than a sentence, yet addresses King’s presence in Birmingham which spans four pages in his Letter. (*APSM* 109-10, 114)

**quote sandwich example: “letter from birmingham jail”**

1. Choose a quotation that supports your thesis and integrate it into a sentence:

King establishes his right to be in Birmingham by stating, “I was invited here” (357).

1. Create sentences that both introduce the quotation, as it supports your point, and analyze the specific language of the quotation. In this case, let’s use the topic of ethos.

Introduce the quote before you include it, and relate it to ethos, if that is your essay’s point.

In order to show his audience that he both respects the town of Birmingham and is a respected figure in the community, King must counter the clergymen’s claims that he is an “outsider.” Because being labeled as an outside agitator damages King’s ethos, the first thing he must do in his letter is establish his right to be in Birmingham by stating, “I was invited here” (357). By using the word “invited,” King suggests that he was wanted in Birmingham, that he was asked to be there. The cordial nature of the word “invited” coupled with his credentials as the leader and representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference helps King convince his audience that he is not there to disrespect the people of the town. Rather, his audience begins to see him as a welcome visitor, one who can even be looked up to.

Now, in order to develop a paragraph, you would need to find other quotation(s) that are very similar in style, content, and effect. Then create sentences that relate the different quotes while also forming a Quote Sandwich around the new quote.

Explain the quote by answering analytical questions: Why is King using the particular words he is using? How do these words establish his ethos? What is the effect of using these words in terms of his ethos? Don’t quit analyzing after only one sentence!

Tweak the sentence that integrates your quote so that it fits with your introductory sentence(s)

**Developing Body Paragraphs**

**Part 1:** Using the Quote Sandwich ingredients, please choose one quotation you want to include in your essay, creating some context before and after the excerpt, context that includes a combination of introductory ideas, paraphrase, and in-depth analysis of King’s language (word choice), imagery, and/or sentence style.

**Part 2:** Now choose at least two additional quotations that are similar to the quotation you have just written about. Create quote sandwiches for these as well, but now consider how you might include all three of these quotations and the analysis into one paragraph. You may want to explain the quotes one after another, by moving onto the next quote sandwich with a transitional phrase, like *King continues to use personal imagery when he states*… Or you can discuss two quotations at the same time. For example, you might incorporate two examples into one sentence, followed by analysis of both quotes together: *King begins and ends his letter by addressing his audience in a warm yet respectful manner, with the greeting “My Dear Fellow Clergymen” (356) and closing with “Yours for the cause of Peace and Brotherhood” (371).* Notice, in this instance you must indicate the page numbers near the quote if they are different, and you must follow with analysis of each quotation in the rest of the paragraph.

**Part 3:** Once you have incorporated three quotations and analysis into one paragraph, summarize the point of that paragraph in 1-2 sentences, without repeating any phrases from the paragraph exactly. Try answering this general question at issue when summarizing your paragraph: How, why, and to what effect does King use the type of language present in these quotes to persuade his audience?

**Part 4:** Using the sentences you created for Part 3, incorporate those sentences into your paragraph early on, so that it acts as a topic sentence(s) for the whole paragraph, sort of like a thesis statement for the paragraph.

**Focusing Body Paragraphs**

Please note that this is a list of POSSIBLE paragraph topics, and you must choose which work for you and which would jive with the thesis you are working on. This list is by no means exhaustive, and you may want to create more specific/general versions of these paragraph ideas. Overall, every body paragraph must have a different focus, so these are options to consider. Many of these overlap, perhaps too much, so do not pick ones that are so similar you can have the same quotations in more than one paragraph. You will need probably 3 to 4 body paragraphs in the final draft, so here there is plenty to choose from. You just need to choose wisely, have excellent quotations that fall under the category, and then fascinating analysis!

ETHOS Paragraph possibilities

* King using respectful language
* King showing that he is respected by others/ a leader
* King showing he is intelligent
* King proving he is patriotic
* King proving he is knowledgeable about religion
* King showing he is religiously moral
* King using personal experience to prove he is “real”
* King using humble language
* King proving he is open-minded by considering the clergymen’s arguments
* King showing he has charisma
* King establishing he is someone who belongs; he is “like” his audience
* King using “I” and “you”
* King using language that focuses mostly on the clergymen

(You can also focus paragraphs by audience, like having one or more paragraphs in which you claim he is mostly talking to one group in order to establish his ethos in some way.)

* King using language that focuses mostly on the White Christian Moderate.
* King using language that focuses mostly on the White Church leaders
* King using language that focuses mostly on the African American audience

PATHOS  Paragraph possibilities

* King making audience feel inspired or hopeful or motivated
* King making audience feel sympathy
* King making audience feel guilty
* King making audience feel angry
* King making audience feel sympathy then followed quickly by guilt (juxtaposition of two emotions)
* King making audience feel responsible
* King making audience feel immoral (like bad Christians)
* King using repetition of violent imagery
* King using repetition of familial imagery
* King making people feel like bad parents and community members
* King causing physical discomfort
* King using “I” and “you”

(You can also focus paragraphs by audience, like having one or more paragraphs in which you claim he is mostly talking to one group in order to manipulate the audience’s emotions or sense of right or wrong in some way.)

* King using language that focuses mostly on the White Christian Moderate
* King using language that focuses mostly on the White Church leaders
* King using language that focuses mostly on the African American audience

**Conclusion Paragraph and Title of Your Essay**

**Conclusion**: As a suggestion for concluding this essay, instead of repeating exactly what you write in your introduction and thesis, try to integrate new but related information in the outro. Since you do need to “echo” what your essay was about, but you do not want to bore your reader with repetition, look again at the Sitkoff article or any of the research you read before writing the essay and use either a quotation or paraphrase to tell your reader what happened after “Letter from Birmingham Jail.” This way, your reader can see the bigger picture while still recalling what your essay was about. If you use this article, you must cite it properly in both the Works Cited page and in the in-text parenthetical documentation.

**Title Suggestions**: Imagine your title is all your perspective reader has in order to decide whether or not he/she will read your entire essay. In other words, make sure your title indicates what your essay is about specifically. You may want to have a two part title using a colon (:) so your subtitle indicates what you are really analyzing while still including all the proper identifying information.

Which of these seems to be the most practical and creative title?

* Essay #1: King's Use of Pathos
* The Humble Leader: Martin Luther King's Ethical Rhetoric in "Letter from Birmingham Jail"
* MLK's "Letter from Birmingham Jail": Rhetoric
* A Summary and Rhetorical Analysis of Martin Luther King Jr.s' "Letter from Birmingham Jail"

**Peer Response Unit #1 Essay: Summary and Response of MLK’s “Letter from Birmingham Jail”**

*Direction*s: Read your essay aloud to the other people in your group. Go through each item below, taking notes on your sheet concerning what your peers say. Move on to the next person in the group and repeat the directions.

1. To what degree does the first page accurately summarize King’s Letter? Does the writer include too much detail, not enough information? Please check with the rules for summary, and offer suggestions. Please be sure every sentence has in-text citation MLA format.
2. To what degree does the thesis flow logically from the summary, respond to the prompt, and fulfill the requirements of thesis statements in general: focuses on one point that needs to be proven, acts as a concluding idea, summarizes the main point of the essay, is neither too vague nor too specific? Offer suggestions.
3. Looking closely at 1 body paragraph, to what degree does the writer properly integrate quotations, summary, and paraphrase to illustrate his/her point? Does the writer use enough examples to prove the paragraph’s point, too many examples, strong examples? Offer suggestions.
4. Looking closely at 1 body paragraph, to what degree is the writer using a strong topic sentence (Point) that is not just a fact, and to what degree is the writer analyzing the information (Explanation)?
5. Check to make sure the writer is properly using coordination and parallelism. Offer suggestions.

**From “Letter from Birmingham Jail” to “I Have a Dream”**

**AUDIENCE + PURPOSE + SITUATION =**

**RHETORICAL CHOICES OF THE AUTHOR**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | “I Have a Dream” | “Letter from Birmingham Jail” |
| Audience of “Text”  (Who is/are listening to/reading to the text? At whom is Dr. King aiming his text?) |  |  |
| Purpose/Thesis of “text”  (What is/are the main message(s) of the text? What is the author trying to persuade the audience of?) |  |  |
| Setting / Situation of Text  (Where was the text created, read/published, heard?) |  |  |
| Given the purpose and audience of the text, describe one moment when King utilizes a particular rhetorical strategy to persuade his audience. In short, describe one stylistic decision he makes in the text. |  |  |
| What is the effect of the specific technique on the audience?  (What might the audience think, feel, do after hearing/reading this rhetorical device?) |  |  |
|  |  |  |