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# The Effectiveness of Common Language: A Contextual Analysis of Thomas Paine's Common Sense and Rev. Martin Luther King's 'Letter from a Birmingham Jail'

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# THE EFFECTIVENESS OF COMMON LANGUAGE: A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF THOMAS PAINE'S *COMMON SENSE* AND REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING'S *LETTER FROM A BIRMINGHAM JAIL*

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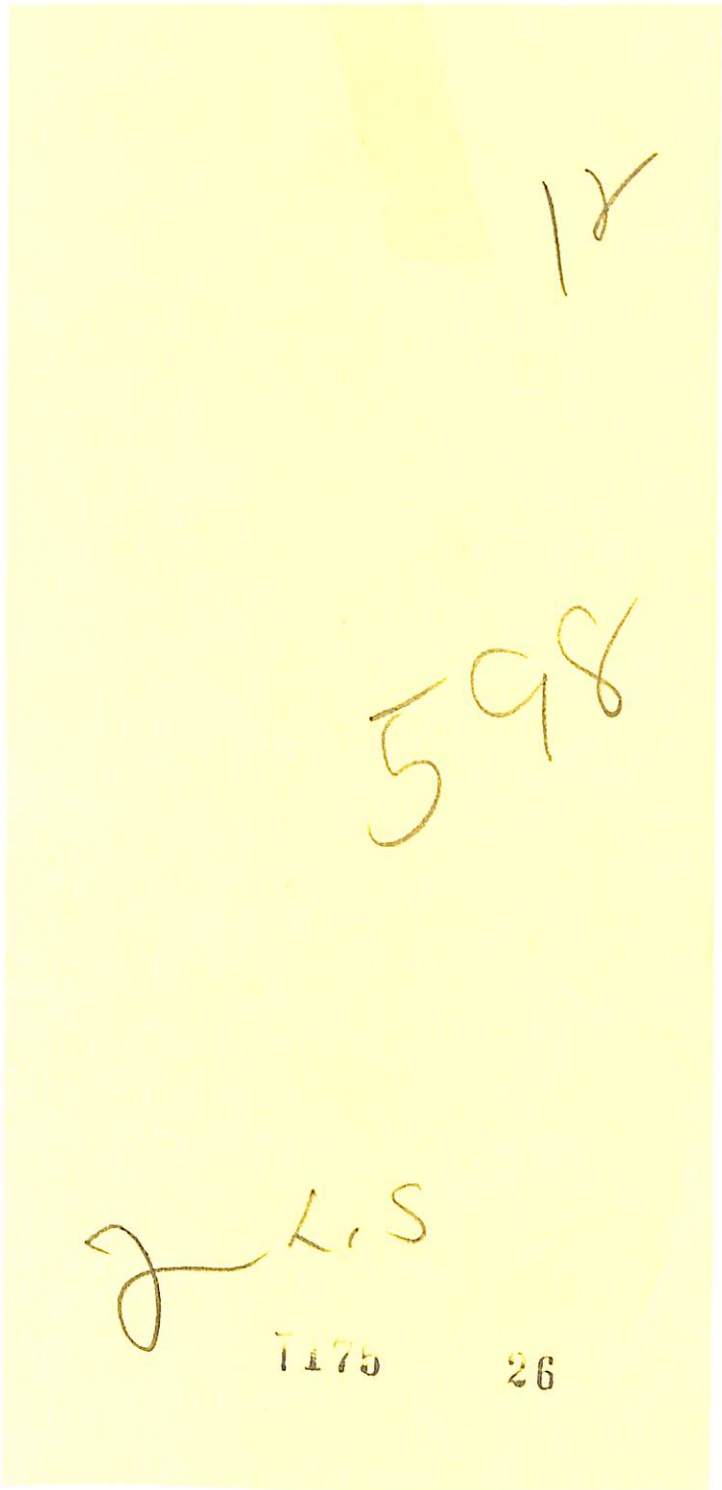

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ABSTRACT
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People are different in several ways; however, we are also share many similarities. For example, we all have ways in which we can communicate others. One of the problems in communicating is connecting with one's intended audience. The way that people construct their ideas and convey them could be effective based on the audiences' ability to understand, interpret, and react. In this paper, I examine the way in which many powerful and influential American leaders have used a particular form of communication to inspire the masses. I analyze the way in which two powerful figures, Thomas Paine and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., use a form of common language to connect with certain audiences of their time and even now.

After analyzing the authors' text, *Common Sense* and *Letter from a Birmingham Jail,* I conclude that the language that they incorporate into their text is neither simple nor falls within the binary framework of elevated language or less elevated language, but is rooted in a third form of communication that I identify as Common Language. In the conclusion I identify the three essential characteristics of Common Language: nationalism, religion, and labor.

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## *Introduction*

A tall, slender man strides across a stage to a podium. He is dressed in a navy blue suit, and he wears a lighter blue tie that has a perfect dimple in the middle. His heart races at a faster pace then his feet allow him to walk. He attempts to maintain his composure as the crowd watches him. He is nervous, but he projects an air of confidence that is easily misperceived as arrogance. He is within steps of his destination: a pinewood podium. On its surface are two microphones; their positions form a ninety-degree angle. Both microphones are tilted and extended to reach the bottom of his chin. One microphone is taller than the other. He reaches the podium. The audience applauds. He gives thanks and pulls the microphones towards him. He catches the gaze of his audience; a few avert their eyes. He observes them, a few stares and an occasional smile. They are of different ethnic groups, social classes, educational backgrounds, but they are all American.

The two American flags behind the Senator symbolize their fight for freedom and triumph over adversaries who opposed it. Due to recent allegations of a Muslim faith, ties to individuals who worked to overthrow the government, and connections to an inflammatory reverend, Senator Obama is at a point of risking his entire candidacy for the United States presidency based on those in his circle. One second seems like a thousand for the charismatic orator behind the podium. He delivers a speech that not only rebuts all claims of non-patriotism, but also captures the hearts of millions of

Americans. The style and language of in his speech, *A More Perfect Union*, are keys to his success as a rhetorician and as candidate for the US presidency.

During the presidential election of 2008, President Obama's ability to summarize and articulate the thoughts of most Americans is considered one of his strong points. In his speech, he rebutted the slanders and accusations that the American public and media had leveled against him. Furthermore, he took the disapproval of common Americans and transformed it to support for his cause. He accomplished this by the use of common literary devices. He incorporated repetition, metaphors, caesuras, and other literary devices to communicate his message. His audience received him well. They applauded him at points of his speech that dealt with race and a better future for America. Roy Peter Clark, author of the book *Writing Tools: 50 Essential Strategies for Every Writer*, recognizes Obama as a master of rhetoric and influence. Clark attributes the success of Obama's speech to four areas:

> 1. The power of allusion and its patriotic associations.
> 2. The oratorical resonance of parallel constructions.
> 3.The "two-ness" of the texture...
> 4. His ability to include himself as a character in a narrative about race (Clark 2).

To illustrate Clark's observation, in Obama's speech he incorporates patriotism, parallel constructions, "two-ness," and personal experiences. In the opening statements of the speech, he gives the audience a backstory of his family. He states:

> I was raised with the help of a white grandfather who survived a Depression to serve in Patton's Army during World War II and a white grandmother who worked on a bomber assembly line at Fort Leavenworth while he was overseas. (Obama)

In this passage, Obama uses two examples based on separate gender. By doing so, he is able to connect with both male and female audiences. This sentence is both parallel and extends from the patriotism of his grandparents. He continues, "I have gone to some of the best schools in America and lived in one of the world's poorest nations" (Obama).

Again, Obama incorporates a parallel sentence structure. In the first half of the sentence, he identifies with privileged individuals and in the second half he identifies with those who are not as economically stable or capable of attending "some of the best schools in America." In the closing parts of the passage, he offers more information about his family, which he structures within the framework of the literary devices. He acknowledges, "I am married to a black American who carries within her the blood of slaves and slave owners - an inheritance we pass on to our to precious daughters" (Obama). In this passage, he uses more of what Clark identifies as "two-ness." The two-ness term derives from W.E.B. DuBois' binary examples of Black identity. Obama uses this style to describe his wife's lineage. He comments that she "carries the blood of slaves and slave owners." Throughout Obama's speech he continues to use a common language that is easy to follow but that involves sophisticated literary devices that are employed to demand a certain response from his audience. However, he had merely latched on to a form of American communication that has existed for over two hundred years.

The use of common language in America is as essential to the American lifestyle as apple pie. Obama is cognizant of this legacy and follows the proven example of the plain speaker. America has a history of plain speakers who have

inspired change among common people. For example, an Englishman, Thomas Paine, found his success as a writer using the form of the common writer. He appealed to the people's common problems. He, too, was a great orator. Another great orator who follows the tradition of the common language is Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Even though he was well educated, he used a language that is most relatable to the people. This language is simple, without excessive jargon, pompous wording, and ambiguity.

The common thread among these writers of different generations is that they both are men who helped reform America by their control of the English language. More specifically, they were able to accomplish this endeavor by their use of common language. Therefore, language that is easy to follow is a very effective style for communication. Elevated language creates a barrier between those who represent a small, but powerful group and the people who do not have a place in their academic circle. For the rhetorician who desires to influence the masses, the use of common language and its literary devices proves just as effective as an elevated style of communication.

# Chapter One

## The Common Sense of Thomas Paine

"Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness the former promotes our happiness positively by uniting our affections, the latter negatively by restraining our vices. The one encourages intercourse, the other createst distinctions. The first is a patron, the last is a punisher."

Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*

### *Introduction*

As tension between colonists in North America and political leaders in England slowly developed in 1774, a man in his thirties searched to find a way in which he could employ his talents to empower those around him. Because of his background, one might deem him the least likely to do so. He was not a man of privilege. Prestigious universities did not educate him, nor did he have the needed political support to foster any significant social change. On the contrary, Thomas Paine was poor. He was the son of a corset maker, and his parents envisioned the same career for him. So how was he able to become one of America's most celebrated writers? How was he able to write a pamphlet that created a revolutionary spirit in the hearts of men? This chapter reviews Thomas Paine's life; his pamphlet *Common Sense*; and his use of common language, allusions to religion, and urgency to promote social change in the American colonies.

*Childhood Experience*

Paine's childhood contributed to his style of writing and the language he used in *Common Sense*. He was born in a society with three primary social classes: royalty, aristocracy, and commoners. Paine's family belonged to the latter classification, which was the largest group of the three. Like the Paines, most other commoners used their skills and resources to sustain themselves. They were not scholars or policy makers. They were common individuals who bore the burden of labor of an affluent society. They worked as blacksmiths, farmers, fishermen, and corset makers, and despite their many abilities, they were the ones who lived the most impoverished lives. One could argue the reasons why they were in this position, but what remains certain is that there were few individuals in Paine's time who went from being a laborer to a member of an intellectual or scholarly circle. For Thomas Paine, education would become an escape from one life to the hopes of another.

*Paine and Education*

Although Thomas Paine's family was poor, they provided him with a respectable education. He went to grammar school and finished at the age of thirteen with the equivalent of an American eighth grade education. Samuel Edwards, the author of the book *Rebel*, a biography of Thomas Paine's life, notes that during this time, Paine developed an affinity for writing and science, but due to family financial obligations, Paine left school to become a full-time apprentice to his father, Joseph Paine (Edwards 8). It was customary for many students to finish their studies prematurely and assist their families. This provided the parents with cheap labor and positioned the children to become beneficiaries of the family business.

The Paines' decision for young Thomas to leave school was unfortunate, but it served an important purpose as well. It allowed him the opportunity to observe those around him, and like a sociologist, he was able to learn their likes and dislikes on topics such as religion.

*Paine and Religion*

Thomas Paine was born into a religiously influenced household. Robert A. Ferguson, a professor of law and literature at Columbia University, confirms that Paine's parents had different relgious beliefs. His father was a Quaker and his mother was an Anglican (473). This division of faith had a powerful effect on Thomas Paine, because his parents exposed him to two different forms of Christianity. His father taught him the religious beliefs of the Quakers and his mother taught him the faith of the Anglicans. Paine gravitated towards the Anglican faith, but later rejected it (473). For children, this dichotomy of faith within the home encourages them to think critically and to analyze the fundamental differences between religions at an early age. They see where one area is weaker or unexplainable, whereas the other may be more definitive and derived from The Bible.

The Bible was a source of influence for Paine. He learned it from both of his parents, and as a result, he was able to effectively communicate with those in the Christian faith as a whole. According to Ferguson, "[Paine] knew the Bible well, better by far than any other writing" (473). This approach to and knowledge of Christianity created a critical way of thinking for Paine that later served him as a writer, politician, and poet. Yet if Paine's desire was to influence individuals in his later years, he needed to understand the hardships of the common person, and he would acquire that knowledge first hand through his quest to overcome poverty.

*The Laborer*

When Paine turned sixteen, he wanted to abandon the family business of corset making. Edwards notes that on a trip to London, Paine signed on as an apprentice seaman on board the privateer, the *Terrible.* Paine's father, however, took him away from the job and brought him back home to work. Two weeks later, the *Terrible* sank in an Atlantic storm; everyone on board was killed (Edwards 9). In the following years, England and France began to quarrel over territories in the New World. Young Paine took this opportunity to leave his country as a seaman again and to attempt to find a way of living that was more to his liking; this time his father did not object.

By 1756, Paine was an enlisted sailor on the privateer, the *King of Prussia.* He was stationed mostly in the Caribbean islands, in colonies like Jamaica. For one year, he fought against enemy ships for territorial rights. He developed the reputation of being a young and fearless individual. Oblivious to danger, he would board dangerous ships, which he and his crewmen were ordered to plunder for supplies (Edwards 9). As result of the actions of Paine and others, the French later surrendered their ships and goods. It was not long before Paine started to reevaluate his life. Would he continue to live the life of a person who took orders that jeopardized his life, or would he be a person who influenced those who made the orders?

Upon his return to England, Paine developed an interest in education. He moved to London and studied under individuals such as James Hale Martin, an attorney, who fought for the abolition of child labor. Paine also learned from individuals like the astronomer John Bevis, a member of the English Whig Party. Bevis had radical political opinions and would

later side with the colonists during the American Revolution. During the two years that Paine lived as a student in London, he began to formulate the political opinions that would resurface in *Common Sense*. As Paine worked to complete his studies, his living expenses increased, and they reminded him that he could not survive on scholastic works alone; consequently, he searched for employment.

In 1766, Paine landed a job as an English teacher at an academy. A Mr. Noble owned the academy, and paid him nine and a half shillings (79¢) a week or twenty-five pounds ($41 US dollars) a year. Paine mainly taught grammar and composition. Woodward notes the irony in Paine's employment:

> The surprising thing about this school job is that Mr. Noble ever thought of employing a staymaker to teach English. Workingmen were not expected to possess scholarly knowledge of any kind, and a great many of them could not read. The common people such as craftsmen, farm hands and laborers were purposely kept at a low educational level by the ruling classes that governed the country. (Woodward 33)

The fact that Paine had become an educator in English illustrates he had a basic understanding of the English language. Paine's employment ended that same year when he was given an opportunity to work for the government.

On February 15, 1768, the British government hired Thomas Paine as an excise officer. An officer's primary job was to collect inland taxes for the government. The primary taxes were on alcohol and other household goods sold to consumers. Woodward notes that the British government stationed Paine in what is now Brighton from 1768 to 1774. This area was a pivotal place for Paine, because this is where he began to become more involved as a writer. At this point, Paine was 31 years of age, and he had previously tried various avenues to escape poverty. He yearned for adventure; so, first he attempted to make his way as a

sailor. Then continuing in the path of his father, he tried a life as an entrepreneur, and as a trader, but they too proved unfruitful. Surprisingly, Paine's writing ability would rescue him from his financial obscurity and carry him to new adventures and into the pantheon of great intellectuals.

*Paine the Writer*

Even at a very young age, Thomas Paine had the ability to express himself through writing. At the age of eight, he composed an epitaph in honor of his dead pet crow, in which he wrote:

> Here lies the body of John Crow
> Who once was high, but now is low;
> Ye brother Crows, take warning all,
> For as you rise, so must you fall. (Edwards 7)

Precise and simple, its style reflects the style of the texts he would write as an adult. As Paine grew older, he transferred his style of writing from poetry to essays, pamphlets and even books.

Paine began to test his talent as a writer, and in 1772, he finished a paper entitled *The Case of the Officers of Excise*. In this paper, he argues that the officers who are employed to collect money on behalf of the government should be duly compensated for their work. Ferguson acknowledges this as Paine's earliest example of being a voice for those victimized by government (474). Paine argues that the men who protected the riches of the government were mostly poor, and susceptible to the temptation to steal portions of the money that they collected during their duties.

In *The Case of the Officers of Excise*, Paine takes the side of the workers and cleverly points out to the rich that if they could imagine the impoverished condition in which their men lived, they could understand how difficult it was for the officers to collect another man's taxes, only to remain in poverty themselves. Paine went to London, but despite his honorable and tenacious plea to Parliament, his requests went unfulfilled. Parliament believed that if the men who were demanding more money were not happy, they could abandon their duties. Parliament simply believed the men were expendable. Paine was baffled by Parliament's choice not to support the excise officers and decided to leave London, but before he did, some good came from his visit.

During the same winter in London, Paine became acquainted with Benjamin Franklin, who was in London on behalf of the American colonies. The two had several meaningful scientific and political conversations. Consequently, Franklin developed a high level of respect for Paine. He suggested that Paine travel to America to start a new career and life. At the time, Paine had recently married and was thirty-four years of age. Traveling to a new country and leaving behind a wife would not be as simple as before, when he abandoned his life as a corset maker. With the money he acquired from a separation settlement from his wife (Ferguson 473), Paine decided to pursue the life that Franklin had suggested to him.

*The Pain (e) of America*

Benjamin Franklin benevolently gave Paine a small amount of money to make his trip comfortable, and on November 17, 1774, Paine sailed for the American colonies. Paine carried with him a letter written by Franklin to his son-in-law, Richard Bache. The letter

requested Bache to provide temporary housing and a potential job for Paine as a clerk, as an assistant school tutor, or as an assistant surveyor, which Franklin suggested would prove most beneficial to Bache. After forty-two days at sea, Paine landed at the harbor of New York City. The next day, Paine arrived in Philadelphia, where Robert Bache welcomed him and later introduced him to Robert Atkin, the owner of one of Philadelphia's largest bookstores and printing companies (Edwards 24). This encounter would change not only Paine's life, but also the lives of many colonists.

Impressed with Paine's writing ability, Atkin provided Paine a job as an essayist in his magazine company, *Pennsylvania Magazine,* or more commonly known as the *American Museum* (Edward 24). When he arrived, there were more than a half million African slaves in the colonies (Wilson, Ricketson 26). Paine seized the opportunity and wrote about slavery in the colonies. His essay, *African Slavery in America,* attacked the institution of slavery and identified it as immoral. It was not the first printed effort to denounce African slavery in the colonies. Thomas Jefferson, who, ironically, owned slaves, also wrote against slavery in 1769 (Wilson, Ricketson 27); he foreshadowed later works such as *Common Sense*, which also expressed the importance of individual freedom and liberty among all citizens. For Paine, freedom was an inherent right of humankind, including people of African descent.

*New Home, New Audience*

Edwards suggests that, although slavery was legal in England, Paine never saw a slave before he entered America (Edward 24). Slavery was a controversial issue for Philadelphians. Many people in Pennsylvania were Quakers, religiously opposed to slavery. Edward suggests, "Skeptics have claimed that he [Paine] was strictly opportunistic, having

known that most influential Philadelphians were opposed to...slavery, but this is unlikely, if for no other reason that the new arrival could have had no idea of what Philadelphians thought or believed" (24). That Paine was cognizant of the Philadelphians position on slavery is disputable, but Paine was conscious of the Quaker's sentiment on freedom and equality. He acquired this knowledge from his father. In essence, the essay, *African Slavery in America,* was a success in Philadelphia because it reached thousands of readers. The essay placed Thomas Paine at the forefront of figures to speak against slavery, and a month after its publication an antislavery movement was started in Philadelphia (Woodward 61).

Paine's success as an essayist is evident in the response of the readers of that time. Edwards claims that Paine's ability to capitalize on the public's indignation towards key issues was great, and it secured his position at the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. Furthermore, he notes that Aitkin quickly presented him the position of editor-in-chief and offered him a substantial salary to secure the job (Edwards 25). Paine accepted, and by the end of the year, he became a respected writer in the colonies. Paine's attack on controversial issues with the acceptance of many Americans started with the demand for emancipating slaves and later focused on the development of a nation that was free from colonial rule. The freedom allowing a person to live based on his inalienable rights as a human being could be drawn from Paine's position on the eighteenth century colonial practice of African slavery. Paine explained the importance of freedom in his historic pamphlet *Common Sense*.

*The Power of Paine and the Pen*

Initially, Paine's editors did not intend *Common Sense* to politicize the masses or galvanize them into revolt. Instead, the author intended the text to serve as a representation

of what the people of Philadelphia felt. However, Paine was beyond a general understanding of what the Philadelphians felt. He was now a voice for what was to come. Paine's editors asked him specifically to avoid using inflammatory words, such as "independence" or "revolution"; however, Thomas Paine saw the chance to write such a compelling piece as a once in a lifetime opportunity. With the resources to encourage social change in the thirteen colonies at his disposal, Paine chose not to follow his editors' request. Paine's response was, "Independence is inevitable" (Foner 77). Thomas Paine was in a position to change the social and political climate in Philadelphia. His decision to write an inflammatory piece may have ended with repercussions to his employment, but the owner of the magazine still chose to distribute the piece.

Paine divides the pamphlet *Common Sense* into four small chapters, which he based on obtaining independence through armed revolution. The size of the pamphlet is important because he did not intend to bombard his readers with an arsenal of information and jargon. Instead, Paine wanted to write so that the masses could understand and relate to his plea. He kept the pamphlet short, and he used language that was common to the everyday person, i.e. *Common Sense*. Additionally, Woodward acknowledges, "He [Paine] reasoned that if an argument did not carry force and conviction, there was no sense in printing it at all; furthermore, if it were so intricate in style and expression that only the learned could gather its full import, most of its possible readers were thus excluded" (68). In each chapter, Paine uses language that is easy to follow and understand.

***The Use of "Common" Language in Common Sense***

Thomas Paine's style of writing derived from his background as a commoner. Paine spent the majority of his life among common people. Even as an educator and as an excise officer he related to their way of life. He surrounded himself around common people, so he was familiar with them. They shared many of his father's views. They were a religious group who believed in or knew about the Bible, more so than any other book. This partially derived from their inability to read. For commoners, the interesting thing about the Bible is that its message reaches even the illiterate.

Many commoners were frequent churchgoers, and they heard the stories of the Bible from the pulpit. Even if they did not understand the words on the pages, they could embrace the words of the preacher, but due to a diverse audience, the preacher had to use common language that was simple enough for everyone to follow (Woodward 260-62). For example, as in churches today, there are people from different age groups, educational backgrounds, and interpretation abilities; sermons are crafted in a way that is relatable to them all. Thomas Paine uses this approach in *Common Sense.*

Paine's simplicity of style in *Common Sense* reflects the conversational tone of most people who lived in Philadelphia during that time. Stephen Newman, the author of "*A Note on Common Sense and Christian Eschatology*", wrote that *Common Sense* lacked scholarly citations designed to impress the educated elite, and for the scholarly apparatus, it substituted the everyday language of the common man. He also claims that Paine's language lacked Latin-studded prose that was common for pamphleteers (104). For Thomas Paine, the only way to connect to a general audience was to speak the language they spoke, or in this case to

write the way that they spoke. The result is that Paine's prose and sentence structure in *Common Sense* reflect those of a conversational tone.

***Prose and Structure***

Paine wrote the way that colonists spoke. To achieve this effect, he read passages from his pamphlet aloud. Pastors, who plan to convey their works orally, also use this style of writing. Thomas P. Slaughter, a professor of history and editor of *Common Sense and Related Writing,* comments on this writing style:

> Paine read his words aloud, trusting his own ear and that of his friend [Benjamin Rush] for the pamphlet's pitch. This method of honing passages through oral readings vividly portrayed Paine's intent. He meant the words to ring in people's ears, to inspire them collectively by dramatic readings, to make revolution a communal experience. (27)

Throughout *Common Sense,* the sentences are short and have a certain poetic sound to them, especially when read aloud. Paine knew that by keeping his sentences in such a manner, he would gain the attention of the common person.

The prose used in *Common* Sense is also quite simple. For example, in the opening paragraph of *Common Sense,* Paine writes, "Society in every state is a blessing, but government even in its best state is but a necessary evil...." (1). This particular line is symmetrical in arrangement. The first clause only contains seven words, but the sentence's content uses binary oppositions to highlight the differences between left and right; good and evil; and society and government. The framework of this sentence is simple and precise. Paine does not ramble for several paragraphs and thus perhaps lose the attention of his

intended audience. Instead, he uses an inverted pyramid style of writing and gives his reader his message and intent from the first sentence of the paragraph. Paine continues using this type of sentence structure throughout the pamphlet.

***Metaphors in Common Sense***

In *Common Sense* Thomas Paine uses metaphors as a way to convey his message about acquiring freedom. Ferguson argues that Paine employs three primary metaphors in *Common Sense:* childhood, time present, and simplicity. Taken together he notes, "the metaphors in question enact a dramatic coordination of status, context, and aesthetic form in the overall narrative of *Common Sense*" (Ferguson, 484). The metaphorical literary devices used in the pamphlet are easy to understand and follow. For example, Paine uses religion as a metaphorical device. In one example, God is the father and humankind is the child. The king is identified as a father figure, and his kingdom is his child. This is problematic for the readers because if they were religious people, they would have issues with identifying a King as a Godlike authority. Paine uses this example both to intrigue the readers and to diminish their respect for the king.

Paine's religious metaphors contrast God and kings as father figures. He acknowledges that God is a benevolent father and the king is a malevolent one. He paints God as a deserving being and the king as someone who has power over people undeservingly (Paine 7). This use of religion and metaphor is the most powerful tool used in influencing the common people of America, because at this point in history the most purchased book was the Bible. Due to this, many people in the early colonies had a basic understanding of the Bible, and its messages. Moreover, one could look at the Ten Commandments and its message not

to "place anyone or thing in the place of God" (Exodus 20). Paine's juxtaposition of King and God shows how people may consider a king as all-powerful; thus, they are displeasing God. This metaphorical description helps build Paine's idea that kings are evil.

*Historical and Religious Connections*

Unlike many political writers, Paine chose to avoid using information that was not readily available or understood by the general population. For example, Paine could have easily used classical references to Plato, Aristotle, or Socrates. Instead, he only used hypothetical examples from history. Moreover, he used descriptions of the current British Government. Considering that the colonies were under the dominion of the British, Paine correctly believed that the American colonists were knowledgeable of the British government and its history. It had been less than two hundred years since Jamestown, Virginia, was founded in 1607. The people who lived in the colonies were new settlers either from England or from second-generation British colonists. By noting the history of the English government, Paine knew that his audience was well educated about the government. Thus, his historical examples of the kingdom were not in vain. Paine's final example of historical content derives solely from The Bible.

First in the initial chapter, Paine discusses the meaning and the origins of government. He starts by stating that our wants and government produce society's wickedness. Paine identifies his target within the first paragraph of his work. He does not attack his subject directly. Instead, he cleverly builds it. He describes society as good and the government as an unnecessary evil, thus giving his reader a choice to make from the offset of the text. However, Paine had already established his opinion on government as a malevolent entity in

both America and in Europe in his comparison of kings and God. Paine's initial words are important, because he plants a seed of contempt towards governments. He is clever in doing so because after developing his point in the succeeding sections of *Common Sense*, he channels his disdain for government towards a strong repugnance for the British government.

Second, he describes how civilizations form governments. He begins, "In order to gain a clear and just idea of the design and end of government, let us suppose a small number of persons settled in some sequestered part of the earth, unconnected with the rest" (Paine 2). Here he creates the hypothetical historical reference. "They will then represent the first peopling of any country, or of the world. In this state of natural liberty, society will be their first thought" (Paine 2). In this section, Paine claims that it is our natural inclination to create society. In the process of developing this society, all men and women are equal. No individual is more powerful than another. They are only separate based on the different talents that they possess. For the readers, even if they do not possess an understanding of historical knowledge, they could easily follow Paine's example through imagination.

Following this further, in Paine's hypothetical example, an individual's talent may be hunting and another's fishing. They are both equal because there is not a system established that makes one superior over the other. However, these distinctions in talent could lead one to request the material or physical resources of another. For example, the hunter may request fish from the fisherman. The hunter's request is then followed by a request from the fisherman, and the cycle continues until a system is created, which allows members of the community to depend on other members. Thomas Paine claims that this is how a civilization develops in its early stages.

Third, following his explanation of the development of civilization, Paine writes that a person draws himself or herself into "perpetual solitude, disease, misfortune, and/or death" if he or she desires to carry out the work of living a sustainable life based on his or her solitary works alone. Paine claims from the beginning of civilization that humankind was inclined to ask for assistance from one another. In the following paragraph, he suggests how governments are formed. Paine states that all individuals are capable of meeting with others in the community to discuss issues that affect them, including need for trade. Over time, some of these individuals would become overwhelmed with other responsibilities while others had a decrease in responsibilities. As a result, the need for someone to speak on his or her behalf in public would increase gradually. The individuals with fewer responsibilities were then asked to speak on behalf of the more occupied people of that community.

The prior examples of Paine resonate with colonists of America who depended on an interlocking community for support. In the early stages of the American colonial period, just as it is today, people relied heavily on one another. One individual provided one service or good in exchange for another. This form of community derived from a system that was also used in England. Paine's prior experience as a laborer helped him understand the need for a society. As it was in England with the commoners, Paine saw a similar system in the American colonies. He emphasizes that if people choose to survive on their own sweat, they would draw themselves into "perpetual solitude, disease, misfortune, and/or death." Readers who read the pamphlet, *Common Sense,* in *1776* also saw the significance of coexisting with their neighbors. Paine's use of this non-disputable information develops a trust with his reader that he later exploits.

In succeeding paragraphs, Paine states that people are supposedly connected by their migration to foreign lands and the work that is needed to make that land habitable. As some groups work at a stronger pace or use a smarter method, they would begin to produce more than the other individuals do. As a result, the people who have more food, wood, and other necessities will disassociate themselves from those who are less fortunate. Paine suggests that individuals who develop groups based on their similar possessions would eventually produce an immoral society, a society that focuses on the needs and desires of one particular group and not another. This immorality among humans then creates a need for a social government (Paine 2).

Paine believed that initially government was used to create laws to keep a society intact morally. Creating laws based on what is right according to one person or group's belief is problematic. Paine believed this because, if an individual is elected or selected to represent the best interest of a particular group and if his or her spiritual, social, economical or moral viewpoints are not the same as those that he or she represents, then he or she could create laws that do not benefit all the people but only themselves and their constituents. By the end of this chapter, Paine has attempted to prove to his reader that governments are evil by explaining that the origins of government are based on the total trust of another. Inevitably, as Paine establishes, that person will later prove himself unworthy. At this stage of *Common Sense*, Thomas Paine has expounded a fundamental lack of trust of government.

Finally, Paine discusses the hereditary succession of monarchs and its dangers. He begins by stating that all men are equal by creation (Paine 14). This sentiment would be echoed in the *Declaration of Independence*. He then suggests that there are no natural or religious reasons why Kings exist. In the preceding chapter, he explained why governments

are evil. Therefore, the reader now has begun to take a critical approach to the elements that produce governments or monarchies. Paine carefully begins this chapter as the next phase of his plan to examine the reasons for the ineffectiveness of Kingdoms and their relationship to religion.

### *Religious Content in Common Sense*

Paine grew up as a student of the Bible. His father was a Quaker and his mother was Anglican; as a result, he had several different perspectives on the Bible, and he was able to use them effectively in his writing. In terms of social influence, he knew that elevated topics on political theory would convince or entertain scholars such as Benjamin Franklin, but they would only lose the attention of the common people in the colonies. For Paine, having a successful rebellion would mean that he needed the masses to participate in the movement. The works of politicians, scholars, and the elite would not provide the necessary labor and force to oppose the British. *Common Sense* focused on the masses. In an effort to politicize the colonists, Paine used the knowledge that many of them possessed. That knowledge is Christian doctrine.

Paine uses Christian doctrine in a way to connect the history of government with religion. By employing this method, he circumvents the need to provide a backstory for the two. Here there is no need to mention historical references. Moreover, there is not a need to educate the people on religion, because most colonists of the era had an understanding of the Bible. Paine chose to exploit the colonists' knowledge of the Bible for his own purposes. He built on their common knowledge of existence, explained by religion, and intertwined it with politics. By doing so, he was able to keep the language of the pamphlet simple. In contrast, if

he chose to use other historical references and information, he chanced the possibility of losing his audience. In the end, if religion were taken out of Paine's tools for influence, the response to the pamphlet by its reader would be different. Paine was politic in choosing to contrast Christianity with government.

### *Christianity and Monarchies*

From the beginning of the chapter, Paine refers to Biblical history. He acknowledges "Monarchies were introduced into the world by the Heathens, from whom the children of Israel copied" (Paine 10). Paine continues, "It was the most prosperous invention the Devil ever set on foot for the promotion of idolatry. The Heathens paid divine honors to their deceased kings, and the Christian world hath improved on the plan by doing the same to their living ones" (Paine 10). Paine uses the Heathens to promote his idea of kingdoms being a derivative of evil. The colonists of America understood as well as anyone that the Kingdom of Britain was to be considered a respected entity. One could argue that the Crown was to be respected in almost the same light as religion. As Jesus Christ was the king of kings, and the kings of governments were the kings of society, Paine uses the Christian doctrine to reject the idea of a human being worthy of worship.

Paine then denounces the idea of a king by using the example of the Heathens once again. He notes that Samuel was asked by the Heathens to be their king. Since Samuel was unsure about it, he prayed to God for better insight. The Heathens wanted a king to lead and make decisions for them as other nations did (Paine 12). Paine emphasizes that this illustrates

that their desire for a king was with bad intentions and that God was unhappy with this request by the Heathens. Paine claims that God felt that their desire for Samuel to rule over them showed Him that they had accepted Samuel as all powerful, and in the process they denied God.

At this point in the pamphlet, Paine generates a fear of human idolatry. Consequently, he further promotes the lack of need for a king. This common reference to religion and monarchies effectively urges the reader of this pamphlet to oppose the idea of monarchical government. Thomas Paine used a tool that he knew most colonists would be familiar with: religion. His argument of placing the American colonies against the British government would be a rather difficult challenge if it were solely based on scholarly examples. Therefore, his choice to include Biblical examples proves more effective for his initial audience, especially those who were members of the Quaker community. In the following section, Paine continues to contrast religion and monarchies.

Building off his previous example of Samuel, Paine notes that Samuel spoke to the Heathens and told them how horribly a king would treat them. He describes how greedy and merciless kings are. Samuel told the Heathens that kings would take their land and harvest for their own. They would take the father's sons and make them horse-like individuals who would have the responsibility of pulling the king's chariot. Last, Samuel tells the Heathens that their future king would also take away their daughters and "make them to be confectioneries (pleasure items)" (Paine 13). Despite Samuel's warning, the Heathens persisted in having a king. They wanted a king like other nations, so that he would fight their battles and make decisions for them. The request for a king by the Heathens infuriated God.

and He sent down thunder and rain, which frightened the Heathens. To their honor, they asked Samuel to ask God for forgiveness for them. The Heathens' request for Samuel to be their spokesperson to God also demonstrates the power that the Heathens gave to Samuel.

Paine establishes to his readers that if they desired to honor an undeserving king in their society as well, they too would be punished. This idea of punishment for dishonoring God was a familiar message to the early settlers of America. The quintessential punishment of fire and brimstone was used to frighten many Christians to follow a path of righteousness as opposed to a self-serving, hedonistic lifestyle. This idea of disrespecting an existing king or not creating a new king for an emerging country is the basis of Paine's pamphlet. By the end of this chapter, Paine has evoked both fear and direction among his readers. However, up to this point Paine has only attempted to remove the colonists' desire to be ruled by a monarch. He now leans towards challenging the colonists to respond.

***The Danger of Monarchies and the Need to Respond***

Paine's negative experience as an excise officer helped him create a negative attitude in the Colonists towards the current British government. Paine failed at almost everything he attempted to do in England. The only true opportunity he had in working with the government was being an officer. However, once he became a voice for the individuals who he felt were victims of it, he was forced to resign. As a result, he relocated to the colonies. The colonists felt the same wrath of the government through increasing taxes. For years, they pleaded with the King, but their desires went unfulfilled. They were also daunted by new taxes. Paine saw this same type of harsh reality as a commoner in England. Throughout his

life, he lived poor and dependent on the government, but now he had an opportunity to break away from it and try to make a new life. This new life involved the entire American population, but if they were to seize it, they needed to realize their opportunity to do so.

*Golden Opportunity*

Up to this point in Paine's pamphlet, readers have developed a disdain for government in general. The challenge for Paine now is to effectively introduce a government that is free from the negative feelings that he has created towards it in *Common Sense.* In exchange, Paine gives his readers an optimistic perspective on pursuing independence. Here independence is the principal goal for Paine, not government. He avoids proposing a new government before he establishes the need to have a lesser evil or independence in its place. This is important for the reader, because if Paine only suggests the negative aspects of government without offering a possible solution, he has failed them as a leader. As a result, the reader would discredit Paine and label him a demagogue, an individual who thrives on controversy and chaos. Consequently, Paine builds to this suggestion. He uses the notion of independence as a tool to acquire freedom, but not without time limitations. In *Common Sense* the best time to fight for freedom is now.

***Sense of urgency to Respond to Common Sense***

Paine cleverly suggests three central ideas that are critical to the survival of the colonies: the importance of American unity, a constitution, and new laws. Paine observes that the king feels that there should be no laws made in the colonies, but the ones he [the king] pleased (Paine 34). He continues, "The king is the greatest enemy that the country could have" (Paine 34). In this passage, Paine does not overly explain the reason why a king

should not be in control. He has no need to, because he has proven with religious references that the king is unworthy of leadership. Paine also strategically incorporates his suggestion for a new nation. This new nation is later described in a language that is relatable to the American colonists.

### *Paine's Prophecy of a Nation*

In the third chapter, Paine describes the present state and future of the American colonies. It is worth mentioning that in this chapter the term "American" is first coined as a national unit. At that time, colonists only identified themselves as New Yorkers or Virginians, and so forth. Paine describes the colonies as one central unit with a single underlying problem: Great Britain. His term "America" labels the colonists a homogeneous group. This is important because had the colonists viewed themselves as independent entities, instead of one cohesive body, in the war against Great Britain, they would inevitably suffer defeat. At this section of *Common Sense,* Paine has destroyed the justification for monarchies. He replaced the notion of loyalty with revolution, and subservience with independence. To effectively create social change, Paine would need to suggest a new form of government. This was his greatest challenge because attacking the ills of an existing society is easier than creating a new one.

In the last chapter of *Common Sense,* Paine suggests a form of government that works as an alternative to the British government. He explains that the most powerful governments are continental governments, because they could keep the peace of the nation and protect it from the threat of civil war. For the reader, this suggests the need to form a united nation. The use of the term "continent" suggests America as whole and not as sovereign states. An

example of this division, prophetically hinted by Paine, came to life in later centuries with the American Civil War. This war was a by-product of the division of northern and southern states. Next, Paine emphasizes that the new government form an assembly that meets annually with a President. (This is the first time that the term president is used in the book.)

Next, Paine proposes that each colony be divided into six, eight, or ten districts, and that each district send a limited number of delegates to Congress. He also suggests that the whole number of Congress should not exceed 390 members. The ideas that Paine explains here are extremely powerful. Readers like George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and others would discuss the chapter's content in developing the framework for the Constitution of the United States of America. A major concern that they pondered was how they would form a government without capital or resources. Paine attacks this problem in his last chapter of *Common Sense*.

Paine notes that the country is debt free, and that other countries that are at odds with Britain would do business with America. He also expresses that not having a debt could be a major disadvantage for any country. He acknowledges, "No nation ought to be without a debt. A national debt is a national bond: and when it bears no interest, it is in no case a grievance" (Paine 44). Paine believed that countries like Great Britain were powerful because they had a debt of over one hundred and forty million pounds. He states that the government paid over four million dollars in interest. Paine suggests that when the country revolts it should quickly acquire a debt.

### *Conclusion*

Paine released *Common Sense* in Philadelphia on January 10, 1776, the exact day that the King of England delivered a bellicose speech to Parliament - a speech that responded to the subversive acts and comments of the colonists. The publication of *Common Sense* was symbolic, because it offered a message that opposed the King's speech. The pamphlet later became the first best seller in the developing nation. Nelson states that by the end of 1776 more than 250,000 copies were sold (241). Nelson observes that no other books, at that point in history, had reached that many people in the colonies, with the exception of the Bible.

There were also many honorable people that the book *Common Sense* influenced; among them are Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and George Washington. Washington is noted for saying that "the sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning contained in the pamphlet *Common Sense* will not leave members [of Congress] at a loss to decide upon the propriety of separation... [It is] working a wonderful change in the minds of many men" (Nelson 241). This response by Washington further illustrates the power of Paine's simple form of writing. By the use of simple prose and rhetoric, Paine was able to influence not only the commoners of that time, but also the educated individuals who later became members of Congress.

### *Critical Response*

Although many praised Paine's style of writing and the topic on which he wrote, there were people such as John Adams who did not. He wrote:

> [*Common Sense's*] arguments in favor of independence I liked very well; but... his arguments from the Old Testament were ridiculous... The other third part relative to a form of government I considered as flowing from simply ignorance and a mere desire

> to please the democratic party.... I regretted to see so foolish a plan recommended to the people of the United States.... I dreaded the effect so popular a pamphlet might have among the people and determined to do all in my power or counteract the effects of it.... It is the fate of men and things which do great good that they always do great evil, too. "*Common Sense*," by his crude, ignorant notion of a government by one assembly, will do more mischief, in dividing the friends of liberty, than all the Tory writings together.... It was so democratically, without any restraint or even an attempt at any equilibrium or counterpoise, that it must produce confusion and every evil work. (Nelson 242)

This passage demonstrates the disdain that some scholars such as Adams had against the works of Paine. Adams believed that the government should be controlled by a selected few. He sided with a form somewhat similar to the British government. He did not believe that the common people should find ways to rule themselves. For Adams, a nation of self-governed people was inconceivable. He thought that Paine's lack of philosophical and logical explanation and defense of his argument made his pamphlet weak. Moreover, he disapproved his use of the Bible in *Common Sense* (Foner 81). However, the voice and opinion of Adams did not parallel the sentiments of the American people. They wanted a new government that reflected their values and respected them, and Paine, through a simple form of communication, was able to provide the initial idea of freedom.

In the end, Thomas Paine's style of writing in *Common Sense* was the reason for his success. He connected with the sentiments of the American people, and he explained politics in a way that they could comprehend. Paine was truly aware of his audience; moreover, he knew where the power of real change resided. For Paine, the power was with the common person. Like many scholars, Paine could have written an entirely different piece on Independence, but he would not have experienced a revolution as quickly had he chosen not to write using a simple form. This style moved a people that later formed a nation. The idea

of freedom from monarchies and non-deserving leaders was Paine's principal argument. From this argument came a revolution, *the Declaration of Independence,* and *the Articles of Confederation* (Nelson 241). The ideas within Paine's pamphlet and the writings that it influenced would carry on for centuries. A young man by the name of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. would later work to perpetuate this common style of communication.

## Chapter Two

An Unfulfilled Promise

"Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."

Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Letter from Birmingham Jail*

### *Introduction*

The 1960s were a pivotal decade for freedom. For African Americans in this period, racial limitations began slowly to collapse, but not quickly enough for people like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Consequently, King worked to create an America that was free from the racial atrocities described in the Swedish economist Gunar Myrdal's book, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (1944). In this book, Myrdal coined the term "principle of cummulation [*sic*]," which he defined as the process of curing whites of prejudice, or collectively improving the social condition of African Americans. King worked to achieve both. In the process, his thoughts became the opinions of thousands; his words, the driving force for millions; and his writings, such as the *Letter from the Birmingham Jail,* became the moral justification for a civil rights movement. Fortunately, King did not have to fight this battle alone.

In addition, during the 1960s, leaders from various organizations developed strategies to challenge the tradition of inequality, injustice, and segregation in the United States. On May 4, 1961, a group called the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) started a project titled the Freedom Summer. Their objective was to travel

the highways from the North to assist less fortunate African Americans in the racially segregated South. CORE followed in the works of Rosa Parks, who was also an instrumental figure in the movement for racial equality. She is most known for her refusal to give up her seat to a white man in Montgomery, Alabama on December 1, 1955. However, the idea of nonviolent social resistance was not an idea that began with the Civil Rights Movement, nor were Rosa Parks and CORE the first to channel this medium. On the contrary, the method became famous with the judicial decision in the case of *Morgan v. Virginia* in 1946 (Virginia Law Review 32 01 Jan 1945 668).

In 1946, almost a decade before Rosa Parks' refusal to give up her seat, Irene Morgan traveled from Virginia to Maryland, where a bus coordinator ordered her to give her bus seat to a white man. Morgan granted the man her seat and relocated to the back. Several stops later, the situation reoccurred, and the driver asked her to yield the seat again; at this point, she refused. Consequently, the bus driver forcibly removed her from the bus. The bus driver's actions were justified by "Jim Crow" de facto standards of discrimination. During this period, these standards implied that African Americans south of the Mason-Dixon line were to give their seats to any white person who requested it. This meant that if African Americans sat in the front half of the bus, if there were several empty seats behind them, they had to relocate to the back.

Lawmakers solely based the determining factor for those susceptible to racial discrimination, within the Southern public transit systems, on an individual's skin pigmentation. This statute reflected the racial and economic climate of states like Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama. African Americans were in

the background of social and economic progress, whereas their white counterparts are ahead of the bus. When Morgan challenged the bus system, she challenged the social customs upon which the South was so heavily dependent, because her refusal to give up her seat illustrated the power of one person, and how anyone could challenge these biased customs. The CORE organization assumed Morgan's role in defying the unscrupulous system. CORE challenged inequality in the South by teaching African Americans how to read and vote. Its primary objective was to challenge the segregated transit systems. The participants involved were both white and black college students, Christian men, and Christian women (Johnson and Adelman 79-82). They challenged the unjust laws of the land by applying non-violent methods. Unfortunately, traditionalists and segregationists met them with the opposite.

In 1962 in Anniston, Alabama, a group of Klu Klux Klan members bombed a Greyhound bus of "Freedom Riders." The Klan member then attacked the victims as they fled for safety. The leader of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, came to help them after the brutal attack, but the "Riders" were injured too severely to carry on (Johnson and Adelman 80). This attack produced a photograph seen by million around the world. It showed a burning Greyhound bus and victims, sprawled on the highway. This picture reminded its viewers of the violence and racial prejudice that remained in Alabama following the 1955 bus boycotts in Alabama.

During this decade, people both black and white, made considerable contributions to racial progress and equality. For example, a May 17,1954, ruling by the federal court in *Brown v. the Board of Education*, or Brown II, declared that

segregation within school systems was unconstitutional. As a result, schools integrated, but the ambiguity that came from the case's ruling to move "with all deliberate speed" justified continued segregation for schools like Central High School in Little Rock Arkansas, which did not become integrated until 1957. The school's refusal to integrate was also supported by the ambiguity of the case. The *Encyclopedias of Arkansas History and Culture* observes, "On May 22, 1954, the Little Rock School Board issued a statement saying that it would comply with the Court's decision, once the court outlined the method and time frame for implementation... " ("Central Arkansas Library System"). The hesitation that the city of Little Rock displayed in integrating public schools systems was also seen throughout the South in continued segregation practices in areas like job opportunities, unjust laws, and business practices. Birmingham, Alabama, was no exception to these sorts of discriminatory practices.

One could consider Birmingham the epicenter of the racial disasters that followed during this era. Rev. Shuttlesworth, a charismatic, middle-class preacher, requested that Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. come to the city to help in obtaining essential civil rights for African Americans there. Shuttlesworth and King felt that the first step to accomplishing integration was to desegregate the lunch counters and public facilities. They also wanted to put an end to discriminatory hiring practices (Cotman 11-14). Against his father's wishes, Rev. King and his trusted friend Rev. Ralph Abernathy planned to leave for arguably America's most racially charged city. This decision followed the failure of a protest in Albany, Georgia.

On December 15, 1961, King and Abernathy arrived to Albany, Georgia, to protest the discriminatory practices of the city. Their plan was to march to city hall. The greatest challenge to the march and to racial advancement in Albany was police chief, Laurie Prichett. Prichett was circumspect in his dealings with King and his followers. King anticipated a violent reaction from the city's officials that would capture the attention and the emotion of national viewers. To King's dismay, Prichett did not respond in the way that King intended. Prichett acted amicably in public to the protestors. King was imprisoned and fined $178 for violating city ordinances; yet the officials further displayed their ability to circumvent bad national publicity they paid for the fine for King. Subsequently, King realized that there was no possible chance for success in Albany; so, he left Albany on December 15, 1962 defeated (Cotman 14). He would have to reevaluate his tactics in the next town in which he protested.

Over the years, Birmingham had gained the reputation of being a very dangerous place for African Americans to live. The city had acquired the epithet "Bombingham" because of the high number of unsolved explosions at African American homes and churches. A professor of speech communications at the University of Alabama, E. Culpepper Clark states in his essay, *The American Dilemma in King's "Letter from Birmingham Jail,"* that these bombings occurred in black, prominent, middle-class neighborhoods. One community was even nicknamed Dynamite Hill, because of the bombings there. In addition to the bombings, there were lynchings, pistol-whippings, and house burnings, tactics used by racists to hector the African Americans of Birmingham (Cotman 11). King and Shuttlesworth were aware of the racial climate of Birmingham and the grave danger in the situation.

Birmingham had a reputation of being a dangerous city, but what is not as well known is how the city remained so dangerous for African Americans for so long. The plausible explanation for the cruelty is that the laws that governed Birmingham and those who enforced it were used to keep blacks "in check." For example, Diane McWhorter wrote in *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama, the Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution,* that Klu Klux Klan members worked in unison with local, state, and national officials in an attempt to keep African Americans at the bottom of the social and economic ladder (Cotman 14). As a tool to provoke fear in African Americans, law officials offered little protection for them.

The public Safety Commissioner, T. Eugene "Bull" Connor, is noted for on a separate occasion for making a deal with the Klan. When Freedom Riders arrived at the Trailways Bus terminal in Birmingham, Connor assured the Klansmen that they would have fifteen minutes to "burn, bomb, kill, maim" any supporters without fear of arrest or intervention. The Klan attacked the "Riders" and as a result, James Peck, a white supporter of the movement, was severely injured along with many others (Johnson 73). With a history of this sort of violence that caught the national attention of the world, there was definitely a chance that someone could hurt or imprison King and his supporters if they traveled to Birmingham. They remained undaunted and left for Birmingham the week before Easter.

When King arrived in Birmingham, there was a feeling of excitement in the town. African Americans who had not been involved in Shuttlesworth demonstrations in the past felt that with King's involvement in the protest they would now support him and his effort to challenge the city's racist ordinances. King offered credibility

and sophistication to their movement. King's involvement in the demonstration led to a massive increase of people willing to fight for justice in Birmingham (Cotman 3).

Even with King's support of Shuttlesworth, people still criticized King for coming to Birmingham. Some African American leaders and business owners, along with white city officials such as Connor, felt that King and his supporters were interloping outsiders and rabble-rousers. Others thought that his ideas were valid but believed that the timing was inappropriate due to the election in November of 1962. They believed that there needed to be more time to allow the new administration to develop a plan to address the issues that King protested against in Birmingham (Cotman 11-14). At the request of editor Vincent Townsend of the Birmingham News, Burke Marshall, the U.S. Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, spoke to Rev. King about delaying the demonstrations until the legality of Mayor Boutwell's administration had been established.

The new mayor-Elect, Albert Boutwell, was a known segregationist and was scheduled to assume office on April 15, but "Bull" Connor, who was a stronger advocate for segregation, refused to leave his post until November. Townsend felt that Boutwell would be more willing to accept King's request for the city's abandonment of discriminatory practices. However, King chose not to wait and hope that the new administration would offer support and opportunity for dialogue, which the previous administration had failed to achieve with the African American leaders of Birmingham.

Within days, King and his constituents decided to boycott stores that discriminated against African Americans. They chose to do it on Easter weekend because of its potential high dollar profit margins. Easter weekend in the African American community is a day of pageantry and spending. During this weekend, families make large purchases of new, colorful garments for Easter Sunday during and after church services. Those involved in the ceremonious event use pastel and vivid colors to symbolize the arrival of Easter and a new beginning. King believed that with the absence of the black dollar, the owners would reconsider their discriminatory practices.

King began his march, which was a phase in his protest that made his actions more visible to the public, on Friday, April 12 1963. He was accompanied by the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, and at least sixty other supporters. King used peaceful marches during his boycotts, as a way to become more visible in the areas where he was protesting. For example, if one were only to boycott a business, which mean non-presence in a specific location, no one would observe the physical numbers of support. The only ones who would notice a difference based on numbers are the business owners. Therefore, by incorporating marches, the community can see the number of supporters and the strength that King's organization had during those times.

Following the start of the march, Connor ordered the arrest of King and his followers (Cotman 13). Within hours, King was sent to solitary confinement. Police officers did not allow him to speak to anyone, including his wife and lawyer. His wife, Coretta Scott King, worried about his safety and contacted president John F.

Kennedy. In response, Kennedy immediately contacted the jail to ensure King's safety. He discovered that King was well and free of any chance of physical danger. On Monday, April 15, the President contacted King's wife about his safety. On this same day, Mayor Boutwell was sworn into office; he then filed suit to remove Connor, who was a member of the former mayor's lame-duck administration, from office (Cotman 15).

While in jail, King had the opportunity to reflect on the Civil Rights Movement in Birmingham. The guards later allowed him to communicate with his attorney and other members of his organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference [SCLC]. Through correspondence with his attorney, Wyatt Walker, and secretary, Willie Pearl Mackey, King received word that eight white Alabama clergymen wrote an open letter that criticized his attempt to desegregate the city. Among them were: Bishop C. C. J. Carpenter, Bishop Joseph A. Durick, Rabbi Hilton L. Grafman, Bishop Paul Hardin, Bishop Holan B. Harmon, the Reverend George M. Murray, the Reverend Edward V. Ramage and the Reverend Earl Stallings (King 15). Having a great deal of free time as a prisoner, King chose to reply to the eight clergymen. On April 16, King extemporaneously drafted his famous text, *The Letter from the Birmingham Jail* (Cotman 14). It answered the concerns not only of the eight clergy men but also of other individuals who questioned civil rights for African Americans or who did not quite know where they stood on the issue.

King received different forms of criticism from the eight clergymen, but the charge that most deeply affected King was that his involvement in Birmingham was not wanted by the general population and that he was an interloper, who was

meddling in problems that did not involve him (King 15). The eight clergymen also believed that the city was making a serious effort to resolve the city's ugly racial problems, but African American leaders of Birmingham were not giving local officials sufficient time. They also disagreed with the approach that King took to create change in Birmingham. They believed that the best way to handle the problem was through the courts and through negotiation. King's letter responded to their comments and concerns (King 15).

***The Letter***

The letter that King wrote was a strategic effort to attract the attention of the nation. Even its title has importance. Many years before King's involvement in the Civil Right Movement, there was a traditional American folk song entitled "Down in the Valley." Its lyrics describe the condition that the author suffered while in jail and the love that he had for a woman.

The author wrote the song in simple verse, but it successfully describes his feeling for his love:

*Down in the valley, the valley so low*
*Hang your head over, hear the wind blow*
*Hear the wind blow, dear, hear the wind blow;*
*Hang your head over, hear the wind blow.*
*Roses love sunshine, violets love dew,*
*Angels in Heaven know I love you,*
*Know I love you, dear, know I love you,*
*Angels in Heaven know I love you.*
*Build me a castle, forty feet high;*
*So I can see her as she rides by,*
*As she rides by, dear, as she rides by,*

*So I can see her as she rides by.*
If you don't love me, love whom you please,
Throw your arms round me, give my heart ease,
Give my heart ease, dear, give my heart ease,
Throw your arms round me, give my heart ease,
*Write me a letter, send it by mail;*
*Send it in care of the Birmingham jail,*
*Birmingham jail, dear, Birmingham jail,*
*Send it in care of the Birmingham jail.*
*Roses love sunshine, violets love dew,*
*Angels in Heaven know I love you,*
*Know I love you, dear, know I love you,*
*Angels in Heaven know I love you.* (Wikipedia)

In a way, King's letter is a reflection of this song. The works are similar because like the songwriter, King expresses his love for and allegiance to something that he loves: Freedom.

King's imprisonment makes the expression of his desire for equality and freedom the more believable and powerful, because a person realizes what he or she longs for the most when it is no longer available. For the songwriter the songwriter longs for the love and affection of his trusted girlfriend, and for Reverend King it is the ability for all people to live their lives as free people. During the 1950's, many people were familiar with this song; thus, King's decision to title his epistle, "Letter from the Birmingham Jail," was effectively appropriate. Both the letter and the song are symbolic pleas for love and freedom.

*The Response*

In the first two paragraphs of his letter, King discusses why he chose to respond to the clergymen's comments and not others, like those by the Nation of Islam, who believed that King was a pawn for white powerful figures (Mott 411).

King responds: "...I feel that you are men of genuine good will and that your criticisms are sincerely set forth..." (King 3). King also addresses the public that shared their opinions. Next, King states reasons why he went to Birmingham (King 3). Contrary to their opinion, King felt that it was his Christian duty to aid a fellow brother or sister in need of help.

*Use of Pronouns*

King is the most defensive in the opening section of the letter. In the first two paragraphs, King uses the word "I" fifteen times, more than he does in any other part of the text. Normally, he works to create a sense of unity by using words like "we," "us," and "they." For example, in the *Letter from the Birmingham Jail*, King explains what it means to be African American in the United States; however, he does so by connecting his experiences with all African Americans by his use of the word "we."

He writes:

> 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. who lives inside the United States can never be considered an outsider anywhere within its bounds. (King 3)

This particular passage is different from the approach he takes when addressing the eight clergymen. For example, in the following passage the word "I" is ideal, because it separates people from their audience. In the clergymen's letter, they call King out as an outside agitator. King does not hide behind the other faces in the crowd; instead, he isolates himself from them. He accepts the criticism that has been placed upon

him. In this passage, the word "I" is not used for self-praise or acknowledgement, but instead for the justification of an action that is based upon helping others:

> 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." (King 3)

One may consider the overuse of the word "I" as narcissistic, but here it used with skill and further demonstrates that King can address the criticisms of others without hiding behind the strength of others.

*Audience*

King knows he has a mostly Christian audience, and uses several Christian stories and analogies as a tool of influence. For example, in the third paragraph, he notes that the prophets of the eighth century A.D. left their villages to carry out their messages. King explains that it was their responsibility to carry on the teachings of Christ. For King teaching the message of Christ was just as important as spreading the message of equality, especially to those who did practice equality in their parts of the world. With this example, King makes the argument that he is merely doing what is required of him as a good Christian. He continues by citing the examples of Paul. Paul frequently left the comforts of his hometown also to spread the message of Christ. In the last sentence of this paragraph King argues, "Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid" (King 3). His belief that one cannot stand idly by, while others are suffering elsewhere, defines his reason for being in Birmingham.

One of the concerns of the clergymen, in their letter, *Call for Unity*, was that they felt King's methods to attempt to rectify the racial problems in Birmingham were inappropriate. They believed that protesting and boycotting were not the solution. In the sixth paragraph of his letter, King responds that his organization, SCLC, has a systematic program to combat discrimination. He emphasizes, "In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist; negotiation; self-purification and direct action" (King 4). He attacks their argument that negotiation is the key to answering the problem by saying the organization could not remain indefinitely at the stage of negotiation. Negotiations lead to long periods of unresolved conflict. For King, his supporters, and his followers, "justice too long delayed is justice denied" (King 5).

Next, King asserts that he had no other option but direct action. He notes that organizations from the African American community asked repeatedly to work out an agreement with white business owners, officials, and citizens, but each time, their request went unanswered. He has established himself as an individual genuinely concerned about the citizens of Birmingham and not an outside agitator as the eight clergymen had suggested. However, his work is not complete. By itself, justifying his involvement in Birmingham is not enough to appease his desire to defend his action; he focuses his efforts on eliciting the compassion and empathy of his readers. He starts this endeavor by explaining the steps to obtain freedom. They are the same steps used by the founding fathers to create the American government.

*Historical References*

King observes that America's origins lie within the social framework of rebellion, and then he expounds upon this theme and compares it to the struggle of African Americans:

> 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. (King 5)

King's last statement "groups tend to be more immoral than individuals" is true because large groups tend to commit more atrocities on a global scale than individuals do. That is not to say that individuals are not capable of committing crimes against humanity such as murder, genocide, or slavery. Ordinarily, people feel pressured by their peers to do what the group believes is right; as a result, people may feel obliged to do something that they may feel is morally wrong.

King later states, "We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed." This statement is interwoven with his account of the foundation of the American government. The founding fathers of this nation did not believe that they would overcome their problems, such as taxation without representation, British soldiers' lodging in their homes without consent, or freedom from harsh treatment by the British government, by waiting for the leaders in England to correct those wrongs. On the contrary, the founding fathers knew that they had to organize and fight for the freedom and fair treatment that they felt they deserved. King was cognizant that even if people did not agree with his methods, this statement might at least lead them to agree with his reason for acting.

One main argument that the clergymen levied against King was that his demonstrations were not timed properly. They believed that he should have waited for a more convenient time to act. For King the word "wait" was a paralyzing tool, used to keep those who were not free in their current position:

> For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has usually meant "Never." We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that "justice too long delayed is justice denied." (King 5)

*Common Language in the "Letter"*

In the fourteenth paragraph, the longest and most memorable passage in his letter, King explains how segregation affects those like him. He begins by revisiting the theme of government. He reminds readers that African Americans have waited for more than 340 years for their Constitutional rights. This is a pivotal point in his letter because from this point forward King explains why it is impossible for them to wait longer. For the clergymen and those who share their sentiments, "waiting" was something that they wished King and his followers did. However, King elegantly explains why they cannot wait. This section is also relevant because it illustrates the effectiveness of simple language:

> We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet like 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 dark of segregation to say, "Wait." (King 6)

The language that King uses here is simple but creative. He uses metaphorical comparisons to explain how African Americans have not obtained equality like

others. For example, he contrasts the horse-and-buggy with a jet to describe social progress in America. He does not use specific examples of socio-political progress by African and Asians in the 20th century; he uses these figurative examples to convey his meaning. Moreover, King then generalizes the acquisition of independence in the nations of Africa. Certainly, King had the knowledge and ability to use specific examples when referring to those nations. For example, during the time of King's fight for equality in America, countries in Africa like Kenya and Uganda had achieved independence. However, King does not give specifics. This form is effective with those who are not followers of world events. This section of the letter is also pivotal, because it sets the tone for the remainder of the section. Building on this very sentence, King maintains his use of common language:

> 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; then 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. (King 6)

King continues using direct language. To illustrate this, the words that he uses to describe the effects of racism in this passage are no more than three syllables long. By using such words, King connects to more people. He does not sound pompous or pretentious. Interestingly, King is very capable of using elevated language. For example, when he accepted the Noble Peace Prize in 1964, the style of language differed from what he wrote in *The Letter from a Birmingham Jail*. In the speech, he describes racism on the same level as he did in the speech, but the style is different. He proclaims:

> I refuse to accept the idea that man is mere flotsam and jetsam in the river of life which surrounds him. I refuse to accept the view that mankind is so tragically bound to the starless midnight of racism and war that the bright daybreak of peace and brotherhood can never become a reality. I refuse to accept the cynical notion that nation after nation must spiral down a militaristic stairway into a hell of thermonuclear destruction. I believe that unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the final word in reality. That is why right tem-porar-ily defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. (Nobel Media AB)

In contrast to this speech, that illustrates his ability to use elevated language, he keeps the language and pace in the letter easy to follow.

Next, King uses essential human references to connect to audiences of all ethnicities. In all cultures, humans depend on one another, particularly family members. King uses the model of family to appeal to his audience and further his argument. He incorporates father, mother, brother, and sister into this passage, thus creating an intimate relationship with his readers, but he does so in a way that is calculated. When King mentions the members of the family, the lines that suggest the acts of violence always precede the family members. Female members of the family dominate the suggested acts of violence in the passage. For example, he emphasizes, "When you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim..." (King 6). Throughout King's history of protest, like that in Birmingham, he depends heavily on the emotional reaction of people. These reactions resulted in the immediate response of millions of viewers and followers of the Civil Rights Movement.

In King's protests, he involves mostly women and children to help demonstrate his non-violent protests in the street. White Americans consider African American women and children less of a physical threat. Therefore, King manipulates this

stereotype not only in his protests but also in his letter. If King is asking for empathy or sympathy from his readers, he does so cleverly by connecting violence to women first and then introducing the horrible things that happen to their husbands, fathers, and sons. King has elicited the emotional empathy of his readers effectively. In the next passage, he continues to build on gender and emotion:

> 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 Fun town 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. (King 6)

King uses gender and metaphors to illustrate the crimes of which African Americans are victims. He continues to use the example of the girl. He describes the development of self-acknowledged racial inferiority, and in doing so, he uses his most commonly used literary device: the metaphor. He juxtaposes racism with nature. King describes inferiority as a dark cloud and the girl's brain as a clear sky. For children, clear and sunny skies are idealized. Sunny skies are conducive to fun for children, and in this case, the open park is a by-product of a sunny day, but for the little girl the park is closed. The language in this passage is simple and figurative, but it further describes the effects of racism. If King had taken a more scientific approach to describing this same situation, the effect on his readers would be different. In the next passage, King changes both gender and pace of this passage:

> 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-country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you... (King 6)

In the previous clauses, King acknowledges the effects that racism has on men and women. He describes how women are lynched, but only in one line. For King, children have the most powerful affect on viewers and readers. That is why he uses seven lines to describe the example of the daughter figure. In this passage, children are the key to influencing readers. King borrows this from previous situations that caused social change. For example, if one hears that an African American man was lynched, it is tragic, but for the African American community there is no need to come together and protest. When the same thing happens to a child, it is more appalling, as in the tragic case of Emmitt Till. In this passage, King moves from the daughter figure to the son, and then builds to the father figure:

> 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. (King 6)

King has transitioned from mother to daughter in the preceding passages, to the brother/ son figure in this passage thus far. These are all objective perspectives King uses to explain racism. However, he has left out the experience that he is most familiar with, the perspective of the African American man. He asserts that the male/ father figure is also a victim of this sort of racial treatment. King emphasizes that despite a man's age, he is never given the proper respect due to a man. He then quickly redirects the subject of the passage to the family as a collective unit. In the final portion of this lengthy passage, King emphasizes why, as a whole, African

Americans cannot wait:

> When you go 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. (King 6)

The language used in this final passage is less formal than any other passages in the letter. Here, King begins in the same style in which he began his illustration on race and the effects that racial division has on people. In the first line, he intentionally uses a word that is not grammatically correct. He coins the term "nobodiness." For King, being a messenger for the people is more important than impressing a very small circle of intellectuals. Although the eight clergymen may look at King's use of the word in a negative way, the word symbolically represents the sentiments of those whom King represents, because the majority of the people who fought for racial equality did not come from the upper levels of society. On the contrary, they were the laborers, the uneducated, and the oppressed.

By King's use of the word "nobodiness," he reaffirms his allegiance to the people he leads and not to those who are indifferent to them. In addition, by doing so, King rebuts any claims of his being an "Uncle Tom" by African American critics, because "Uncle Toms" are not seen as representatives of the people they are a part of or represent. On the contrary, they are viewed by skeptics as people who help oppress other African Americans. Upon restating his allegiance to the common person, he returns to his use of metaphors to make the transition to his final claim.

King does not provide scholarly data, quotations, or philosophical references to the plight of African Americans in the previous passage instead he simply states

that "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" (King 6). King has accomplished three things in this passage. First, he has demanded a reaction by explaining the African American experience. Second, he has responded to the clergymen's claim that he should wait, and finally, he has responded to the African Americans who believed that he was not a part of the group that he represented.

*Why We Can Not Wait*

In essence, the second half of the letter is King's most powerful one, because in it, he pulls from the personal experiences of millions of people of color in this country. King highlights that many African Americans are in the same social position that they were in over three centuries before.

Next, King explains his position on breaking laws. He claims that there are two types of laws in any government: "just and unjust" (King 6). For King unjust laws are any laws that degrade humans. Segregation was an unjust law for him because he saw how it produced a false sense of superiority and inferiority. Before King concludes his letter, he reminds to the eight clergymen that the church has a history of promoting human equality. He tells them that "at one point the church was not a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion; it was a thermostat that transformed the mores of society" (King 12). This idea that Christians have the power to influence society in contrast of their being influenced by society also goes back to the foundation of King's involvement in the Civil Rights movement. King felt obligated by his relgious beliefs to help those who were in need of it and to

help promote Gods message of love, even if opened him to criticism (King 3).

In the last part of the letter, King assures the clergymen and all who may read the letter that people of African descent would rise above the circumstances that they faced, such as the humiliation of segregation. He adds:

> 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. (King 13)

King takes a strong stand on the grounds of morality, God's will, and nationalism in this passage. By doing so, he circumvents the religious authority of the eight clergymen by justifying his actions and stating, despite the eight clergymen's response and advice, he would continue to fight for equality in Birmingham. As a result, King has proved that he does not depend on their approval of his action. For he is more concerned with what he believes is right. Consequently, by writing in this manner, King paints the clergymen and those who oppose African Americans in their pursuit of equality as villainous figures.

King responded to the comments of the eight clergymen who believed that he did not have sufficient reason for his actions in Birmingham; however, his response to their comments explained why it was so important for him to be there. His famous line, "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere," tells us that in order to

protect freedom. one must attack anything that threatens it, despite its location. The same is true with Thomas Paine, who traveled to North America, witnessed the inequalities between the colonists and the British, and then worked as an advocate for freedom and equality. King also felt compelled to do the same by coming to Birmingham. In essence, King helped further the cause of freedom for African Americans in Birmingham and throughout the country.

The letter did influence King's trusted companion, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, to become more involved in the Civil Rights Movement in Birmingham. Abernathy observes that upon reading the letter, he doubled his efforts to witness in the city. The author of *Blessed are the Peacemakers: Martin Luther King, Jr.* observes Abernathy's statement. "I was determined that I would no longer be afraid of jail" (146). On a more grass-roots level. the letter helped revitalize the efforts to fight segregation among different African American social classes. Bass also acknowledges, "the letter played a key role in the SCLC's plans for securing national media attention. Widely published in a multitude of press outlets in the months following the Birmingham movement, the document's prominence soared" (3).

Because of his increasing popularity following the letter and the events that occurred in Birmingham, King led a successful march on Washington on August 28, 1963, four months following the completion of the *Letter from Birmingham Jail*. There he delivered his famous *I Have a Dream* speech. In the speech, King revisits many of the ideas that he laid out in his *Letter from the Birmingham Jail*. In both pieces. he explains the importance of not waiting for justice or civil rights. He urges the reader and viewer to act now. He also refers to the South and the racial disparities

of it. His letter summarizes the past and present of African Americans, and his *I Have a Dream Speech* builds on the future.

Additionally, the letter offered validity for African Americans' claim to freedom. Before the movement and the letter, people had an idea of the atrocities that African Americans faced, but this letter offered a more personal description that appealed to its audience's moral conscience. Bass claims, "Clearly, the 'Letter from Birmingham Jail' was the most important written document of the civil rights era. For a people and a movement that relied almost exclusively on oral traditions and testimonies rather than written chronicles, the letter served as a tangible account of the long road to freedom" (143).

## *Conclusion*

Over the years, America has undergone several social, political, and economic changes, but despite the country's shift in tone and culture, we have maintained an American value through common language and common practice among the people. It is a very effective type of language in our culture. Ministers, mechanics, service people, and even scholars like President Obama have all used the common style of language to further their careers. Effective communicators are able to convey and exchange ideas at level that is easy for their audience to follow. That is not to say that the communicator should use language that is seen as elementary, but as we have seen with the works of Paine and King, the common style of writing and speaking is very effective.

Furthermore, if people become so elevated in their style of writing and communication that their audience no longer understands them, they have failed as effective communicators, and they have become somewhat detached from those who represent the largest population of society: common people. Consequently, the people who uses a common form of communication, and understand it based on religion, nationalism, and labor, may look at someone who speaks a style of language that is different from theirs as a person who does not share their way of thinking or living. There is a lot to learn from our American tradition of common language.

From this study, one should see the effectiveness of common language, and therefore not perceive it as a less elevated form of communication, but as a

traditional form of American language, the same form of communication that created a revolution and furthered a civil rights movement. It is also worth mentioning that both King and Paine were religious figures; therefore, the connection between common language and the common people can also be explained by the rhetoric of religious figures and their ability to persuade the American public. A study of this will further explain the American legacy of simple communication, and the role that a speaker's social position has on influencing people.

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