(Stylistical Approach)

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Abstract:  
Martin Luther King Jr. is a favorable person in America. Some famous speeches produced by him reaching a better life. One of his speech is ‘I have dream’ which is became the best American speech of the twentieth century. This speech is full of the concept of motivation reaching the American dream. The motivation is literary viewed on how figurative language touching the context of American liberty and burning American emotion to go forward better. Beautiful words produced by Martin Luther King Jr. in this speech which is stylistically motivated American societies.

Key words:  
Rhetoric, Stylistics, Figurative Language

INTRODUCTION  
“I Have a Dream” by Martin Luther King Jr. is one of the most memorable speeches of all time. It is worthy of lengthy study as we can all learn speechwriting skills from King’s historic masterpiece. Then, By the end of the twentieth century, In December 1999 to be precise, an American speech community called The American Rhetoric tried to select 100 (one hundred) best American Speeches of the twentieth century. This board assigned 137 leading scholars to rank thousands of popular American speeches delivered during the twentieth century. The ranking is made under the criteria of social and political impacts and rhetorical artistry. As the result of this ranking, American Speech Bank has set up the list of one hundred most significant speeches, which is then called Top-100 American Speeches of the Twentieth Century. Out of these 100 speeches, the number one best speech is “I Have a Dream” delivered by Martin Luther King, Jr. on 28th of August 1963, at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington D.C.

Martin Luther King employed the rhetorical strategy of verbally embracing American Civil Religion in order to hold America accountable for its gross negligence of its own constitutional virtues. the famous “I Have a Dream” speech, Martin Luther King orally subverts powers which consist primarily of an invisible system.

Why Rhetorical Devices  
Every speaker must have his own style of language although he has
the same idea what he is going to speak. Someone cannot change his own style but he can adjust his style to suit the circumstances rhetoric is the art of persuasion. The term rhetoric is derived from the Greek *techne rhtorike*, the art speech, an art concerned with the use of public speaking as a mean of persuasion.\(^1\)

According to Plato: [Rhetoric] is the “art of enchanting the soul.” (The art of winning the soul by discourse.). Then, Aristotle: Rhetoric is “the faculty of discovering in any particular case all of the available means of persuasion.” Meanwhile, Cicero: “Rhetoric is one great art comprised of five lesser arts: inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, and pronunciatio.” Rhetoric is “speech designed to persuade.” In a same sense, then Asmaradhani (2007) is giving some pinpoints of the definition of rhetoric. They are:\(^2\)

1. The technique of discovering the persuasive aspects of a given subject matter;
2. An attempt to conduct investigation and to furnish explanations, both to defend and to prosecute;
3. A treatment how the sick become healthy or a study of misunderstanding and its remedies;
4. Argumentations aims at gaining the adherence of minds;
5. The use of language as a symbolic means of inducting cooperation;
6. The mobilization of signs for the articulation of identities, ideologies, consciousness, communities, publics, and cultures;
7. The art of using words impressively in speech and writing (the art of effective expression and the persuasive use of language.

In a same sense, according to Fix, U., Gardt, A., and Knape, J. (2008) rhetoric is known as teachings in the effective formation of language: motivated by a communicative telos, the speaker or author selects those linguistic devices which express the intent of his utterance most appropriately and effectively.\(^3\) In a same sense, Eagleton in Toolan (1999) reminds us that:

(Rhetoric) saw speaking and writing not merely as textual objects, to be aesthetically contemplated or endlessly deconstructed, but as forms of activity inseparable from the wider social relations between writers and readers, orators and audiences, and as largely unintelligible outside the social purposes and conditions in which they were embedded.\(^4\)

The concept of rhetoric belongs to Eagleton deals with the diagram which has been explained by Badib in


his views. He explains that the concepts of rhetoric is divided into some aspects deals with pragmatics, discourse, stylistics (linguistics and literary criticism) and dispositio/ elocution. In terms of stylistics, there is a non literary text or it is called speech. The topics of speeches are politics, religion, culture and mass media. For more detail as described in the diagram below.

![Diagram of Rhetoric](image)

Taken from Prof. Abbas Achmad Badib, MA, MA, Ph. D.

Then, there also figurative expression that is used in Martin speech. Figurative expression is an expression which has figurative meaning and incorporates the speaker’s desire to touch the emotions, to cause shock and persuade into action. By using the figurative expressions, the speaker can think, feel, and use the language to induce parallel thought and feelings in others, so that he can create a sense of persuasion in his speech. In other words, figurative expression is a device that the speaker uses to help him transfer ideas or thoughts into the audience’ minds. Thus, he can persuade the audiences to agree with his ideas or thoughts and follow what the speaker wishes for.

In terms of speech belong to Martin, it reflects the concept of public speaking. Carnegey and Esenwein (2005) states that public speaking is public utterance, public issuance, of the man himself; therefore the first thing both in time and in importance is that the man should be and think and feel things that are worthy of being given forth. Then, one of the aspect in the art of public speaking is the voice. It has several aspect such as ease, openness, forwardness.

**DISCUSSION**

Much of the greatness of this speech is tied to its historical context. Then, the focus on six key lessons in speechwriting that can be extracted from Martin Luther King’s most famous speech. They are:

1. Emphasize phrases by repeating at the beginning of sentences

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2. Repeat key “theme” words throughout speech
3. Utilize appropriate quotations or allusions
4. Use specific examples to “ground” (arguments)
5. Use metaphors to highlight contrasting concepts
6. Use simile to explicit comparison
7. Use metonymy to express the association with

Part 1
Emphasize phrases by repeating at the beginning of sentences

Anaphora (repeating words at the beginning of neighbouring clauses) is a commonly used rhetorical device. Repeating the words twice sets the pattern, and further repetitions emphasize the pattern and increase the rhetorical effect. Yule (2006) states that anaphora can be defined as subsequent reference to an already introduced entity, anaphora (‘referring back’).7 Anaphora describes what the listener (or reader) does. The same word or phrase is used to begin successive clauses or sentences. Thus, the reader’s / listener’s attention is drawn directly to the message of the sentence.

“I have a dream” is repeated in eight successive sentences, and is one of the most often cited examples of anaphora in modern rhetoric. But this is just one of eight occurrences of anaphora in this speech. By order of introduction, here are the key phrases:

- “One hundred years later…” [paragraph 3]
- “Now is the time…” [paragraph 6]
- “We must…” [paragraph 8]
- “We can never (cannot) be satisfied…” [paragraph 13]

[3] But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. And so we’ve come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

[6] We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of Now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquillizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God’s children.

[8] But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.
There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, “When will you be satisfied?” We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We cannot be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We will never be satisfied as long as we are treated as outsiders and forced to submit to a hearing on terms that are set by others. We will not be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality.

“Go back to…”[paragraph 14]

[14] I am not unmindful that some of you come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. And some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed.

“I Have a Dream…” [paragraphs 16 through 24]

[16] And so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

[17] I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.”

[18] I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

[19] I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

[20] I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

[21] I have a dream today!

[22] I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of “interposition” and “nullification” — one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

[23] I have a dream today!

[24] I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight; “and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.”

“With this faith, …” [paragraph 26]

[26] With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

“Let freedom ring (from) …” [paragraphs 27 through 41]

[30] From every mountainside, let freedom ring!

[31] And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

[32] And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.

[33] Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.

[34] Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.

[35] Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.
[36] Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.
[37] But not only that. Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.
[38] Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.
[39] Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi.
[40] From every mountainside, let freedom ring.
[41] And when this happens, when we allow freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual:

Read those repeated phrases in sequence. Even in the absence of the remainder of the speech, these key phrases tell much of King’s story. Emphasis through repetition makes these phrases more memorable, and, by extension, make King’s story more memorable.

Or in the other sense, Repetition occurs if there is a lexical item which is repeated two times or more. In other words, it is a repetition of the same lexical unit or that of lexical unit but morphologically different. It is a common feature of political speeches which contains some parts of words which essentially complement to each other. There are some types of repetition based on its patterns. Chapman (1973) classified it into 8:

a. Anaphora: repetition of word or phrase at the beginning of successive stages of the chosen pattern.

b. Epistrophe: uses repetition at the end of successive stages. For example: “If you did know to whom I have the ring. If you did know for whom I gave the ring. And would conceive for what I gave the ring.”

c. Epizeuzis: repeats a word or phrase in an utterance without any break at all, for example: “And when he falls, he falls like Lucifer, never to hope again.”

Repetition usually used words that seem to be very important and more important than the strict meaning itself. Each repetition is adding a weight of expectation. It can be used consciously for emphasis, for example: “It’s cold outside, bitterly cold.”; or to establish a sense of sharing, for example: “It’s a shame, isn’t it?” Yes, it’s really a shame.”

As what the name repetition, suggests there are some words which are being repeated in the speech. The writer found three types of repetition occurring in the speech: Anaphora, Epistrophe, and Epizeuzis. The first type of repetition is Anaphora, in which the words were repeated at the beginning of the chosen pattern. For example:


“But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro still sadly crippled by
SPEECH ANALYSIS: “I HAVE A DREAM” BY MARTIN LUTHER Jr
(STYLISTICAL APPROACH)

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the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself in exile in his own land. And so we’ve come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.”

Through Anaphora, the speaker wanted to emphasize that one hundred years latter after the Emancipation Proclamation, the life of the Negro was still in bad condition. After that long period of time, they were still suffering from discrimination.

The second type of Repetition occurring in the speech is Epistrophe, which repeated at the end of an utterance or a phrase, for example:

“And this will be the day – this will be the day when all of God’s children will be able to sing with new meaning: My country ’tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the Pilgrim’s pride, from every mountain side, let freedom ring. And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true. And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from ...”

In conclusion, from all of the above examples of repetition, it was obviously seen that the speaker used those types of figurative expressions in order to emphasize the ideas or statements that he said to his audiences.

Part 2
Repeat key “theme” words throughout speech

Repetition is words or phrases are repeated throughout the text to emphasise certain facts or ideas. If you count the frequency of words used in King’s “I Have a Dream”, very interesting patterns emerge. The most commonly used noun is freedom, which is used twenty times in the speech. This makes sense, since freedom is one of the primary themes of the speech.

Part 3
Utilize appropriate quotations or allusions

Allusion is used to explain or clarify a complex problem. Note that allusion works best if you keep it short and refer to something the reader /
audience is familiar with famous people, history, (Greek) mythology, literature and the bible. If the audience is familiar with the event or person, they will also know background and context. Thus, just a few words are enough to create a certain picture (or scene) in the readers’ minds. The advantages are as follows:

- We don’t need lengthy explanations to clarify the problem.
- The reader becomes active by reflecting on the analogy.
- The message will stick in the reader’s or audience’s mind.

Consider the allusions used by Martin Luther King Jr.:

- “Five score years ago…” [paragraph 2] refers to Lincoln’s famous Gettysburg Address speech which began “Four score and seven years ago…” This allusion is particularly poignant given that King was speaking in front of the Lincoln Memorial.
- Numerous Biblical allusions provide the moral basis for King’s arguments: a) “It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.” [paragraph 2] alludes to Psalms 30:5 “For his anger is but for a moment; his favor is for a lifetime. Weeping may linger for the night, but joy comes with the morning.” b) “Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred.” [paragraph 8] evokes Jeremiah 2:13 “for my people have committed two evils: they have forsaken me, the fountain of living water, and dug out cisterns for themselves, cracked cisterns that can hold no water.”

**Part 4**

*Use specific examples to “ground” (arguments)*

Speech is greatly improved when you provide specific examples which illustrate your logical (and perhaps theoretical) arguments. One way that Martin Luther King Jr. accomplishes this is to make numerous geographic references throughout the speech:

- Mississippi, New York [paragraph 13]
- Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana [14]
- Georgia [18]
- Mississippi [19]
- Alabama [22]
- New Hampshire [32], New York [33], Pennsylvania [34], Colorado [35], California [36], Georgia [37], Tennessee [38], Mississippi [39]

King uses relatively generic geographic references to make his message more inclusive:

- “slums and ghettos of our northern cities” [paragraph 14]
Part 5
Use metaphors to highlight contrasting concepts

Metaphor is used almost in all discourses as one of the instruments of explanation. According to Chapman (1973), metaphor is a comparison which is implied without using the words comparison such as like, as, similar to, and resembles.9 Metaphor adds an extension of the thing being compared. Metaphor is one of the figurative languages that work on the assumption that there are similarities between things. Metaphors are used in all kinds of language. In speech, people tend to use metaphorical language to clarify ideas, feelings, and so on or to convince people of the value, beauty, ugliness, etc., of one thing by comparing it to another which is accepted as valuable, dangerous, beautiful and ugly.

One of the interesting things about the use of metaphors in the speech I have a Dream is that they tend to influence the way the hearer understand something even when the hearer do not recognize that a metaphor is being used.

The analysis are:

- “the South” [25]
- “From every mountainside” [40]
- “from every village and every hamlet” [41]
- “joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity”
- “the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity”
- “rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice”
- “This sweltering summer of the Negro’s legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality.”
- “sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.”
- “But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we have come to cash this check -- a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.” The speaker said … the bank of justice is bankrupt. In this case, the bank of justice was considered as the bank of money which can be bankrupt.
- Moreover, metaphor also often made a bridge between levels of experience which were not normally considered to be expressible in the same terms. The bridging could be of many types by way of examples are three of the most frequent types occurring in the speech: one type of sensory

perception is expressed in terms of another, a non human referent is given human attributes; and an abstraction is treated as if it were animate. As illustrations, in the expression; ... seared in the flames of withering injustice.

- “Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity”.

- The speaker used the term of sensory perception seared in the flames to express the suffering of million Negro slaves from discrimination and injustice. The speaker also gave the human attribute to a non human referent as in what will go down in history… (the non human referent in this expression is the demonstration he led at that time, while the human attribute is go down. Thus, the speaker said that this demonstration will go down in history to express that the demonstration will be written or will be remembered in American history.

- Another characteristic of metaphor; an abstraction was treated as if it were animate, is used in the expression: the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled...

- “But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languishing in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. So we have come here today to dramatize a shameful condition”.

- In this case, the life of the Negro was an abstraction, but it was treated as if it was crippled. Thus, as seen in the examples above, the speaker succeeded in describing the image he wanted to say to his audiences through the use of metaphor in his speech.

Part 6
Use simile to explicit comparison

The second type of figurative expression that occurred in the speech is simile. A simile is the comparison derived from likeness perceived between two referents; one thing is likened to another, and the ground of likeness is specified.10 The comparison style in simile is indicated by adding

comparative word or phrase. Unlike metaphor, simile is clearly seen through the use of a word or phrase such as like, as, similar to, or, resemble. In other words, a simile compares two things, A and B, by asserting that one is like the other and is used to transfer to A the qualities or feelings people associate with B.

- The comparison may be directly between noun and noun: The child resembles his father.
- Between a quality shared by the two items: Old as a coat on a chair.
- Between action which makes a verb act as the link: Words flower like crocuses in the hanging woods.

Simile occurred in the speech in the expression this momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope.

“Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity”.

It was shown that this momentous decree (the Emancipation Proclamation) shared its qualities with a great beacon light. In other words, the Emancipation Proclamation made the Negro’s hope as bright as a great beacon light.

Another simile occurring in the speech is ... until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.

“There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, “When will you be satisfied?” We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied, as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro’s basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating “For Whites Only”. We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream”.

In this expression, the speaker compared the qualities of justice with water and righteousness with a mighty stream. As a result, the speaker successfully delivered his ideas to the audiences by using simile. It also made the audiences able to imagine the clear pictures of what the speaker imagined in his mind and the qualities of some terms through the use of comparisons.

Part 7

Use metonymy to express the association with

Metonymy is the use of some feature that is closely related to the thing that actually mean or the name of a thing is substituted for that of another
closely associated with. In other words, metonymy involves in replacing the name of something with something that is connected to it, without being the whole thing. For example, the President of the United States, his government and advisors, are sometimes replaced by the much simpler term “The White House”, which is presidential residence and administrative centre. Similarly, a member of the British royal family is often described as Buckingham Palace. In other words, the building where they live - Buckingham Palace - replaces the name of the people who live there - the royal family. The user of this type of figurative expression must be familiar with the particular details attached to a person or a thing being discussed.

As metonymy replaces the name of something with something that is connected to it without being the whole thing, it is obviously seen that the speaker used metonymy in the expression: **This is the faith that I go back to the South with.**

“This is our hope. **This is the faith that I go back to the South with.** With this faith, we will be able to hear out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.”

The use of **South** here substituted the **Southern countries in America.** The “black American dream” was considered as their faith to go back to the southern countries in America which full of discrimination and injustice.

**CONCLUSION**

Top-100 American Speeches of the Twentieth Century. Out of these 100 speeches, the number one best speech is “I Have a Dream” delivered by Martin Luther King, Jr. on 28th of August 1963, at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington D.C. Then, that is why this speech is one of the most memorable speeches of all time. Meanwhile, there are some aspects which deals with the speech, they are rhetoric aspect and its figurative language. Such as the point of Emphasize phrases by repeating at the beginning of sentences. Repeat key “theme” words throughout speech. Utilize appropriate quotations or allusions. Use specific examples to “ground” (arguments). The use of metaphors to highlight contrasting concepts. Use simile to explicit comparison and the use of metonymy to express the association with.

**References :**


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*Martin Luther King, Jr.: “I have a dream (online).* Retrieved on December, 19, 2012.

http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkihaveadream.htm


Appendix
Speech Transcript: “I Have a Dream” – Martin Luther King Jr.

[1] I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

[2] Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

[3] But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. And so we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

[4] In a sense we've come to our nation’s capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the “unalienable Rights” of “Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.” It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note, insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked “insufficient funds.”

[5] But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so, we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

[6] We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of Now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God’s children.

[7] It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro’s legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. And those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. And there will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

[8] But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: In the process of gaining our
rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

[9] The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom.

[10] We cannot walk alone.

[11] And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead.

[12] We cannot turn back.

[13] There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, “When will you be satisfied?” We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the negro’s basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their self-hood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating: “For Whites Only.” We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until “justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream.”

[14] I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. And some of you have come from areas where your quest — quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed.

[15] Let us not wallow in the valley of despair, I say to you today, my friends.

[16] And so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

[17] I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.”

[18] I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

[19] I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

[20] I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation
where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

[21] I have a dream today!

[22] I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of “interposition” and “nullification” — one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

[23] I have a dream today!

[24] I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight; “and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together.”

[25] This is our hope, and this is the faith that I go back to the South with.

[26] With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

[27] And this will be the day — this will be the day when all of God’s children will be able to sing with new meaning:


[29] Land where my fathers died, land of the Pilgrim’s pride,

[30] From every mountainside, let freedom ring!

[31] And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

[32] And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.

[33] Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.

[34] Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.

[35] Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.

[36] Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.

[37] But not only that. Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.

[38] Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.

[39] Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi.

[40] From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

[41] And when this happens, when we allow freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God’s children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual:

[42] Free at last! Free at last!

[43] Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!