

A CASE STUDY OF THE CAMPAIGN ADDRESS  
DELIVERED BY DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA,  
SEPTEMBER 3, 1952

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1. The General Problem Area

Authorities in the field of speech offer various reasons for the study of contemporary political campaign speeches of major importance. The Southern Speech Association, for example, at its 1951 convention in Gainesville, Florida, presented a program on "Rhetoric and Public Address." This program included observations on the topic, "How Can We Improve Our Teaching of Public Address through a Study of Contemporary Public Address."<sup>1</sup> This symposium advocated and encouraged studies of contemporary speakers.

The Speech Association of America has established a committee on Contemporary Public Address. They too have advocated studies of contemporary speakers. The interest shown by these organizations is adequate reason for undertaking a study of this nature and gives added emphasis to its worthiness.

Thonnsen and Baird tell us in their book, Speech Criticism, that, "Rhetoric has long been the handmaid of

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1. See Contemporary Public Address as a Teaching Aid, University of Miami Press, 1951, edited by Eugene White, for the text of the address presented.

politics."<sup>2</sup> They point out the wisdom of extending training in oratory to all citizens, contending that every citizen still needs, in fact needs more than ever, a familiarity with rhetoric. It is felt that this knowledge of rhetoric will aid the average person to:

1. Perceive the difference between truth and error.
2. Understand how people are moved to action, despite the absence of compelling argument.
3. Argue both sides of a question in order to determine truth.
4. Be able to defend himself with speech.<sup>3</sup>

It was with these things in mind that this study was undertaken.

## 2. Formulation of the Specific Problem

On September 3, 1952, as part of his successful campaign for the presidency of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower delivered an address in Birmingham, Alabama. The occasion of this speech was of particular significance in that it marked the first campaign speech by a Republican or Democratic presidential candidate in Alabama since

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2. Thonnsen and Baird, Speech Criticism, Ronald Press, New York, 1948, p. 466.

3. Ibid., p. 467.

before the War Between the States.<sup>4</sup> In 1860 Stephen A. Douglas, the controversial Democratic candidate for that year, made speaking appearances in four Alabama cities, Huntsville, Montgomery, Selma, and Mobile.<sup>5</sup> It has been pointed out, however, that the speeches Douglas made were designed as an appeal to preserve the Union and uphold the Constitution, rather than to solicit votes.<sup>6</sup> Hence, the Douglas speeches were not actually political campaign speeches in the truest sense of the word.

Also of importance was the fact that this speech was part of an unprecedented tour, inaugurating a Republican presidential campaign in the South, the first time this had ever been done. As part of this tour the Birmingham speech received national publicity.

This study itself is significant in that, so far as is known, it is to date the only study made of Eisenhower as a campaign speaker.

So far as we have been able to determine there are no closely allied studies which might be examined as sources

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4. Fred Taylor, The Birmingham News, September 2, 1952.

5. William A. Diven, A Rhetorical Analysis of the Alabama Speeches of Stephen A. Douglas in 1860, University of Alabama, 1951.

6. Ibid.

of additional information. There are numerous studies of political speaking which have been made, but no thesis or dissertation is known, in which the student considers a speech at which he himself was a member of the audience, writing his impressions and making his detailed analysis within a few short weeks after the occasion.<sup>7</sup>

Much of the information concerning the background of the speaker was obtained from his numerous biographies. In order to understand the campaign, and the relative importance of the Birmingham speech, however, it was necessary to examine a great many contemporary periodical publications. From these publications was obtained an indication of the National, and also the Alabama, response to the Eisenhower campaign.

Additional information was obtained from personal observation, interviews, and a tape recording of the entire Birmingham ceremony. This information was supplemented with actual photographs of the speaker and his audience, taken at the time of the speech.

### 3. The Plan of Study

This study presents first of all a brief biography of the speaker as a man, showing something of his personality,

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7. See Speech Monographs, Vols. 12 through 15, "A Combined Index of Reports of Graduate Work in the Field of Speech and Dramatic Art," by Franklin H. Klower.

education, and background in public life. Secondly, an analysis is made of the issues of the campaign, showing the Southern, and in particular the Alabama reaction to the speaker's campaign, both before and after his appearance.

In analyzing the speech situation this study considers the audience which was present, and the actual conditions surrounding the speaker's appearance. The analysis includes photograph and other personal observations by this observer at the time of the speech.

The analysis of the speech itself includes, among other things, consideration of the speaker's ideas, the language he used, the nature of his appeals, and the structure of his thoughts. A copy of the text of the speech is included in the study as Appendix I. It includes additional personal observations.

The final step in this study is an evaluation of the speaker's effectiveness. This evaluation considers immediate effectiveness in terms of actual audience response and more long range effectiveness in terms of voting results, and historical significance.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SPEAKER

An estimated 40,000 people applauded and cheered as a man stepped forward to a portable lectern and prepared to speak. The man was Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1952 Republican candidate for president. The occasion was a political address to the people of Alabama, delivered in downtown Birmingham.

The man appeared to be very calm; on his face was a broad, friendly grin. He seemed to sense the presence of each individual in the crowd, as he began to talk with them. What the man said was important, but it became doubly important because of the way in which he said it.

In this, a rhetorical study, we shall attempt to analyze what the man said, along with analysis of such things as the time and place of his speaking, what he said and its significance. A complete analysis cannot be made, however, unless we know something about this speaker. What experiences in his life led him to this situation? What experiences gave him this ability to greet a crowd of 40,000 people and create such a feeling of sincerity? Consideration of these and other questions may make the significance of the speech and the speaker's ideas more readily understandable.

Among the forces influencing the early development of Dwight D. Eisenhower were three which are sufficiently important that they merit our attention. The first of these was the deep seated religious conviction of his parents which demanded a respect for authority. The second was the pioneer atmosphere which lingered over the frontier town in which he was reared, an atmosphere which demanded rugged personal characteristics. The third force was that which was exerted by the close-knit quality of the Eisenhower family ties.

In order to visualize better the background against which developed the characteristics that made this man an individual we must first examine these forces and their influence. The religious convictions of his parents and the environment in which he grew up are considered first because their influences were the first to be noticed, and probably first to subside. The influence of the family group came later and lasted longer. Its force will be felt throughout discussion of the general's boyhood, youth, and education.

The Eisenhower family settled in Pennsylvania in 1741.<sup>1</sup> From there, Jacob Eisenhower, the grandfather of Dwight David, moved to Kansas in 1878 with his family.

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1. Kenneth Davis, Soldier of Democracy, Doubleday & Co., New York, 1945, p. 12.

Jacob Eisenhower was a minister in a sect known as the Brethren in Christ. He took his family to Dickinson County, Kansas, among the first settlers of a colony his congregation was establishing. Originally this group had been called the "River Brethren," but, in 1862, they officially established themselves as the Church of the Brethren in Christ.<sup>2</sup>

The doctrines of the Church of the Brethren required a far more active plan of participation by the congregation than do the doctrines of most Protestant sects. Its followers placed great emphasis on the more Spartan of virtues: self-denial and self-reliance.

Both David Eisenhower and Ida Stover, the general's parents, were born and raised under the influence of these doctrines. They, in turn, passed similar notions of value, and standards of conduct and personal worth along to their own children. This adherence to the sterner virtues and emphasis upon personal integrity and religion played an important role in the shaping of Dwight D. Eisenhower's personality.

Probably also very significant to the Eisenhower character was the emphasis that his parents placed on doing a job and doing it well. Each of their six sons was assigned a duty and from the beginning was taught that to

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2. Ibid., p. 13.

finish a job meant that he was free to help someone else. Thus by working together constantly the "family feeling" became prominently important. Accounts of disciplinary action taken because of kitchen mishaps, while Dwight was official Sunday cook, indicate that the responsibility of doing a job well was probably learned very quickly.<sup>3</sup>

The family circle, in other words, was close-knit and authoritarian: above family was the direct authority of God. Both of Eisenhower's parents were pacifists. Ida Stover had even been taught that, "war is the ultimate of wickedness."<sup>4</sup> The irony of the fabulous military career achieved by the son of two such gentle-minded parents has been pointed out again and again.<sup>5</sup> But the authoritarian quality of a military life had a not completely unaccountable appeal.

In addition to the religious background of his parents there was the influence of the "frontier" town in which young Eisenhower grew up. One author has described this influence as follows:

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3. Davis, op. cit., p. 68.

4. Francis Miller, Eisenhower, Winston Co., Toronto, 1944, p. 41.

5. John Gunther, Eisenhower, The Man and The Symbol, Harper Bros., New York, 1952, p. 49.

Kansas was raw. It was cross-grained, inflammatory, and contradictory. It produced abolitionists, populists, and desperadoes. It was the arena not only of Carrie Nation, but also of John Brown. On the one hand it was the home of some of the fanciest excrescences ever produced by the American frontier, and "Wild Bill" Hickok [sic] was an illustrious local hero. On the other hand it was the home of the most tenacious and bigoted Bible-belt puritanism. The mere fact that Dwight Eisenhower was brought up in the 1890's in a town as refractory as Abilene, surrounded never-the-less by a countryside so fantastically placid and capable of disgorging in unending plenty the fruits of the earth, gave strong impetus to the development of his character. He was the son of frontier exuberance superimposed on a background excessively conventional, poverty-stricken, and pious. If anything can teach a man self-reliance, these combinations will.<sup>6</sup>

### 1. Boyhood

"Ike" has been called, "The Fighting Kansan."<sup>7</sup>

Actually he was born in Denison, Texas (October 14, 1890), where his father had gone to work as a shop foreman after a business failure in Kansas. In 1892 the family moved back to Abilene.

There seems to be no indication in the early childhood of Dwight Eisenhower that he was in any way "different." He was neither an oldest nor a youngest child. He

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6. Gunther, op. cit., p. 50.

7. Don Cook, Fighting Americans of Today, Dutton Co., New York, 1945.

learned to walk and talk at a "normal" age. In a large and financially hard-pressed family he received very little, if any, of that special attention which might have tended to set him apart as an individual with personal rights. The desires of others seemed as important to him as his own and often were more important. It is said that he learned this social lesson so soon and so well that it became an integral, instinctive part of his personality.<sup>8</sup>

The only extant information about Eisenhower's mental traits in those first years of his life comes from his brothers Arthur and Edgar. According to them he had, "a passion to know." They describe the stimulation of his mind by ideas, but point out that his greatest satisfaction came from facts.

If I were to say those flowers out there were Dutch iris, and he thought they were Japanese iris, he'd go out and examine them. If he couldn't tell by that, he'd get out the books and look them up. His curiosity is inexhaustible. It always was.<sup>9</sup>

Young Eisenhower attended the Lincoln Grade School in Abilene. He was considered only an average student, but one of the better athletes. His physical stature was embellished by a temper described as "violent."<sup>10</sup>

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8. Davis, op. cit., p. 66.

9. Ibid., p. 67.

10. Miller, op. cit., p. 61.

There are numerous accounts of the courage displayed by Eisenhower as a boy. Perhaps most representative of these stories is the episode which occurred at the age of 13. A slight scratch on the knee brought on an extreme case of blood poisoning which threatened loss of the limb. When a doctor suggested amputation as the only way of saving his life, Dwight refused. He made Edgar promise not to allow the doctor in the room should he lose consciousness. The pain was so intense he had to bite on a steel fork to keep from screaming. He was unconscious for two days. As the swelling entered the pelvic region the doctor gave up hope. Three weeks later young Dwight walked out of the room. The courage, and in a sense, the perseverance for which he was to be so respected as a general later on, had early manifestation.<sup>11</sup>

## 2. Education

When Dwight Eisenhower entered the Garfield Grammar School in 1902, the close ties of his home life were loosed for the first time. His world now included home and school. The individual began to grow, the group member was becoming of secondary importance.

In 1904 he entered high school where his scholastic record is somewhat better than average. His record becomes impressive, however, if you consider his various

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11. Davis, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

athletic activities, and the long hours spent in out of school work. On a percentage basis his Freshman grades were: English 91, English Comp. 86, Physical Geography 86, Algebra 86, and German 89.<sup>12</sup> The blood poisoning episode occurred in this year and he completed only seven of nine months of school. The following year while working full-time in a creamery he completed his Freshman work.

During his sophomore year his grades were several percentage points higher, and in his junior year, although working nights in the creamery and playing both football and baseball, his grades were among the highest in the school. He was regarded in his senior year as a "whiz" in math and history; but, overall, an average student.

Aside from providing the usual academic background, Eisenhower's high school career offered many valuable experiences. He was in his own mind an athlete and his record bears him out. He was an athlete respected for prowess, insistence on fair play, and sportsman like conduct. His activities, however, were varied. He was elected president of the Athletic Association and framed a constitution which still governs that group. At one occasion he played the part of Launcelot Gobbo in a parodied version of "The Merchant of Venice." Perhaps significant of the personality Dwight Eisenhower presented to his high school classmates was the senior class

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12. Ibid., p. 83.

prophecy which foresaw him as a history professor at Yale.<sup>13</sup>

The year after being graduated from high school, 1909-10, was spent pulling ice, firing furnaces, loading wagons and doing additional work at the creamery. It was in 1910 that Eisenhower took the Annapolis qualifying exams to please a friend. As a secondary measure, and because they were given on the same day, he also took the West Point exams. His score was  $87\frac{1}{2}$  and second high among eight candidates. He was too old to meet Annapolis age requirements, but when the number one candidate declined the West Point assignment, Eisenhower accepted.<sup>14</sup>

### 3. Military Career

The military career of Dwight Eisenhower began on July 11, 1911, when he left Kansas to enroll at West Point. His career at the Point was primarily extra-curricular, as his high school life had been. He is described as being immensely popular at West Point because he liked people and they liked him.<sup>15</sup> His graduation in 1915 is framed by the comment of Everett E. Hazlett, who was present at the June Week ceremonies:

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13. Davis, op. cit., p. 83.

14. Ibid., p. 113.

15. Ibid., p. 147.

It was no surprise to find him generally liked and admired. Had he not indulged in so many extra-curricular activities he could easily have led his class scholastically. Everyone was his friend, but with no loss of dignity or respect.<sup>16</sup>

His entire West Point career is summed up by John Gunther in this paragraph:

From Eisenhower's own point of view the thing that mattered most in his West Point life was the knee injury that knocked him out of football and summarily ended his athletic career. Scholastically he did neither very well nor badly. At the end of his first year he was 57th in a class of 212. He seems to have been a somewhat fractious boy: he had a great many demerits for minor lapses in discipline and his lowest marks were always in "conduct." He never held higher rank in the corps than color sergeant, and his final rating was 2083.96 out of a possible 2525, which made him 61st in a class of 168. As usual, his best grades were in history and English.<sup>17</sup>

Upon graduation he went into the Infantry as a 2nd Lieutenant, and was assigned to the 19th Infantry at Fort Houston, Texas. Here he met and married Mamie Doud. They had two children, Dwight Jr. who died at the age of three, and John Doud, now Major Eisenhower.

From the time of his marriage until his whirlwind rise in rank in World War II, the military career of

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16. Ibid., p. 148.

17. Gunther, op. cit., p. 57.

Dwight Eisenhower was only moderately distinguished. Three notable events highlighted these years. (1) In 1918 he was promoted to temporary Lt. Colonel and placed in charge of our first tank battalion. Two years later he was made a permanent Major and remained a Major for sixteen years. (2) In 1925 he graduated from the highly competitive Army Command School at the very top of a class of 275 officers. (3) In 1927 he was sent to Paris to work as a member of the Battle Monuments Commission. He was personally commended by General Pershing for his work on this assignment.<sup>18</sup>

In 1935 after two years as assistant to the Chief of Staff, Douglas MacArthur, he was appointed to serve as aide to General MacArthur in the Philippines.<sup>19</sup> He became a permanent Lt. Colonel in 1936 and in 1940 returned to the United States. In June of 1941 he was made chief of staff of General Krueger's Third Army. Eisenhower is credited with being the brains behind Krueger's victory in the celebrated Louisiana maneuvers in 1941. As a result of this feat he was made a temporary Brigadier.

General Marshall called Ike to Washington in December of 1941 and he was appointed assistant chief of the

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18. Davis, op. cit., p. 221.

19. On December 16, 1952, in The Tuscaloosa News, Drew Pearson reported that one of Eisenhower's chief functions while attached to Chief of Staff MacArthur's office in Washington was to write MacArthur's speeches.

War Plans Division. By February of 1942 he was in complete charge of that office. He became chief of the United States forces in Europe in May, 1942. His next promotion came from President Roosevelt personally when he became supreme commander of the Allied Forces in Europe. Later he was to replace General Marshall as Chief of Staff.

Columbia University elected Ike as its president when he withdrew temporarily from active duty with the Army in 1948. This was the year in which both major political parties sought him as a presidential candidate. He remained at Columbia, however, until December, 1950, when he was recalled to the Army to assume command of the Atlantic Pact Nations Forces in Europe.

During the period of years from 1943 to 1950, the general became more and more sought after as a speaker. His duties as soldier-statesman, and later university president made a great many demands on him as a public speaker. Most of the objections to Eisenhower's work at Columbia are based on his lengthy absences from his duties making speeches and public appearances.<sup>20</sup>

Finally, in 1952, Ike resigned from the Army and returned to the United States. He was being urged to come home and actively campaign for the Republican presidential nomination. His name was selected by the Republican

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20. Gunther, op. cit., pp. 90-94.

convention in Chicago on its first ballot, by a vote of 845-280. The military career of Dwight D. Eisenhower was over.

#### 4. Personality and Ability

Mr. J. W. Howe, Abilene civic leader and publisher whose office was a gathering place for Eisenhower's "crowd," made these observances:

Dwight had a good personality. He was generally well liked and made friends easily. He had self-assurance but never in all my contact with him did he show any conceit. He resented this in other boys more than anything else. To me the outstanding part of his character was that he never showed any bitterness about having to work. Dwight had two outstanding (characteristics) which, when properly applied will mean success to most people in almost any vocation they choose. He was especially observant. He could walk through a plant or watch someone who was deft at his work and be able to tell you everything he had seen. The other outstanding quality was his ability to listen to a conversation and then at the proper time ask questions that would bring him the information he wanted. He liked to debate subjects and had the faculty of asking controversial questions so as to confuse his opponent, and make him come forth with some outstanding facts. If, in the discussion he was being cornered, he would come forth with some witticism and put on his best smile. In that way he generally ended the debate by disposing of his opponents arguments.<sup>21</sup>

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21. Miller, op. cit., pp. 80-81.

An instructor in the Department of Tactics at West Point remarked:

We saw in him a not uncommon type, a man who could thoroughly enjoy his Army life, giving both to duty and recreation their fair values, we did not see in him a man who would throw himself into his job so completely that nothing else would matter.<sup>22</sup>

Captain Harry C. Butcher, USNR, Eisenhower's aide throughout the European campaign made this comment:

I have had the privilege of knowing many of Washington's important people, with slight acquaintance and some observation of presidents, from Coolidge to Roosevelt, and I should guess this fellow Eisenhower can hold his own with any man I ever met. And he talks that same language to the GI, the Tommy, the sailor, the British and the French. His ability to bring services and nationalities together seems to flow from his frankness and honesty. They trust him, and, fortunately, he has a gift from the Lord to express himself lucidly, a quality and magnetic personality. It draws people not only to him, but closer together as teammates.<sup>23</sup>

A great many of these characteristic traits of the Eisenhower personality were quite evident to this observer when the General appeared as a speaker in a

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22. Davis, op. cit., p. 146.

23. Harry C. Butcher, My Three Years with Eisenhower, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1946, p. 220.

speaking situation. He seemed to become more at ease and increasingly rhythmic in speech in passages where he was presenting facts. In these same instances he was less dependent on notes. Also, many of his ideas were framed in the shape of questions: questions designed to stimulate in his audience a desired response. Still further, he presented ideas on two sides of a question and then proceeded to attack one side and uphold the other, as in a debate.

These and numerous other observations would seem to bear out the contention that in this particular instance at least the speaker's background, his habits, and ideas, are part of his speaking action. These influences become then a part of those factors which will determine his effectiveness. If, then, one of the jobs of the rhetorician is to measure the effectiveness of a speaker he must consider these influences.

Comment has been made that a speaker in action is the whole man: his background character, habits, voice, appearance, and the ideas that occupy his mind. It has also been pointed out that speech and personality are closely aligned.<sup>24</sup>

It is with this thought in mind that an analysis of the speaker's life is presented in a study supposedly

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24. Paul Soper, Basic Public Speaking, Oxford Press, New York, 1949, pp. 3-4.

devoted to rhetorical analysis. The writer feels that the qualifications of the speaker, factors accounting for his skill, and his theories about discourse can be more easily determined and understood by considering the experiences which created these properties in his character.

From the life of Dwight Eisenhower we learn of his intense desire to know, a desire satisfied best by facts and the ability to retain those facts. We learn of a social lesson in respecting others' ideas and desires taught quite early through the pious religious influence of his family. We are told about various abilities, one of which is to ask questions designed to get desired answers. Another is described as a faculty for debating questions.

## CHAPTER III

### AN ANALYSIS OF CAMPAIGN ISSUES

#### 1. The Eisenhower for President Campaign

The first real effort to get Dwight D. Eisenhower to run for president began in the summer of 1947. As far back as 1943, however, isolated American Legion Posts had advocated him as their choice for the presidency.<sup>1</sup>

The initial movement got under way when Eisenhower announced that he would retire as Chief of Staff to become President of Columbia University. This movement spread quite rapidly and various polls taken in 1947 showed that Eisenhower had an immense lead over President Truman, or any Republican candidate. One such poll disclosed that 58 per cent of the people favored him even though they did not yet know whether he was a Democrat or a Republican.<sup>2</sup> It seemed that for the first time in the history of the two parties one man could have the nomination of either for the asking.

An indication of Republican interest in Eisenhower as a presidential candidate can be found in their "Draft

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1. John Gunther, Eisenhower, Harper Bros., New York, 1952, p. 132.

2. Time Magazine, September 22, 1947, p. 25.

Eisenhower Movement," started prior to their convention in 1948.<sup>3</sup> Democratic Party feelings were revealed somewhat in a statement made by President Truman, National Party leader, at Potsdam in 1945, "General, there is nothing that you want that I won't try to help you get. That definitely includes the Presidency in 1948."<sup>4</sup>

Marquis W. Childs in an article in Colliers Magazine, August 28, 1948, describes the 1948 Eisenhower boom as follows:

Aspects of the Eisenhower boom were downright funny. Strong support came from the Americans for Democratic Action, the liberal group containing many of the surviving new dealers. Labor leaders, including Phillip Murray of the CIO, gave it their tacit support. Beside them were Southern die-hards opposed to Mr. Truman because of his Civil Rights program. It was surely the oddest combination that ever tried to get a bandwagon rolling.<sup>5</sup>

The confusion was abated somewhat by a letter Eisenhower addressed in 1948 to Leonard V. Finder, publisher of the Manchester, New Hampshire, Evening Leader. The letter

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3. Marquis Childs, "Why Ike Said No," Colliers Magazine, August 28, 1948, p. 76.

4. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Crusade in Europe, Doubleday, New York, 1949, p. 444.

5. Childs, loc. cit., p. 15.

declined permission for the Eisenhower name to appear in the New Hampshire primaries as a Republican candidate.<sup>6</sup>

Still, the boom continued. It was not conclusively dropped by the Republicans until after Governor Dewey of New York was nominated at the Philadelphia convention in 1948.

The Republican convention was scarcely over when the "draft Ike" cry was taken up by the Democrats. This move was finally curbed by a statement issued the week-end of July 4, 1948, from the Eisenhower office at Columbia. It stated that Eisenhower could not accept any nomination.<sup>7</sup>

The second Eisenhower for president surge began in October 1950, when Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York, proposed Eisenhower for the Republican nomination in 1952. To this proposal Eisenhower once again replied with a formal refusal from his office at Columbia.<sup>8</sup> In December of that same year he was granted a leave of absence from Columbia to assume command of the Atlantic Pact Nations Headquarters in Europe.

By September of 1951 the Eisenhower name was being bantered back and forth as a likely presidential prospect

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6. Leonard V. Finder, "Why Ike Will Run," Colliers Magazine, November 3, 1951, p. 15.

7. Childs, loc. cit., p. 16.

8. Gunther, op. cit., p. 137.

once more. A strong Republican group led by Governor Dewey and Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, including Senators Duff, Ives, Saltonstall, Morse, and Smith, former Governor Alf Landon of Kansas, and a strong group of governors was supporting Eisenhower.<sup>9</sup>

Democratic sympathies were exposed somewhat when Senator John Sparkman of Alabama, returning from a Senate investigation in Europe late in the summer of 1951, stated his belief that Eisenhower would be available for the Democratic nomination in 1952. They were exposed even more when Senator Paul Douglas, Democrat from Illinois, said, "If (Truman) does not choose to run (Ike) would be the best candidate for the American people."<sup>10</sup>

In the second boom, Republican efforts seemed to be a little more concerted. Under the direction of Senators Lodge and Duff, Eisenhower campaign headquarters were set up in various states. Through the efforts of workers at these headquarters, Eisenhower began to collect convention delegates. Still, however, he had not declared himself on the question of political party.

When it became apparent late in 1951 that to become a candidate he would have to declare his political

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9. Gunther, op. cit., p. 138.

10. Finder, loc. cit., p. 15.

sentiment, Eisenhower's supporters urged him to make a statement. They advised him that he would have to leave Europe and return to the United States, or lose his chance for nomination.<sup>11</sup> A statement issued by Eisenhower in January 1952, settled the issue decisively. He announced that he would accept nomination on the Republican Party ticket if it was made available.

It was late Spring in 1952 before Eisenhower finally relieved himself of his command and returned to the United States. Immediately upon his return he was urged to make a formal statement of his political beliefs. This he did at an informal press conference in his home town of Abilene, Kansas, where he was given a huge "Welcome Home" celebration.

He then began an earnest campaign for votes in various Republican state primaries vying with his chief opponent, Senator Robert Taft of Ohio. The Eisenhower campaign efforts were climaxed when he was nominated by the Republican Convention at Chicago on its first ballot, 845-280.<sup>12</sup>

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11. Gunther, op. cit., p. 144.

12. The Birmingham News, July 12, 1952.

## 2. Alabama Reaction to the Eisenhower Nomination

First real movement for Eisenhower in Alabama began among members of the Alabama Press Association at their annual convention in January, 1952. A mid-January analysis of Alabama press sympathies indicated that:

A majority of Alabama's newspapers would support the GOP if Eisenhower is the candidate; a lesser number would unhesitatingly accept Taft for President; still others are reserving a decision with the hope that the Democratic candidate will be somebody other than Truman or a Truman stooge; a few editors would follow the Democratic line.<sup>13</sup>

Included in the list of newspapers supporting Eisenhower quite early in his campaign were the Dothan Eagle, The Birmingham Post-Herald, The Montgomery Advertiser, and The Talledega Daily Home. After his nomination in July they were joined by other newspapers and weekly publications. One of the first to switch to Eisenhower after the convention was The Birmingham News, which has the largest circulation of any newspaper in the state.<sup>14</sup>

Indicative of the feelings expressed by these editors was a statement made by George Carleton of The Clark County Democrat, a weekly, published since 1856.

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13. Alabama, January 25, 1952, p. 3.

14. Alabama, July 18, 1952, p. 6.

For 96 years the Democrat has been what its name implies Democratic. During all except the last 10 or 15 of these years it has been ardently and progressively Democratic, because the Democratic Party was the party of the South. During the past few years we have been passively Democratic as we watched the party slip from the control of Southerners and adopt policies which are directly contrary to the aims and aspirations of our people.

We are ready for a change and we are going to vote for and work for that change, which is long overdue. We hope we shall have the privilege of voting for Eisenhower, but if not, we expect to vote for Taft, or any other outstanding man the Republicans may nominate.<sup>15</sup>

By February 5, 1952, the Eisenhower for President movement in Alabama was well under way. A 60 man committee set up headquarters at the Whitley Hotel in Montgomery. The members were farmers, laborers, business, and professional men who selected as their president Winton M. Blount, a Montgomery contractor. When asked about the purpose of the organization Blount replied,

Having been Democrats all our lives, we would have preferred to remain Democrats, but wanting honest government even more, we felt that the only way to get it was to seek to oust the Democrats. If the Republicans will nominate a good man like Eisenhower, we are going to vote for him. We are

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15. Alabama, January 25, 1952, p. 2.

not doing so because he is on a Republican ticket, but we are not going to let that stop us.<sup>16</sup>

Republican Party leaders in Alabama, who favored Eisenhower, were next to begin soliciting votes in his behalf. This group led by Claude O. Vardaman of Birmingham, state party chairman, began setting up GOP Eisenhower Headquarters throughout the state. There were then two separate groups lining up Eisenhower supporters in Alabama. By the time of the Republican convention these groups had gathered 5 of Alabama's 14 convention votes for Eisenhower. The remaining nine were pledged to Senator Taft. This split in the delegation stirred up an unusual interest in Alabamians concerning the Republican Convention.

At the convention in Chicago, Southern states with the exceptions of Louisiana, Georgia, and Texas, gave Senator Taft the majority of their votes on the first ballot. Virginia was the first to change its ballot after it became apparent Eisenhower was going to win. Alabama, Tennessee, North Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, and Arkansas, all eventually gave a unanimous vote to Ike.<sup>17</sup>

Once Eisenhower was nominated, efforts in his behalf in the South were renewed. The question now arose as to

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16. Alabama, February 5, 1952, pp. 3-4.

17. The Birmingham Post-Herald, July 12, 1952.

what his nomination really meant to Southerners. Did they like him enough to vote for him in an actual election? In an editorial on July 12, 1952, The Birmingham Post-Herald said,

Where does the Eisenhower victory leave the South? Ike's triumph presents an opportunity and a challenge to Dixie. For years we have been hearing that what is needed in the South is a two-party system. With Eisenhower as the nominee, the Republican Party can make the start toward the two-party system, if it has the will. For the general can get votes of many disgruntled Democrats, something which Bob Taft, in our estimation, could not have done.

In answer to questions about feelings toward the Eisenhower acceptance speech The Birmingham Post-Herald got these replies from various Birmingham citizens:

H. L. Richards, 3636 13th Avenue, "I liked it. I've been a Democrat for a long time. But I'm going to vote for Ike."

Mrs. Helen Goodhue, 1552 Alemede Ave. S. W., "I'm very interested in the candidate who is nominated. I would like to see another Teddy Roosevelt. Teddy was a Republican and did a lot for the South. I believe General Eisenhower will be the man."

Zack Martin, Molton Hotel, "I'm in complete accord with General Eisenhower's views and an enthusiastic supporter of his program. Back where I came from folks used to think you couldn't go to heaven if you weren't a Methodist and a Democrat. I'm a

born and bred, native Alabama Democrat,  
but I'm going to vote for Ike next  
November.<sup>18</sup>

The attitude of many Southern Democrats was reflected by H. A. Thompson, Birmingham, Alabama, a member of the Birmingham County Democratic Committee:

Ike will be a strong contender with plenty of popular votes. But whether or not he can win depends on who the Democrats nominate.<sup>19</sup>

From comments such as these, observers began to contemplate the possibility of a Democratic Party split in the South. Eisenhower supporters began to feel that if enough Southern Democrats could be swayed to Eisenhower the Democratic Party stranglehold on the South could be broken.

### 3. An Analysis of Campaign Issues Vital to the South

Much of the Southern feeling toward Eisenhower has been attributed to his wide popularity and personal appeal. Examination of political trends in the South from 1948-1952, however, reveals several additional motives for this reaction.

Perhaps of greatest importance was the position Eisenhower took on several campaign issues which had become

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18. The Birmingham Post-Herald, July 12, 1952, pp. 1-2.

19. Ibid.

of great importance to the several Southern states. One of these controversial issues was the question of Civil Rights.

It will be remembered that in 1948 several Southern states, including Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina, had bolted from the Democratic Convention in Philadelphia and had withdrawn their support from that party's candidate. Their reason for making this move was based primarily on their refusal to accept the doctrine of Civil Rights proposed by President Truman as a part of the party platform.

These Southern states formed the nucleus of the States Rights or Dixiecrat party, which was organized at a convention in Birmingham, Alabama. They proceeded to nominate J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, for president, in opposition to Truman and the regular Democratic Ticket. The States Rights candidate carried Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Mississippi. He polled over 1,150,000 votes in 12 states.<sup>20</sup>

Consequently, when Eisenhower quite early in his campaign stated a viewpoint on States Rights in direct opposition to that expressed by the Truman Administration, he was regarded as quite favorable to Southern sympathies, on that question.

Another issue of importance to Southerners was that involving a Senate filibuster rule. Incorporated into the

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20. World Almanac, 1952.

Democratic platform in 1952 was a statement endorsing the enforcement of an anti-filibuster rule in the Senate. Southerners were highly critical of this rule because they felt that doing away with the filibuster was the only task to be done before Fair Employment Practices Control could be enacted as a law. The inclusion of this clause was viewed by many as an attempt to remove from the South its last protection against federal force bills.<sup>21</sup>

In Alabama, State Legislator Wallace D. Malone said:

Since I interpret F.E.P.C. to mean that a business concern might be forced to fire some white people and hire Negroes, and since the Republican platform is much more favorable to the Southern viewpoint on Civil Rights, I will not vote for any Democratic candidate running on the platform adopted at Chicago.<sup>22</sup>

This issue took on additional significance in Alabama since Senator Sparkman of that state had served on the Democratic Platform Committee. He was the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, and had endorsed the platform plank concerning Civil Rights, the filibuster rule, and F.E.P.C., which his home state was so much against.<sup>23</sup>

Perhaps the issue most singularly important to Alabama was that concerning the economic policies of the

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21. Alabama, August 1, 1952, p. 6.

22. Alabama, August 1, 1952, p. 6.

23. Alabama, October 3, 1952, pp. 3-5.

Democratic Party as endorsed by their candidate, Adlai Stevenson. In reference to a speech made by Mr. Stevenson in September, 1952, at Springfield, Massachusetts, where he had stated, "movement of Northern industries to the South should be stopped, by Federal intervention if necessary," the Alabama Magazine said:

In his Springfield speech, Stevenson has revealed a willingness to set aside the natural laws of economics and substitute artificial government controls. He would rob the South of the advantages it has of being near raw material sources, of having better climate, cheaper power, lower taxes, and a great pool of intelligent and willing labor--Stevenson would "put the South where it belongs" on the economic front, just as he would try to legislate race equality by knocking out the filibuster and ramming through an F.E.P.C.<sup>24</sup>

Eisenhower's stand on federal interference in economic enterprise had been established as early as 1946 when he said:

I can see no reason why each of us should not exploit to the full, any talent which he may have vis-a-vis his fellow, vis-a-vis his neighbor, and take advantage if he possibly can.<sup>25</sup>

His policy was one of a laissez-faire attitude toward industry and consequently in direct line with Southern thinking.

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24. Alabama, October 3, 1952, pp. 3-5.

25. Allan Taylor, What Eisenhower Thinks, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1952, p. 60.

The question of Korea did not become fully significant as an issue until after Eisenhower had appeared in Alabama. Quite early in his campaign however, he had referred to that situation as purely the result of bungling in Washington. He had advocated the use of more R.O.K. troops in place of American soldiers and the crossing of the Yalu River. On October 24, 1952, he indicated that as president he would make a trip to the front lines of Korea in order to view the situation first hand. Alabama reactions toward this move as reported in various newspapers seemed quite favorable.<sup>26</sup>

The Eisenhower position on foreign policy had been indicated somewhat in a press conference at Abilene, Kansas, on June 23, 1952, where he said:

No longer are we here independent of the rest of the world. We must sell our wheat and we must get things from the rest of the world. Our part is most important. There is nothing so important to the world today as food in a material way. Food is necessary all over Europe and must be sent to preserve the peace. In that way you see immediately your connections with the problems of Europe. We are not isolationists. We are part of the great civilization of the world at this moment and every part of the world where a civilization exists is part of us.<sup>27</sup>

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26. See Birmingham News and Post-Herald, October 26, 1952.

27. Taylor, op. cit., p. 144.

#### 4. Southern Reactions to the Eisenhower Campaign

The Southern States Democrats at the convention in Chicago had looked to Senator Richard Russell of Georgia as the champion of the States Rights cause. When the convention nominated Adlai E. Stevenson, generally thought to be President Truman's hand-picked candidate, a feeling of antagonism arose. Many Southern Democratic leaders expressed concern over supporting a candidate who seemed destined to support the doctrines of which they had so disapproved. This feeling began to grow when the candidates began to voice their feelings and it became more and more apparent that Eisenhower, not Stevenson, was in sympathy with Southern views, or at least, with the point of view of a large, vocal group of Southerners.

It was then that Southern Eisenhower leaders, realizing the unstable position of Southern Democrats, began to recognize an excellent opportunity both for their candidate and the long-sought two party system in the South. They believed, however, that any votes which might be secured must be solicited by their candidate showing an interest in those votes. They began to appeal for an appearance in the South by candidate Eisenhower.

Veteran Republican campaign advisers felt that any sort of tour by a GOP candidate in the South was futile. Eisenhower, however, felt that he must visit the South,

if only to fulfill a promise to Southern Convention delegates.<sup>28</sup> As a result of the urgings of Southern Republicans leaders and the personal feelings of Eisenhower and his campaign manager, Governor Sherman Adams of New Hampshire, an unprecedented GOP invasion of the South was planned. For the first time in the history of that party, a Republican Presidential Candidate was going to campaign actively, in person, in the South for Southern votes.

The Alabama Magazine said:

Practically every student of public affairs, including high ranking Democratic office holders, have said for years that a two party system would produce numerous political benefits for Alabama. Competition is wholesome life blood for politics as it is for business; it follows that two strong parties will do more for this state than one alone, which does not have to worry about the consequence of failing to produce.<sup>29</sup>

Richard Harkness, NBC radio commentator, after a week's stay in Montgomery, Alabama, made this summary on October 14, 1952:

There is no sign, as yet, the solid Democratic south is breaking up. There are indications the south is cracking. Republicans have the best chance since Herbert Hoover. They have the best opportunity since

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28. See Speech Text.

29. Alabama Magazine, July 18, 1952, p. 3.

Hoover carried five southern states in 1928. Basically, to this reporter, whether part of the south goes Republican this year, is only part of the story.

The loyalty of the south to the Democratic Party, the complete loyalty for 90 years, has made the south a one-party section. Every southerner agrees, except a few politicians maybe, it's bad to have only one party.

Parts of the south bolted in 1928 that's true. That was a matter of religion, not so much of political principle. But this time, in this 1952 campaign, it's different. The strain on the southern democratic ties is coming from a matter of differences over theories of government--the Republican (Eisenhower) against the Democratic (Stevenson).

What may be important in the long run is this: The south is taking a long step toward a two-party system. It is a move which points all to the good.<sup>30</sup>

When the circumstances surrounding Eisenhower's nomination for the presidency are examined along with some of the major issues of his campaign, it seems apparent that his appeal to Southerners was not entirely based on personality. We cannot totally discount his vast reputation as a national hero, yet it seems to be responsible for only a part of the support he received in the South.

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30. This is an excerpt from a broadcast made by Mr. Harkness for the Pure Oil Company over NBC on October 14, 1952. The quotation appears just as it was typed by Mr. Harkness and sent to this writer.

A large portion of favorable Southern reaction toward Eisenhower can logically be attributed to three factors. First, his stand on certain political ideals and beliefs, which was in direct line with the thinking of a large bloc of Southerners. As a result of this mutual thinking, they were interested in him. Second, he was supported by numerous Southern political and civic leaders who felt that he was the man most capable of being President. Finally, he represented to a great many Southerners the rebirth of a two-party system in the South, a thing which they felt was necessary for Southern welfare.

##### 5. Summary

The nomination of Dwight D. Eisenhower as the Republican Party's Presidential candidate in 1952 climaxed one of the most interesting chapters in the history of "party politics" in the United States. For the first time one man had been offered the presidential nomination by both major political parties. In addition this one man seemed to be the choice not only of the politicians, but also of the greater majority of the voting public.

In the South Eisenhower received ardent support from newspaper publishers and editors, as well as from a great many dissatisfied Democratic Party members. This support was increased by the widespread personal appeal Eisenhower's national fame had brought him. Still further support, however, came from those voters who favored

Eisenhower's stand on certain issues which seemed to uphold traditional Southern doctrines concerning the rights of the states.

Therefore, it would seem that at least a portion of the Southern support which Eisenhower received was due to his viewpoint on certain of the issues involved in the presidential campaign of 1952.

## CHAPTER IV

### AN ANALYSIS OF THE SPEAKING SITUATION

The 1952 Republican Party Presidential candidate's campaign began with an unprecedented speaking tour of Southern states. Not since 1876 had a Republican presidential candidate made an active campaign in the South. Consequently, there was a great deal of anticipation as to the type of reception Southerners would give to this "unorthodox" campaign opening.<sup>1</sup>

The Birmingham address delivered by Dwight D. Eisenhower on September 3, 1952, was a part of this first tour. This occasion marked the first visit to Alabama by a major party presidential candidate since 1860.<sup>2</sup> In that year Stephen A. Douglas made four speeches in Alabama as the National Democratic Party candidate for president. Even these, however, are considered as speeches designed more to encourage preservation of the Union rather than to

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1. See Fletcher Knebel, Minneapolis Morning Tribune, September 3, 1952; Life Magazine, October 27, 1952; Relman Morin, Birmingham News, August 27, 1952.

2. Fred Taylor, Birmingham News, September 2, 1952.

solicit votes, and are therefore not campaign speeches in the truest sense.<sup>3</sup>

Details concerning the proposed tour were released on August 27, 1952, and almost immediately Republican leaders in Alabama began concentrated efforts to prepare for the Birmingham speech.<sup>4</sup> Under the direction of Claude O. Vardaman, State Party chairman, arrangements were made for various Alabama cities to send motorcades to Birmingham to see and greet their candidate. Thus the Birmingham audience was to be composed of Alabamians from all over the state.

On September 2, 1952, the general appeared in Atlanta, Jacksonville, and Miami. In Atlanta, police officials estimated over 100,000 persons had turned out to greet the candidate.<sup>5</sup> In Miami he spoke to a crowd of over 12,000, the largest group ever assembled to see any candidate in that city.<sup>6</sup>

The morning of September 3, 1952, Eisenhower addressed a crowd in Tampa, Florida. He arrived in

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3. William Diven, A Rhetorical Analysis of the Alabama Speeches of Stephen A. Douglas, University of Alabama, 1950.

4. A personal interview with Dr. A. M. Walker, 6th District Republican party chairman for Alabama.

5. Don Whitehead, Associated Press Correspondent, Birmingham News, September 3, 1952.

6. Ibid.

Birmingham at 11:40 A. M. that same morning aboard a special plane; his address was scheduled for 12:15 P. M. After greeting a small group of well-wishers at the airport he joined a special police motorcade which took him to the downtown speaking site. The parade passed through downtown Birmingham streets, where Police Commissioner Eugene Connor estimated some 75,000 people waited to catch a glimpse of the general.<sup>7</sup>

At Woodrow Wilson Park, facing the East side of the City Hall Building, Police Commissioner Connor estimated some 40,000 persons had gathered. This observer arrived at 11:10 A. M., and estimated that some 6,000 people were already present.<sup>8</sup> The audience is reported to have begun congregating about 8:00 A. M.<sup>9</sup> One couple, Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Cathcart, of Wilcox County, Alabama, were reported on the site at dawn.<sup>10</sup>

An analysis of the audience shows that there were persons present from Tuscaloosa, Dothan, Mobile, Andalusia, Montgomery, Jasper, Greenville, and several other Alabama cities which had organized motorcades to Birmingham. The

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7. Birmingham Post-Herald, September 4, 1952.
  8. See photograph, Figure 1, page 44.
  9. Birmingham Post-Herald, September 4, 1952.
  10. Don Cobb, Birmingham News, September 3, 1952.



FIGURE 1

This photograph was taken in the Woodrow Wilson Park, at Birmingham, Alabama, on September 3, 1952, at approximately 11:15 A. M. The picture looks out into the center of the park where the major portion of the audience stood to hear the speaker. The photograph was taken by this observer from the back of a truck which was parked momentarily in the street below the speaker's position.

Montgomery caravan gave a pre-speech parade through the 11  
downtown section of Birmingham that aroused much attention.  
Signs displayed at the speaking site indicated the presence  
of citizens from other Alabama cities, such as Demopolis  
and the Tri-Cities, which did not have organized transpor-  
tation.<sup>12</sup>

The city of Birmingham, under the orders of its com-  
missioners and Mayor Cooper Green, had declared a two hour  
holiday in order to allow citizens the opportunity of  
seeing and hearing the candidate.<sup>13</sup> A survey of the  
audience conducted by the Birmingham Post-Herald, indi-  
cated that this was probably responsible for the presence  
at the occasion of Birmingham citizens from all walks of  
life.<sup>14</sup> Among the names the survey presents are those of  
business executives, college students, school children,  
and housewives, all of whom were observed at the speaking  
site in the park.

The park itself is a grassy, slightly wooded area  
that covers more than a full city block. It slopes upward  
from the base of the East portico of the building where  
the speaker's lectern was placed. The slope of the lawn

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11. Birmingham Post-Herald, September 4, 1952.

12. Ibid.

13. Birmingham News, September 3, 1952.

14. Birmingham Post-Herald, September 4, 1952.

provided a somewhat natural amphitheater. Visibility from all points was excellent. Figure 2 gives an indication of how most of the audience viewed the speaker's position.<sup>15</sup> An elaborate public address system covered the entire area of the park and the speaker was clearly audible for almost one-half block beyond the limits of the crowd.

The speaker's position was located on the East portico of the City Hall Building, facing the park. The landing of the portico is about eighteen feet above the level of the street making the speaker's view of his audience excellent. His position of height also made audience visibility much greater. Figure 3 will give an indication as to how the audience looked to the speaker.<sup>16</sup>

Microphones from radio stations WCBI, WILD, WAPI, WSGN, WAFM-TV, and WBRC-TV, surrounded the speaker's lectern.<sup>17</sup> The speech was broadcast locally from the spot. At 3:15 p.m. that afternoon an Alabama Network of stations affiliated with the Mutual Broadcasting Company replayed the address throughout the state.

Independent stations broadcast the speech throughout the day at previously designated intervals. WAFM-TV made a live telecast of the occasion, and WBRC-TV made a film for future use.

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15. See Figure 2, p. 47.

16. See Figure 3, p. 48.

17. Ibid.



FIGURE 2

This photograph was taken by this observer standing in the park approximately fifty yards from the base of the speaker's position, and to the right of the lectern. It will be noted that despite the distance the speaker's position is quite clear. Both the elevation of the speaker, and the slope of the park, added to the audience's ability to observe the platform with ease.



FIGURE 3

This photograph was taken from the speaker's platform, behind the lectern. It illustrates the elevation of the speaker's position and gives some indication as to how the audience looked to him. It also indicates the position of the various microphones as they were arranged around the lectern.

Immediately in front of the speaker's position, on the street level, were two tables about sixty feet long. These were used by local reporters, as well as by the seventy-five writers and photographers who made up the candidate's press party.

Behind the tables were some twenty rows of chairs reserved for state party committeemen, their wives and families.

The entire area surrounding chairs and tables was roped off, but only until the speaker began his address. At this time the audience was allowed to move forward and fill the chairs and surrounding space. The gap left by the roped area was then filled up. Figures 4 and 5 give illustration of this particular arrangement.<sup>18</sup>

The space behind the speaker on the portico was filled by state officials, visiting dignitaries, and special policemen. Security measures prevented audience members from reaching the portico once the speaker had arrived. These measures proved somewhat insufficient when the speaker had concluded his remarks.

In addition to guests and police there were approximately twenty-five photographers and technicians behind and beside the speaker. Figure 6 illustrates the numbers of persons who were seen on the portico.<sup>19</sup>

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18. See Figures 4 and 5, pp. 50 and 51.

19. See Figure 6, p. 52.

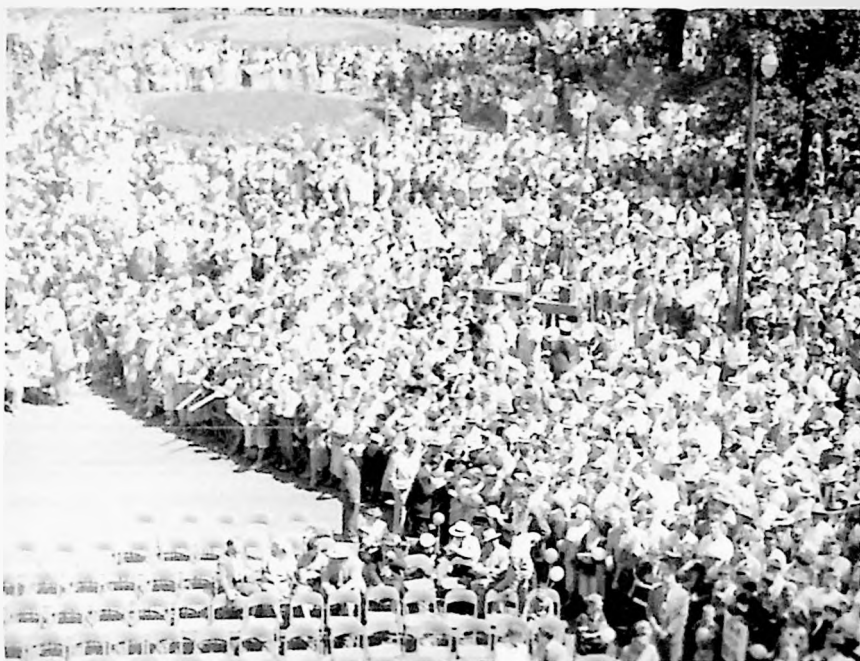


FIGURE 4

This is an illustration of the way in which the area at the base of the speaker's stand, surrounding the rows of chairs and the press tables, was roped off. This photograph was taken about ten minutes before the speaker had arrived.



FIGURE 5

Figure 5 illustrates the seating arrangements which were made for Republican Party Committeemen, and which became available for the general audience immediately before the speaker was introduced.



FIGURE 6

This photograph was taken on the speaker's stand, just before the introduction of Donald Comer, Alabama industrialist. Mr. Comer, seated on Mr. Eisenhower's left, then introduced the speaker. The photograph shows a portion of these persons who were seated on the platform. The speaker is Claude O. Vardaman, Republican Party Chairman in Alabama.

Mr. Eisenhower's party arrived at City Hall shortly before noon. The candidate was escorted into a reception room where he greeted some seventy-five visitors. At 12:14 he stepped out onto the East portico where he was given an enthusiastic ovation lasting about one minute.

Alabama Republican Party Chairman, Claude O. Vardaman began the ceremonies by introducing Governor Sherman Adams of New Hampshire, the general's campaign manager. At 12:17 p. m. Vardaman introduced Birmingham's Mayor, Cooper Green, who presented the candidate with the city's key. At approximately 12:19 p.m. Vardaman introduced Donald Comer, Alabama industrialist and statesman. Comer in turn introduced candidate Eisenhower who began his remarks at 12:21 p.m., just six minutes behind the scheduled time, 12:15 p.m.

At 12:43 the speaker concluded his remarks. The crowd surged forward and despite police restraint pressed into a line to meet the general and shake his hand. Some seventy-five to one hundred persons congratulated the speaker before he was escorted back into the building by his special police bodyguard.

From the building the general's motorcade returned him directly to the airport. At 1:20 p.m., his plane departed for Little Rock, Arkansas, where he was to speak late that same afternoon.

Salient points of the occasion can perhaps best be summarized by examining observations made by other members of the audience.

Mrs. Roy Wates, Birmingham, Alabama, described the activities as, ". . .a stupendous wave of enthusiasm. His sincerity evoked from the people a response that was typically American."<sup>20</sup>

Curtis Adkins, National Committeeman from Ashville, Alabama, said, ". . .there was wonderful reaction and reception (that) all Alabamians gave to the general. It showed they are really interested in him, and I feel many of them will support him in the election."<sup>21</sup>

Claude O. Vardaman stated, "It was by far the largest political meeting in the history of the state. I think that the reception, both in the parade and in the park, were beyond Ike's expectation. In fact, he told us they were."<sup>22</sup>

George Weir, age 20, of Northport, Alabama, had this to say, "I could hear the speech easily and I had no difficulty in seeing the speaker's gestures and movements. I felt the large crowd was present for three reasons: 1. the reputation of the speaker as a soldier; 2. the

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20. Birmingham Post-Herald, September 4, 1952.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

speaker's position as a presidential candidate; 3. curiosity aroused by this unusual gathering of Republicans in a Democratic state."<sup>23</sup>

An editorial printed in the Birmingham Post-Herald on September 4, 1952, made the following observations of the Southern tour as a whole:

If General Eisenhower needed anything to give him heart for the grueling two months of campaigning which lie ahead he should have gotten it from the warmth and enthusiasm of his reception the past two days in the South.

He had been warned he would be lucky to "draw a corporal's guard." His friends had tried to prepare him against disappointment but, as in Birmingham, where more than 25,000 stood in Woodrow Wilson Park to greet him, everywhere he stopped acres of people were there to listen and to cheer.

Here, the size of the crowd would have been a glowing tribute to any man.

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23. The comments by George Weir were obtained in a personal interview in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on October 24, 1952. Figure 5, on page 51, shows George Weir as he was seated at the occasion of the Birmingham address; his position is in the lower right corner of the photograph.

## CHAPTER V

### THE SPEECH

#### 1. Analysis of the Text

Conversations and interviews with members of Eisenhower's Birmingham audience indicate there were two feelings which prevailed in the minds of his listeners as they left the speaking site. One of these feelings might be stated: "Isn't Ike a wonderful man?" The second may be put, "Just what did he say?"<sup>1</sup>

The first of these feelings was no doubt due in part to respect for the General's position as a national hero, and also to the strong use of ethical appeal which he made in his address. General Eisenhower spent the greater, and probably most important, part of his time in an effort to make himself appear favorably in the eyes of his audience.

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1. These conversations and interviews were held with approximately twenty members of the motorcade which journeyed to Birmingham from Tuscaloosa, Alabama, for the occasion of Eisenhower's address. The consensus of opinion of this group seemed to be that, although it was a tremendous occasion for both Eisenhower and the Alabama Republicans, Ike's speech hadn't been strong enough. This opinion was also voiced in personal interviews with Mr. Howard Burchfield, of Tuscaloosa, who witnessed the address as it was telecast, and Mr. A. D. Price, who was present at the speaking occasion, but who was not a member of the Tuscaloosa caravan. See also The Birmingham Post-Herald, September 4, 1952, cited in Chapter IV.

The second of these feelings probably stemmed from the fact that the ideas the speaker was trying to present were not made immediately apparent to his audience. The speaker did not indicate by more than implication what it was he desired his audience to know. There was no concrete statement of purpose in the speech, and no clear indication anywhere of the points he planned to cover.<sup>2</sup>

Because of the divergence of audience response, it seems necessary to speculate concerning the general motives which probably lay behind the speech. Such a consideration cannot be made completely objective, it is true, but it will facilitate a clearer analysis of the speech, particularly in terms of its effectiveness.

A few evidences of the speaker's probable purposes are present in the speech itself. Eisenhower implied that one of the reasons he was appearing in the South was because of a pre-convention promise to Southern leaders that he would campaign in the South if nominated. In addition, he

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2. As a member of the audience on this occasion this observer's first impression while listening to the speech was that the speaker was simply presenting a series of illustrations, stories, and examples. These devices were interesting, but at the moment did not particularly seem to be related in any clearly logical way. Later, upon reading the text of the speech, this observer was still unaware of any particular idea the speaker was specifically trying to present. It was only after several readings of the speech, during which the content material was thoroughly examined and analysed, that the specific ideas the speaker had in mind became clear.

indicated that part of his reason for being in the South was to show that his word was "good." Also, he indicated in his speech, that he wanted to let Southern voters know that he did not look on them as being, "in the bag." Comments of this nature would seem to indicate that one of Eisenhower's primary purposes in making his Southern speeches was to establish the high ethical and moral standards of his character in the eyes of Southerners.

In establishing the ethical nature of his character, the general was seemingly very successful. His audience responded to his personal appeals and gave immediate evidence of their approval.

If this be considered the primary purpose of the speech, it would be classified as an occasional address, epideictic in character. More specifically it might be thought of as what Yeager calls a "Speech of Good-Will designed to Persuade": a speech primarily designed to enforce upon the audience the idea that, in the words of Quintilian, the speaker is a "man of probity," worthy of attention and respect.<sup>3</sup>

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3. W. Hayes Yeager, Effective Speaking for Every Occasion, Prentice Hall, New York, 1940, p. 274. Yeager points out that speeches of Good-Will may be any one of three types, persuasive, expository, or entertaining. Eisenhower's speech was a speech of Good-Will designed to persuade.

Even with such a purpose, however, it is necessary to "talk about" something. Also, the very nature of a campaign pre-supposes argumentation. Eisenhower, however, recognizing that he was coming as a Republican into a Democratic stronghold, probably tried to suppress the argumentative angles of his address. It was, after all, very necessary that he succeed--one of the first speeches of a Republican presidential candidate in the South; the first, in Alabama--it could not be permitted to fail. The subject must be within the framework of the campaign-debate-situation, and yet it must meet with a positive, or "yes" response.

Eisenhower stated in his Birmingham address, that the purpose of his speaking was to describe the great differences existing between his party and the administration. He seemed to want Southerners to know that he too was indignant at conditions in the Federal Government, and would work with them to "clean up the mess."

Because the speaker states in his text that his purpose in speaking is to describe the differences existing between his party and the administration; because he stated that he was speaking not only to show that his word was good, but also to deliver this message to every available listener, it becomes necessary to examine his speech in terms of accomplishing this stated purpose also.

There were, it would seem, both a general and a specific purpose present in the speech. The general purpose was probably to secure good will, and personal approval. The specific purpose, at least as stated, was argumentative in structure--although, perhaps deliberately, not controversial.

In other words, the speech might be thought of as primarily an "occasional address" rather than one that was primarily "forensic." Thus to be clearly "proving" points, in a legalistic sense, was unnecessary. Yet "to prove" in the sense of securing or maintaining agreement was one of the specific aims of the speaker.

In looking for possible answers to the question, "What did the speaker say?" it is therefore necessary to examine the text of Eisenhower's speech carefully. Only when this is done is it possible to determine what the speaker's ideas were, or to understand any of the reasons for those ideas not being readily apparent to his audience.

Careful analysis of Eisenhower's speech seems to indicate that what at first appears to be a series of loose, unrelated illustrations is in reality a unit tied together in support of two basic ideas. These ideas can be traced throughout the speech, but serve only loosely to tie the various segments together. The first of these ideas concerns the failure of the Federal government to

perform its functions satisfactorily. The second idea concerns correction of this condition.

The first of these central ideas, that the present Federal government has made a "botch" of its job, is established by generalization from example. The illustrations used however, were each concerned with separate phases of the alleged "botch." These phases take on the character of separate issues dealing with excessive governmental controls, high tax burdens, mounting national debt, increasing inflation, and corruption in government.

A part of the question, "What did he say?" may have arisen from the fact that the speaker did not indicate to his audience what to look for in these separately illustrated points. He gave no indication that each of these examples was an illustration of a "bungled" job, although his text would indicate that this was what he meant them to be.

The second central idea which the speaker presented concerned his proposed solution for cleaning up what he described as, "this mess." In this case the speaker seemed to propose greater participation in government by the people as the answer. Eisenhower presented this idea in summary of each of his arguments. He included it in his introduction when he said, "The problems that you and I together have to solve." In the main body of the speech he added: "We, ladies and gentlemen, have the one great task

of making this again surely America, that's the whole task."

His conclusion echoes the same proposal:

Just study this country, its problems,  
between now and November, make your  
own decision in your own right, as the  
highly privileged citizen of the  
greatest country on earth.

These, then, were the two central ideas which the speaker seemingly attempted to convey to his audience. Having discovered the presence of these ideas it is now possible to consider some suggestions in addition to that purpose of the speech, as to why they were not made more clearly discernible than they are.

## 2. The Organization of the Speech

This analysis of the structure of General Eisenhower's Birmingham speech will first consider the speech as a whole. Second, an inspection of the various parts of the speech will be made, keeping in mind the question of clarity of ideas.

The General began his remarks with what has been called, "the cordial reference approach."<sup>4</sup> Upon being introduced by Mr. Comer the speaker stepped forward, waved both arms over his head in response to the ovation of the crowd and began his speech by saying,

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4. Paul Soper, Basic Public Speaking, Oxford Press, New York, 1949, p. 219.

Thank you very much, Mr. Comer, Mr. Vardaman, Mayor Green, and my dear friends. You overwhelm me.

The first of these remarks was directed to those men who had preceded him to the speaker's stand, each of whom had paid tribute to his accomplishments and ability. The second remark was addressed to the audience which had cheered his first appearance with a thundering ovation, and which had demonstrated again when he was formally introduced.

After this brief approach, General Eisenhower began to unfold some background information concerning his trip to the South. He related his conversation with a Southern delegation prior to the Chicago convention. He indicated he was somewhat puzzled by their question, "When nominated, will you come to the South?" After clarifying his affirmative reply to that question, the speaker went on to offer further explanation for his trip in the form of a letter which had allegedly been sent to him by a Southern lady. The letter expressed a sincere interest in the speaker and in his crusade for better government.

The speaker had been addressing his audience approximately four minutes before he concluded this background information. When this step was complete he stated for the first time the purpose of his speech:

Now I came to the South to describe the great difference, that exists between the administration party in Washington, and what the other party is now trying to do.

Immediately after this statement of purpose the speaker offered a clarification of his feeling about that purpose:

I sum that up by saying that one party has gotten us into a mess, has crystalized us into a situation that cannot otherwise be described, and the group to which I belong is trying to clean it out, to give you honest government and honest administration in Washington.

The introductory part of the speaker's remarks were thus concluded and he began the central portion of his speech.

The main body of Eisenhower's speech was organized somewhat along the lines of causal reasoning. The speaker would indicate certain things which he felt were being mis-handled. He would then point out what the effect of this mis-handling was and attempt to show how its effect touched every citizen. He would then summarize the particular issue he was referring to and give, in most instances, an indication of his position on that question.

One of the first issues General Eisenhower illustrated was his notion of the causes and effects of excessive governmental spending. His first step was to describe this condition as he saw it and to give some

indications of why he thought it existed.

We have seen spending that can be described only as crazy. Governmental spending with a budgetary estimate of 85 billion, which some 10 to 12 to 14 billion is even over and above all the taxes they charge us today. In short, a deficit which they make up by printing money, making every cent in your pocket cheaper.

The speaker then presented what he felt were the effects of this condition by saying,

Now, what is the result of all this indebtedness, all this spending? Everyday the United States population increases by something over 5000 individuals. Now every baby born today then is inheriting first of all, a \$1700 debt. That's what we're passing on and that debt goes up day by day.

After he had presented the causes and effects of the issue in question the speaker developed the final step in his appeal, which was a statement indicating his feelings on that issue. "That's what I'm down here for. To help you stop that if I can."

The speaker employed this cause to effect line of development to convey most of the important points of his speech. He used this pattern in structuring his remarks on the issues of taxes, governmental spending, dishonesty in government, and inflation.

The conclusion of the Eisenhower speech began with a restatement of his feelings about the reaction he had received from Southern audiences. The speaker then made a final appeal for consideration by the audience of the problems he had discussed. His remarks were concluded with a final word of thanks and good-bye.

From the standpoint of organization the Eisenhower speech falls relatively easily into the pattern of introduction, body, and conclusion. The speaker delivered in the first four minutes of his speech a series of remarks not unlike the exordium. That is to say, he spent those four minutes in building up audience feeling toward himself and said nothing concerning his topic. He attempted to make his personal qualities appear favorably to the audience, and in so doing did not give any indication that there was anything he really wanted them to learn from his remarks. In terms of the purpose of securing good will, of course, there was not.

It was interesting to this observer that the response of the audience, during these first four minutes, indicated the speaker had succeeded in focusing their attention upon himself. This in itself is not to be considered a weakness of the speech, of course. Soper, among others, tells us that to gain the attention of an audience at the beginning of a speech is very important.<sup>5</sup> The strength of this

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5. Soper, op. cit., p. 217.

device is weakened, however, when the speaker fails to transfer that attention from himself to his subject. Eisenhower did not make this transition: he did not indicate to his audience that they must next consider what he was going to say. Had the speaker used the didactic method of stating his main points to his audience and summarizing them as he went along, he might have made this transition more successfully.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, the introduction of the Eisenhower speech was strong in that it focused attention on the speaker. Yet, at the same time, it failed to indicate to the audience what ideas to look for in the speech. If we take his thesis statement seriously this is a serious weakness. If we do not, but consider his primary purpose to be to secure good-will, then this is to be expected. If his aim was attention and not action such an introduction is to be expected.

In developing the main body of his remarks the speaker's appeals are softened a great deal by his

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6. "The didactic method consists of stating your conclusion first, then presenting the proof, and finally restating your conclusion. This is perhaps the clearest and most obvious method of assembling your proof; it can be outlined as follows: 1. State your point. 2. Make it clear by explanation, comparison, or illustration. 3. Support it by additional factual illustrations, specific instances, statistics, or testimony. 4. Restate your point as the conclusion." Alan H. Monroe, Principles and Types of Speech, Scott, Foresman and Co., New York, 1949, p. 241.

dependence upon generalization and casual sequence as forms of reasoning. Both of these tend to over-simplify, in that they proceed to a notion of truth from specific instance, thus relying upon what Aristotle called argument from probability, or imperfect induction.

Where Eisenhower used specific material his evidence consisted chiefly of illustrations, stories, and examples. These devices also have the effect of being both weak and strong at the same time. His illustrations seem weak because, as they were used by the general in this speech, they did not present specific instances and often were not even indicated as supporting a particular idea, but served merely as an illustration of it.

On the other hand this method of developing thought does have a strong ethical appeal since it provides the speaker with additional means of stimulating interest. For this reason the use of illustration is strong. The over-all effect of this method of "implied" rather than "direct" proof, is usually weak as logical proof, however, because it fails to provide specific, or concrete evidence.

Finally, in his conclusion the speaker did not restate those points of his speech which he felt were important. By not summarizing clearly the things he wanted his audience to remember, the speaker let his last opportunity to fully clarify his ideas slip by.

In concluding his speech the speaker returned to submit additional ethical proof. He used some of the characteristics of the peroration in focusing attention once again on himself and away from his subject. As a result his last remarks gave no indication of what he felt was important about his speech: they served only to reinforce his ethical position in the minds of his listeners.

That the main points of Eisenhower's speech were not clearly apparent can probably be attributed to the fact that the speaker did not indicate specifically either at the beginning or at the end what those ideas were. His use of relatively weak forms of reasoning further clouded those ideas, and placed audience attention on the speaker rather than upon his points. Had the speaker turned that attention to his subject, and what issues he felt were important in his speech, it is fairly reasonable to assume that his ideas would have been clearly evident.

### 3. Audience Adjustment

Further explanation for Eisenhower's ideas not being as effective as they might have been can probably be found in his attempt to adjust to his audience. This adjustment was made largely through his use of what the classical writers term ethical and emotional appeals, and to some extent through his use of language.

The speaker's remarks indicate that he was aware of the fact that he was speaking in what some had called,

"the enemy's camp." This point is evident in the very first appeal he makes to his audience, an emotional appeal aimed at their sense of regional pride, among other things:

You see I'm a neophyte in politics,  
and I did not know that a national  
politician was supposed to take  
Southerners for granted.

The speaker then went on to spend over one-fifth of his total speaking time in the use of similar psychological appeals, focusing audience attention upon himself. He indicated his sympathies with their problems, thanked them for their warm reception, and read to them a letter written by one of their regional neighbors praising his efforts. Later, when he began to get into the main body of his remarks the speaker repeatedly referred to solving of the issues in question as a task for the group. Repeatedly he used "we" rather than "you" or "I." At no time did he level any direct criticism at individuals, but spoke always in terms of "they" or "the administration."

Throughout his speech the speaker made further emotional and ethical appeals aimed largely at a sense of pride and fair play. Early in his speech he said, in reference to what he described as a "botch":

I'm down here first because I do not believe you are a captive precinct of anybody, and secondly because I think you'd like to help me get rid of that mess.

Toward the end of his speech the speaker said:

You are sending me back to the North an inspired person, because in spite of the doubt even among my friends as to how the South would react to a critical examination of what has been happening to us, you have proven that every citizen of the United States everywhere is interested in one thing, not just a label a man wears on his collar. You are interested in decent good government, decent Americanism.

Finally in concluding his remarks the speaker makes one final ethical appeal:

With that decision I shall comply willingly and gladly no matter what it is. And hope someday to come back here when I don't have to be up here speaking to you, but I can be down among you and say hi folks. Goodbye.

The appeals which Eisenhower made, then, were not designed to sway his audience to believe as he did. They seem designed primarily for the purpose of establishing the speaker's integrity and moral character in the minds of his listeners. Here then is another suggestion as to why the speaker's ideas failed to drive home.

To this observer the speaker's awareness of his surroundings and his audience seems significant to the manner of his delivery. Throughout virtually the length of the speech the speaker wore a broad smile and seemed to wish his audience to think of him as a friend. This may have

been the factor which led him, when presenting material concerning the issues, to select illustrations which substantiated his ideas without being specific in their criticism. In any case, the factor of audience adjustment is potentially very significant and cannot be overlooked when considering possibilities as to why Eisenhower's major premises were not clear.

#### 4. Language

General Eisenhower, in presenting his Birmingham address, made no attempt to hold his audience by using "flowery" language. The words he used, on the whole, seemed concrete and vivid.

Eisenhower usually accomplished the matter of transition from one thought to another by using the word "now." He repeatedly introduced new material and ideas with "now," "but now" or "and now." The only other transitional, or thought connecting devices he used were those ideas already discussed as his central themes. These, as it has been indicated, were not readily apparent.

Not only were the words and phrases he used characterized by concreteness, but also by simplicity. It is quite evident that through his use of language the speaker was striving to establish another bond between himself and his audience. The following are excerpts from Eisenhower's speech which will serve as examples of the kind of words he used:

Now, my wife lately has been giving me the dickens about prices. And I'm sorry she couldn't be here today. This would be a tremendous thrill for her 'cause she's been in the South with me a lot. But we got to talking about prices, and she said something about the butcher shop, about the man who owned it, about the man that operated it. I said, "wait a minute. I've been having some of these economists around to see me, and they're pretty smart fellows, and I learned something. That butcher shop owner is just as worried as you are about prices."

Now one of these pieces of advice was, "General, if you go to the South, it's going to be a bitter disappointment. In no place in the South can you gather a Corporal's guard." Now ladies and gentlemen, if this is a Corporal's guard, Corporals have gotten a darn sight higher ranking than I ever knew them to have.

Such passages as these do much to place the speaker and his audience on the same plane.

The language the speaker chose served its purpose by presenting his choice of illustrations and examples in terms which the majority of the audience could readily understand. They were familiar with the words and phrases the speaker used: they had experienced some of the cases he described. Because his choice of words met the needs of his audience the speaker's use of language must be considered strong.

From the standpoint of clarifying his ideas however, there is room for question. The speaker used colloquialisms such as "darn," "dickens," and "bucks." He selected

words which, on the whole were shorter and probably more familiar to many of his listeners than would have been some of the more "oratorical" synonyms which readily suggest themselves. The weakness in the use of these words lies in the fact that though he used more familiar words he often did not use these words to point out specific ideas. They were familiar to the audience, but were meaningless as referents to any specific desired audience reaction, or even as referents to the issues of the speech. As a result they tended to focus attention further upon the speaker rather than upon the ideas of the speech.

To summarize this analysis of the speech itself, there seem to be two elements which were responsible for the fact that the main points of Eisenhower's speech were not clearly apparent to all members of his audience.

The first of these elements was the effort of the speaker to establish himself in the minds of his audience as an ethical and moral man of good judgment and probity, worthy of belief and of respect. This effort may have been prompted by the speaker's surroundings: the fact that he was speaking in a state that had been solidly Democratic for over fifty years.

There are other possible explanations, however, for the strong nature of this ethical appeal. For example, the speaker, as he himself indicated, was a neophyte in politics at this time. Perhaps he was not yet truly

familiar with the severe tactics which could be employed in political campaigning. Along this line, it is interesting to note, that later in his campaign, when he had become more familiar with the technique of campaign politics, his appeals became more specific and his speeches more logical in context.<sup>8</sup> In addition, his career as a military officer had forced him, according to precedent, to remain aloof from political alignments. He was perhaps not yet accustomed to expressing himself on political issues. Finally, we cannot discount those factors of personality which were so evident in his character. As a youth, and as a military leader, he was respected for his insistence on good sportsmanship and fair play. It is quite possible that these qualities were simply showing themselves again in his approach to political campaigning.

Any of these factors would seem to explain at least a portion of his insistence upon ethical appeal.

The second element of which we become aware is the speaker's failure to be specific. He makes, with one minor exception, no reference to specific facts or instances. He mentions no names. He fails to mention even once throughout the entire speech the name of the party which he represents. This failure to be specific, perhaps

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8. F. W. Haberman, "The Election of 1952: A Symposium," Quarterly Journal of Speech, Vol. XXXVIII (December, 1952), p. 397.

more than any other factor, was responsible for the big ideas of Eisenhower's speech remaining hidden.

It is interesting to observe, then, that the mixed audience reaction to the speech grew more or less directly out of its paradoxical strengths and weaknesses. Because ethical elements were strong, the listener felt responsive to the speaker. Perhaps in part because of these very ethical elements, however, General Eisenhower failed to enforce his ideas, thus the audience felt that he had really had nothing to say. His use of illustration brought him interest, but softened the strength of his argument. His failure to line up issues clearly was a matter of over-all structure, of word choice, of inference pattern, and of the type of proof emphasized. The speech is clearly "speaker-centered," not "subject centered."

## PART TWO:

## ANALYSIS OF SPEAKER'S BEHAVIOR ON THE PLATFORM

1. Bodily Expression

Throughout the first four or five minutes of General Eisenhower's Birmingham Address, there was a noticeable absence of hand gestures in the speaker's delivery. This absence of hand gestures, however, was compensated for by the use the speaker made of other physical movements. These movements took the place of gestures in emphasizing and supporting words and phrases.

The movements which the speaker used resolved themselves into two general categories. One of these was a shrug of the shoulders. This movement usually accompanied a question which the speaker was raising. It was probably most emphatic when the speaker said, ". . .when nominated will you come to the South?" and again when he said, ". . . well, didn't we decide once that we were all going to stay in the same nation?"

The second movement involved the speaker's efforts to direct his remarks to each of his listeners. This consisted of turning his head and shoulders toward a particular section of the audience. It usually came with the transition from one thought to another and was generally made when he used the word "now."

The absence of emphatic hand gestures during the first part of the speech may have been due to the speaker's

preoccupation with his notes, with the letter from which he read, and with his glasses which he needed for reading. Once the letter was read, however, and the glasses put aside, his hands were freed and his use of hand gestures became more frequent, the gestures were more emphatic, and to a large extent they replaced the head and shoulder movements.<sup>1</sup>

General Eisenhower employed several gestures to emphasize his feelings. The gesture which he repeated most often was the clenched fist, (usually displayed as a sign of force). Often he used his fist to pound on the lectern. The extended arm and finger as in pointing was also frequently used.<sup>2</sup>

In considering the gestures which the speaker used, it should be pointed out that although he didn't employ a great number of gestures, each one that he did make was broad and well defined. There did not seem to be any hesitation on the speaker's part to get his arms and hands well above the microphones and the lectern so that everyone could see his movements.<sup>3</sup>

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1. See Appendix I.

2. Some of the instances in which he used these gestures are indicated in Appendix I, of this study.

3. See Figure 2, Chapter IV.

The speaker's posture while at the lectern was generally erect and well balanced. The only notable exceptions to this description of posture occurred when the speaker was obviously attempting more intimate audience contact. At these points he usually leaned across the lectern toward his audience balancing his weight on his forearms.<sup>4</sup> The speaker's over-all appearance and physical bearing has been described as military, and the adjective connotes a certain apt mental image which is factually descriptive.<sup>5</sup>

Perhaps most illustrative of all the physical expressions the general used were those involving face and eyes. The steady gaze of the speaker into the eyes of his audience, and the manner in which he set his jaw while describing the seriousness of the problems at hand left no doubt in the observer's mind that he was in earnest. This element was most apparent when he said,

. . .but we don't have to have duplication, mismanagement. We don't have to have bungling and we don't have to have graft charged against our tax dollar.

The fact that the speaker wore a smile throughout the greatest portion of his speech, made those facial evidences of determination and seriousness doubly emphatic.

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4. See Appendix I.

5. The Birmingham Post-Herald, September 4, 1952.

These qualities of bodily expression were supplemented throughout the speaker's delivery by his awareness of his audience. This awareness has already been discussed and is mentioned here only to remind the reader of the contact that was established between the speaker and his audience.

Physically, then, General Eisenhower's delivery can be described as effective. He used gestures, eye contact, bodily movement, and had a good sense of timing and facial expression. His physical delivery added much to his ethical appeal as an authority-figure, and as a man to be trusted, respected, perhaps followed.

## 2. Vocal Expression

There can be no doubt that anyone present for Eisenhower's Birmingham Address heard the speaker. The amplification system and the volume of the speaker's voice, carried well beyond the limits of the audience.

Yet, it was not simply a matter of volume which made the speaker's words easily understandable. The speaker combined this attribute with several other qualities of voice for the best possible effect.

Consider, for example, the element of time, or rate of speaking. The speaker achieved emphasis through varying his rate of speech. Sentences expressing alarm at certain issues were spoken more rapidly and were projected with sharp force. Sentences expressing sincerity

and feeling were spoken more slowly and sustained. Thus in saying, "They are destroying the American ideas and ideals and qualities of thrift, economy, self-reliance, because they say lean on us, we're a bunch of bureaucrats," the speaker spoke quite rapidly. Whereas, when he said, "We ladies and gentlemen, have the one great task of making this again surely America, that's the whole task," his rate of speech was slower.

During the course of his address, which lasted approximately nineteen minutes, the speaker uttered about 2450 words. This is an average of about 130 words per minute, which Monroe indicates as being within the limits of the normal speed of utterance.<sup>6</sup> This speaker did not speak in any regular pattern, however, but tended to adjust his rate of speaking to the thought he was expressing.

Eisenhower made considerable use of the element of pitch to communicate feeling. This may have been due to the wide use he made of narrative material in his speech text. However, to express his feeling of thanks for audience response there was a noticeable change of pitch when he said, "You have honored me far better than anything I could ever dream of." There was another rapid

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6. Monroe, op. cit., p. 101.

change of pitch when the speaker said rather angrily, "Even your government bonds that they asked us to buy, now what's happened to them?"<sup>7</sup>

Examination of the speaker's voice from a tape recording of the Birmingham Address, using the procedure described by Anderson for determining general pitch level, indicates Eisenhower's habitual pitch on this occasion was approximately B natural, a full octave below middle C.<sup>8</sup> Anderson estimates this to be an average pitch for men.

Perhaps the most noticeable quality of the speaker's vocalization was his articulation. Eisenhower tended to pronounce each syllable of a word so that in almost no instance was there any question about what word had been used. Final consonant sounds such as "t" and "d" were always sounded, as were "ing" endings. Chickens, dickens, mess, and botch were words which the speaker particularly stressed, with the finals firmly and definitely dentalized.

The speaker also made use of the element of stress to emphasize his feelings. The words "you," and "we" were

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7. Other noticeable changes in pitch occurred at transition points in the speech. These transitory points usually involved the word "now," and generally followed audience response to a previous remark.

8. Virgil Anderson, Training the Speaking Voice, Oxford Press, New York, 1942, p. 368.

usually held a bit longer in order to indicate their importance. Other words of importance emphasized by stress were "administration," "taxes," and "deficit."

In summarizing the physical factors of Eisenhower's delivery it is possible to say that these factors complimented the ethical nature of his appeal. His voice and physical movements expressed sincerity and friendliness and thus revealed to the audience visually and audibly that which seemed to be the purpose of his thought.

This study does not attempt to analyze the elements of persuasion which the speaker uses. It is interesting to note, however, that examples of propaganda techniques such as condemnation by association can be found in the speech text.<sup>9</sup> The use of such devices is, as Aristotle pointed out long ago, irrelevant to the argument, and can be accounted for only in terms of "the sorry nature of the audience," and, perhaps, the standards of taste and judgment of the speaker.

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9. See Appendix I, page 98, beginning at line 23, as the speaker quotes from a letter.

## CHAPTER VI

### EVALUATION OF EFFECTIVENESS

In order to make any kind of accurate evaluation of the effectiveness of Eisenhower's Birmingham Address, at least three aspects must be considered. First, the speaker's effectiveness should be examined in light of the immediate response which his audience made. Secondly, since it was a political campaign speech supposedly designed to win votes, the election returns should be noted. Finally, and certainly most tenuous of the three, some notions should be formulated concerning the possible effect of the speech upon the course of history.

Measuring a speaker's effectiveness by the immediate response of his audience is somewhat difficult. The rhetorical critic can examine the number of times an audience responded to a speaker, the kinds of responses they made, and whether those responses were, by and large, seemingly favorable or unfavorable.<sup>1</sup> There is, however, no accurate way for the observer to evaluate the precise causes for those responses. The critic has no way of knowing whether a response was due to some particular part

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1. Responses of Eisenhower's audience to his speech, as indicated in this study, were taken from the tape recording of his address, and from this observer's personal notes.

of the speech situation, or was stimulated by some intangible factor outside the realm of speech content.

Another factor which makes this evaluation difficult is that the critic has at his command only those evidences of response which were physically observable. Yet it is hardly possible to conclude that the absence of a great many observable physical responses by an audience indicates that a speaker was ineffective. It is such intangibles which make an evaluation of effectiveness from audience response difficult.

If, however, there does exist any relation between overt physical responses of an audience and a speaker's effectiveness, Eisenhower's Birmingham Address would surely be considered effective. His audience cheered and applauded his arrival at the speaking site for over 45 seconds. They applauded and cheered each time Eisenhower's name was mentioned by those who preceded the general to the lectern. They demonstrated for about thirty seconds when he was finally introduced and came forward to speak.

It is impossible to say, of course, how much of this evident "good feeling" toward the speaker was due his rank and national reputation, and how much was actually latent in the speech situation itself. At any rate during the General's remarks, he was interrupted twenty-seven times

by applause, shouts of approval, whistles, cheers, and laughter.<sup>2</sup> At no time were there any visible signs of disapproval, either for the speaker or for what he said. Remembering that he was speaking to a crowd estimated to number 40,000, assembled in what has already been described as "the enemy's camp," this fact alone is worthy of consideration when evaluating effectiveness.

Accounts of the speaker's remarks as reported by various Alabama newspapers were quite favorable. These accounts tend to substantiate this observer's belief that the audience found nothing to disapprove in the speaker or in his remarks. Evidences such as this applause, and these newspaper comments would seem to indicate that Eisenhower's audience approved of him as a man and as a speaker. In terms of this approval, then, Eisenhower's speech seems to have been effective in the immediate audience situation.

It is even more difficult in this particular situation to relate the number of votes the speaker received with the effectiveness of the speech. Had Eisenhower presented some issue, as such, on which a voting public might take a stand, and either support or reject the view he represented, that relation might more easily be made. Since this was not the case, however, evaluating the

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2. See Appendix 1.

effectiveness of this particular speech in terms of votes won is virtually impossible. There are, however, certain significant factors involving election returns which merit attention.

Alabama voters in the presidential campaign of 1952 gave Eisenhower 149,231 votes. Adlai E. Stevenson, Democratic candidate, and Eisenhower's chief opponent received 275,075 votes.<sup>3</sup> This would indicate at first glance, that perhaps Eisenhower's campaign as a whole, and, in part, this particular speech were ineffective in that he polled 125,000 less votes than did his opponent. However, when Eisenhower's total vote of 149,231, is compared with the 40,000 odd votes Alabama voters gave Governor Dewey, the Republican Presidential candidate in 1948, that number becomes much more significant.

Eisenhower was the first Republican candidate to ever appear in Alabama. Eisenhower polled 149,231 votes. This was more than any other Republican candidate had ever received in Alabama, and four times as many votes as his party had polled in the previous presidential campaign.

These factors attain still greater significance when the voting distributions of two of the largest Alabama voting units are examined separately. Birmingham,

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3. Montgomery Advertiser, November 15, 1952.

Alabama, is located in Jefferson County, Alabama, and it was in Birmingham where Eisenhower made his appearance. Voting returns from Jefferson County showed 38,111 votes for Stevenson to 32,254 votes for Eisenhower. Montgomery County, where the state capital is located, returned 9234 votes for Stevenson to 8102 votes for Eisenhower.<sup>4</sup> (It was the motor caravan from Montgomery that made the demonstration in Birmingham before Eisenhower spoke.) Although the relationship is far from being exact, it is not illogical to assume that small margins of Democratic victory in two counties which had large representation at the speaking occasion do serve as signs of the effectiveness of General Eisenhower's Birmingham speech.

There were of course many reasons other than this one speech for the votes which Eisenhower received: reasons which perhaps far outweigh the effect the speaker may have had. These reasons have already been discussed in Chapter IV of this study. The effect which Eisenhower's appearance and remarks in Alabama may have had in terms of votes, however, cannot be entirely discounted. Leading Alabama Republicans felt his speech here to be important both before and after the election.

Whatever ultimate effect the Eisenhower speech may have on the course of history can of course only become

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4. Ibid.

apparent with the passage of time. At this time, however, there seems to be a definite indication that at least one effect is in the offing. This effect will undoubtedly take shape as the establishment of a two-party system in Alabama.

The hope of establishing a two-party South has long been the dream of a great many Southern Republican leaders. This dream was not unshared by Republican Party leaders in Alabama, but until the election of Dwight D. Eisenhower this dream seemed to have little chance of becoming a reality. Under Alabama law a political party may hold primary elections at state expense when such party polls 20 per cent of the total vote cast in the previous election. The possibility of polling the required number of votes seemed quite slim, even though Republican strength had measured as high as 40,000 voters in 1948. With Eisenhower's election however, came new hope, for he had polled over a third of the total vote cast in Alabama, and under state law this means that the Republican Party will hold primary elections in the future. It is felt that this will give the Republicans tremendous impetus in Alabama.

Alabama Democratic leaders seemed to feel that the Republican showing in that state was simply a tribute to Eisenhower's military accomplishments. Governor Gordon

Persons indicated that any other Republican who ran for office in Alabama was "in for a surprise."<sup>5</sup>

It is, of course, quite possible that the Governor is right. Regardless, however, a two-party system will exist in Alabama in the next state elections. Republican leaders have already begun plans to establish their primary election rights. Along these lines, Republican National Committeeman Curtis Adkins, of Ashville, Alabama, said,

I am positively sure there will be a GOP primary in Alabama two years hence to nominate candidates to challenge those named in Democratic primaries. We are all very happy over this great victory and we realize. . .that we must seize this opportunity to build and expand our party in this state.<sup>6</sup>

Claude O. Vardaman, chairman of the Republican State Executive Committee, said,

I will recommend that Alabama Republicans hold a state primary in 1954. We are well on the road to establishing a two-party system in Alabama.<sup>7</sup>

The final decision to hold primaries rests with the Republican State Committee which will meet some time in

5. Montgomery Advertiser, November 6, 1952.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

1953. Should they decide to hold Republican Primaries in Alabama in 1954, perhaps indirectly the first mark of the Eisenhower address in Birmingham on the course of history will have been made.

It seems possible to say that Eisenhower was effective in terms of securing positive audience response, getting votes, and in exerting historical influence. His audience seemed to enjoy his manner of delivery and evidently approved of what he said. When all the election returns were in he had lost the vote of the state, but the evidences of the popular enthusiasm his speech helped engender could be found in the state's voting. And finally, in terms of historical effect, his Birmingham appearance seems already to have created a milestone in political history in Alabama.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to analyze the various elements of the Birmingham, Alabama, Address made by Dwight D. Eisenhower on September 3, 1952. In order to accomplish this purpose the study has considered the speaker; the issues of his campaign; the setting, or the situation in which he spoke; the structure of the speech he made; and finally the effectiveness of that speech.

Dwight Eisenhower's life and military career had a very decided influence upon his campaign for the presidency of the United States. It was through his military accomplishments that he became an international figure. His personality affected his skill as a public speaker and made him well liked and respected as a man, and as a leader. His character was beyond reproach, an asset he may have found of great value in his tour of the South.

There were several forces which helped equip Eisenhower as a leader; the high ethical and moral standards of his parents; the environment in which he grew up; his West Point education and subsequent military career; and his personal ability to talk to people.

As a speaker Eisenhower was easy to listen to, his voice was clear and he was easily understood. He seemed

to be aware of his duties to his audience and thereby strove to create a feeling of interest on their part. He seemed able to hold an audience's attention and leave them with a feeling of admiration for him.

Analysis of the issues of Eisenhower's campaign reveal that his Birmingham address was delivered in an area that tradition claimed for his opponent. Yet, there can be no doubt from the response of his audience that they were sympathetic to his cause. They listened to his case with respect and paid tribute to him as a speaker and as a man.

In his speech we again find evidence of the qualities of his character which had earned him so much respect. He relied almost entirely on ethical appeals, refusing to be specific in any of his criticisms. He directed no criticism whatsoever toward individuals.

In failing to use the didactic method of stating and summarizing his central ideas, however, he failed to make any particular idea clearly evident. He based his arguments almost entirely on ethical and emotional appeals rather than on the more clearly logical patterns of persuasive inference, further weakening the context of his ideas. As evidence, he offered illustration and examples almost exclusively. Such materials strengthened his ethical position, but, because they were not indicated as

proof of any particular point, they failed to support his ideas clearly as proof.

The language Eisenhower used was familiar language. He selected illustrations and examples that his audience was likely to have experienced. Such adjustments were obviously made to suit the needs of his audience, which they did. But, once again, it was this same audience adjustment which helped keep his ideas from being apparent, for he devoted the major part of his time to establishing his position with his audience, and failed to emphasize any particular thought.

Thus, in terms of audience response and feeling, the Eisenhower speech can be considered effective, even though it was structurally weak. Similarly, the speech must be considered to have had some effect on election returns, for although he presented no issues, as such, his appearance and speech in Alabama most assuredly impressed a great many people.

Perhaps, the most important effect of the appearance which Dwight Eisenhower made in Alabama is still to be felt. If the two-party system is established in Alabama it will be as a direct result of the votes which Eisenhower received in the state. His appearance in Alabama undoubtedly served to cement a great many of those votes. The establishment of the two-party system in Alabama may be

the most important effect that the Eisenhower address in Birmingham will have, for if this feat is accomplished it will mean a marked change in the history of politics in Alabama.

## APPENDIX I

The text of the Birmingham, Alabama, address, delivered by Dwight D. Eisenhower on September 3, 1952, as released by the Associated Press News Service and printed in the Birmingham Post-Herald on September 4, 1952.

Parentheses are used to indicate discrepancies found in the printed text when it was compared with a tape recording of the speech itself, and also to show those instances where the speaker was interrupted by audience response.

The marginal notes represent a portion of this observer's comment on physical movements of the speaker.

THE TEXT OF GENERAL EISENHOWER'S SPEECH AT BIRMINGHAM,  
ALABAMA, AS RELEASED BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS NEWS SERVICE

Thank you very much Mr. Comer, Mr. Vardaman, Mayor Green and my dear friends. You overwhelm me. I can (should) tell you just a little bit about the origin of this trip. When I came back from Europe on the first of June, it was my high privilege to meet in its several big cities members of the delegations that were later to go to Chicago. In the meantime (every-time) a Southern delegation came to me; they asked me a question that seemed strange in my ears. You see I'm a neophyte in politics and I did not know that a national politician was supposed to take Southerners for granted. (applause & cheers) Consequently, when they said to me general, when nominated will you come to the South? I said well, didn't we decide once that we were all going to stay in the same nation. (applause & laughter) Of course I will be honored to come down.\*

\*Here the speaker  
nodded his head  
as in a vigorous  
affirmative reply.

Now later when (after) the Chicago convention was over, there began to be a great deal of political advice given to me and part of it was a recalling of the tradition that no presidential candidate came to the South. The one side owned them and the other side didn't know how to invade. (laughter & applause) Now one reason that you found a Yankee governor of a Yankee state introduced today as my advisor in all this business is because he agreed with me. (cheers & laughter)

He agreed that at the very least I had to come down and show them that my word was good. And I came not only to show that my word was good, (but) because so far as I'm concerned every

\*The speaker shuffled his notes and straightened them by tapping them on the lectern.

man, wherever he lives, and every woman, wherever she lives, is a (are) free-born American citizen (citizens) and I am going to bring them my message if it is humanly possible for me to do so.\* (applause & cheers)

(Now) one of these pieces of advice was "general, if you go South it is going to be a bitter disappointment. In no place in the South can you gather a corporal's guard." (laughter) Now ladies and gentlemen, if this is a corporal's guard, corporals have got (gotten) a darn sight higher ranking than I ever knew them to have. (applause & laughter)

You have honored me far better than anything I could ever dream of. This many Americans turning out to hear what message I can bring them about our present situation and the troubles (problems) we have. The problem that you and I together have to help solve.

\*The speaker removed his glasses from his coat pocket and put them on to read the letter.

But now just to give an explanation for this Southern trip from a Southern lady, I will read you a letter that was delivered to me about ten minutes ago on my plane, and it was written. . .\* I have taken only excerpts so I could (so that I can) read it to you. It says;

"My dear general: Today I am getting dressed up to go to Jacksonville to hear my first campaign speech. I was born a Democrat and I have tried to be a good one. However, I think in view of the giant giveaway of our money, ideals and freedom, to put the party first anymore would be purely communism. (cheers) Last night on TV a Democratic speaker said the South was in the bag. (quote) When asked if the inflation status would hurt the Democrats' chances, he said no. The working man was only interested in the fact that he is working. He

didn't understand that he was earning 50 cent dollars. We are proud that you do us the honor to come here and ask for a vote. Some of us would like to get out of this bag. And I believe (cheers and applause) that if you make a strong appeal today for the South to get out of the sack, you will carry the South and give the red herring cohorts the surprise of their crooked careers." (catcalls and applause)

And now ladies and gentlemen, listen to something that's pretty sad.

"I would like to sign this, but some of my family work under Civil Service and they are afraid, which in itself shows you what a state people are in. I don't care if I get fired because (for) I could get another job but I don't like to do anything to hurt anyone else. Forgive me please, but I could not sit by and not speak up. Good luck to you, sir, and I shall continue my work for you here. (Signed) a Democrat for Eisenhower."

Now, I came South to describe the great differences that exist between the administration party in Washington and what the other party is now trying to do.

I sum that up by saying that one party had (has) gotten us into a mess, has crystalized us into a situation that cannot otherwise be described, and the group to which I belong is trying to clean it out (and) to give you honest government and honest administration in Washington.\* (applause)

\*During this part of the speech, the speaker moved his head and shoulders from left to right addressing each part of his audience.

Now when I talk about this mess I have been asked to describe it. This morning in a Southern newspaper was an editor who took Webster's dictionary. (and) After giving all of the other meanings, and there are many, he said now we come down to meaning No. 4,

now we're getting some place, he said. Meaning No. 4 says "mess can mean a confused, inharmonious or disagreeable mixture of things, a medley, a hodge-podge. Hence a situation resulting from blundering or from misunderstanding. A state of confusion, embarrassment or the like. A muddle. A botch. That's what I'm trying to get rid of. (applause & cheers)

I am down here first because I do not believe you are a captive precinct of anybody, (and) secondly because I think you'd like to help me get rid of that kind of mess. (applause & cheers)

We have see [sic] spending that can be described only as crazy. Governmental spending with a budgetary estimate of \$85 billion, of which some 10 to 12 to 14 billion is even over and above all the taxes they charge us today. In short, a deficit which they make up by printing money\* making every cent in your pocket cheaper. Now, much of that expenditure is not necessary at all.

\*Here the speaker raised his eyebrows and smiled as in skeptical humor.

Of course we are in troubluous (sic) times but we don't have to have duplication,\* mismanagement. We don't have to have bungling and we don't have to have graft charged against our tax dollar. (applause & cheers) We don't have to have centralization (cheers) of all our business in Washington, a bureaucracy. Only recently the bureaucrats thought they had a chance to get into the steel business. (cheers & applause) Luckily, we had a court left to stop them on the five-yard line\* before they got started.\* (Cries of yeah! Yeah!)

\*With his notes clenched in his right hand the speaker began at this point to pound both fists on the lectern. He stopped this action on the word 'dollar.'

\*The speaker chuckled softly to himself at this thought.

\*The speaker removed his glasses and replaced them in his coat pocket.

Now what is the result of all this indebtedness, all this spending? Everyday the United States population increases by something over 5000 individuals. Now every baby born today is

\*At this point the speaker leaned forward on the lectern and pointed his finger at his audience.

inheriting first of all a \$1700 debt.\* That's what we're passing on, and that debt goes up day by day.

Ladies and gentlemen, the department of labor's own statistics says that in the year 1950 every city family spent an average of \$400 more than it could make. Now of course in Washington that (\$400) isn't a lot of money, but to most of us it's still some bucks. And if we're going in debt at that rate all the time, we can see not only where the nation is going, but where we're going.

That's what I'm down here for, to help you stop that if I can. (applause & cheers)

Now, my wife lately has been giving me the dickens about prices. An I'm sorry she couldn't be here today. This would be a tremendous thrill for her. (Cause) she's been in the South with me a lot. But we got to talking about prices, and she said something about the butcher shop, the man who owned it, the man that operated it. I said wait a minute,\* I've been having some of these economists around to see me, and they're pretty smart fellows and I learned something.

\*Extended right arm toward crowd, elbow slightly bent, palm out and vertical.

That butcher shop owner is just as worried as you are about prices. He squeezes and squeezes in on the profit he thinks he's entitled to in order that he can pay the great prices that they charge him and still put something in your market basket. Now, think of the amount of that price that he has to pay that's represented in taxes. As a matter of fact, I talked to a storekeeper the other day and he said to me, 'you know what I've become? I've become Uncle Sam's collector of taxes the people (of all the taxes that people) don't think they pay.

\*The speaker extended his arm, hand cupped as if holding an egg.

This economist told me, he showed me an egg.\* He said on that egg, when you put it on your breakfast table, there are (you are paying) 100 concealed taxes on it. Now he went back all the way to where the feed was grown for the chickens, what you did with the chickens and the processing and the farmers' taxes and bringing it on down finally until it is delivered to your table and you pay 100\* taxes.

\*The speaker tapped his fingers on the lectern as if impatient.

We sometimes think farmers must be getting rich. They're not getting much out of it. A farmer told me in New York the other day where we were paying 21 and 22 cents a quart for milk, to put the empty bottle on my step it cost him 14 cents. Now the farmer isn't getting very much out of that bottle of milk, but we\* think we're paying him a lot. (A shout of "Tell 'em Ike.") (So one reason I'm down here is to help lower this tax burden.) (applause & cheers)

\*Eisenhower pointed to himself, then placed both arms on the lectern & leaned forward toward his audience.

The mess in Washington has brought us at one and the same time unmanagable budgets and deficits and high taxes, and still we can't live within our incomes.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is undoubtedly true that we must today spend sums for national security that are staggering in their amounts. But the very fact that we must spend it makes it doubly necessary that every nickel that we put into that kind of sterile, unproductive thing gives us the greatest possible security. (cheers)

\*The speaker delivered these passages through clenched teeth.

This crowd is filled with men who have served in the armed forces. Some have served with me. You served in the Army, Navy, the Air, the Marine Corps. Now every one of you,\* every single one of you, can point to places where they've seen duplications, unnecessary expense, luxury of (in) design or excessive quantities on a

\*The speaker pointed his right hand, fingers extended, at the crowd, while pounding on the lectern with his left hand.

\*The speaker gripped the lectern with his left hand and with his right fist clenched pounded on the lectern.

post,\* and on the station.

Ladies and Gentlemen, what we've got to get down to is the best kind of business management that the business brains of this community, this nation, can produce.\* We have got not merely to trust to the political leaders or someone way up in the highest offices doing a job, we've got to enlist the business brains of America, to come up and help us run this gigantic thing that is now costing us \$85 billion a year. (Cheers & applause)

Last night in a speech I tried to show how much of our money was going into some of the just sheer, plain dishonest pockets that are among the political appointees in the federal government all over the United States. I recited the specific cases of collectors of internal revenue holding the highest positions of trust in three different places across the continent--Boston, St. Louis and San Francisco--now serving sentences, at least the first two are already serving penitentiary sentences for speculation. Now that is the kind of thing that we must get rid of.

Because, with this great inflation, this cheapened money, what is it (are they) doing for us? Your pension is not worth what you thought it would be. Your insurance policy that you saved and slaved to put together is not worth what you thought it was going to be.

Even your government bonds that they asked us to buy, and patriotic people did buy them, now what's happened? The \$25 bond that you bought and you thought was worth \$25 in 1943, what is it worth now? Not \$25.

They are destroying the American ideas and ideals and qualities of

\*The speaker  
pounded his chest  
quite vigorously,  
with both fists.

\*In response to the  
disturbing wail of  
fire sirens the  
speaker laughed,  
glanced at the  
direction of the  
sound, paused and  
said "some Com-  
petition."

\*Eisenhower  
pounded on the  
lectern with his  
right hand.

economy, thrift, self-dependence,\*  
self-reliance, because they say lean  
on us, we're a bunch of bureaucrats.  
We simply cannot do it. We've got to  
take this government in our own  
charge. We have got to depend upon  
ourselves where we can. When we must  
bring in the government let us bring  
it in.\* (Some competition.)  
(laughter) When you do bring in the  
government, let us bring it in where  
it has to be brought in only for the  
protection, the help, the assistance  
(assistance) of every one of the 155  
million people, but let's keep it in its  
own proper functions and not let it  
reach out into our lives to telling us  
what to do, the farmer what to raise and  
grow, other people where to work, how to  
work. We, ladies and gentlemen, have  
the one great task of making this again  
surely America,\* that's the whole task.  
(Cheers and applause)

You are sending me back to the  
North an inspired person because in  
spite of the doubts even among my own  
friends as to how the South would re-  
act to a critical examination of what  
has been happening to us, you have  
proven that every citizen of the United  
States everywhere is interested in one  
thing, not just a label a man wears on  
his collar. You are interested in  
decent good government, decent Ameri-  
canism. (Cries of Yeah! Yeah!  
Applause & Cheers)

I don't think that any of us takes  
himself too seriously, a wise man once  
said to me always take your job seri-  
ously, never yourself. Certainly, I  
hope to live by that little proverb.

\*The speaker  
leaned forward on  
the lectern and  
delivered the next  
five lines in a  
somewhat intimate  
manner.

But I do say this, what is going  
to happen next November is going to be  
serious.\* Now, the administration has  
been manufacturing emergencies and  
crises for a long time. Emergency, you  
know, is a handy thing. You can use it  
as a rug under which you sweep all the  
evidence of your own errors, corruptions,  
and mistakes. (Applause & cheers)

But I'm not talking about these manufactured emergencies now. I'm talking about a real emergency. There's going to be an emergency. It's going to be this. Your decision next November (December.)

\*Beginning at this point until he concluded his remarks the speaker altered his position at the lectern from side to side in order to speak his concluding remarks to the audience as a whole.

\*Now you people today have honored me mightily. I have been honored by the fact that Mr. Comer, an elder statesman known throughout the United States introduced me. I have been honored by every single citizen of this city and state that stood along the road and waved at me as I went by.

I am thrice honored by the size and the wealth (uh uh the warmth) of this crowd. But the real request I should like to make of you is this: Just study this country, it's problems, between now and November, make your own decision in your own right as the highly privileged citizen of the greatest country on earth.

With that decision I shall comply willingly and gladly no matter what it is. And hope someday to come back here when I don't have to be up here speaking to you but I can be down among you, and say my (hi) folks. Good-bye.  
(Applause and cheers)

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Mr. Howard Burchfield, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, September 3, 1952.

Mr. A. D. Price, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, September 3, 1952.

#### Recording:

Through the facilities of radio station WTBC, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, the entire program of the Eisenhower address was tape recorded.

THESIS APPROVAL FORM

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA

Candidate's Name: Mr. Thomas L. Fernandez

Thesis Title: A CASE STUDY OF THE CAMPAIGN ADDRESS  
DELIVERED BY DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA,  
SEPTEMBER 3, 1952.

Approved by:

Professor in Charge: \_\_\_\_\_

Head of Department: \_\_\_\_\_

Dean of Graduate School: \_\_\_\_\_

Librarian: \_\_\_\_\_

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