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An analysis of the artistic proofs in selected 1958 campaign speeches of William F. Knowland

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE ARTISTIC PROOFS IN SELECTED
1958 CAMPAIGN SPEECHES OF WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Speech Department
The University of the Pacific

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts in Speech

by
Ginger Ivers Vogler
July 1961

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Ginger I. Vogler

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

The 1958 gubernatorial campaign brought an end to the active political career of William Fife Knowland who, for over a quarter of a century, had served his state of California and his nation. As a member of the California State Legislature, Knowland held the offices of State Assemblyman from 1933 to 1935 and of State Senator from 1935 to 1939. In addition to these State offices, Knowland was a member of the Republican National Committee in 1938 and was chairman of the Republican National Executive Committee from 1941 to 1942. His political career was interrupted from 1942 to 1945 when he served the United States Army, rising from the rank of private to that of Major. While serving in Europe, Knowland was appointed United States Senator from California to fill an unexpired term. Elected to the office of United States Senator in 1946 and again in 1952, Knowland served as Senate leader for the Republican party from 1953 to the end of his term in 1958 when he announced his decision to run for governor of California.

The campaign speeches of Knowland commanded the attention of the people of California for over three months during which he spoke in person and by radio and television to the varied segments of the population. The Senator took a

definite stand on the timely issues of voluntary versus compulsory unionism, narcotics trade and addiction, the eighteen-year-old vote, and the water shortage in California. The outcome of the gubernatorial election brought the defeat of Knowland; he retired from public office and became editor of the Oakland Tribune.

This study sought to discover what means of persuasion were employed by Knowland to win support for his ideas and for his candidacy. The Rhetoric of Aristotle includes three modes of persuasion under the heading of artistic proofs: ethical, emotional, and logical. Having established the premise that Knowland wished to persuade the audiences which he addressed, the problem was to analyze, through selected 1958 campaign speeches, his use of the ethical, emotional, and logical modes of persuasion.

I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. It was the purpose of this study to analyze and critically evaluate the use of artistic proofs in selected 1958 campaign speeches of William Fife Knowland.

Importance of the problem. In a democracy such as ours, one of the freedoms granted is that of freedom of speech. From the minor acts of a local club to the policy-making decisions of our government, speech influences our

lives. Knowland was a representative of the people of California in the state and national government; and as a candidate for governor, speech was a major method, if not the major method, by which Knowland attempted to reach the voter and to influence him. That speech is used by candidates vying to become representatives of the people at all levels--local, state, and national--implies a very real obligation upon the citizenry to appraise intelligently what is said. The criticism of speeches is made necessary by the very nature of our political and social environment.

A critical evaluation of the artistic proofs employed by Knowland was of academic importance. Although the criticism of speeches is as old as Plato, Cicero, and Quintilian who practiced the art, it is still young in that little systematic effort has been put forth to formulate a working doctrine of rhetorical evaluation.¹ If it is granted that there is an abundance of speechmaking in the environment, then it can be seen that speechmaking becomes a problem because of the necessity of appraising some of the speeches.

A semblance of order, a means of determining goodness and badness, a guide to action must be found if the pattern of talk is to be more than an indiscriminate gnarling of points of view. It is at this moment that the role of the critic takes on meaning. Criticism serves to bridge the gap between external stimulus

¹Lester Thonnsen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 79.

and internal compulsion to belief and action.²

This analysis of the artistic proofs employed by Knowland was undertaken, therefore, to offer a means of appraising the speeches of an outstanding representative of the people.

Delimitations of the study. The scope of this study was restricted due to the lack of speeches containing the extemporaneous remarks of Knowland. Because the speeches analyzed contained the remarks prepared for the newspapers in advance, only those artistic proofs included in the prepared manuscripts could be considered.

A further delimitation was that of using selected speeches from the 1958 campaign and from that campaign alone. Because the question of voluntary versus compulsory unionism was of major importance in the 1958 campaign, this issue was used as the basis for delimiting the speeches to be analyzed.

A further limitation placed on the study was its confinement to the area of artistic proofs. If further studies are forthcoming based on additional research in the five traditional areas of invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery, a more extensive evaluation of the oratory of Knowland will be made.

Delimitations in the area of evaluation resulted from

²Ibid., pp. 4-5.

a lack of historical perspective. To the author's knowledge, no work of this nature on the oratory of Knowland had been done from which material could be drawn. To be an adequate study, it must include an analysis of his campaign oratory in relation to the social milieu of the historical period. This, in effect, shall be the evaluation of history.

II. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Rhetoric. The faculty of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion.³

Artistic proofs. By this term is meant those means of persuasion supplied by the speech itself. Specifically they are the ethical, emotional, and logical proofs.⁴

Ethical proof. The mode of persuasion residing in the character of the speaker.⁵

Emotional proof. The mode of persuasion which is effected through the audience, when they are brought by the speech into a state of emotion.⁶

Logical proof. The mode of persuasion which is

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

⁴Ibid., p. 8.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., p. 9.

effected by the arguments, when we demonstrate the truth, real or apparent, by such means as inhere in particular cases.⁷

Invention. The term includes the entire investigative undertaking, the idea of status, and the modes of persuasion--logical, emotional, and ethical--in all of their complex interrelations.⁸

Arrangement. The appreciation of a plan for the speech as a whole, and the development of the specific parts of the speech.⁹

Style. The expression of language, resulting, basically, from the choice of words and their arrangement or composition.¹⁰

Memory. The speaker's mastery of all his material in sequential order.¹¹

Delivery. The constituent elements of vocal utterance and bodily action.¹²

III. ARRANGEMENT OF REMAINDER OF THESIS

The remainder of the thesis was organized into three

⁷Ibid., p. 9. ⁸Thonnsen and Baird, op. cit., p. 79.

⁹Ibid. ¹⁰Ibid. ¹¹Ibid., p. 80. ¹²Ibid., p. 81.

chapters related to the problem previously stated. In this order they are: Emotional Proof, Ethical Proof, and Logical Proof.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Primary sources. The information for this study was gathered from two major sources. Of primary importance was the personal file of the 1958 campaign speeches which Knowland submitted to the author and from which the speech quotations used in this study were taken. Those speeches in which the issue of voluntary versus compulsory unionism was of major importance were selected for intensive analysis.

To understand more fully Knowland's total process of speech preparation, certain questions needed to be answered. An interview was requested, therefore, and Knowland consented to answer questions which gave insight into his methods of preparation, memory, and delivery.

The interview was opened with the questions on Knowland's methods of preparation. Asked whether or not he had had time to write most of his 1958 campaign speeches personally, Knowland outlined the process by which he arrived at his campaign oratory. Gathering with the members of his two research staffs, the Washington staff and the campaign staff, Knowland had discussed the subject matter to be included in the speech for a particular occasion, trying to determine what phase of the state or national problems would be of interest to a particular audience. Having dictated his views

and a general outline of what he wanted to cover, Knowland had depended on his research assistants to gather any specific facts relevant to the speech under preparation. The final product was a combination of the views outlined by Knowland and of the support uncovered by his research personnel.

Questioned about the source of his ideas, Knowland answered that he had no special file of anecdotes, illustrations, or facts; but he had made a practice of putting aside a book or volume containing a striking quotation. The main stimuli for Knowland's ideas, however, had been a culmination of his experiences in the Assembly and Senate of California, in the armed services, in the United States Senate, and in the newspaper business.

Knowland was asked whether or not his campaign speeches had been written out word for word. Because the newspapers had requested the text of his speeches in advance, Knowland had complied with this request when time permitted, mimeographing word for word excerpts of important points. As editor of the Oakland Tribune, Knowland added the comment that newspapers had an insatiable appetite--not like the good old days when the newspaper reporter had to do on-the-spot reporting with notebook in hand, working under pressure. Knowland went on to say that the word for word excerpts, issued to the newspapers, had been filled out with his own extemporaneous remarks.

The next question put to Knowland was that of whether or not he had consciously included logical, ethical, and emotional proofs in his campaign speeches. His frank reply was that he had prepared a speech, not intentionally including these specific types of proof because "I call them as I see them, and let the chips fall where they will." Pursuing the problem of speech development further, a question was raised to determine if Knowland had favored specific forms of support: examples, illustrations, visual aids, testimony, statistics, or others. Knowland's response was that he had used a slogan once in a while, but he had not made an attempt to insert much in the way of anecdotes or humorous stories. Commenting further on his speech preparation, Knowland said that he, as a United States Senator, had had to be at his desk in Washington D. C. during the week. More than once on a Friday evening plane out to California, he had sat down with a big yellow pad and started writing a speech from scratch. This had prepared him for his many speaking engagements on Saturday and for those on Sunday, such as dedications, at which he had felt it appropriate to speak.

The next subject of inquiry was that of memory. Although he could never recall memorizing a speech word for word, Knowland said that if one were to examine his speeches dealing with the same subjects, they would undoubtedly find a great deal of repetition. Not wishing to depart too

greatly from the excerpts which had been released to the press, he had carried a minimum of notes to the platform when speaking on a very familiar subject and a more complete text when speaking with new material or much factual data.

Another subject explored was that of Knowland's formal training in speech. During his school career, Knowland had had some training in current public speaking at the high school level and had had courses in the study of speeches at the University of California. These speech courses had been of some help according to Knowland, but he suggested that some studies outside of the speech area helped even more. Training in the use of the library he considered very valuable because it had taught him how to dig out pertinent facts and other research materials.

Knowland also answered questions which revealed his attitude toward problems of delivery. Knowland's normal practice had not been that of delivering his speeches out loud prior to a speaking engagement. Once in a while he had tried a new idea on Mrs. Knowland and his children or on one of his secretaries. When a speech was to be broadcast or televised, he had sometimes gone over it aloud in his office so that he could write down various time intervals and determine if he should talk faster or slower. Knowland also varied his style of delivery according to the degree of formality of the situation, taking into consideration the occasion and the

particular set of circumstances. A different style and a different speech had been required for a eulogy as opposed to a speech given in honor of someone's having been elected president. It had been of considerable importance, Knowland indicated, that he establish eye contact with his audience. Desiring to see individuals and to get the feel of the audience, Knowland never had desired to speak to an audience which sat in darkness. Describing his bodily movement, Knowland was not aware of having used many gestures or of having paced up and down, and he was confident that he had no gesture which was predominant like that of the up and down double open hand gesture of former President Truman. While it depended somewhat on the observer's viewpoint, said Knowland, he judged his rate of speaking to have been neither so rapid that one word was coming on another nor so slow that one word greatly trailed another.

A general point of inquiry centered on the importance of the right-to-work issue in the 1958 campaign. Always considering the right-to-work issue from a broader perspective, which he felt was evident in his "Bill of Rights" for labor, Knowland had devoted none of his speeches to the right-to-work issue alone. As an issue in the election, the right-to-work proposition had been an important factor, but not, to Knowland's way of thinking, the determining factor. As far as the leadership of organized labor was concerned,

perhaps his stand had caused them to concentrate their manpower and capital on his defeat more than if there had been no right-to-work question; however, his presentation of the "Bill of Rights" for labor in the Senate and his support of the Taft-Hartley Act were other factors which undoubtedly would have led them to oppose him as a candidate for governor of California. He recalled the occasion of his speech before the Congress of Industrial Organizations when he "went down like Daniel and the Lion." As editor of the Oakland Tribune in Oakland, California, Knowland said he still did occasional speaking before various audiences.

Secondary sources. Of considerable importance was the literature pertinent to the fields of rhetoric and speech criticism. Lane Cooper's, The Rhetoric of Aristotle, provided the philosophic substructure for this study. The basic knowledge of speech criticism was assimilated from various sources. A source of invaluable assistance was Speech Criticism, by Lester Thonnsen and A. Craig Baird. Basic speech texts included Communicative Speech by Robert T. Oliver, Dallas C. Dickey, and Harold P. Zelko; Essentials of Effective Public Speaking by Howard L. Runion; and Discussion in Human Affairs by James H. McBurney and Kenneth G. Hance. Those books which offered suggestions in composition were Form and Style in Thesis Writing by William Giles Campbell and Writing With A Purpose by James M. McCrimmon.

CHAPTER III

EMOTIONAL PROOF

The function of emotional proof in oratory has been discussed and defined since the time of Aristotle who stated that "proofs may be conveyed through the audience, when it is worked up by the speech to an emotional state."¹ Indeed, the emotional counterparts of rhetoric have with propriety been said "to furnish the dynamic or energizing force which moves speech and writing toward the goal of reader acceptance."² Emotional or pathetic proof included the materials and devices "calculated to put the audience in a frame of mind suitable for the reception of the speaker's ideas."³ To the early rhetoricians, the power of emotional proof was not without danger. Plato's charge that "orators can deal in words without knowledge"⁴ illustrated the need for "honest, high principled reliance" upon emotional proof as a means of making truth more "palatable" and accordingly, the more decisive in the social process.⁵

Aristotle's stating further that the audience determined the end or object of a speech announced the fact that,

¹Lester Thonnsen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism, (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 358.

²Ibid. ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid., p. 359. ⁵Ibid.

for the speaker, the audience was the most important element in the situation and that, if he were to be effective, the speaker had to adjust both himself and his ideas to it.⁶ In accordance with this, the author tried to determine how fully the speaker, Knowland, took the following audience characteristics into account in the preparation and presentation of his speeches:

(1) age level

(2) sex

(3) intellectual and informational status with regard to the subject

(4) political, social, religious, and other affiliations

(5) economic status

(6) known or anticipated prejudices and predispositions

(7) occupational status

(8) known interest in the subject

(9) considerations of self-interest in the subject

Not only did the speaker have to analyze the characteristics of his audience, but also he had to appeal to their emotions. Aristotle described these emotions as the states that "are attended by pain and pleasure and produce a change

⁶Ibid., p. 360.

or difference in our attitude as judges."⁷ The emotions or feelings which impressed Aristotle as being most influential were defined as follows:

Anger was "an impulse attended by pain, to a revenge that shall be evident, and caused by an obvious, unjustified, slight with respect to the individual or his friends."⁸

Calmness or mildness was the "opposite of growing angry." The process of growing mild was a "settling down and quieting of anger."⁹

Friendship was "wishing for a person those things which you consider to be good--wishing them for his sake, not for your own--and tending so far as you can to effect them."¹⁰

Enmity or hatred was produced "by anger, by spiting, and by calumny." Enmity could arise without regard to the individual as such, as it was directed against the class as well as against individuals. Hatred was incurable, and the aim of hatred was harm.¹¹

Fear was "a pain or disturbance arising from a mental image of impending evil of a destructive or painful sort."¹²

⁷Ibid., p. 366.

⁸Lane Cooper, The Rhetoric of Aristotle (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1932), p. 93.

⁹Ibid., p. 99.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 103.

¹¹Ibid., p. 106.

¹²Ibid., p. 107.

Confidence was the "opposite of fear," and the thing that inspired confidence was "the opposite of that which excites fear." Confidence was the "hope, accompanied by a mental image, of things conducive to safety as being near at hand"13

Shame was "a pain or disturbance regarding that class of evils, in the present, past, or future, which we think will tend to our discredit"14

Shamelessness was "a certain contempt or indifference regarding the said evils."15

Kindness was the feeling in accordance with which one who had it was said "to do a favor to one who stands in need, not in return for anything, nor for any advantage to the doer, but for the advantage of the recipient."16

Unkindness was a sign of the absence of benevolence if a man had failed to do us a smaller service than alleged one, or if he had done the same service as the alleged one, or an equal service, or a greater, to our enemies; for then it was clear that the alleged service was not done for our sake.17

Pity was a sense of pain at what we took to be an evil

13 Ibid., p. 110.

14 Ibid., p. 112.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid., p. 117.

17 Ibid., p. 120.

of a destructive or painful kind, which "befalls one who does not deserve it, which we think ourselves or some one allied to us might likewise suffer, and when this possibility seems near at hand."¹⁸

Indignation was the nearest antithesis to the feeling of pity. Pain at the sight of undeserved good fortune corresponded in a way to pain at the sight of undeserved ill fortune and proceeded from the same sort of character. Both emotions were characteristic of good men, who were bound to feel "sympathy and pity for undeserved ill fortune, and indignation at undeserved prosperity; since whatever comes to a man against his deserts violates the principles of justice."¹⁹

Envy was a pain at what strikes one as being good fortune coming to persons like oneself. The pain is felt not because one desires something, but because the other persons have it.²⁰

Emulation was a pain at what one took to be the presence, in the case of persons who were by nature like them, of goods that were desirable and possible for them to attain-- "a pain felt, not because the other person has these goods, but because we do not have them as well."²¹

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 123.

²⁰Ibid., p. 127.

²¹Ibid., p. 129.

For the purpose of analysis, these motivating elements were divided into the negative emotions: anger, enmity or hatred, fear, shame, unkindness, indignation, and envy; and into the positive emotions: calmness, friendship, confidence, shamelessness, kindness, pity, and emulation. With an understanding of the function of emotional proof in oratory, the selected speeches of Knowland were examined for audience adaptation, for use of negative motivating elements, and for use of positive motivating elements respectively.

I. AUDIENCE ADAPTATION

Age level. Adaptation to the age level of the audience was clearly evident only in Knowland's speech to students at the University of California. These remarks to "the graduating college student of today," and to "our younger citizens" indicated the general age level of the majority of this audience.²²

Sex. No indication was given that any of the various audiences were exclusively of one sex. This lack of audience adaptation in terms of sex might lead to the assumption that mixed audiences were present on all occasions.

²²William F. Knowland, "Address delivered before the students at the University of California," Los Angeles, California, October 8, 1958. (Unpublished and hereafter referred to as "The University of California Speech").

Intellectual and informational status. While Knowland seemed unaware of his audience in terms of a particular sex, he was aware of their intellectual and informational status relating to various subjects. The California newspaper publishers were "persons in touch with every development."²³ The members of the Combined Service Clubs of Ventura, California, were "all aware of the testimony before the McClellan committee in the Senate with regard to the dictatorship in Hoffa's huge nationwide union."²⁴ When discussing the philosophy of liberalism with the students of the University of California, Knowland posed certain questions: "Just what is a liberal--what does he believe--what does he stand for?"²⁵ The questions were answered with a statement of principles that had "guided real liberals throughout history," which denoted that the speaker assumed a lack of understanding on the part of the audience.²⁶ When

²³William F. Knowland, "Address delivered before the California Newspaper Publishers Workshop," Berkeley, California, September 19, 1958. (Unpublished and hereafter referred to as "The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech").

²⁴William F. Knowland, "Address delivered before the Combined Service Clubs," Ventura, California, September 26, 1958. (Unpublished and hereafter referred to as "The Combined Service Clubs Speech").

²⁵"The University of California Speech"

²⁶Ibid.

speaking on KGO television, Knowland told the public of California that the information they had been receiving through the newspapers was a series of "falsehoods" and that several things needed "clearing up."²⁷ Knowland not only wondered how many of them had read the platform of the Democratic State Convention, but he answered the question by enumerating points of his platform. While not insulting their intelligence, where Knowland sensed that the audience was uninformed or misinformed, he did not hesitate to direct remarks to meet this need.

Affiliations. This informational level of the audience was recognized more fully than were certain political, social, religious and other affiliations. Knowland and the other publishers he addressed were "fellow members of the Fourth Estate."²⁸ He recognized the association of "groups of the students" with the University of California.²⁹ A television audience was informed that they could "vote for a Republican candidate for one office and a Democrat for another office" because their political ties did not have to

²⁷William F. Knowland, "Television report to the people of California," San Francisco, California, October 30, 1958. (Unpublished and hereafter referred to as "The KGO-TV Report").

²⁸"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

²⁹"The University of California Speech"

govern the way in which they voted.³⁰ Other than these incidental remarks, little importance was placed on the audience affiliations.

Economic status. The audiences varied from a group of college students, to publishers of the newspapers, to members of service clubs, to the members of a television audience; but the basic issues were discussed in the same terms. Appeals directed to a particular economic group were lacking.

Known or anticipated prejudices and predispositions. While unmindful of the economic status of the audiences, their known or anticipated prejudices and predispositions seemed carefully determined. Knowland set forth his stand on the problems of water, labor, and narcotics so that the gentlemen of the press could get the "truth about the issues and the candidates and their records to the people of California."³¹ The "charges and countercharges" were confusing and tended to further the all-out effort "to smear my record and to misrepresent my views."³² Apparently a predisposition in favor of the eighteen-year-old vote was sensed because Knowland told college students that he was "wholeheartedly

³⁰"The KGO-TV Report"

³¹"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

³²Ibid.

in favor of giving the right to vote at 18 instead of 21."³³ Knowland seemed to recognize a prejudice against him because of the charge that he was "seeking the governorship for two years in order to run for President in 1960," and he made known that he had completed his full term in every office to which he had been elected.³⁴ Prejudices by the workers of California were met when Knowland asked them if it would not have been easier for him to "string along with the powerful labor bosses in California?"³⁵ In supporting voluntary unionism, he knew very well that "the labor tycoons would raise a mighty war chest of your money to try to defeat me."³⁶ Meeting the prejudices and predispositions of his audience was characteristic of this campaign oratory of Knowland.

Occupational status. While offsetting the audience prejudices, Knowland attempted to establish favorable rapport by acknowledging their occupational status. The publishers of community newspapers had "an intimate and unique relationship with their readers."³⁷ At various universities he said

³³"The University of California Speech"

³⁴"The KGO-TV Report"

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

it was a "welcome break" to be with groups of students and to discuss the "idealism of youth";³⁸ while on television he wanted to speak "directly to the workers of California."³⁹ Recognition of occupation was a means by which Knowland attempted to get closer to the members of his audiences.

Known interest in the subject. Not only did Knowland consider the occupational status of the audience, but also their known interest in the subject of his oratory. Whether it was water, agriculture, or education, "the people at home know what they need and want and how to handle the problem better on the State and local than the National level."⁴⁰ Before college students he discussed the eighteen-year-old vote and set forth the challenges and responsibilities to which youth had traditionally risen.⁴¹ On television, Knowland refuted certain charges which had been brought against him publicly and examined the issues of crime, narcotics, compulsory unionism, campaign contributions, and the platform of the Democratic State Convention. Subjects of interest to the public, many of them very controversial in

38 "The University of California Speech"

39 "The KGO-TV Report"

40 "The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

41 "The University of California Speech"

nature, abounded in the campaign speeches of Knowland.

Self-interest in the subject. Aside from the interests of the audience, were certain considerations of self-interest in the subject matter. This was evident in Knowland's statements that his record on labor had been "misrepresented and twisted," and that he was in favor of "strong and effective unions" and had supported the right of collective bargaining.⁴² Speaking on television because he had not been able to get his story published "in certain parts of the Press," and having been in public life for twenty-five years, he felt his record of work and dedication entitled him to "get some things off my chest."⁴³ He wanted to clear up such charges as his having been "part of a deal to force Governor Knight out of the race"⁴⁴ and wanted to express his concern over the possibility of the labor bosses "liquidating" him because he had "championed the simple, decent rights of union members to control their own affairs."⁴⁵ There was no pretense about Knowland's having a certain self-interest in the message he was delivering.

⁴²"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

⁴³"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

Keenly aware of the audience as an important element in the speaking situation, Knowland's audience adaptation was strong in that he met known or anticipated prejudices, adjusted some remarks to the intellectual and informational status of the audience, included subjects of known interest, and discussed issues of self-interest. Recognition of occupational status was a means of trying to establish closer rapport with the audience. There was no consideration or limited consideration of the other characteristics of the audience.

II. NEGATIVE MOTIVATING ELEMENTS

Fear. The second component of emotional proof analyzed was that of negative motivating elements, which were used extensively by Knowland in appeals to the emotions of the audience. Appeals based on fear were predominant. Knowland wanted to explain in simple terms to what the "frightening increase in dope addiction, particularly among youngsters," might be attributed.⁴⁶ Hoodlums and racketeers in the California communities were "getting wealthy living like parasites off the sickened bodies and minds of our young people" and were "destroying their chances to live normal,

⁴⁶"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

healthy lives in our society."⁴⁷ When discussing the labor question, Knowland accused the opposition of advocating what in practice was a "labor boss dominated program with state-wide wage, price and production controls."⁴⁸ An all-out effort was underway to "penetrate and take over California," and Walter Reuther, "the most ambitious union boss in the national political field," was really moving into the state.⁴⁹ Furthermore, two men, James Hoffa and Harry Bridges, had the "power to halt the economic life of California with their Teamsters and Maritime unions."⁵⁰ Testimony before the McClellan committee brought forth how "pay-offs and chicanery" had been employed to maintain James Hoffa's personal power.⁵¹ Harry Bridges had been "ruthless" in controlling the west coast waterfronts.⁵² It was Knowland's "deep and sincere conviction" that their liberty, personal rights, and democratic system were endangered by this "dangerous big three of labor," and that the "economic freedom in California" was in jeopardy from the threat of what amounted to a labor dominated state government.⁵³ The appeal of fear was also evident in Knowland's charge that the platform his opponent embraced

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid.

would, on the basis of all experience in this country, have led inevitably "to the control of your wages, the control of prices and the control of production. Think what that would mean to each individual."⁵⁴ As to the platform of the Democratic State Convention, it was the most "destructive, class conscious, socialist-directed program ever offered the people of this State."⁵⁵ This led Knowland to the belief that in the coming election, the voters would be voting for or against economic and political freedom.⁵⁶ A certain fear could be sensed in Knowland's plea that youth had to make themselves "good and knowledgeable citizens" if the constitutional system which had brought them freedom and prosperity was to survive "in a world where old-fashioned totalitarianism is now challenging in the name of Communism."⁵⁷ Knowland also recalled for this group of youth the statement that "as soon as public service ceases to be the chief business of the citizens and they would rather serve with their money than with their persons, the state is not far from its fall."⁵⁸ As Knowland pictured for his audiences the frightening increase in dope addiction,⁵⁹ the

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵"The KGO-TV Report"

⁵⁶"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

⁵⁷"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid.

threat from "the dangerous big three in labor,"⁶⁰ the platform that would lead "to the control of your wages,"⁶¹ and the danger of totalitarianism which was "challenging in the name of Communism,"⁶² he was using the motivating element of fear. Each statement called forth a pain or disturbance arising from a mental image of impending evil of a destructive or painful sort.

Indignation. Appeals to the sense of indignation were as evident as were those based on fear. That drug addiction was up "237% in five years" was hardly a recommendation to elevate an "indecisive and vacillating Attorney General" who had had charge of the State Narcotics Bureau and many other departments, boards and commissions, and independent agencies for seven and a half years.⁶³ Knowland asked whether or not the philosophy set forth in his opponent's platform favored "compulsion, bureauracy and further restriction of man's freedom to act," and whether or not they believed "his record as Attorney General warrants his election as governor."⁶⁴ In his Attorney General's office, Edmund Brown's spending had

⁶⁰"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²"The University of California Speech"

⁶³"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

⁶⁴"The University of California Speech"

increased 200%, while his employees had increased 100%, and yet the State had become a "national disgrace in terms of crime and narcotics offenses. Does this record entitle him to a promotion?"⁶⁵ Knowland's opponent had shown his "lack of conviction" by refusing to debate the issues out in the open where the people could judge.⁶⁶ "Neither his ineffective record on crime and narcotics, nor his tax, spend and elect Democratic platform and program which would ruin California" qualified Edmund Brown to be California's governor.⁶⁷ Explaining that Walter Reuther's "political empire" had its seat in Michigan where he dominated the executive branch of that government, Knowland was indignant that "power drunk" Hoffas, Bridges, and Reuthers were preparing to run California.⁶⁸ If Edmund Brown and the labor bosses achieved their objectives, to Knowland's way of thinking it would have been undeserved good fortune, violating the principles of justice.

Anger. In the statements that an all-out effort was being made to "smear" Knowland's record and to "misrepresent"

⁶⁵"The KGO-TV Report"

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷William F. Knowland, "Address delivered before citizens of San Joaquin Valley," San Joaquin County, California, November 3, 1958. (Unpublished and hereafter referred to as "The San Joaquin Valley Speech").

⁶⁸"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

his views, the motivating element was that of anger.⁶⁹ Certain "self-appointed dictators who would take over our free government and suppress our freedoms" had come from the ranks of hoodlums, while others had taken their ideas from "first hand indoctrination in foreign forms of dictatorship."⁷⁰ Their only hope in the face of the threat was the hope that "it can't happen here. Well, it not only can, it has."⁷¹ Such "slights" against Knowland as an individual and against the people of California as a whole effected a feeling of anger.

Shame. The motivating element of shame was a basis for other statements by Knowland. When discussing the labor issue, Knowland asked what Attorney General Brown had done or said in behalf of the rank and file unions in California which had been expelled by the National AFL-CIO through no fault of their own "because of gangster control at the boss level or because of Communist activity also at the boss level."⁷² When discussing the challenges of the times, he cited Theodore Roosevelt's words: "The things that will

69"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

70"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

71Ibid.

72Ibid.

destroy America, are prosperity-at-any-price, safety-first instead of duty-first, the love of soft living and the get-rich quick theory of life."⁷³ These were the conditions and the ideas which, in the past, present, or future, led to discredit.

Enmity. The last negative emotion evident in Knowland's campaign oratory was that of enmity. That Knowland was seeking the governorship for two years in order to run for President in 1960 was a "lie," as was it an "unmitigated falsehood" that he intended to organize a third party if he were defeated for Governor.⁷⁴ The "Big Lie" that "Bill Knowland is anti-union and anti-labor, and would like to crush the labor movement" was a deliberate lie and found no support "in my record or in the principles which I have stated."⁷⁵ Enmity had been produced by these statements which Knowland called false.

In his campaign oratory, Knowland made emotional appeals based on fear, indignation, anger, shame, and enmity, of which the appeal through fear was the most pronounced. Knowland called forth mental images of the impending evils

⁷³"The University of California Speech"

⁷⁴"The KGO-TV Report"

⁷⁵Ibid.

which he saw for California: dope addiction; stifling of political freedom; control of wages, prices, and production; and danger from Communism. He appealed to the sense of indignation by asking if Edmund Brown should become Governor in light of his past record as Attorney General. Efforts by self-appointed dictators to take over free government and suppress freedoms were slights which called forth anger as did the conditions of abusing the rights of union members and putting prosperity and safety before duty to country bring on shame and discredit. Finally, an expression of enmity was apparent in Knowland's defense against those charges which he declared were false.

III. POSITIVE MOTIVATING ELEMENTS

Confidence. An analysis of Knowland's speeches also revealed certain positive motivating elements in addition to the negative appeals previously discussed. Remarks which would stir confidence were threaded through the speeches. To the newspaper publishers Knowland said that "if our people know the facts, they will make the right decisions."⁷⁶ Of the narcotics menace, Knowland said there was no need for it to grow in the State, and it would not if they would "face up to it courageously and decisively."⁷⁷ Speaking of

⁷⁶"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

⁷⁷Ibid.

the water problem, Knowland believed it would be possible, with a constitutional amendment, to give everyone "equitable treatment if this is done to protect the interest of the counties of origin and the deficit areas."⁷⁸ There was an expression of confidence when Knowland addressed himself to college groups, saying that the idealism of youth was a "flame that has never been measured" and employed constructively, this enthusiasm could really "move mountains and make our state, nation and the world a better place to live."⁷⁹ Knowland's pledge to the people of San Joaquin Valley also was stated with an air of confidence. The pledge of a favorable economic climate for all citizens would mean "more jobs, more industry, and more security," as would the pledge to produce sound labor management relations "encourage both business and labor to act in the best interests of each other and the public."⁸⁰ The pledge to solve education deficiencies would mean "more and better teachers, more and less crowded schools, more rather than less concentration on better education as the path to California's greatness tomorrow."⁸¹ The pledged recreation program would make more

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹"The University of California Speech"

⁸⁰"The San Joaquin Valley Speech"

⁸¹Ibid.

of the outdoors area available to families for their enjoyment: "Families that can play together will stay together, and the strength of our future is in our families."⁸² That citizens were genuinely interested in their state; that youth could make the world a better place in which to live; and that the education deficiencies could be solved were statements filled with confidence and expressing the hope that things conducive to safety were near at hand.

Calmness. When Knowland returned to California he felt refreshed because "from its mountains to its valleys, from the seacoast to the uplands, from the cities to the farms, there is something inspiring and refreshing about California."⁸³ This was a rare example in which Knowland based an appeal on calmness because his speaking was not characterized by mildness or a settling down and quieting of anger.

Kindness and pity. The appeals for kindness and pity were in reality combined by Knowland. That the dope addict had to be treated with "wisdom, charity, and firmness and a program for rehabilitation" was a call for kindness.⁸⁴ That

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

⁸⁴Ibid.

these dope addicts were "unfortunate human beings who are caught in a hopeless trap from which they cannot by themselves escape" was a plea for pity.⁸⁵ Seeing the evil of dope addiction befall some who did not deserve it, and urging that help be given to these unfortunates, Knowland combined the emotional appeals of pity and kindness.

Friendship. Aside from these pleas for pity and kindness, some statements by Knowland tended to inspire friendship. He favored guarantees for the working man which spelled "union democracy and individual freedom"⁸⁶ and believed that "unions should be honestly run for the benefit of the rank and file, and not as the private property of a few bosses."⁸⁷ A privilege he wished for youth was expressed by his being "wholeheartedly in favor of giving the right to vote at 18 instead of 21."⁸⁸ Further, he believed these younger citizens had a great and needed contribution to make to the society and state: their idealism was needed; their new ideas required; and their energy, youth, and enthusiasm were essential "to combat the forces of decay which every civilization must conquer."⁸⁹ To all people of California,

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

⁸⁷"The KGO-TV Report"

⁸⁸"The University of California Speech"

⁸⁹Ibid.

Knowland expressed his hope that they would vote "with the best interests of yourself and your state in mind."⁹⁰ Knowland extended his friendship to the working man, to the college youth, and to the citizens of California by inviting those things which he considered to be for their benefit.

Shamelessness. Very different from Knowland's expression of friendship, were his words indicating an attitude of shamelessness. He replied to "some timid persons" who had said: "You should not raise controversial issues."⁹¹

We would not have won our independence from the mightiest empire of that time had men not been willing to raise controversial issues. Nor would slavery have been abolished had men not been willing to raise a very controversial issue. If Americans had not been willing to pledge their lives, their honor and their resources in the meeting of controversial issues raised by totalitarian dictators, we would not have retained our freedom down to this date.⁹²

Knowland made it very apparent that he had no feeling of shame for having dared to raise controversial issues.

The campaign speeches of Knowland relied on such positive motivating elements as confidence, calmness, kindness, pity, friendship, and shamelessness, with the element of confidence being most pronounced. Knowland was confident

⁹⁰"The KGO-TV Report"

⁹¹"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

⁹²Ibid.

that the citizens were interested in their State, that they could meet such problems as narcotics addiction and water shortage; and he was confident that youth would rise to meet the challenges of the age. The statement that something about California was inspiring and refreshing was an expression of kindness and pity. By favoring union democracy, individual freedom, and the right to vote at eighteen, Knowland extended his wishes for friendship; and by declaring the need to raise controversial issues Knowland imparted an attitude of shamelessness.

The oratory of Knowland contained many of the materials and devices defined as emotional proof. Knowland adjusted his speeches to many of the characteristics of the audience and appealed to their emotions by employing both the negative and positive motivating elements. The audience adaptation was more complete in some areas than in others as was the use of some motivating elements more extensive than the use of others. Those emotional proofs employed furnished his campaign oratory with a dynamic and energizing force.

CHAPTER IV

ETHICAL PROOF

Ralph Waldo Emerson defined eloquence as "the art of speaking what you mean and are."¹ On another occasion he supplemented this reflection by saying:

The reason why anyone refused his assent to your opinion, or his aid to your benevolent design, is in you. He refuses to accept you as a bringer of truth, because, though you think you have it, he feels that you have it not. You have not given him the authentic sign.²

In his Lectures, John Lawson said this of a speaker:

You cannot be much affected by what he says, if you do not look upon him to be a Man of Probity, who is in earnest, and doth himself believe what he undeavoreth to make out as credible to you.³

Present day writers declare that "the force of the speaker's personality or character is instrumental in facilitating the acceptance of belief."⁴ Aristotle set forth his concept of ethical proof in The Rhetoric:

The character of the speaker is a cause of persuasion when the speech is so uttered as to make him worthy of belief; for as a rule we trust men of probity more, and more quickly, about things in general, while on points outside the realm of exact knowledge, where opinion is divided, we trust them absolutely. This trust, however, should be created by the speech itself, and not left to depend upon an antecedent

¹Lester Thonnsen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism, (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 383.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

impression that the speaker is this or that kind of man. It is not true, as some writers on the art maintain, that the probity of the speaker contributes nothing to his persuasiveness; on the contrary, we might almost affirm that his character⁵ is the most potent of all the means to persuasion.⁵

These remarks established Aristotle's concern for the personal character of speakers, but what were the constituents of ethical proof? Aristotle held that there were three sources of personal credibility in orators: "sagacity, high character, and good will."⁶ These constituents were the basis for analyzing the campaign speeches of Knowland for ethical proof. To determine the variety of ways by which the speaker gave credibility to his message, each constituent was further cataloged:

In general, a speaker focuses attention upon the probity of his character if he (1) associates either himself or his message with what is virtuous and elevated; (2) bestows, with propriety, tempered praise upon himself, his client, and his cause; (3) links the opponent or the opponent's cause with what is not virtuous; (4) removes or minimizes unfavorable impressions of himself or his cause previously established by his opponent; (5) relies upon authority derived from his personal experience; and (6) creates the impression of being completely sincere in his undertaking.

With certain qualifications varying with the circumstances, it may be said that a speaker helps to establish the impression of sagacity if he (1) uses what is popularly called common sense; (2) acts with

⁵Lane Cooper, The Rhetoric of Aristotle (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1932), pp. 8-9.

⁶Thonnsen and Baird, op. cit., pp. 386-87.

tact and moderation; (3) displays a sense of good taste; and (4) reveals a broad familiarity with the interests of the day.

Finally, a speaker's good will generally is revealed through his ability (1) to capture the proper balance between too much and too little praise of his audience; (2) to identify himself properly with the hearers and their problems; (3) to proceed with candor and straightforwardness; (4) to offer necessary rebukes with tact and consideration; (5) to offset any personal reasons he may have for giving the speech; and (6) to reveal without guile or exhibitionism, his personable qualities as a messenger of the truth.⁷

I. PROBITY OF CHARACTER

Association with that virtuous and elevated. With a background understanding of the place of ethical proof in oral discourse and of the constituents of ethical proof, the analysis was made. First to be determined was how Knowland focused attention upon the probity of his character. One means of establishing the probity of his character was that of associating himself and his message with what was virtuous and elevated. As a newspaper publisher, Knowland included himself among "the representatives of a profession that carries the truth to the people."⁸ His stand was for

⁷Ibid., p. 387.

⁸William F. Knowland, "Address delivered before the California Newspaper Publishers Workshop," Berkeley, California, September 19, 1958. (Unpublished and hereafter referred to as "The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech").

"freedom of the individual," and against "boss control and dictation in the labor field."⁹ Discussing further the preservation of rights, he associated himself with "stubborn American men and women unwilling to trade principles for expediency . . .," and chose the "free enterprise system with individual freedom of choice" as opposed to the "domination of the union bosses and compulsory union membership."¹⁰ On television, Knowland said perhaps his regard for the press as a whole and his firm belief that "with power must go responsibility" had led him to expect too much.¹¹ Before groups of college students, he identified himself with the constitutional system which brought freedom and prosperity as opposed to "old-fashioned totalitarianism" which was "challenging the world in the name of Communism."¹²

Praises self and cause. As Knowland associated

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰William F. Knowland, "Address delivered before the Combined Service Clubs," Ventura, California, September 26, 1958. (Unpublished and hereafter referred to as "The Combined Service Clubs Speech").

¹¹William F. Knowland, "Television report to the people of California," San Francisco, California, October 30, 1958. (Unpublished and hereafter referred to as "The KGO-TV Report").

¹²William F. Knowland, "Address delivered before the students at the University of California," Los Angeles, California, October 8, 1958. (Unpublished and hereafter referred to as "The University of California Speech").

himself and his message with what was virtuous, so did he also praise himself and his cause. One source of praise was his experience. It was his "deep conviction that my experience in Washington has rounded out the experience I have previously obtained in the State Legislature," and on an issue of great importance to California, water, he believed he had "a great amount of experience lacking in my opponent's record."¹³ Having been active in public life "for a quarter of a century," Knowland was not "unmindful of the penalties and the abuse of public service."¹⁴ Another source of praise was his previous accomplishments. While in the Senate of the United States, he helped to put through a law "which put more teeth into enforcement of narcotics violation imposing heavy penalties on those involved in the illicit drug traffic."¹⁵ In previous years as a member of the California Legislature he supported the legislation which outlawed the "Yellow Dog" contract, under which "an employer was able to prevent an employee from joining a union of his choice."¹⁶ He voted against "a democratic President's proposal that striking railroad workers be drafted during peacetime into

¹³"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

¹⁴"The University of California Speech"

¹⁵"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

¹⁶"The KGO-TV Report"

military service," and more recently he had introduced in the Senate, and had fought for, "a workers' bill of rights, which would guarantee to workers the control of their own union affairs."¹⁷

Links opponent to that not virtuous. Not only did Knowland bestow praise on himself and his cause by pointing to his experience and his past achievements, but also he linked his opponent and his opponent's cause with what was not virtuous. In the more than seven and one-half years his opponent served as Chief Law Enforcement Officer of California, "with more powers than any Attorney General in all the other 47 states," the population had increased "32 per cent" while crime had increased "76 per cent."¹⁸ The platform his opponent embraced would, on the basis of all experience in this country have led inevitably "to the control of wages, prices, and production."¹⁹ Not only were such controls inevitable under the type of program Attorney General Brown and the labor bosses were demanding, but the "labor power-mad triumvirate had a compulsion to order and compel."²⁰ A

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

¹⁹"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

²⁰Ibid.

further charge was that "Attorney General Brown actually petitioned that Harry Bridges be kept in California when the federal authorities tried to expel him from the United States."²¹ Knowland wondered also about the evidence his opponent had intended to reveal about Knowland's being part of a deal to force Governor Knight out of the race; nine months had passed and no such evidence had been forthcoming. This proved again Attorney General Brown's "hit and run tactics but then it is difficult for the truth to catch up with his statements."²² Attorney General Brown also "did not want his record opened up for the public to see," and he did not want "the affiliations of some of his close supporters revealed. . . ."²³ Furthermore, the program of Knowland's opponent "ignored the basic and critical problems of the people," which showed more than anything else that his opponent was "a weak man, controlled by a small group of selfish labor bosses."²⁴ Knowland's oratory tended to belabor the use of this specific type of ethical proof; statement after statement linked his opponent to that not virtuous.

Minimizes unfavorable impressions. While discrediting

²¹Ibid.

²²"The KGO-TV Report"

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

his opposition, Knowland had to minimize any unfavorable impressions which his opponents might previously have established about him. To a television audience, Knowland said that knowing the facts and having stated the truth, he had not expected "that certain responsible newspapers would continue to print falsehoods which the writer and editor knew were such."²⁵ Turning to his record, his supporters, and his program, Knowland asserted that he had been perfectly willing to discuss them; but his opponent, Edmund Brown, who had not dared to attack his position because he knew it was sound, had just kept up his "runaway smears."²⁶ His opponent also stated that Knowland had been away from the State too long, and that he lacked close experience with the State's problems; yet Knowland had close official contacts with various "State departments, the fifty-eight counties, many municipalities, school districts, irrigation districts and various agricultural, labor and other groups."²⁷ When challenged to debate on State problems, Edmund Brown had refused; and this refusal was "the best answer to his fallacious claims."²⁸

Derives authority from personal experience. In

²⁵Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁸Ibid.

addition to minimizing any unfavorable impressions of himself, Knowland presented evidence that he relied upon authority derived from his personal experience. Across his desk as United States Senator came the following:

. . . a wide diversity of our State's problems, including agriculture, industry, air, sea and rail transportation, flood control, irrigation, recreation, the impact of a rapidly expanding population, the multiple problems of attracting new industry, the needs of national defense, the vital importance of adequate educational facilities.²⁹

Knowland had also been honored to assist the "late, great Robert Taft" in putting through the Senate the first law which helped "the union member protect his union rights against arbitrary and often self-appointed bosses whether they were labor or management bosses."³⁰ In the Senate, Knowland had had a great amount of experience with California's water problem and had "supported many laws which built additional water facilities in California."³¹ For twenty-five years, half of his life, Knowland had done his best "to serve my country, my State and the Republican Party."³² Evidence was not lacking to show that Knowland relied upon authority derived from his personal experiences.

²⁹"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid.

³²"The KGO-TV Report"

Creates an impression of sincerity. Along with this reliance on personal authority were statements creating an impression of sincerity. Knowland was "happy to be back in California after thirteen years in Washington" because it was here that he could be "in constant touch with the grass roots where our national politics are really made" and could "appreciate the greatness of our form of government."³³ Government service meant long work and undeserved criticism; but more important, said Knowland, it meant "a degree of satisfaction from serving one's fellow citizens."³⁴ That Knowland obviously attempted to prove the sincerity of his undertakings was further evidenced by the following statement:

When I stayed in the Senate performing what I considered was my contract with the people and executing the public's business during the primary election, I realized this placed me at a considerable handicap with an opponent who felt no similar obligation.³⁵

When Knowland outlined his program for California, he pledged "my efforts, my abilities, my experience and my honor."³⁶

³³"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

³⁴"The University of California Speech"

³⁵"The KGO-TV Report"

³⁶William F. Knowland, "Address delivered before citizens of San Joaquin Valley," San Joaquin County, California, November 3, 1958. (Unpublished and hereafter referred to as "The San Joaquin Valley Speech").

These words and deeds cited by Knowland seemed designed to effect an impression of sincerity. By associating himself with that which was virtuous and praiseworthy; by relying upon authority and sincerity; and by removing unfavorable impressions of himself while linking his opponent to that which was not virtuous, Knowland focused attention upon the probity of his character.

II. SAGACITY

Common sense. The second constituent of ethical proof, that which helped to establish an impression of sagacity, was perceptible in the campaign oratory of Knowland. One means of establishing this impression was by using common sense. For example, Knowland called for maintaining the rights of the states and much of the functions of government at the state and local level and for the states regaining some jurisdiction; however, "the long arm of the federal government" reached into many fields and as long as this was the case, federal-state cooperation was important.³⁷ Common sense dictated a moderate rather than a radical stand on federal versus state jurisdiction. Another example of common sense was in Knowland's speech before a group of publishers when he realized that he did not have to "belabor" them with

³⁷"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

the "shocking abuses of the rights of union members" that had been disclosed by the McClellan Subcommittee in the Senate hearings.³⁸ Knowland's statement that the labor issue was not a Republican issue, not a Democratic issue, but an issue which concerned all Americans showed a degree of common sense.³⁹ Still another example of this common sense approach was in the remarks to youth where Knowland declared that the qualities of leadership might be "ingrained," but often they had to be "created and in almost every case developed."⁴⁰ These statements illustrated that Knowland handled certain problems with what has been popularly called common sense.

Tact and moderation. Analysis of Knowland's oratory alone brought forth only limited evidence as to whether or not he acted with tact and moderation. His stand on the labor issue, on the water problem, and on the problems of narcotics traffic was not characterized by moderation as his method of answering charges levied against him was not characterized by tact. On the basis of this evidence, Knowland did not appear to employ tact and moderation as a means of establishing an impression of sagacity.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

⁴⁰"The University of California Speech"

Good taste. Knowland did appear to convey a sense of good taste by directly recognizing the audience. He pointed to the "intimate and unique relationship" publishers of community newspapers had with their readers."⁴¹ Before a combined service club group he was "confident that, given the facts, the people of California will make the right choice."⁴² At the University of California Knowland favored the vote for those eighteen years of age because of the contribution they could make "through their votes, civic and political activities, to our state and nation."⁴³ On television the speaker asserted that "everyone has the right to know the issues and where the candidates stand on those issues."⁴⁴ Placing importance on the role, the rights, and the wishes of the audience was a means by which the speaker displayed good taste.

Interests of the day. That the speaker was familiar with the interests of the day was displayed in references to the problems of California: agriculture; industry; air, sea, and rail transportation; flood control; irrigation;

⁴¹"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

⁴²"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

⁴³"The University of California Speech"

⁴⁴"The KGO-TV Report"

recreation; the impact of a rapidly expanding population; the multiple problems of attracting new industry; the needs of national defense; and the vital importance of adequate educational facilities.⁴⁵ He discussed the vital interest of California agriculture in the markets overseas and expressed concern over the fact that there had been a 19 per cent rise in narcotics. The need for equitable distribution of water so that every user was guaranteed a sufficient source and quantity in the State; the eighteen-year-old right to vote; the challenge of Communism; the growth of crime; the issue of compulsory versus voluntary unionism; the need for senior citizen employment; and the inequitable distribution of taxes--all these and more were the questions with which Knowland concerned himself and with which he demonstrated his familiarity with the interests of the day. This knowledge of timely issues together with a reliance on common sense and good taste were the means by which Knowland attempted to establish an impression of sagacity.

III. GOOD WILL

Praise of audience. In addition to focusing attention on the probity of his character and establishing an impression of sagacity, the speaker revealed good will. This was

⁴⁵"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

disclosed in part by his ability to capture the proper balance between too much and too little praise of his audience. Publishers were "citizens who are genuinely interested in the future of their State,"⁴⁶ while service club members were citizens who, given the facts, would make the "right choice."⁴⁷ College students had the ability to lift "the hearts and hopes" of their fellow men.⁴⁸ However, in a speech on television and in another in San Joaquin County, direct praise of the audience was lacking, which indicated that Knowland was not consistent in praising the audience.

Identification with hearers and problems. Though good will was weakly reflected in Knowland's praise of his audiences, good will was strongly reflected in the identification with his hearers and their problems. To a group of publishers he stated clearly that he had been a member of the same profession. In finding pleasure at returning to California, he identified himself with the audience composed of citizens of California. As to their problems of water, agriculture, or education, the people at home knew what they needed and wanted and how to handle the problem better on the

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

⁴⁸"The University of California Speech"

state and local level than on the national level. He attempted to identify himself with the workers of California when he spoke directly to them on television and urged that unions had to be responsible to their own members and to the public of California. By illustrating that no other congressional delegation of any comparable size had a younger delegation than California, he identified himself with youth. On the day before election he said to all Californians:

Tomorrow is California's day of decision. The future of our people, our fathers, mothers and children, for better or worse, will be charted on Tuesday, election day.⁴⁹

The campaign oratory of Knowland was filled with problems which he saw for the people of California.

Candor and straightforwardness. As Knowland identified himself with his hearers and their problems, so too did he proceed with candor and straightforwardness. He frankly believed in maintaining the rights of the states and many of the functions of government at the state and local level and in the states regaining some jurisdiction. The narcotics problems he would have attacked on two fronts, the dope peddler and the dope addict. Knowland bluntly opposed union-boss monopoly taking over the State, while he wholeheartedly favored the right to vote at eighteen. To all Californians

⁴⁹"The San Joaquin Valley Speech"

he expressed the belief that he had been "frankly discussing the issues of this election."⁵⁰ Knowland was a speaker who, having beliefs, did not hesitate to state them outwardly.

Meets rebukes with tact and consideration. Aside from this frank statement of beliefs, were the rebukes made by Knowland, which were not marked by any great degree of tact and consideration and which were included under the emotion of enmity. The charge that he was seeking the governorship for two years in order to run for President was termed "a lie," and the charge that he was part of a deal to force Governor Knight out of the race was termed a "deliberate lie."⁵¹ That Knowland intended to organize a third party if he were defeated for Governor was an "unmitigated falsehood."⁵² That he had been away from the State too long, and that he did not have close experience with the problems of the State were "fallacious claims." He had challenged Brown to a debate on the State problems, but Brown had refused.⁵³ Another "Big Lie" was the statement that Knowland was anti-union and anti-labor.⁵⁴ Knowland met charges directly, not hesitating to set aside a certain amount of tact and consideration, and this tended to offset the establishment of

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵¹"The KGO-TV Report"

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid.

good will.

Offsets personal reasons for giving speeches. Knowland more effectively established good will by seeming to offset certain personal reasons he had for giving his speeches. He urged the publishers to get the "truth about the issues and the candidates and their records to the people of California" because the people not only had a right to know where their candidates stood, but "the future of our state requires that they must know."⁵⁵ To members of various service clubs Knowland said:

This is not a routine election in which the people vote on who is the best man with the best ideas. The election to take place in just five weeks can correctly be characterized as a showdown. It is a showdown that will affect your lives, and those of all Californians, for a long time to come.⁵⁶

As Knowland discussed the significance the election held for the individual and for the State, he tended to shift attention from certain personal reasons he might have for giving the speeches to reasons of wider concern to the audience.

Messenger of the truth. A final means by which Knowland attempted to establish good will was by revealing his personal qualities as a messenger of the truth. He

⁵⁵"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

⁵⁶"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

emphasized the importance of getting the truth about the issues and the candidates and their records to the people. "Knowing the facts and having stated the truth," Knowland had not thought certain responsible newspapers would have continued to print falsehoods which both the writer and editor knew were such.⁵⁷ The speaker was also willing to let his candidacy be compared to that of his opponent on the Biblical truth: "By their fruits, ye shall know them."⁵⁸ Good will was revealed by Knowland primarily by his ability to identify himself with his hearers and their problems, to proceed with candor and straightforwardness, to offset personal reasons for giving the speech, and to reveal personal qualities he had as a messenger of the truth. Praise of the audience was expressed only to a very limited degree, while meeting rebukes with tact and consideration was not at all characteristic of Knowland's speaking.

The campaign oratory of Knowland seemed to fit within Ralph Waldo Emerson's definition of eloquence because his speeches were interwoven with elements of emotional proof expressive of "what you mean and are."⁵⁹ Furthermore, the force of the speaker's character and personality was

⁵⁷"The KGO-TV Report"

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Thonnsen and Baird, op. cit., p. 383.

reflected in those statements focusing attention on his probity, establishing the impression of sagacity, and revealing his good will. Knowland's own statements bore testimony to the fact that he employed that potent means of persuasion, ethical proof, as a means of giving credibility to his message.

CHAPTER V

LOGICAL PROOF

It has been seen from the Rhetoric of Aristotle that he gave emotional and ethical proof due consideration, and yet Aristotle held the conviction that the most important ingredient of a speech was rational demonstration through severe argumentation.¹ The importance of logical materials in discourse has been freely admitted, in W. T. G. Shedd's remark that every complete speech is "the evolution of an idea."² The speaker serves as a middleman between a reasonable concept and the world of reality in which that idea can appropriately take root. In short, "oratory to be great must deal with ideas which make a difference in the affairs of men and states."³

Fundamentally, the constituents of logical proof are evidence and argument or reasoning.⁴ Evidence is the raw material used to establish proof. It may include the testimony of individuals, personal experiences, tables of statistics, illustrative examples, or any so-called 'factual items' which induce in the mind of the hearer or reader a

¹Lester Thonnsen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism, (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 331.

²Ibid., p. 332.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 341.

state of belief--a tendency to affirm the existence of the fact or proposition to which the evidence attaches and in support of which it is introduced.⁵ Assuming the evidence is at hand, how shall it be woven into a complete pattern? What is the nature of the elements that bind the totality of material together? The process of reasoning or argument serves as the cohesive force; through the relationships it establishes, the mind is led from the recognition of discernible facts to a conclusion.⁶

The analysis of Knowland's oratory for evidence proceeded as follows:

- (1) Testimony of individuals or quotations
- (2) Personal experiences
- (3) Tables of statistics
- (4) Illustrative examples
- (5) Factual items

The analysis of Knowland's oratory for reasoning was in terms of the following items:

(1) Induction is to arrive at a general principle through the examination of particulars.⁷

(2) Deduction is to establish an individual truth through the medium of a universal principle.⁸

⁵Ibid.

⁷Ibid., p. 346.

⁶Ibid., p. 344.

⁸Ibid.

(3) Causal relation establishes a link between events by noting the impact or influence of one event upon another, or by tracing the cause of an observed event.⁹

(4) Analogy is the comparison between objects or relationships.¹⁰

Recognizing the importance of logical proof in discourse and having established a set of criteria, the function of rational proof in Knowland's oratory was determined.

I. EVIDENCE

Testimony. The use of testimony of individuals or quotations was the first type of evidence examined. When Knowland spoke of the problems of California being handled from Washington, he paraphrased the words of Winston Churchill: "Too few are commanding too many from too far."¹¹ Speaking of a campaign for the prevention of crime, Knowland said the old adage, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," was as true then as the day it was written.¹²

⁹Ibid., p. 348.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 349.

¹¹William F. Knowland, "Address delivered before the California Newspaper Publishers Workshop," Berkeley, California, September 19, 1958. (Unpublished and hereafter referred to as "The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech").

¹²Ibid.

Speaking of the concept of dictatorial, controlled, and arbitrary government, the speaker used the testimony of James L. McDevitt, Co-director of Walter Reuther's C.I.O. Committee on Political Education, to establish that such a movement was developing in the State and country: "We are warning you now, and we are warning all in the future: Do not differ with the movement with respect to issues or candidates. We will not stand for it."¹³ This concept of arbitrary government was further developed with James Hoffa's blunt statement: "Now we have to organize what don't belong to us to stay in business. We are in business to make money-- not for profit, we are a non-profit organization, but to expand."¹⁴ A quotation from Senator McClellan, a Democrat, expressed his concern over this same danger:

We think of human bondage in the United States as a thing of the distant past, ended nearly a century ago. The grim fact is that in recent years, there has grown up among us a new form of slavery-- insidious, semi-secret and sinister.¹⁵

Saying his opponent favored a plan for a counsel for the consumer which would inevitably mean OPA type controls, Knowland gave Attorney General Brown's words: "I believe state

¹³William F. Knowland, "Address delivered before the Combined Service Clubs," Ventura, California, September 26, 1958. (Unpublished and hereafter referred to as "The Combined Service Clubs Speech").

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

government must undertake an aggressive role on behalf of the consumer."¹⁶ Further attempting to discredit Edmund Brown, Knowland said that Walter Reuther's Committee for Political Education bragged in print that Attorney General Brown was its chosen candidate; and the words from a C.I.O. publication, "Scope," pronounced: "California CIO-SCOPE was successful in securing the nomination of all seven of the candidates for top statewide offices. These include Edmund G. Brown for governor."¹⁷ Speaking of the good balance provided by youth and age, Knowland recalled the words of Theodore Roosevelt, who at the time was the youngest man ever to hold the office of President of the United States: "The things that will destroy America are prosperity-at-any-price, safety-first instead of duty-first, the love of soft living and the get-rich quick theory of life."¹⁸ Knowland discussed liberalism with youth and gave the stand of several political labor bosses to show that liberalism was being suffocated. Harry Bridges, in the Wall Street Journal, under the date of August 1, 1957, stated:

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸William F. Knowland, "Address delivered before the students at the University of California," Los Angeles, California, October 8, 1958. (Unpublished and hereafter referred to as "The University of California Speech").

If the teamsters and the two dock unions got together they'd represent more economic power than the combined AFL-CIO. They are so concentrated. An economic squeeze and pressure can be exerted that puts any employer in a very tough spot--and furthermore, puts the U. S. government on a tough spot. If the AFL-CIO meets us head on, we'd knock the stuffings out of them. We'd fight on their own ground and win.¹⁹

James Hoffa, in an interview with the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on March 4, 1946, had said:

The future of labor-management relations is big labor and big business. For there is no room for the small business or the small union. That is unfortunate, but true. We have reached the saturation point. Now we have to organize what doesn't belong to us to stay in business. We are in business to make money--not for profit, for we are a non-profit organization, but to expand. We are out for every quarter we can get.²⁰

In spite of the penalties and the abuse of public service, Knowland revealed his attitude when he reminded college youth of the words of former President Truman: "If you can't stand the heat, you should stay out of the kitchen."²¹ The need for young people to assume the duties of public office was expressed when Knowland recalled the words of Dwight Eisenhower who had been approached in Paris in 1952 about running for President: "Don't you have someone younger?"²² Discussing dope addiction and Edmund Brown's agent who was convicted by federal authorities for passing dope to addicts,

¹⁹Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

²²Ibid.

Knowland remembered that Edmund Brown had termed the agent:

. . . a very good friend of mind. Why only 60 days ago I had in mind placing him in charge of the State Narcotics Bureau's San Diego office. That would have led to the directorship of the Bureau eventually as State Bureau Chief Creighton is getting near retirement age.²³

Personal experiences. Testimony and quotations formed a more significant part of the evidence used by Knowland than did the second type of evidence, that of personal experiences. As Minority Leader Knowland called a meeting in his office with representatives of the other interested states, together with officials of the Department of Agriculture and Department of State, and "this resulted in reopening part of our historic market for California's agricultural products."²⁴ While in the Legislature, he assisted in the passage of the first California legislation outlawing the Yellow Dog contract, and in the U. S. Senate, he assisted the late Robert Taft in putting through the first law "which helps the union member protect his union rights against arbitrary and often self-appointed bosses whether they were labor or management bosses."²⁵ He had voted against the proposal that striking

²³William F. Knowland, "Television report to the people of California," San Francisco, California, October 30, 1958. (Unpublished and hereafter referred to as "The KGO-TV Report").

²⁴"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

²⁵Ibid.

railroad workers be drafted during peacetime into military service and more recently had introduced a workers' bill of rights, "which would guarantee to workers the control of their own union affairs."²⁶ In the Senate, Knowland had also supported many laws which built additional water facilities in California.

Statistics. Not only did Knowland use quotations and personal experiences as sources of evidence, but also he relied heavily on statistics, which was illustrated in specific statements. In the first six months of the year, "narcotics use went up 19 per cent--almost one-fifth--in California compared with a 43 per cent reduction in Illinois and a drop of over 12 per cent in New York."²⁷ Drug addiction was up 237 per cent in five years and up 165 per cent in the thirteen to twenty age group.²⁸ During the seven and one-half years Edmund Brown was Chief Law Enforcement Officer in California, the population increased 32 per cent while increases in crime were up 76 per cent.²⁹ Increases in crime during that period showed:

Manslaughter up 70%
Rape up 100%

²⁶"The KGO-TV Report"

²⁷"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

Robbery up 58%
 Aggravated assault up 112%
 Burglary up 89%
 Theft up 63%
 Auto theft up 130%³⁰

Statistics served as a means of support for Knowland's ideas on compulsory unionism. Most union elections were decided by a small group of sixty or seventy men, and under the Hobbs Act, no less than 114 labor racketeers had been prosecuted by the Justice Department in Washington and convicted since January, 1953.³¹ The 1955 study by the National Industry Conference Board, a non-partisan research organization, revealed figures on union structures and procedures:

1. Of 194 national and international unions studied, 51 per cent have blanket clauses in their constitution providing for discipline of members for any act unbecoming a union member or contrary to the interests of the union. . . .

2. Only 25 per cent of the unions provide that charges against members must be based on specific violations of the constitution, by-laws or decisions of the union.

3. In 44 unions, the union executive board has power both to investigate the charges and impose the penalties. Thus the board is prosecuting attorney, judge and jury all at once.³²

When discussing the platform Edmund Brown supported, Knowland said that it would have created 37 new state agencies; and

³⁰Ibid.

³¹"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

³²"The University of California Speech"

with an expected deficit already over 200 million dollars, that would have added another 81 million dollars.³³ Further, the spending in Attorney General Brown's office had increased 200%, while he had increased his employees 100%.³⁴ As to Edmund Brown's campaign, Knowland said that if all liquor dealers in California had contributed the requested ten dollars to Brown's campaign fund this would have amounted to the sum of \$430,000.³⁵

Illustrative examples. As Knowland used statistics as a primary source of evidence so too did he use illustrative examples. How the "tyrannical trio" of James Hoffa, Harry Bridges, and Walter Reuther operated was illustrated by what happened in Local 29 of the office employees union, San Francisco.

With only 93 of some 2100 members present, 67 of those present voted that the entire membership would be assessed \$3 to \$3.50 a month--close to a dollar a week--for six months for election purposes.³⁶

Still speaking on the labor issue, Knowland asked the audience to take a look at the economic picture in Reuther-dominated Michigan, What had happened there?

³³"The KGO-TV Report"

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

Well, while business and industry have been leaving Michigan and moving into other states where a satisfactory investment climate thus far exists, the population of Michigan has increased almost one-fifth. But the number of jobs has gone down.³⁷

Discussing Edmund Brown's previous record, Knowland said that while Edmund Brown was campaigning in San Francisco to be District Attorney he had made it a major issue that his opponent did not try cases. Edmund Brown's pledge had been that if elected he would try all major cases. "He was elected, he tried the first case, he lost and never tried another case again."³⁸ What about crime?

On the same day and at the same place in Coronado several weeks ago that Brown is saying there is no organized crime in this state, the Attorney General of the United States disclosed he is sending federal agents into California to investigate organized crime.³⁹

Furthermore, when one of Edmund Brown's top aides, then Chief Deputy Attorney General, was found by the Hearst papers to be engaged in a business deal with a man with a long criminal record, and this aide was found to have used official stationery to help the transaction, Edmund Brown took no action. When the Chief Deputy resigned a year later to return to private business, Edmund Brown thanked him for his service and announced that the former Chief Deputy would be his personal campaign representative.⁴⁰

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸"The KGO-TV Report"

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid.

Factual items. While the illustrative examples employed by Knowland added evidence to the charges against the labor bosses and against his opponent, Edmund Brown, the factual items used as evidence were more extensive and supported a greater number of ideas. Narcotics and drug traffic had been valued conservatively by the experts as a million dollar a day business in California.⁴¹ Major crime figures, which showed California to be number one in the nation, were based on arrests made by local law enforcement officers.⁴² The records of the McClellan committee related how extreme terrorist methods had been employed by James Hoffa's supporters.⁴³ Most union elections were decided by a small group of 60 or 70 men, while carefully prepared statistics showed that less than one quarter of candidates for the presidency of major unions were opposed in union election.⁴⁴ In addition to the issues of narcotics, crime, and unions, Knowland cited facts about his personal record. He had been active in public life for a quarter of a century.⁴⁵ During twenty-five years Knowland had in public

⁴¹"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵"The University of California Speech"

office, he had completed his full term, as Assemblyman, State Senator, and United States Senator.⁴⁶ Facts were presented also to indicate the place of younger people in politics. There was no other congressional delegation of any comparable size with a younger average age than that of California.⁴⁷ At the Chicago convention in 1952, Eisenhower asked for, and obtained, a young running mate, Richard Nixon.⁴⁸

Analysis showed that the campaign oratory of Knowland made extensive use of evidence. Quotations from Winston Churchill, James L. McDevitt, James Hoffa, John L. McClellan, Edmund Brown, Theodore Roosevelt, Harry Bridges, and Harry Truman were included and provided a major source of evidence. Personal experiences of Knowland ranged from helping to open the market for California's agricultural products, to supporting legislation which outlawed the Yellow Dog contract, to introducing a workers' bill of rights. Statistics were cited to show increases in drug addiction and in the crime rate; to reveal the procedures in some unions; and to disclose information about his opponent, Edmund Brown. Illustrative examples seemed to center on two major issues--labor and Attorney General Brown's record; while factual items lent

⁴⁶"The KGO-TV Report"

⁴⁷"The University of California Speech"

⁴⁸Ibid.

support to Knowland's discussion of the narcotic and drug traffic, the crime rate, the method of unions, the personal record of Knowland, and the place of youth in politics.

II. REASONING

Having the evidence at hand, the next step was to determine what elements bound these materials together. The reasoning of Knowland had to be explored for his use of deduction, induction, causal relation, and analogy.

Deductive reasoning. The deductive reasoning, establishing an individual truth through the medium of universal principles, was analyzed for the principle types of syllogisms: categorical, disjunctive, and hypothetical. Only the major premises of the categorical syllogisms, those which define, classify, and assert without qualification, were apparent: "Our youth who go right into private occupations adjust much more quickly than did their parents."⁴⁹ "All Californians bear a heavy responsibility in this election year."⁵⁰ "Everyone has the right to know the issues and where the candidates stand on those issues."⁵¹ The

⁴⁹"The University of California Speech"

⁵⁰"The KGO-TV Report"

⁵¹Ibid.

conclusion was implied in all three cases if the members of the audiences felt included by the allness statement or major premise. His implications were: (1) you will adjust more quickly than did your parents; (2) you bear a heavy responsibility in this election year; and (3) you have a right to know the issues and where the candidates stand on those issues. The critical question asked in judging this reasoning was whether or not the facts alleged in the main premise were true. For example, if one did not agree that youth who go right into private occupation adjust more quickly, then if one were in the class called youth, he could not accept the conclusion that he would adjust more quickly.

As in the use of the categorical syllogism, so too in the use of the disjunctive syllogism only the major premise appeared. The disjunctive syllogisms, those in which the major premise is a disjunctive proposition listing alternative possibilities, included the following. Californians had a choice; either they would choose "jobs, opportunities, and good wages" or the "economic dislocation which would result from the program of heavy spending and regimentation which would come from the opposition's policies."⁵² "We must choose between our free enterprise system with individual freedom of choice versus the domination of the union bosses

⁵²"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

and compulsory union membership."⁵³ "We will be voting for or against economic and political freedom."⁵⁴ Knowland told workers that they had a choice; either they wanted "a Governor who will stand up and be counted when your rights are threatened," or they wanted "the rubber stamp of a few labor bosses."⁵⁵ Again the conclusion was implied, the choice being left to the individual listener. The critical question asked here was whether or not the alternative possibilities were as exhaustive as the case would permit. Was the choice between jobs, opportunities, and good wages or economic dislocation? The free enterprise system versus compulsory union membership--were these the only two alternatives? Did workers have to choose a Governor who would stand up and be counted or else the rubber stamp of a few labor bosses? If the answer in any case was in the negative, if there were other possibilities, then this reasoning could be considered faulty.

In addition to the categorical and the disjunctive syllogism, the hypothetical syllogism was used in the process of deductive reasoning. The principal assertion in the hypothetical syllogism is conditioned, and the major premise contains both an antecedent and a consequent. Again, only

⁵³"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵"The KGO-TV Report"

the major premise could be ascertained.

. . . if our people know the facts, they will make the right decision.⁵⁶

If an official knows the problems at both ends of government, and how things are accomplished, it helps our people and the solutions of their problems.⁵⁷

If Americans had not been willing to pledge their lives, their honor and their resources in the meeting of controversial issues raised by totalitarian dictators, we would not have retained our freedom down to this date.⁵⁸

If these rights are to be preserved, it will be by stubborn American men and women unwilling to trade principles for expediency and by those who will not vacillate, back down and abdicate to naked threats of force by power hungry men abroad or at home.⁵⁹

If my opponent cannot properly administer and supervise the one agency (the State Narcotics Bureau) under his office of Attorney General, then how can he be expected to administer the executive branch of our state government where there are 24 departments, 128 boards and commissions, and 46 independent agencies.⁶⁰

If liberalism is true to its guiding spirit, it can never support compulsory unionism; if it is true to its spirit, it cannot support discrimination against employees who want to join unions but who cannot because of some artificial bars that have been established.⁶¹

If the labor bosses are able to liquidate me because

⁵⁶"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰"The University of California Speech"

⁶¹Ibid.

I have championed the simple, decent rights of union members to control their own affairs, will you find another candidate who will stand up to fight for your rights?⁶²

The conclusions which Knowland was attempting to draw were again only implied. If one affirmed the antecedent in each example, then logically he would be led to affirm the consequent. On the other hand, if one denied the consequent, then logically he would be led to deny the antecedent. Knowland did not carry the listener beyond the major premise to any positive conclusions.

The campaign oratory of Knowland contained examples of deductive reasoning based on the three traditional types of syllogisms: categorical, disjunctive, and hypothetical. Only the major premise was stated in each example so that the conclusion, or individual truth, was established by implication alone. This truncated syllogism, one from which one or more propositions had been omitted, is properly named an enthymeme.⁶³ The missing propositions, deliberately suppressed or merely unformulated, were thus in the mind as contrasted with the main premise which was expressed.⁶⁴ The weakness of Knowland's enthymemic reasoning was that he assumed a responsibility by

⁶²"The KGO-TV Report"

⁶³Alburey Castell, A College Logic (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935), p. 145.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 145-46.

the listener to grasp the conclusion or individual truth.

Inductive reasoning. Inductive reasoning, moving from particulars to a general conclusion, was evident in the oratory of Knowland:

. . . in the first six months of this year, narcotics use went up 19 percent--almost one-fifth--in California compared with a 43 percent reduction in Illinois and a drop of over 12 percent in New York. Now these figures are based on arrests, as are other crime figures, and this shows that our local law enforcement officers are on the job.⁶⁵

During the seven and one-half years Brown was the Chief Law Enforcement Officer of the State, increases in crime were up 76 per cent. Increases in crime during this period showed the following:

Manslaughter up 70%
 Rape up 100%
 Robbery up 58%
 Aggravated assault up 112%
 Burglary up 89%
 Theft up 63%
 Auto theft up 130%⁶⁶

Another example of inductive reasoning was in the argument that labor bosses did not believe in democracy.

Most union elections are decided by a small group of 60 or 70 men. Carefully prepared statistics show that less than one quarter of candidates for the presidency of major unions are opposed in union elections. Moreover, this number is shrinking even

⁶⁵"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

⁶⁶Ibid.

more year by year. The bosses don't believe in democracy.⁶⁷

Knowland drew the conclusion that Attorney General Brown "means to raise your taxes but does not have the courage to say so" from the following specifics:

He calls for a consumer's counsel [sic] which would pave the way for price and wage controls under the false label of protecting the consumer's interest. He also calls for compulsory unionism, not Democracy in unions. He calls for increased funds for schools and increased pension payments. But my opponent never says a word as to how the additional money is to be raised. He means to raise your taxes but does not have the courage to say so.⁶⁸

A critical question was asked to test the validity of this inductive reasoning. Was the number of instances sufficiently large to warrant the generalization? For example, did the narcotics figures, based on arrests, warrant the generalization that local law enforcement officers were on the job? Did the procedures in union elections sufficiently indicate that labor bosses did not believe in democracy? Was Brown's call for a consumer council, for increased funds for schools, and for increased pension payments sufficient evidence to justify the conclusion that he meant to raise taxes? It would seem that the inductive reasoning of Knowland would have been strengthened had he based his generalizations on a

⁶⁷"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

⁶⁸"The KGO-TV Report"

larger number of specifics.

Causal arguments. In addition to the use of deduction and induction, Knowland reasoned also from causal arguments, establishing links between particulars by noting the impact or influence of one event upon another, or by tracing the cause of an observed event. Knowland reasoned from cause to effect when speaking about California agriculture.

The Eisenhower Administration has fostered programs to encourage the re-establishment of our foreign markets, lost during the war.

As Minority Leader I called a meeting in my office with representatives of the other interested states, together with officials of the Department of Agriculture and Department of State.

This resulted in reopening part of our historic market for California's agricultural products.⁶⁹

Causal reasoning was used in the charges Knowland leveled against his opponent.

My opponent in this campaign is on record as favoring a plan for a counsel for the consumer which would inevitably mean OPA controls . . .

The platform my opponent embraces would, on the basis of all experience in this country, lead inevitably to the control of your wages, the control of prices and the control of production.⁷⁰

Discussing how he had been looking forward to debating the issues with Governor Knight and Attorney General Brown,

⁶⁹"The California Newspaper Publishers Workshop Speech"

⁷⁰"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

Knowland used another causal argument.

Since both of these anticipated primary candidates were on the opposite side from me on the issue of voluntary unionism, it is obvious that they would have divided the vote of those opposing Proposition 18.⁷¹

On the day before election, when Knowland pledged a program for California, his use of causal reasoning was pronounced:

. . . I pledge a favorable economic climate for all our citizens. This will mean more jobs, more industry and more security. . . .

. . . I pledge to produce sound labor management relations which will encourage both business and labor to act in the best interests of each other and the public. . . .

. . . I pledge a bill of rights for our working men so that every union member will have a democratic voice in the operation of his union. . . .

. . . I pledge a water program which will end the bickering between north and south that has halted construction of our critically needed water projects. . . .

. . . I pledge a program of highway safety that will take reckless drivers off our roads and insure greater traveling security on the byways and highways of California.⁷²

The causal arguments employed by Knowland were examined critically. In the first example, showing that part of California's historic markets had been reopened, a more definite causal connection between the preceding events and the result could have been established. The argument that

⁷¹"The KGO-TV Report"

⁷²"The San Joaquin Valley Speech"

the stand of Attorney General Brown would have brought OPA type controls and control of wages, prices, and production did not allow for other causes which might operate so as to prevent the alleged effects; nor was it shown that this particular cause was adequate to produce the alleged effects. The same critical questions were applied to the program which Knowland pledged for California, and it could not be ascertained that the particular causes, the pledges, were adequate to have produced the stated effects. Nor was allowance made for other causes which might have precluded the likelihood of the known cause, the pledge, producing the alleged effect.

While the use of deductive, inductive, and causal reasoning was significant, the analogical reasoning, comparing objects or relationships, formed an insignificant part of the logical proof. On one occasion, Knowland characterized the coming election as a "showdown,"⁷³ while on another occasion he used a metaphor: "The idealism of youth is a flame that has never been measured."⁷⁴ This analogical reasoning was sound insofar as the compared items seemed to have more points of likeness than points of difference.

Analysis revealed that the campaign oratory of

⁷³"The Combined Service Clubs Speech"

⁷⁴"The University of California Speech"

Knowland contained the two basic constituents of logical proof, evidence and reasoning. The degree to which the specific forms of evidence and reasoning were employed became evident as did the strengths and weaknesses of his reasoning which were tested by selected critical questions. As the effectiveness of Knowland's logical appeal could not be measured with accuracy, the degree to which his oratory made "a difference in the affairs of men and states" could not be determined.⁷⁵

⁷⁵Thomnsen and Baird, op. cit., p. 1.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The singularly distinguishing characteristic of William Fife Knowland's 1958 campaign oratory, as brought out by this study, was that he made use of the three Aristotelian modes of persuasion: the logical, emotional, and ethical.

To put the audience in a frame of mind suitable for the reception of his ideas, Knowland relied heavily on the materials and devices of emotional proof. Adjusting both himself and his ideas to characteristics of the audience, Knowland seemed especially to anticipate their prejudices, their intellectual and informational status, and their interests as they related to the subjects most prominent during the 1958 campaign. Employing the negative motivating elements, Knowland's appeal through fear was most pronounced although the expression of indignation, anger, shame, and enmity was not lacking. Conveying a feeling of confidence to the audience was the most prominent way in which Knowland included the positive motivating elements, but also he imparted appeals based on calmness, kindness, pity, friendship, and shamelessness. Knowland's reliance on the emotional counterpart of rhetoric furnished his oratory with a dynamic and energizing force, but at the same time he combined his emotional appeals with knowledge which illustrated an honest,

high principled method of oral discourse.

To gain the respect of the audience for his personal integrity and to properly dispose them to his cause, Knowland made use of the ethical powers of his personal appeal. Following the concept of ethical proof set forth in The Rhetoric of Aristotle, Knowland relied on the three sources of personal credibility in orators: sagacity, high character, and good will. To establish the probity of his character, Knowland brought out his association with those ideals, those causes, and those individuals which generally would be regarded by the American public as virtuous and elevated. To create an impression of sagacity, Knowland displayed his broad knowledge of the issues which were then timely and vital; these he discussed with reasonable good taste and common sense. To reveal his good will toward the audience, Knowland identified himself with his hearers and their problems and appeared to be a man speaking in a straightforward and truthful manner; however, Knowland did not hesitate to set tact and consideration aside when meeting rebukes. This campaign oratory, interwoven as it was with the elements of emotional proof, reflected the force of Knowland's character and personality.

Seeming to recognize Aristotle's conviction that the most important ingredient of a speech was rational demonstration through severe argumentation, Knowland combined the basic constituents of logical proof, evidence and reasoning,

with his ethical and emotional proofs. Making extensive use of evidence, Knowland supported his speech with a great number of quotations as well as with personal experiences, statistics, illustrative examples, and factual items. To bind the evidence together, Knowland reasoned according to the processes of induction, deduction, causal relation, and analogy. The deductive reasoning was entirely in the form of enthymemes of the first order, which made it the listeners' responsibility to grasp the intended conclusion. A weakness of Knowland's inductive reasoning was his tendency to generalize from what appeared to be an insufficient number of specifics. The causal reasoning was also examined critically with the conclusion being that Knowland did not ascertain, to a reliable degree, whether or not his stated causes were adequate to have produced the stated effects and whether or not other causes might have precluded the cause from producing the alleged effect. Analogical reasoning was used to such a limited extent that the only evaluation which could be rendered was that the objects and relationships compared seemed to have more points of likeness than of difference.

How effective were the campaign speeches of William F. Knowland? Were they of enduring quality and will the basic ideas stand in functional existence? Perhaps a partial answer lay in the outcome of the election, but the effectiveness of his oratory cannot be tested by the vote alone but by

by the degree in which he used the valid means of persuasion. In the final analysis, Knowland's oratory will have to be related to the social milieu of the historical period which, in effect, shall be the evaluation of history.

In summary, Knowland placed himself in the role of spokesman for the people of California by making appeals on the issues which he saw as vital to them: voluntary unionism, narcotics trade and addiction, water shortage, and crime. Today and tomorrow the text of his speeches is valuable as a record of the causes to which Knowland was committed.

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