

© COPYRIGHT

By

James Riley Chrisman

1974

THE RHETORIC OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN  
OF 1948: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF  
SELECTED ADDRESSES OF HARRY S  
TRUMAN AND THOMAS E. DEWEY

By

JAMES RILEY CHRISMAN

Bachelor of Science in Education  
Central Missouri State University  
Warrensburg, Missouri  
1963

Master of Arts  
Central Missouri State University  
Warrensburg, Missouri  
1965

Specialist  
Central Missouri State University  
Warrensburg, Missouri  
1970

Submitted to the Faculty of the  
Graduate College of the  
Oklahoma State University  
in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for  
the Degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
December, 1974

Thesis  
1994D  
C5535r  
Cop. 2

MAY 11 1976 MAY 11 1976 MAY 11

THE RHETORIC OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN  
OF 1948: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF  
SELECTED ADDRESSES BY HARRY S  
TRUMAN AND THOMAS E. DEWEY

Thesis Approved: Thesis Approved: Thesis Approved:

*Charles W. ...*

Thesis Adviser

*Alexander M. ...*

*Theodore L. ...*

*Douglas Hale*

*Keith D. Harries*

*N. N. ...*  
Dean of the College of the Graduate College

938610 938610 938610

## PREFACE

This study is concerned with a content analysis of selected speeches from the presidential campaign of 1948. The objective is to determine the nature and the degree of difference between the rhetoric of Harry S Truman and that of Thomas E. Dewey. To assist with this determination, a Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric is used. With the aid of this model, certain themes within each candidate's rhetoric are measured--Crisis Theme, Belligerence, Absolutism, Legitimacy, Emotional Appeal, Issue Orientation, Rationality, Acceptability, and Resoluteness. The structure of the model and the functions of the computerized systems employed in its operation are presented in Chapter I and Appendix A.

Furthermore, this study uses as supportive evidence numerous lengthy quotations from the speeches of the campaign. These quotations represent a spoken form of communication rather than a written form. Therefore, they contain irregularities and inconsistencies in the punctuation, capitalization, and wording. In order to preserve the rhythm of the speeches and to facilitate the reading of them, the use of sic has been limited to only the most gross of errors.

The author wishes to express his appreciation to his major adviser, Charles M. Dollar, for his guidance, assistance, and patience throughout this study. Appreciation is also expressed to the other members of the committee for their interest and assistance--Theodore L. Agnew, Douglas D. Hale, Keith D. Harries, and Alexander M. Ospovat. Also the author acknowledges the valuable assistance of the staff of the Harry S Truman Library, particularly Philip J. Lagerquist, John Curry, and Harry Clark.

There are four other persons whose important contributions must be recognized. My parents instilled in their children a love for learning, it all began with them. My wife, Barbara Abney Chrisman, has generously provided both the moral support and the economic support needed to complete this study. Without her, it would have been impossible; I owe her more than I can ever hope to repay. Finally, I must recognize the adaptability of a child--our son Joe. A two-year-old who readily accepted the fact that he must play quietly when daddy works. He has been a greater help than he will ever know.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
II. ANALYSIS OF THE MAJOR ADDRESSES BY HARRY S TRUMAN AND THOMAS E. DEWEY . . . . .	42
III. ANALYSIS OF "WHISTLE-STOP" SPEECHES BY HARRY S TRUMAN AND THOMAS E. DEWEY . . . . .	110
IV. A COMPARISON OF THE MEAN INDEX SCORES OF THE SPEECHES FROM THE CAMPAIGN OF 1948 . . . . .	157
V. A COMPARISON OF THE RHETORIC ACCORDING TO TIME: BEFORE AND AFTER OCTOBER 5, 1948. . . . .	167
VI. ANALYSIS OF THE DIFFERENCES WITHIN EACH CANDIDATE'S RHETORIC ACCORDING TO GEOGRAPHIC REGION OF DELIVERY. . . . .	229
VII. ANALYSIS OF THE DIFFERENCES WITHIN EACH CANDIDATE'S RHETORIC ACCORDING TO THE TOPIC OF THE SPEECHES. . . . .	240
VIII. CONCLUSIONS. . . . .	248
A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	259
 APPENDIX A	
METHODOLOGY: THE HARVARD III PSYCHO- SOCIOLOGICAL DICTIONARY AND THE INQUIRER II COMPUTERIZED CONTENT ANALYSIS SYSTEM. . . . .	263
 APPENDIX B	
AVERAGE RAW FREQUENCY PER SPEECH OF THE COMPONENTS OF THE MODEL OF PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN RHETORIC . . . . .	271
 APPENDIX C	
FREQUENCY OF SPECIFIC ISSUES IN SPEECHES BY HARRY S TRUMAN: BEFORE AND AFTER OCTOBER 5, 1948 . . . . .	273
 APPENDIX D	
GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS OF THE UNITED STATES . . . . .	275

Chapter	Page
APPENDIX E CLASSIFICATION OF SPEECHES BY MAJOR SUBJECT . . . . .	277
APPENDIX F INDEX SCORES OF CONTROL DOCUMENTS ON THE MODEL OF PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN RHETORIC AND ITS COMPONENTS. . . . .	281



LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric: Its Components and Their Definitions. . . . .	20
II. Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric: Its Harvard III Tags and Their Definitions. . . . .	22
III. Example of Difference Between Mean Index Scores Based on Index Points . . . . .	27
IV. Example of Difference Between Mean Index Scores Based on Per Cent . . . . .	28
V. Major Addresses by Harry S Truman: Selected From the Presidential Campaign of 1948 . . . . .	36
VI. "Whistle-Stop" Speeches by Harry S Truman: Selected From the Presidential Campaign of 1948 . . . . .	37
VII. Major Addresses by Thomas E. Dewey: Selected From the Presidential Campaign of 1948 . . . . .	38
VIII. "Whistle-Stop" Speeches by Thomas E. Dewey: Selected From the Presidential Campaign of 1948. . . . .	39
IX. Documents Used for Control Purposes. . . . .	40
X. Mean Index Scores of Major Addresses on Nine Areas of Content . . . . .	44
XI. Mean Index Scores of Major Addresses on Insignificant Areas of Content. . . . .	45
XII. Per Cent of Each Candidate's References to Communism According to Eight Categories. . . . .	51

Table	Page
XIII. Mean Index Scores of Major Addresses on the Slightly Significant Areas of Content. . . . .	65
XIV. Mean Index Scores of Major Addresses on Significant Areas of Content . . . . .	74
XV. Frequency of Specific Issues per Speech . . . . .	84
XVI. Mean Index Scores of Four Deviant Speeches Compared with the Truman and Dewey Mean Index Scores . . . . .	103
XVII. Position of Speeches in a Forty Speech Ranking: Major Addresses of Truman and Dewey . . . . .	104
XVIII. Comparison of Declaration of Independence to all Major Addresses and Control Documents . . . . .	106
XIX. Position of Control Documents When Ranked with all Major Addresses on Three Major Concepts. . . . .	108
XX. Mean Index Scores of "Whistle-Stop" Speeches on Nine Areas of Content . . . . .	112
XXI. Mean Index Scores of "Whistle-Stop" Speeches on the Insignificant Areas of Content. . . . .	113
XXII. Mean Index Scores of "Whistle-Stop" Speeches on the Slightly Significant Areas of Content. . . . .	119
XXIII. Mean Index Scores of "Whistle-Stop" Speeches on Significant Areas of Content . . . . .	126
XXIV. Frequency of Specific Issues per Speech . . . . .	141
XXV. Comparison of Mean Index Scores of Two Deviant Truman Speeches with Means of the Truman and Dewey "Whistle-Stop" Speeches . . . . .	152
XXVI. Position of Deviant Speeches in a Twenty-Three Speech Ranking: "Whistle-Stop" Speeches by Truman and Dewey. . . . .	154

Table	Page
XXVII. Mean Index Scores on Nine Areas of Content: "Whistle-Stop" Speeches by Truman and Dewey, Six Control Documents, and the Declaration of Independence. . . . .	155
XXVIII. Comparison of Mean Index Scores of Major Addresses and "Whistle-Stop" Speeches by Harry S Truman . . . . .	159
XXIX. Comparison of Mean Index Scores of Major Addresses and "Whistle-Stop" Speeches by Thomas E. Dewey. . . . .	161
XXX. Mean Index Scores on Nine Areas of Content: Forty Speeches by Harry S Truman and Twenty-Three Speeches by Thomas E. Dewey . . . . .	163
XXXI. Mean Index Scores of Speeches by Harry S Truman: Before and After October 5, 1948. . . . .	169
XXXII. Mean Index Scores of Forty Truman Speeches on Significant Area: Before and After October 5, 1948 . . . . .	171
XXXIII. Mean Index Scores of Speeches by Thomas E. Dewey: Before and After October 5, 1948. . . . .	174
XXXIV. Mean Index Scores of Speeches by Thomas E. Dewey on the Significant Areas of Content: Before and After October 5, 1948. . . . .	176
XXXV. Frequency of Specific Issues in Speeches by Thomas E. Dewey: Before and After October 5, 1948 . . . . .	185
XXXVI. Mean Index Scores of Speeches by Thomas E. Dewey on Slightly Significant Areas of Content: Before and After October 5, 1948 . . . . .	187
XXXVII. Mean Index Scores of Speeches by Harry S Truman and Thomas E. Dewey: Before and After October 5, 1948. . . . .	191

Table	Page
XXXVIII. Mean Index Scores of Speeches by Harry S. Truman and Thomas E. Dewey from the First Campaign Tour, September 17 to October 2, 1948 . . . . .	195
XXXIX. Mean Index Scores of Speeches from First Campaign Tour on the Insignificant Areas of Content. . . . .	197
XL. Mean Index Scores of Speeches from First Campaign Tour on the Slightly Significant Areas of Content. . . . .	203
XLI. Mean Index Scores of Speeches from First Campaign Tour on the Significant Areas of Content. . . . .	208
XLII. Frequency of Specific Issues in the Speeches of the First Campaign Tour: September 17 to October 2 . . . . .	218
XLIII. Comparison of Four Major Sectional Mean Index Scores with the Overall Mean Index Scores of all Truman Speeches. . . . .	233
XLIV. Comparison of Truman Regional Mean Index Scores with the Overall Mean Index Scores of all Truman Speeches . . . . .	234
XLV. Comparison of Four Major Sectional Mean Index Scores with the Overall Mean Index Scores of all Dewey Speeches. . . . .	236
XLVI. Comparison of Dewey Regional Mean Index Scores with the Overall Mean Index Scores of all Dewey Speeches. . . . .	237
XLVII. Comparison of Topic Mean Index Scores with Overall Mean Index Scores of all Truman Speeches . . . . .	243
XLVIII. Comparison of Topic Mean Index Scores with Overall Mean Index Scores of all Dewey Speeches. . . . .	245

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Harry S Truman's victory in the presidential election of 1948 came as a surprise to many politicians, pollsters, and journalists. By early summer, most of the "experts" had conceded the presidency to Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican Governor of New York. However, when the ballots were counted, the "experts" found that a plurality of the voters did not agree. The American voters returned the scrappy politician from Missouri to the White House and the dapper Governor to New York.

Truman's unexpected victory has been analyzed from almost every conceivable angle. "It seems," commented R. Alton Lee, "there are almost as many interpretations of the results of this election as there are analysts studying it."<sup>1</sup>

Generally, analysts attribute the Truman victory in 1948 to the strength of the Democratic Party and to Truman's ability to revitalize the political coalition founded by

---

<sup>1</sup>R. Alton Lee, Truman and Taft-Hartley: A Question of Mandate (Lexington, 1966), p. 146.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt.<sup>2</sup> Truman was able to attract the votes of large groups of voters such as those involved in labor and agriculture. This led George H. Mayer to conclude that the Truman campaign was especially geared to induce selected voting blocs into the Democratic Party. "The President," he wrote, "was a new-style 'adding machine' liberal, who methodically singled out the pressure groups essential to his success and appealed to them."<sup>3</sup>

Among the specific factors cited either singly or collectively as the reasons for Truman's surprise victory were the support of Truman by labor, farmers, and Negroes; the fear of domestic communism; the development of the Cold War; the record of the Eightieth Congress; and the differences in the campaign styles and personalities of the two major candidates.

One of the first analyses of Truman's victory was conducted by Samuel Lubell. He believed, as would most analysts, that Truman's victory was a combination of many factors. However, Lubell singled out several for emphasis. For example, he portrayed American labor in 1948 as a

---

<sup>2</sup>Richard S. Kirkendall, "The Election of 1948" in Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.; Fred L. Israel; and William P. Hansen (editors), History of American Presidential Elections, Volume IV (New York, 1971), p. 3137; Cabell Phillips, The Truman Presidency: The History of a Triumphant Succession (New York, 1966), p. 250; Irwin Ross, The Loneliest Campaign: The Truman Victory of 1948 (New York, 1968), pp. 252-253, 263-265.

<sup>3</sup>George H. Mayer, The Republican Party, 1854-1964 (New York, 1964), p. 473.

voting bloc that did not want to lose its hard-won economic and social gains. Labor believed that the major threats to its position were Dewey and the Republican Party. Lubell concluded that labor voted for Truman in order to protect what it had accomplished in the previous fifteen years.<sup>4</sup>

R. Alton Lee also emphasized the role of labor in Truman's victory. He found that the organized effort of labor to elect pro-labor senators and congressmen provided a reverse coattail effect for Truman. Truman polled fewer votes than Democratic congressional candidates in four of the states he carried--Rhode Island, Illinois, Ohio, and West Virginia. Also Truman's effective use of his veto of the Taft-Hartley Act as a campaign issue encouraged labor to vote Democratic.<sup>5</sup> Cabell Phillips, in his history of the Truman administration, also cited labor as one of the main factors in Truman's success. Phillips believed, as did Lee, that Truman made good use of the issues and thus won the votes of labor.<sup>6</sup>

Lubell also credited the farm vote with playing a major role in Truman's victory. He found that by 1948 large numbers of German-American voters were returning to the Democratic Party. They had left it in the early 1940's because they felt President Franklin Roosevelt was a

---

<sup>4</sup>Samuel Lubell, The Future of American Politics (New York, 1952), pp. 179-182.

<sup>5</sup>Lee, pp. 151-154.

<sup>6</sup>Phillips, pp. 248-249.

"German-Hater." Lubell noticed this in the farm states carried by Truman, especially those that had voted Republican in the previous presidential election. Also he believed that American farmers, like American labor, saw Dewey and the Republican Party as a threat to their economic well-being. Farmers voted to protect what they had gained since the depression; therefore they voted for Truman and a continuation of his farm program.<sup>7</sup>

Allen J. Matusow agreed with Lubell that the farmers felt threatened by Dewey and the Republicans. Matusow perceived Truman as skillfully exploiting the anxieties that the farmers had about Dewey. Thus, he led them to vote Democratic. The importance of the farm vote is illustrated by Matusow in his analysis of three key farm states that voted for Truman--Ohio, Iowa, and Wisconsin.

Had not the farmers in large numbers switched back to the Democrats, the 47 electoral votes of these three states would have been lost, and the election would have been thrown into the House of Representatives.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup>Samuel Lubell, "Who Really Elected Truman?" Saturday Evening Post, CCXXI, No. 30 (January 22, 1949), pp. 15-17, 54, 56; Lubell, The Future of American Politics, pp. 159-160.

<sup>8</sup>Allen J. Matusow, Farm Policies and Politics in the Truman Years (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967), pp. 186, 189; The "switched back" comment refers to the fact that farmers in these states had voted for Dewey in 1944. At first, Matusow's classification of Ohio as a major farm state caused the author to question his premise. However, a check of the Census of Agriculture: 1950 revealed that the value of farm products sold during 1949 was comparable to that sold in other major agricultural production states.



While he emphasized the importance of labor, R. Alton Lee also recognized the valuable support Truman received from the farmers. Lee indicated that it took a cooperative effort by labor and farmers to assure a Truman victory. He wrote:

In every state that labor and farmers did not work together for the Democrats, Dewey won. . . . it is obvious that Harry S. Truman could not have won in 1948 without union activity in the Congressional elections or without the tremendous endorsement he received from laborers and farmers.<sup>9</sup>

The voting strength of ethnic minorities, particularly northern Negroes, was noted as a determining factor in Truman's victory. A recent study of the importance of the Negro vote appeared in William C. Berman's The Politics of Civil Rights in the Truman Administration (1970). To Berman the fact that two-thirds of all Negroes who voted in 1948 remained loyal to the Democratic Party and cast their ballots for Truman held great significance. He cited the election returns which indicated that it was the Negro districts that carried several key states for Truman.

It was fortunate for Truman that Negroes found him to be such an attractive candidate, because if a sizeable number of black voters had opted for Dewey or Wallace in any two of the three key states of California, Illinois, or Ohio, Dewey would have won the White House.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>Lee, pp. 150, 153-154.

<sup>10</sup>William C. Berman, The Politics of Civil Rights in the Truman Administration (Columbus, 1970), pp. 129-130, Berman noted that while Truman carried California by only 17,865 votes, one black district in Los Angeles gave him 30,742 votes to 7,146 for Dewey, and 4,092 for Wallace.

Another factor often proclaimed as having an important part in sending Truman back to the White House was communism, both domestic and foreign. For example, Alan D. Harper indicated that the candidacy of Henry A. Wallace on the Progressive Party ticket combined with Wallace's acceptance of communist support removed the onus of communism from Truman. Thus Truman was relieved of the task of defending himself, his administration, and his party from charges of being sympathetic toward the communists.<sup>11</sup>

Robert A. Divine has noted that foreign communism and its product, the Cold War, played a vital part in the election of 1948. He wrote:

The Cold War cast a long shadow over the election of 1948, influencing the campaign strategies of the rival candidates and shaping in a subtle but vital way the final outcome.<sup>12</sup>

Also, Dewey's decision to maintain a bipartisan foreign policy by refraining from attacking the administration on that issue aided Truman. It gave the President time to build his image as a tough opponent of communism and its expansion.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup>Alan D. Harper, The Politics of Loyalty: The White House and the Communist Issue, 1946-1952 (Stanley I. Kutler, ed., Contributions in American History, I, Westport, Connecticut, 1969), p. 82; Ross, p. 253.

<sup>12</sup>Robert A. Divine, "The Cold War and the Election of 1948," Journal of American History, LIX, No. 1 (June, 1972), p. 91

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 108-109.

Divine and Cabell Phillips agreed that the Berlin Airlift did much to improve Truman's position with the voters. Phillips believed the airlift was responsible for a major portion of Truman's anti-communist image.<sup>14</sup> Divine credits Truman with being a shrewd judge of the public attitude concerning foreign policy:

He rightly sensed the desire of the American people for a tough policy that stopped short of actual war. The airlift, begun as a stop-gap measure, soon developed into a successful operation that enabled the United States to overcome the Russian blockade without risking a world war. Thus Truman did not have to speak out on foreign policy during the fall campaign; the headlines day after day were giving him votes as the American people read of firm American diplomacy . . .<sup>15</sup>

Another item analysts regularly cited for its contribution to the Democratic victory in 1948 was the Eightieth Congress. According to this view, Truman used the record of the Eightieth Congress effectively as a campaign issue. In her recent study entitled Truman and the 80th Congress, Susan M. Hartmann contends that shortly after the Republican victory in the general elections of 1946, Truman and his aides decided to approach the newly elected congress with the intention of making its record a political issue for the campaign of 1948.<sup>16</sup> However, Hartmann recognizes that the record of the Eightieth Congress was not the only

---

<sup>14</sup>Phillips, p. 250.

<sup>15</sup>Divine, p. 109.

<sup>16</sup>Susan M. Hartmann, Truman and the Eightieth Congress (Columbia, Missouri, 1971), pp. 16-18.

reason for Truman's victory. She stated:

The basic reason for Truman's victory was the popularity of his party and its domestic programs, but Truman himself focused the electorate's attention on the Democratic program. In a highly personal and emotional way, he sharply contrasted it with the least popular aspects of the Eightieth Congress and skillfully identified that Congress with the Republican Party in general.<sup>17</sup>

Writers other than Hartmann have commented upon the Eightieth Congress and its impact on the election. R. Alton Lee, Cabell Phillips, and Irwin Ross also cite the Congress as a factor in the election.<sup>18</sup>

Several other elements such as campaign techniques and personality traits are cited by analysts as determining factors in the election. Most common among these are Truman's "whistle-stop" campaign, the difference in campaign strategies, and the difference in personalities of the candidates. Truman's "whistle-stop" campaign, with his off-the-cuff speeches delivered in an informal manner and in a rural vernacular, is considered to have been highly successful.<sup>19</sup>

The analysts tend to view the campaign strategies of Truman and Dewey as being at opposite poles. Truman waged a vigorous, hard-hitting campaign that took him to the

---

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 210.

<sup>18</sup>Lee, p. 154; Phillips, p. 249; Ross, p. 260.

<sup>19</sup>Booth Mooney, The Politicians, 1945-1960 (New York, 1970), pp. 76-77; Lee, p. 154; Mayer, pp. 473-475; Ross, p. 187.

people. And, there he presented his case in a colorfully common language. Dewey campaigned as if he had been elected. His campaign stressed "unity" and he refused to get down to the issues and to hard-core political campaigning. His campaign days began later than Truman's and ended earlier. He made fewer speeches, and they all tended to be the same speech with fewer revisions than Truman made in his.<sup>20</sup>

The personalities of the two men were also seen as representing extremes. Dewey appeared as the aloof, urbane, sophisticated easterner who looked and acted the part of a dignified President of the United States.<sup>21</sup> Truman appeared as friendly, warm, undignified, ordinary citizen who could and would talk with the people. George Mayer commented that "the President appeared to be an average smalltown citizen," and that Truman developed the skill to take advantage of this appearance.<sup>22</sup> Or, as Booth Mooney more aptly phrased it, Truman appeared as "just Harry Truman, a common man's common man."<sup>23</sup>

The campaign rhetoric of this "common man's common man" has been variously described as "earthy," "blunt," "slashing," "folksy," "pedestrian," "aggressive," "designed

---

<sup>20</sup>Kirkendall, pp. 3126, 3120, 3122, 3145; Mooney, pp. 76-78; Ross, pp. 169, 197; Hartmann, p. 191; Phillips, p. 249.

<sup>21</sup>Ross, pp. 31-32, 260; Kirkendall, p. 3142.

<sup>22</sup>Mayer, p. 473.

<sup>23</sup>Mooney, p. 80.

to evoke memory and fear," and steeped with "rhetorical violence," and "the choicest invective."<sup>24</sup> However, such judgements usually were based on style of delivery or on a few catch phrases. Whether the rhetoric was found earthy, blunt, or violent depended on the bias of the writers. For example, at the National Plowing Contest at Dexter, Iowa, on September 18, 1948, Truman told a crowd of 75,000 farmers that the Republicans in the Eightieth Congress had "stuck a pitchfork in the farmer's back."<sup>25</sup> Mooney decided this was "earthy" and "blunt" while Ross called it "aggressive. . . designed to evoke memory and fear" while containing "some of the choicest invective."<sup>26</sup> Yet, Dewey's speech in the same locale was said to have been stated in a "tone of quiet reasonableness" and filled with "ringing declarations of high-minded intent." In such declarations, Dewey spoke of entering a "new era," having "faith in the American People," and pledged to "rediscover the essential unity of our people and the spiritual strength which makes our country great."<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup>Mooney, pp. 77-78; Ross, pp. 171, 174, 182-183.

<sup>25</sup>Address at Dexter, Iowa, on the Occasion of the National Plowing Match, September 18, 1948, Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Harry S. Truman, 1948 (Washington, 1964), p. 506, hereafter this book will be cited as Truman, 1948.

<sup>26</sup>Mooney, p. 77; Ross, pp. 182-183.

<sup>27</sup>Ross, pp. 193-195; Mooney, pp. 76-77; Address at Drake Stadium, Des Moines, Iowa, September 20, 1948, Public Papers of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, 1948 (Albany, 1949), p. 639, hereafter this book will be cited as Dewey, 1948.

Richard Jensen, in his article entitled "Armies, Admen, and Crusaders; Types of Presidential Election Campaigns," classified Truman's campaign style for 1948 as that of a "Crusader," and that of Dewey as an "Adman"--a merchandising or sales effort.<sup>28</sup> These classifications were based on style, strategy, and rhetoric.

A comprehensive examination of the crusading campaign style revealed that it involved a great enthusiasm on the part of the candidate, a sense of impending disaster, and certain revivalistic techniques. Jensen wrote:

A pervasive moral fervor . . . animates both the standardbearer and his supporters . . . the constantly reiterated theme is that the nation is on the brink of disaster because of a takeover by /certain/ sinister forces and that the people must rise up and smite their cunning and wicked foes on election day . . . The crusaders rely heavily upon the revival techniques of fundamentalist Protestantism . . . /and their/ favorite religious metaphors come from the Old Testament.<sup>29</sup>

Jensen believed that while the crusade was one of the most dramatic and emotionally moving of all campaign types, it also had a tendency "to escalate the tone of political rhetoric to the verge of violence."<sup>30</sup>

The objective of the "Merchandising" or "Adman" style of campaign was, according to Jensen, to sell the candidate

---

<sup>28</sup>Richard Jensen, "Armies, Admen, and Crusaders; Types of Presidential Election Campaigns," The History Teacher, II, No. 2 (January, 1969), pp. 35, 45.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., pp. 45-47; among the other revival techniques listed were religious or patriotic appeals and proselytizing.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

to the voters through advertising techniques. This style focuses on personality, and the issues become blurred if not forgotten. The technique stresses the candidate's appearance, his sincerity, and his competence to hold the office.<sup>31</sup>

The conclusions of Ross, Monney, and Jensen concerning the political rhetoric and the campaign styles of the candidates were not based on systematic studies. This was particularly true of those of Ross and Mooney who based their descriptions of the rhetoric on a few easily remembered phrases. However, current historical methodology provides a means of systematic analysis that is appropriate for questions concerning rhetoric and style. This approach is a form of communication or rhetorical analysis known as content analysis.

Rhetorical analysis dates from the ancient Greeks; the studies of Aristotle and Plato provided the basic delineation for traditional rhetorical analysis. Rhetorical analysis has customarily consisted of four basic components --purpose, material, form, and effect.<sup>32</sup> This type of analysis involves an examination of what the speaker wanted to achieve, the arguments he used, the form of his speech,

---

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., pp. 44-45.

<sup>32</sup>William R. Smith, The Rhetoric of American Politics: A Study of Documents (Westport, Connecticut, 1966), p. 6, 75.



and the effect of the message. However, during this century rhetorical analysis has been undergoing a redefinition both in goals and in methods.

For several decades, modern analysts have been conducting research into the nature of communication. According to Ole R. Holsti, communication has six identifiable segments or model components.

All communication is composed of six basic elements: a source or sender, an encoding process which results in a message, a channel of transmission, a detector or recipient of the message, and a decoding process.<sup>33</sup>

These six elements represent six basic questions that can be asked of communication. Who was the source? Why was it sent? How was it delivered? What was the message? What was its effect? To whom was it directed?<sup>34</sup> These questions can be answered in part by content analysis.

What is content analysis? It is a method of examining the message of communication in a manner that objectively and systematically tests hypotheses. Or, as Phillip J. Stone and Ole R. Holsti more aptly phrased it:

---

<sup>33</sup>Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities (Reading, Massachusetts, 1969), p. 24

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 24-25.

Content analysis is any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying special characteristics of messages.<sup>35</sup>

Content analysis must be objective and systematic, and, if it is to be distinguished from information retrieval, indexing, or similar enterprises, it must be undertaken for some theoretical reason.<sup>36</sup>

Making inferences and testing ideas concerning communication has thus become a major part of content analysis. A content analysis may be conducted on messages in order to make inferences concerning three segments of communication. The analysis can be designed to make inferences concerning either the characteristics of the text, the causes of the messages, or the effect of the messages.<sup>37</sup> Research concerning the characteristics of the messages can involve such things as differences in the attributes of messages drawn from a single source over time, different situations, and different audiences. This approach to communication analysis is conducted without reference to the cause or the effect of the messages.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Philip J. Stone, Dexter C. Dunphy, Marshall S. Smith, Daniel M. Ogilive, The General Inquirer: A Computer Approach to Content Analysis (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1966), p. 5; This definition was developed jointly in 1966 by Holsti and Stone. Since then it has been regularly cited as the current definition in such works as Holsti, p. 14 and Thomas F. Carney, Content Analysis: A Technique for Systematic Inferences from Communication (Winnepeg, Canada, 1972), p. 25.

<sup>36</sup> Holsti, p. 14.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., pp. 27-32.

The second category of inferences from content analysis concerns the cause of the message--the "why" question. While this approach can be used in profitable ways, it also has certain inherent dangers that must be recognized. It is difficult to assess with validity from content data alone the social and psychological pressures that lead to the creation of the message.

Owing to possible differences in the ways people may express their feelings, intentions, and other traits, inferences about the antecedent causes of messages drawn solely from content data cannot be considered self-validating. Thus, however precise our measures of communication content, it is hazardous indeed to assess, without corroborating evidence from independent, noncontent data, that inferences about the author may be drawn directly from content data.<sup>39</sup>

The third category concerns inferences made from content data on the effect of the message. Such studies have great potential value. However, to assess effect from content data alone also presents great hazards. People are influenced by more than the content of a message. Their past experiences and their beliefs temper their reception of the message and their response to it. Holsti believes the greatest possibilities for this type of analysis lie within the experimental studies. There many controls can be used on factors that influence reception of messages.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 32; A similar idea is expressed in Carney, pp. 196-197.

<sup>40</sup>Holsti, pp. 34-37.

Thus, only one of the designs in which content analysis can be used is valid within itself. This is the determination of characteristics within communication messages and how these characteristics may change over time, situation, or other variables. The other designs, by necessity, involve as much analysis, if not more, in other independent areas as is conducted in the content analysis itself.

This study of the campaign of 1948 will be directed toward inferences concerning the rhetorical form--the characteristics of the messages presented in the campaign. The emphasis of this study will be upon the words that makeup the messages, how they are used, and the meanings they impart.

In content analysis the assumption is made that words are capable of carrying several messages simultaneously.<sup>41</sup> For example, the word "kill" is readily recognized as conveying the message that something has been deprived of its life in an unnatural manner. However, "kill" also carries other messages. "Kill" conveys a sense of violence and a certain amount of either immoral or illegal action. There is a sense of emotional involvement associated with the word. It carries a connotation of aggressive acts paired with the realization that "kill" also demands a victim. "Kill" also is an act requiring force to accomplish the task. Violence, immorality, illegality, emotionalism,

---

<sup>41</sup>Carney, p. 84.

aggression, victimization, and strength are messages also conveyed by the word "kill." The continuous build-up of these types of messages have an impact on the communication. With content analysis, this impact can be measured. However, it must be kept in mind that over a given period of time the messages of words can change. This applies to all messages a word conveys and not just to the dictionary definition. Therefore, the analyst must be careful not to read present day messages into words used in documents from the past as such messages may not be appropriate. As Thomas F. Carney stated it:

Words, that is, do not have 'meanings' in the sort of way that children have parents. They have uses, identifiable in particular places and periods.<sup>42</sup>

Content analysis is not a new method of research in historical studies. The evaluation of verbal data as a source for inferences concerning the past is a historical tradition as old as the profession. In his book, Charles M. Dollar commented to this effect. He continued, however, to state that the traditional historical use of content analysis did not provide for the systematic and objective reading of the documents. He wrote concerning this traditional form of content analysis:

While the methodology of this kind of analysis is seldom explicitly formulated, it seems to rely heavily on intuition and fragmented

---

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

impressions of a document. Furthermore, controls are seldom used to guard against cumulative impressions of a document which can imperceptibly influence interpretation of that document.<sup>43</sup>

While content analysis must be systematic, there are also other qualities it must have for validity. Bernard Berelson, whose book Content Analysis in Communication Research (1952) became a classic in the field, listed as other requirements of content analysis objectivity and quantification.<sup>44</sup> Simply stated, it must be honestly conducted and massive in scope to insure validity.

Why use content analysis? A systematic analysis provides a means of measuring the meaning of an entire document rather than just the impressionistic phrases. Also, a systematic analysis constitutes a more accurate means of evaluating the meaning of documents than does impressionistic reading. The results of systematic content analysis can provide the historian with the basis for drawing sound inferences about the meaning of a document or series of documents.

An essential part of content analysis is the model of rhetoric. The model serves two important functions. First,

---

<sup>43</sup>Charles M. Dollar and Richard J. Jensen, Historian's Guide to Statistics, Quantitative Analysis and Historical Research (New York, 1971), pp. 205-206.

<sup>44</sup>Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research (Glencoe, Illinois, 1952), pp. 16-17. On page 18, Berelson defines content analysis as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication."

it forces the analyst to formalize his thoughts into testable hypotheses. Second, it insures that all the documents analyzed are submitted to the same systematic evaluation.

The model of rhetoric used in this study was developed from the descriptions of the rhetoric of the campaign of 1948 by Mooney and Ross, and from the classification of presidential campaign styles by Jensen. As Table I shows, this Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric contains nine components--Crisis Theme, Belligerence, Absolutism, Legitimacy, Emotional Appeal, Issue Orientation, Rationality, Acceptability, and Resoluteness. Each component represents an attitude or a theme that a candidate might emphasize in his rhetoric.<sup>45</sup> These themes could be directed at the opposition, the audience, or the speaker himself. For example, Belligerence would generally be directed at the opposition party and its programs, policies, and past record. However, Belligerence could also be directed toward other sources of stimuli, such as communism or the Soviet Union.

Content analysis utilizing this model requires the use of a special dictionary, one that defines the messages of communication according to social and psychological themes. The most suitable dictionary available for this purpose is the Harvard III Psycho-sociological Dictionary. This dictionary, like the components of the Model of

---

<sup>45</sup>While the components of the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric were designed by the author, the concept of this type of model was borrowed from a manuscript by Charles M. Dollar, "The Rhetoric of Discontent" (1972).

## TABLE I

MODEL OF PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN RHETORIC:  
ITS COMPONENTS AND THEIR DEFINITIONS

- 
- Crisis Theme--the belief that danger is eminent and that action must be taken immediately to avoid disaster.
- Belligerence--a personal attack on the opposing candidate, his staff, his party, and his policies because it is believed they are responsible for the impending disaster.
- Absolutism--an exaggerated, authoritarian attitude toward power and policies with a moral context, your programs are completely right while your opponent's are completely wrong.
- Legitimacy--the justification of policies and action through the reliance on ideals, traditions, famous persons, and the past.
- Emotional Appeal--the use of emotionally excited language intended to sway the electorate.
- Issue Orientation--the reference to specific political, economic, and social issues.
- Rationality--the use of logical thought processes to indicate the logic of policies, programs, and actions.
- Acceptability--the desire to be accepted by the electorate as one who appears to fit their social and cultural norms.
- Resoluteness--the strength and dedication to continue toward established goals.
-



Presidential Campaign Rhetoric, is based on psychological and sociological concepts.<sup>46</sup> Also this type of analysis using the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric and the Harvard III Psycho-sociological Dictionary makes the use of a computerized content analysis system a necessity.

Table II shows the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric and the twenty-eight concepts, called tags, which constitute the nine components. Twenty-six of these are from the Harvard III Psycho-sociological Dictionary. The remaining two--Past-Tradition and Specific-Issues--are tabulated with the aid of the "Key Word in Context" program from the Inquirer II Content Analysis System.<sup>47</sup> All words assigned to any of the concepts used in the study are checked against the context to insure the validity of each assignment. This procedure involves extensive retrieval and is discussed in detail in Appendix A.

As was previously stated, Truman's campaign in 1948 has been classified as that of a common-man crusader, while Dewey's campaign in the same year has been classified as that of an Adman, or a merchandising style. The nine components of the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric are evaluated as to the amount of emphasis that each would

---

<sup>46</sup>Stone et al., pp. 170-173. A discussion of the origin and functions of the Harvard III Psycho-sociological Dictionary appears in Appendix A.

<sup>47</sup>Stone et al., pp. 85-91. A discussion of the Inquirer II Content Analysis System and its functions appears in Appendix A.

TABLE II  
 MODEL OF PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN RHETORIC:  
 ITS HARVARD III TAGS AND  
 THEIR DEFINITIONS

---

Crisis Theme	Danger-Theme: words connoting alarm or concern with danger Distress: words referring to pain, anxiety, and fear Time-Immediacy: words referring to now or immediate future
Belligerence	Attack: words having as a meaning a destructive, hostile action Anger: forms of aggressive expres- sions Sign-Reject: words implying inter- personal rejection Expel: words indicating ejection
Absolutism	Overstate: emphatic or exaggerated words which tend to enlarge or exaggerate the content of communication Authority: words with authoritative themes, the existence or exer- cise of authority Good: synonyms for good Bad: synonyms for bad
Legitimacy	Ideal-Value: culturally defined virtues, goals, valued condi- tions, and activities Past-Tradition: references to ideals of the past or to past policies and persons
Emotional Appeal	Emotion: all words expressing emotional qualities Arousal: words referring to the general state of emotional excitement Urge: drive states where an object is implied

TABLE II (Continued)

Issue Orientation	<p>Political: references to political states, processes, and activities</p> <p>Economic: references to economic conditions, processes, and activities</p> <p>Specific-Issues: references to particular issues by name</p>
Rationality	<p>Thought-Form: units and styles of reasoning</p> <p>Think: processes of rational thought</p> <p>Cause: words denoting a cause-effect relationship</p>
Acceptability	<p>Sign-Accept: words implying interpersonal acceptance</p> <p>Action-Norm: normative patterns of social behavior</p> <p>Peer-Status: words implying peer status or equality</p>
Resoluteness	<p>Attempt: goal-directed activity, implying effort</p> <p>Ought: words indicating a moral imperative</p> <p>Sign-Strong: words connoting strength or capacity for action</p>

---

receive in the campaign speeches. For example, Emotional Appeal would be expected to receive more emphasis in the rhetoric of a Crusader than in that of an Adman. However, it is likely that some of these general components might appear with nearly equal intensity in the rhetoric of both styles. An example of this would be the effort to establish Legitimacy for the policies of both candidates.

If Truman's campaign in 1948, which has been described as hard-hitting, "Give 'em Hell," and issue oriented, was that of a Crusader, then the nine components of the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric should appear in a predictable pattern. Truman's rhetoric should emphasize the use of Crisis Theme, Belligerence, Absolutism, Legitimacy, Emotional Appeal, and Issue Orientation.

Based on the description of Dewey's campaign as one of reasonableness, high-minded intent, and dignity, it has been classified as in the Adman style. Therefore, the components of the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric also should appear in a predictable pattern. Dewey's rhetoric should emphasize Legitimacy, Rationality, Acceptability, and Resoluteness. And it should place less emphasis on Crisis Theme, Belligerence, Absolutism, Emotional Appeal and Issue Orientation.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup>Originally the model contained eleven components. However, preliminary analysis found that two components did not yield the data necessary for the analysis. These were: Ambiguity--to obscure or ignore the need for decisive policies and actions, and Urbanity--implication of a highly cultivated and poised nature.

The amount of emphasis a candidate places on a component of the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric or on any of its segments is determined by comparing his mean index score with that of the other candidate. Therefore, emphasis will be determined by inter-document comparisons of index scores rather than by intra-document comparisons. Index scores are computed for each component and its concepts on every document. For example, the component of Belligerence has four concepts--Attack, Anger, Sign-Reject, and Expel. On any given speech, all the valid instances of a concept, such as Attack, are identified and tabulated. This sum is then divided by the number of words in that speech. The index score for Attack is derived by multiplying the result of the division operation by one hundred. This produces a standardized score which allows the Attack score on this speech to be compared with the Attack score on other speeches. Once the occurrence of Attack, Anger, Sign-Reject, and Expel have been checked for validity, tabulated individually, and converted to separate index scores, the raw frequency counts from each are summed and an index score computed for the area of Belligerence. Index scores for all areas of content are computed by this method. When all of the speeches have been analyzed, a mean index score is computed for each candidate on all the concepts and areas of content. These mean index scores provide a generalized overview of each candidate's use of each of the areas and concepts. And, it is these mean

index scores that are used as the basis for the comparisons of the candidates' rhetoric.

To compare one mean index score with another works well as long as the number of scores being manipulated is small. However, when working with a total of twenty-eight concepts plus nine composite area scores, the task can become an exercise in confusion. When comparing a series of mean index scores for two candidates, the analyst becomes lost in a veritable sea of scores. Table III demonstrates this as it shows mean index scores on ten concepts for two candidates and also the actual difference between the scores in index points.

As Table III shows, there is a great variation in mean index scores. To make judgements concerning the significance of these differences would entail the establishment of individual levels of significance for each concept and each area of content. Since the object of the study is the analysis of the differences between the candidates over all the concepts, a simple and uniform system of comparison would greatly expedite the study and end much of the confusion of numbers. Table IV shows such a system. This table contains the same scores as in Table III. However, instead of showing actual differences between the mean index scores in index points, it shows the differences as percentages. The percentage is in terms of how much greater the larger score is than the smaller score.

TABLE III  
EXAMPLE OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MEAN INDEX  
SCORES BASED ON INDEX POINTS

Concept Number	Candidate "A" <sup>00</sup>	Candidate "B" <sup>00</sup>	Difference in Points
1	1.10	1.75	.65
2	9.61	6.78	2.83
3	.50	.60	.10
4	5.41	4.04	1.37
5	3.21	3.20	.01
6	1.05	2.50	1.45
7	1.50	1.01	.49
8	4.86	4.16	.70
9	2.91	3.15	.24
10	4.68	2.10	2.58

**TABLE IV**  
**EXAMPLE OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEAN INDEX**  
**SCORES BASED ON PER CENT**

Concept Number	Candidate "A"	Candidate "B"	Difference in Per Cent
1	1.10	1.75	59.1
2	9.61	6.78	41.7
3	.50	.60	20.0
4	5.41	4.04	33.9
5	3.21	3.20	.3
6	1.05	2.50	138.1
7	1.50	1.01	48.5
8	4.86	4.16	16.8
9	2.96	3.15	8.1
10	4.68	2.10	122.9



As Table III shows, Candidate "B's" index score is actually .65 index points greater than Candidate "A's" score on concept number one. However, it is much more readily understood and meaningful to state, as is shown in Table IV, that Candidate "B's" score is greater than Candidate "A's" by 59.1 per cent. Changing these differences into percentages provides a uniform system of viewing all the differences between the candidates on the same scale.

One hazard in this system deserves mention. If the mean index scores are quite small, such as .10 and .05, the per cent of difference can be quite large. In the case above it would be one hundred per cent. In such a case the actual number of valid tag assignments may be almost negligible--possibly as low as two or three. This gives undue importance to this concept because of the per cent of difference. Such cases must be watched carefully; and in the evaluation of them, consideration must be given to the actual number of tags represented.<sup>49</sup> However, while caution must be exercised when examining an individual concept with a small index score and a high per cent of difference, the importance of such a concept will be reduced when it is pooled with its associates to form a composite score for an area of content. And, it is the composite scores which are the major concern of the study.

---

<sup>49</sup>Appendix B provides a listing of the average frequency of each concept and area of content for each candidate according to his major addresses, his "whistle-stops," and the combined rhetoric.

With all differences converted into percentages, a question arises: At what percentage level does the difference become large enough to be considered a significant amount? For the purposes of this study, a difference between the mean index scores of twenty-five per cent or greater will be considered as being of significant size. A difference between the scores of fifteen to 24.9 per cent will be considered of a slightly significant size. And, a difference of less than fifteen per cent will be considered as an insignificant amount. This means that for the difference between index scores to be considered a significant amount the larger score must be greater by at least one-fourth the size of the smaller score. And, to be considered as of slightly significant size, the larger score must be greater by one-sixth the size of the smaller.

Several factors were involved in the selection of twenty-five per cent as the threshold for significant differences. First, a twenty-five per cent difference in anything (salaries, food prices, body weight, or university enrollments) is large enough that it cannot be ignored. Second, on at least one occasion a recognized authority in content analysis, Ole R. Holsti, has accepted a lower percentage as being a significant amount--in this case 11.4 per cent.

Reanalysis of the data did, however, indicate that the ideological content of political rhetoric--defined as statements regarding "the nature or character of man, society, government,

or the relationship between them"--was significantly higher in 1964 (33.5%) than in 1960 (22.1%).<sup>50</sup>

If inferences based on a significance level of 11.4 per cent have validity, then inferences based on a significance level of twenty-five per cent should have greater validity.<sup>51</sup>

The category of slightly significant is used to provide a zone of transition between what is classified as significant and what is classified as insignificant. The assumption is that a difference in scores that is relatively close to twenty-five per cent should be given some consideration. This zone was allotted a width of ten percentage points for that purpose.

These levels of significance and the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric will be used to test five hypotheses concerning the characteristics of the rhetoric used in the campaign of 1948. These hypotheses are:

1. A basic measurable difference existed between the campaign rhetoric of Harry S Truman and Thomas E. Dewey.

---

<sup>50</sup>Holsti, p. 64.

<sup>51</sup>An informal survey was sent to the faculty members of the Department of History, Central Missouri State University. They were asked for their opinion concerning what would be a significant amount of difference between the scores of two candidates. Twelve of the fourteen members returned the questionnaire. The average level reported was fourteen per cent. However, the largest collection of reports, five, were in the twenty to twenty-five per cent range. While most of those reporting indicated that their estimate might be low, no one set a level above twenty-five per cent.

2. The intensity of each candidate's rhetoric varied between the two basic types of speeches delivered during the campaign--major addresses and "whistle-stop" speeches.
3. The intensity of the rhetoric increased during the last month of the campaign.
4. The rhetoric of each candidate varied from one geographic area of the nation to another.
5. The rhetoric of each candidate varied according to the major topics around which individual speeches were centered.

The first hypothesis deals with an overall view of the rhetoric as presented in all the speeches analyzed for each candidate. This hypothesis is primarily directed toward a determination of how well the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric fits each candidate. The second hypothesis involves a detailed and separate study of each of the speech types to determine a basis for comparison between them--major addresses and "whistle-stops." Major addresses are defined as speeches given in a formalized setting with a large audience. "Whistle-stop" speeches are defined as those informal talks given usually from the back of a campaign train before relatively smaller audiences.

The third hypothesis concerns the influence of time upon campaign rhetoric. Was there a change in the intensity of the candidates' rhetoric during the last part of the campaign? Such a change in the intensity would be reflected by the scores on the components of the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric. If such a change did occur, it is conceivable that it could have been a factor which

influenced some voters in their decisions at the polls. One of the first analyses of the election of 1948 indicated that more than twenty per cent of the electorate did not commit themselves to a presidential candidate until the last few weeks of the campaign. When these people did pick their candidate, two-thirds of those who voted cast their ballots for Truman.<sup>52</sup> In light of this, a substantial change in the rhetoric of the candidates in this period would call for a reanalysis of the factors which influenced the election.

The fourth hypothesis involves an examination of each candidate's speeches according to the geographic area of delivery. This will be conducted according to the regional classification established by the United States Bureau of the Census. This definition divided the forty-eight contiguous states into four broad regions--Northeast, North Central, South, and West--with nine sub-regions.<sup>53</sup>

The fifth hypothesis concerns an analysis of each candidate's speeches according to the major topic around which each speech was centered. Eleven major topics were identified for this analysis: Agriculture, appeals for Good Government, attacks on the Opposition, Labor, the

---

<sup>52</sup>Angus Campbell and Robert L. Kahn, The People Elect a President (Ann Arbor, 1952), p. 7-9.

<sup>53</sup>U. S. Bureau of Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1950. Volume II, Characteristics of the Population, Part I, United States Summary (Washington, D. C., 1953), p. xi.

West, Economic Issues, Domestic Issues, Communism, Education, and Civil Rights.

When the analysis was undertaken concerning the fourth and fifth hypotheses, a serious problem became evident. There was considerable variance in the number of speeches assigned to the regional and the topical classifications. It was true of both the intra-campaign and the inter-campaign distributions. As a result, the validity of inferences concerning these two hypotheses were not as valid as those for the other hypotheses. Therefore, while the findings of the regional and topical analyses were included, the indepth examination of each concept and each model component was dropped from the presentation.

This study will use as data sixty-three speeches from the presidential campaign of 1948. These speeches were selected by a semi-stratified sampling technique. For example, the speeches were grouped according to the date of their delivery--early part of the campaign or in the last four weeks. From each of the groups, speeches were selected to give a coverage to both major topics of the speeches and to geographic area of delivery. Both candidates made an extensive campaign tour of the nation during a period from September 17 to October 2, 1948. Since their routes and stops were very similar on these tours, the selection of the addresses was weighted toward this time period. However, a sampling of all other addresses and "whistle-stop" speeches was selected. In addition, each candidate's

speech accepting his party's nomination and each candidate's speech on the eve of the election were selected. The speeches selected for analysis are shown in Tables V to VIII.

The addresses and "whistle-stop" speeches were collected from three major sources: The Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Harry S. Truman, 1948; The Public Papers of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, 1948; and the Thomas E. Dewey File of the Democratic National Committee's Library Clipping File on deposit at the Harry S Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.

Also, several addresses from other sources--such as the presidential campaign of 1972--were used as control documents. Table IX shows these speeches. These were included in the analysis to provide a basis for comparison with the speeches from 1948. This would allow a determination to be made concerning whether significant patterns found in the rhetoric of 1948 were characteristics of all speeches or appeared only in the rhetoric of Truman or Dewey in 1948.

In conclusion, a systematic analysis will provide a better basis for inferences concerning the rhetoric than have past studies based on impressionistic surveys. For example, if the analysis indicates that Truman was a "Crusader" with fiery rhetoric, and that Dewey did project an image of an urbane "Adman" with sedately phrased speech, then for the first time we will have a systematic

TABLE V

MAJOR ADDRESSES BY HARRY S TRUMAN: SELECTED  
FROM THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1948

Date (1948)	Place of Delivery	Number of Words
July 15	Philadelphia (Acceptance Speech)	2,690
September 6	Detroit (Labor Day Address)	2,269
September 18	Dexter, Iowa (National Plowing Contest)	3,160
September 20	Denver, Colorado	2,550
September 21	Salt Lake City, Utah	2,525
September 22	Oakland, California	2,667
September 23	Los Angeles, California	2,587
September 27	Democratic Women's Day Radio Broadcast	653
September 27	Bonham, Texas	2,491
September 28	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	2,793
September 30	University of Southern Illinois, Carbondale, Illinois	1,982
September 30	Louisville, Kentucky	2,450
October 1	Charleston, West Virginia	2,326
October 19	Raleigh, North Carolina	3,166
October 21	International Ladies Garment Workers Union Radio Broadcast	983
October 25	Chicago, Illinois	3,038
October 27	Boston, Massachusetts	2,674
October 28	Madison Square Garden, New York City	3,513
October 29	Harlem, New York City	1,155
October 30	St. Louis, Missouri	3,049
November 1	Election Eve Radio Broadcast	784
	Total Number of Words	49,505
	Number of Major Addresses (21)	
	Mean Speech Length	2,357
	Median Speech Length	2,550



TABLE VI

"WHISTLE-STOP" SPEECHES BY HARRY S TRUMAN: SELECTED  
FROM THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1948

Date (1948)	Place of Delivery	Number of Words
September 18	Rock Island, Illinois	751
September 18	Iowa City, Iowa	504
September 18	Chariton, Iowa	783
September 20	Pueblo, Colorado	1,108
September 21	Grand Junction, Colorado	904
September 21	Provo, Utah	860
September 22	Sacramento, California	1,501
September 24	Colton, California	877
September 24	Yuma, Arizona	847
September 25	Deming, New Mexico	643
September 27	Dallas, Texas	1,329
September 28	Ardmore, Oklahoma	1,311
September 29	Springfield, Missouri	1,006
September 30	Evansville, Indiana	704
October 1	Shelbyville, Kentucky	714
October 1	Huntington, West Virginia	1,346
October 7	Bridgeport, Pennsylvania	633
October 8	Auburn, New York	691
October 27	Pittsfield, Massachusetts	1,424
	Total Number of Words	17,935
	Number of "Whistle-Stops" (19)	
	Mean Speech Length	944
	Median Speech Length	860

TABLE VII  
 MAJOR ADDRESSES BY THOMAS E. DEWEY: SELECTED  
 FROM THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1948

Date (1948)	Place of Delivery	Number of Words
June 24	Philadelphia (Acceptance Speech)	1,214
September 20	Des Moines, Iowa	2,726
September 21	Denver, Colorado	2,960
September 22	University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico	2,187
September 22	Sante Fe, New Mexico	2,445
September 23	Phoenix, Arizona	1,922
September 24	Los Angeles, California	2,704
September 25	San Francisco, California	2,681
September 28	Missoula, Montana	1,613
September 30	Salt Lake City, Utah	2,765
October 11	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	2,886
October 12	Louisville, Kentucky	2,155
October 13	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	2,477
October 14	Kansas City, Missouri	2,780
October 15	St. Paul, Minnesota	2,696
October 26	Chicago, Illinois	2,507
October 28	Boston, Massachusetts	2,467
October 30	Madison Square Garden, New York City	2,233
November 1	Election Eve Radio Broadcast	586
	Total Number of Words	44,004
	Number of Major Addresses (19)	
	Mean Speech Length	2,316
	Median Speech Length	2,477

TABLE VIII

"WHISTLE-STOP" SPEECHES BY THOMAS E. DEWEY: SELECTED  
FROM THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1948

Date (1948)	Place of Delivery	Number of Words
September 20	Rock Island, Illinois	1,528
September 21	Julesburg, Colorado	1,259
October 2	Salina, Kansas	929
October 2	Warrensburg, Missouri	818
	Total Number of Words	4,534
	Number of "Whistle-Stops" (4)	
	Mean Speech Length	1,133
	Median Speech Length	1,090

TABLE IX  
DOCUMENTS USED FOR CONTROL PURPOSES

Speaker	Place and Date of Delivery	Number of Words
Lyndon B. Johnson	Detroit, Michigan (Labor Day Address) September 7, 1964	2,074
Barry M. Goldwater	Prescott, Arizona September 3, 1964	3,202
Richard M. Nixon	National Radio Broadcast September 19, 1968	2,684
Hubert H. Humphrey	National Television Broadcast September 30, 1968	3,233
George M. McGovern	Acceptance Speech Miami, Florida July 14, 1972	2,276
Richard M. Nixon	Acceptance Speech Miami, Florida August 23, 1972	4,326
Declaration of Independence	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania July 4, 1776	1,336
	Total Number of Words	19,131
	Number of Documents (7)	
	Mean Document Length	2,733
	Median Document Length	2,684

measurement of the intensity and variance of these rhetorical characteristics. These measurements will provide those studying the strategy of the campaign with a means of comparing a candidate's intended goal for a speech or series of speeches with the image the candidate presented in his rhetoric. The verification of the hypotheses stated in this study will mean that the rhetoric of the campaign of 1948 must be given consideration as a factor which contributed to the outcome of the election.

## CHAPTER II

### ANALYSIS OF THE MAJOR ADDRESSES

BY HARRY S TRUMAN AND

THOMAS E. DEWEY

Generally, major addresses were formal campaign speeches of a traditional nature. That is to say, they tended to be long, to stress a central theme, and to be delivered in a formal setting before large audiences. Also, it was in this type of speech that the major positions and policies of the candidates were announced. However, the descriptions of the two candidates' major addresses and the rhetoric in them varied. For example, Erwin Ross praised Dewey's major addresses for their eloquence, while describing Truman's rhetoric as "pedestrian."<sup>1</sup> How did the rhetoric of the two men differ in their major addresses? In this chapter attention will be directed toward a comparison of twenty-one major addresses by Truman with nineteen speeches by Dewey. The objective of this analysis will be to determine the nature and the extent of the difference in their rhetoric as expressed in these forty speeches. This comparison will involve an analysis conducted on three levels.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ross, pp. 170-171, 174, 196.

The first focuses upon the mean index scores on the major areas of content--the components of the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric. The second examines the concepts that constitute each major area. The third summarizes a cluster analysis of the speeches.

Table X indicates that the comparison of the mean index scores on the nine areas of content reveal several similarities and dissimilarities between the major addresses of Truman and Dewey. According to the criteria established in Chapter I, the differences in the mean index scores on Absolutism, Crisis Theme, and Rationality are so slight as to be considered insignificant. However, the differences in the mean index scores on two areas--Resoluteness and Acceptability--are of sufficient magnitude to be rated as of slight significance. Finally, the differences on the remaining four areas--Belligerence, Legitimacy, Emotional Appeal, and Issue Orientation--are great enough to be considered of significance.

Table XI shows the three insignificant areas of content and the ten concepts which comprise them. Of these ten concepts, four were components of Absolutism. Three of these--Overstate, Authority, and Bad--reflected some degree of significance in the differences of the mean index scores. The fourth--Good--was insignificant.

The difference in the scores on the concept of Overstate was due to the choice and use of words and phrases involving exaggeration. Some of the most commonly used words

**TABLE X**  
**MEAN INDEX SCORES OF MAJOR ADDRESSES ON**  
**NINE AREAS OF CONTENT**

	Truman Mean	Dewey Mean	Per Cent of Difference Between Truman and Dewey	Control Mean	Per Cent of Difference Between Controls and Truman	Control and Dewey
Crisis Theme	2.00	1.78	12.3	1.89	5.8	6.2
Belligerence	6.00	2.59	131.6	3.37	78.0	30.1
Absolutism	8.63	8.21	5.1	8.23	4.9	.2
Legitimacy	5.15	7.88	53.0	6.84	32.8	15.2
Emotional Appeal	3.66	2.71	35.1	2.93	24.9	8.1
Issue Orientation	15.68	10.04	56.2	9.97	57.3	.7
Rationality	2.03	2.33	14.7	2.23	9.9	4.5
Acceptability	4.01	4.73	17.9	4.88	21.7	3.2
Resoluteness	4.13	5.06	22.5	4.61	11.6	9.8



TABLE XI  
 MEAN INDEX SCORES OF MAJOR ADDRESSES ON  
 INSIGNIFICANT AREAS OF CONTENT

	Truman Mean	Dewey Mean	Per Cent of Difference Between Truman and Dewey	Control Mean	Per Cent of Difference Between Controls and Truman	and Dewey
Absolutism	8.63	8.21	5.1	8.23	4.9	.2
Overstate	3.79	4.52	19.2	4.03	6.3	12.2
Authority	3.71	2.60	42.8	3.13	18.5	20.4
Good	.87	.94	8.0	.83	4.5	13.3
Bad	.26	.15	73.3	.24	8.3	60.0
Crisis Theme	2.00	1.78	12.3	1.89	5.8	6.2
Danger	.73	.50	46.0	.56	30.4	12.0
Distress	.53	.65	22.6	.69	30.2	6.2
Time-Immediacy	.74	.66	12.1	.64	15.6	3.1
Rationality	2.03	2.33	14.7	2.23	9.9	4.5
Thought-Form	.64	.85	32.8	.87	35.9	2.4
Think	1.06	1.10	3.6	1.02	3.9	7.8
Cause	.28	.39	39.2	.34	21.4	14.7

expressing exaggeration were: "all," "every," and "great." Dewey tended to make more frequent use of these types of words than did Truman. For example, an examination of the speech in which each candidate had his highest score on Overstate reveals that Dewey used references involving "all," "great," and "every" a total of thirty-eight times while Truman used similar references only twenty-one times.<sup>2</sup>

The use of the Authority concept by the candidates involved references to power and authority. This power and authority could be either natural (flowing from God and Nature), artificial (created by man within society), or personal (exaggerated confidence in self and accomplishments). Truman consistently utilized more frequent references to Authority than did Dewey

An examination of the language used by each candidate disclosed that the Truman mean on Authority was higher partly because he used more references to personal power while Dewey used more references to institutionalized authority. Truman averaged forty-seven distinct references to self as an Authority concept per major address. His greatest frequency was 110 such references in his speech of October 28

---

<sup>2</sup>Address at Sante Fe, New Mexico, September 22, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library; Address in Harlem, New York, Upon Receiving the Franklin Roosevelt Award, October 29, 1948, Truman, 1948, passim, pp. 923-925. Hereafter the second citation to any speech from Truman, 1948 will be given by the location of the address, i.e. Harlem, October 29, Truman, 1948.

at Madison Square Garden in New York City. Among these references were such statements as "I trust," "I am confident," and "I have never."<sup>3</sup> Dewey spoke there two days later and made only fifteen such references to an authoritarian self.<sup>4</sup> Dewey averaged only twenty-one self references on Authority per major address. His highest incidence was seventy references at Sante Fe, New Mexico, on September 22.<sup>5</sup>

Conversely, Dewey was fond of references to institutionalized or theological authority and power. He used references in which he stated or implied that Republican governments or Republican administrations were the best because they emphasized honesty and integrity in government. Though Truman also referred to the activities of his administration and the national government, he rarely invoked these themes more than ten times per speech. Dewey consistently used this type of reference, and frequencies of ten to sixteen times per speech were not unusual for him. Dewey struck these keys the hardest in his speech of October 14 at Kansas City, Missouri. While speaking there about good government, honest administration, and how much these

---

<sup>3</sup>Address at Madison Square Garden, New York City, October 28, 1948, Truman, 1948, passim, pp. 908-914.

<sup>4</sup>Address at Madison Square Garden, New York City, October 30, 1948, Dewey, 1948, passim, pp. 707-710. Hereafter the second citation to any speech from Dewey, 1948 will be given by the location of the address, i.e. Madison Square Garden, October 30, Dewey, 1948.

<sup>5</sup>Address at Sante Fe, New Mexico, September 22, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

things meant to people, he made fifty such references to government and administration.<sup>6</sup> Dewey was also fond of recognizing the power of the Divine Being. Usually these references took the form of statements that "with the help of God" a task could be accomplished, or that this was the "greatest nation under God." He used references to God twenty-six times in his nineteen major addresses, with the greatest frequency being four times in each of two speeches.<sup>7</sup>

The significant difference between the means on the concept Bad can be attributed to the candidates' presentation of several issues. Since Dewey was interested in reviving honest and efficient government, his Bad references tended to be associated with weak and inefficient government.<sup>8</sup> Truman's use of the concept was not confined to a single issue. Indeed there was a clear partisan stand which equated Bad with the Taft-Hartley Act, cuts in the farm programs, opposition to extension of social security programs, and the "do-nothing" Congress, all of which Truman labeled as Republican activities. For example, he blamed them for

---

<sup>6</sup>Address at the Municipal Auditorium, Kansas City, Missouri, October 14, 1948, Dewey, 1948, passim, pp. 688-692.

<sup>7</sup>Address at Drake Stadium, Des Moines, Iowa, September 20, 1948, Dewey, 1948, passim, pp. 639-642; Address at the Boston Arena, Boston, Massachusetts, October 28, 1948, Dewey, 1948, passim, pp. 688-692.

<sup>8</sup>Address at Hunt Armory, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, October 11, 1948, Dewey, 1948, passim, pp. 677-680; Kansas City, October 14, Dewey, 1948, passim, p. 688-692.

such things as the "worst depression in our history," the "economic tapeworm of big business," and the "do-thing" Congress.<sup>9</sup>

The difference between the means on the concept of Good was insignificant. In general, the candidates displayed similar styles on this concept. They both tended to resort to the same generalities concerning the good of the people, the rights of the people, and a better life for all.<sup>10</sup>

Also as Table XI shows, the area of Crisis Theme was insignificant. However, there was noticeable differences between the scores on two of the three concepts which comprise Crisis Theme. Truman had a significantly greater mean on Danger while Dewey's mean on Distress was larger by a slightly significant amount. An examination of the Danger concept reveals that the difference was due to Truman's use of such words as "danger" and "dangerous" as direct statements of possible impending disaster. He used these terms

---

<sup>9</sup>Address on Radio Program Sponsored by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union Campaign Committee, October 21, 1948, Truman, 1948, p. 828; Address at Dexter, Iowa, on the Occasion of the National Plowing Match, September 18, 1948, Truman, 1948, p. 507; Address at the State Capitol in Denver, September 20, 1948, Truman, 1948, p. 520.

<sup>10</sup>Harlem, October 29, Truman, 1948, passim, pp. 923-925; Address at the Kiel Auditorium, St. Louis, Missouri, October 30, 1948, Truman, 1948, passim, pp. 934-939; Des Moines, Iowa, September 20, Dewey, 1948, passim, pp. 639-642; Address at Denver City Auditorium, Denver, Colorado, September 21, 1948, Dewey, 1948, passim, pp. 642-646.

in this manner a total of twenty-nine times in his major addresses, while Dewey used them on only fifteen occasions in his major addresses.

Other references implying Danger were the words "communist" and "communism." Certain analysts of the Cold War and of the campaign of 1948 have contended that communism was not an issue in the campaign. This, they state, was because the Republicans refused to make it an issue.<sup>11</sup> Dewey's remarks on the subject were considered quite temperate. As Irwin Ross states it:

Dewey never made much of the Communist issue in the 1948 campaign. This was not for a lack of material. . . . Even in September, however, the Hiss-Chambers affair, plus the other revelations of Chambers and Bentley, had made communists-in-government a combustible political issue.

Dewey's treatment of the issue was never inflammatory.<sup>12</sup>

Notwithstanding such learned opinions, the fact is that references to communism and its dangers were frequently made by both candidates. In his twenty-one major addresses, Truman referred to "communism" and "communist" 107 times, while Dewey cited the same terms eighty-nine times in his nineteen speeches. When these references are examined, eight categories emerge. These are analyzed in Table XII.

---

<sup>11</sup>Athan G. Theoharis, The Yalta Myths: An Issue in U. S. Politics, 1945-1955 (Columbia, Missouri, 1970), p. 64; Bert Cochran, Harry Truman and the Crisis Presidency (New York, 1973), p. 235; Harper, p. 82.

<sup>12</sup>Ross, p. 198.

TABLE XII  
PER CENT OF EACH CANDIDATE'S REFERENCES TO  
COMMUNISM ACCORDING TO EIGHT CATEGORIES

Category	Truman	Dewey
General References	34.6	40.5
Foreign Communists	3.7	21.4
Domestic Communists	19.6	11.2
Communists in Government Positions	10.6	21.4
Linking Communism to Political Opposition	15.9	1.1
Candidate's Hatred for Communism	4.7	.0
Communists' Hatred for Candidate	8.4	.0
Other References	2.8	4.4

The first category consisted of vague general statements which involved the candidate's opposition to the philosophy, policies, and activities of communism, while another involves references to activities of communists in foreign countries. The third consists of references to domestic communist activities in political, economic, and social affairs within the United States; yet another involves statements about the existence of communists within the government of the United States. The fifth contains the efforts by each candidate to link communism to his opposition. The sixth consists of statements in which the candidate expressed his dislike for communism. The seventh contains references by the candidate about how the communists hate him because of his actions against them. Finally, there are the remainder of the references by each candidate which defy classification.

An interesting difference exists between the manner in which Dewey and Truman used the third and fourth categories--domestic communism and communists in governmental positions. Dewey consistently referred to the problems posed by both categories as serious and not to be taken lightly.

Our country is entitled to government that is against Communism; that will not need 25 million dollars to find how many Communists it has appointed to the government service. Our country is entitled to government that will not appoint Communists in the first place.

Our country is entitled to a government that knows in its heart and its mind, each day and every year, that Communism is a corroding evil which corrupts men's minds and warps their



souls; that knows Communism is a dangerous, aggressive, godless evil and will stand firmly against Communism now and for all time in the future.<sup>13</sup>

Truman, on the other hand, stated that domestic communism was not as serious a problem as the Republicans wanted the voter to believe. Also Truman contended that the charge of communists in government service was an attempt by the Republicans to influence the election.

Our Government is not endangered by Communist infiltration. It has preserved its integrity --and it will continue to do so.

. . . . .  
The Communist Party reached its greatest popular strength in the 1932 elections, when it polled over 100,000 votes. . . .

By 1936, under a Democratic Administration, the strength of the Communist Party had dropped to 80,000 votes. In 1940. . . it polled only 46,000 votes. This is less than one-half of what it got in 1932 under Republican rule.

In 1944 there was no Communist Presidential candidate. There is none this year.

. . . . .  
The Republican leaders have been trying to make Communism an issue in this election. They are trying to make you think that the Republican Party has a monopoly on patriotism.

Don't let them fool you!

I think most Americans will understand that they are trying to divert your attention from the shocking record of the Republican 80th Congress.<sup>14</sup>

Truman made considerable use of the fifth category, and tried to link communism with his opposition. This tactic was in line with the suggestions made by presidential counselor Clark Clifford in his now-celebrated confidential

---

<sup>13</sup>Address at the Boston Arena, Boston, Massachusetts, October 28, 1948, Dewey, 1948, p. 705.

<sup>14</sup>Address in Oklahoma City, September 28, 1948, Truman, 1948, pp. 609-610, 613.

memorandum to the President dated November 19, 1947. It was Clifford's contention that foreign and domestic communists wanted a Republican victory in 1948, as it would further their goals concerning the United States. Clifford believed that for this reason the communists would probably back the candidacy of Henry A. Wallace as this would weaken the Democratic Party. Therefore, an effort must be made to identify the communist cause with the Wallace candidacy and a Republican victory. However, while there may be some question as to whether or not Truman actually saw the memorandum, the references in the campaign speeches did indeed employ such an effort.<sup>15</sup>

I charge finally that, in all this, they [the Republicans] have not hurt the Communist Party one bit.

They have helped it.

The fact of the matter is that the Republican Party is unwittingly the ally of the Communists in this country.

. . . . .  
The Communists are backing the third party.

Let us ask ourselves the question: Just why are the Communists backing the third party?

They are backing the third party, because they want a Republican victory in November.<sup>16</sup>

Now, my friends, the truth of the matter is, the Communists are doing all they can to defeat me and help my Republican opponent.

Just take a look at the facts.

---

<sup>15</sup>Clark Clifford, "Memorandum for the President," November 19, 1947, Political File, Clark M. Clifford Papers, Truman Library; "The Clark Clifford Memorandum: Three Writers' Observations Regarding a Single Source in the Library's Holdings." Whistle-Stop, II, No. 2 (Spring, 1974), p. 2.

<sup>16</sup>Oklahoma City, September 28, Truman, 1948, p. 610.

The Communist Party of the United States is today supporting a third-party candidate in an effort to defeat me.

In State after State the Republicans have worked to get this Communist-supported candidate on the ballot in order to defeat me, and with me, the party of the people who want no share of this unholy alliance.<sup>17</sup>

Not to be outdone, Dewey also accused his opposition of aiding the communists. And the language he used was direct and to the point. In fact, his statements were couched in almost the same terms as the legal definition of treason. This was particularly true whenever he spoke of Truman's statement that the charge of communists holding government positions was a "red-herring."

What do you suppose the family in some still free government in Europe, living in fear of the Communist colossus made of that statement [Truman's "red-herring" comment]? Can you blame them too much if they gave up the fight as hopeless and signed up in the Communist Party? Here it seemed was America, the last best hope of the world, shutting its eyes to this rampant evil.

That's not the only way our government has been giving aid and comfort to the enemies of our system.<sup>18</sup>

Truman also stressed his intense dislike for communism and its philosophy. Dewey did not. And Truman repeatedly stated that the communists wanted to defeat him because they hated him and his administration. Dewey did not offer any opinions on how the communists might think of him.

---

<sup>17</sup>Address at Mechanics Hall in Boston, October 27, 1948, Truman, 1948, p. 884.

<sup>18</sup>Address at the Hollywood Bowl, Los Angeles, California, September 24, 1948, Dewey, 1948, p. 654.

I want you to get this straight now.

I hate communism. I deplore what it does to the dignity and freedom of the individual. I detest the godless creed it teaches.

I have fought it at home. I have fought it abroad, and I shall continue to fight it with all my strength.

This is one issue on which I shall never surrender.

. . . . .  
The whole world knows of the success of this policy [the Truman Doctrine]. Now, the Communists will never forgive me for that.

. . . . .  
In Germany, we have taken the frank and firm position that communism must not spread its tentacles into the Western Zone.

We shall not retreat from that position.

We shall feed the people of Berlin, and the people of Germany will be given their chance to work out a decent life under a democratic government.

Now the Communists hate me for that, too.<sup>19</sup>

Each candidate delivered one major address that was primarily related to the dangers posed by foreign and domestic communism. About fifty-two per cent, or fifty-six of the 107 Truman citations of communism, appeared in the major address delivered at Oklahoma City on September 28.<sup>20</sup> Of the eighty-nine references to communism by Dewey, twenty-six of them, or 29.2 per cent, were in his address at Los Angeles on September 24.<sup>21</sup> Of more interest, however, is the fact that 100 of the 107 Truman references to communism--or 93.5

---

<sup>19</sup>Boston, October 27, Truman, 1948, pp. 884-885.

<sup>20</sup>Oklahoma City, September 28, Truman, 1948, passim, pp. 609-614.

<sup>21</sup>Los Angeles, September 24, Dewey, 1948, passim, pp. 651-655.

per cent--appeared in two speeches.<sup>22</sup> These two speeches, delivered at Oklahoma City and Boston, contained 100 per cent of the references by Truman about communists in government offices, domestic communist activities, foreign communist activities, communist hatred for him, and the general references to communism. Also they contained 94.1 per cent of his references that linked the communists with his opposition, and sixty per cent of his statements concerning his personal hatred for communism.

Dewey had three speeches in which communism was a major topic, but they contained only fifty-six citations for 62.0 per cent of his total references.<sup>23</sup> These three speeches, delivered at Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, and Boston, contained 100 per cent of his statements about domestic communism, foreign communism, and communism as linked to his opposition. They also contained 63.2 per cent of his references about communists in government positions and 33.3 per cent of comments about communism in general.

Truman dealt with the subject of communism and its dangers extensively in two speeches and then for all practical purposes dropped it. Dewey devoted a major part of

---

<sup>22</sup>Oklahoma City, September 27, Truman, 1948, passim, pp. 609-614; Boston, October 27, Truman, 1948, passim, pp. 882-886.

<sup>23</sup>Los Angeles, September 24, Dewey, 1948, passim, pp. 651-655; Pittsburgh, October 11, Dewey, 1948, passim, pp. 677-680; Boston, October 28, Dewey, 1948, passim, pp. 704-707.

three speeches to communism but made frequent references to it in other speeches.

"Danger," "dangerous," "communism," and "communist" were not the only words used to convey a sense of impending disaster. Other words involving the presence of danger such as "threat," "cut," and "destroy," also appeared in the rhetoric. Truman made references to "threat" twenty-six times, "cut" thirteen, and "destroy" fifteen times. Dewey on the other hand used "threat" thirteen times, "cut" once, and "destroy" twice. Truman's use of the word "threat" fell into three broad categories, each containing approximately one-third of his references. The first contains references to the threat posed by communism--30.8 per cent. The second consists of the threats posed by the Republicans and their special interest allies--34.6 per cent. And the third contains all other references to threats--34.6 per cent. However, an analysis of the references to the threat posed by communism reveals that Truman saw the Republicans, not the communists, as the real and immediate menace. One-half of the references to the threat of communism were of this type.

The real threat of communism in this country grows out of the Republican policies of the 80th Congress--policies which threaten to put an end to American prosperity.

The real threat of Communism in this country grows out of the submission of the Republican Party to the dictates of big business, and its determination to destroy the hard-won rights of American labor.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup>Boston, October 27, Truman, 1948, p. 886.

If these references are added to the category containing the threats posed by Republicans and their allies, this category would then constitute one-half of all of Truman's use of the word "threat." To Truman, the Republicans were the present and immediate danger.

Truman also continued the theme that Republicans posed a danger to the country with his use of the words "cut" and "destroy." Forty per cent of his uses of "destroy" and 84.6 per cent of his uses of "cut" were direct references to how the Republicans had or would "cut" and "destroy" federal projects and individual freedoms.

They cut the budget for the new research and marketing activities. They tried to kill the farm tenant purchase program.

And, now, despite the belated protestation of the Republican candidate, they are showing that they want to alter and destroy the whole structure of price supports for farm products.<sup>25</sup>

Dewey tended to speak in broad generalities when he used the words "threat," "cut," and "destroy." Of his thirteen uses of the word "threat," only one of them was directly connected to the threat of communism. Primarily he spoke of un-defined threats to the peace of the world.

We want our sons and daughters to be able to plan their futures and live their lives without this overshadowing threat of another war. . . . We will work for peace through the United Nations and by every honorable means wherever the peace is threatened.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup>Address at the State Fairgrounds, Raleigh, North Carolina, October 19, 1948, Truman, 1948, p. 826.

<sup>26</sup>Madison Square Garden, October 30, Dewey, 1948, p. 710.

An examination of the difference between the means on the concept of Distress reveals a clear distinction in the way the two candidates used references to discomfort, anxiety, and suffering. An example is the way both candidates used the term "fear." Dewey made thirty-two references to "fear" in the context of the fear present in American life or the people of oppressed countries who lived in fear.<sup>27</sup> In contrast, Truman used "fear" only eleven times and always in the context of the Republicans winning the election. A typical usage of "fear" by Truman was in a speech delivered on Labor Day in Cadillac Square, Detroit, Michigan. "If you get an administration and a Congress unfriendly to labor, you have much to fear, and you had better look out."<sup>28</sup>

The analysis disclosed little difference in the manner the two candidates used the Time-Immediacy concept. Both men made references to the situations that presently faced the nation. Such words as "here," "now," "today," and "tonight" were used to convey an immediacy to the threat of danger. Truman saw the immediate threat to the well-being of the nation as the Republican Party. Typical of the way

---

<sup>27</sup>Des Moines, Iowa, September 20, Dewey, 1948, pp. 640-641; Address by Thomas E. Dewey at Sante Fe, New Mexico, September 22, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library; Los Angeles, September 24, Dewey, 1948, pp. 653-654; Address at Montgomery Stadium, Phoenix, Arizona, September 23, 1948, Dewey, 1948, p. 650.

<sup>28</sup>Labor Day Address in Cadillac Square, Detroit, September 6, 1948, Truman, 1948, p. 476.



Truman used references to Time-Immediacy are the passages found in his speeches at Detroit, Michigan; Dexter, Iowa; and Denver, Colorado.

The other day, a cartoonist for a Republican newspaper drew a cartoon of me that I enjoyed. He showed me dressed up as Paul Revere, riding through a colonial town yelling to the townspeople: "Look out! The Republicans are coming."

It was a good cartoon. There's a lot of truth in it. But it's not quite accurate. What I am really telling you is not that the Republicans are coming, but they are here.<sup>29</sup>

Working people need every ounce of strength they possess to meet today's problems.<sup>30</sup>

They have invited a depression by refusing to curb our inflation.

And now they are attacking the farm support program.<sup>31</sup>

While Truman saw Republicans as the immediate danger, Dewey saw the present threat as coming from unstable domestic and international conditions.

For tonight our future--our peace, our prosperity, the very fate of freedom--hangs in a precarious balance.<sup>32</sup>

Today it is our way of life that is being challenged and threatened.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup>Denver, September 20, Truman, 1948, pp. 517-518.

<sup>30</sup>Detroit, September 6, Truman, 1948, pp. 475-476.

<sup>31</sup>Dexter, Iowa, September 18, Truman, 1948, p. 507.

<sup>32</sup>Address Accepting Republican Nomination for President, Republican National Convention, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, June 24, 1948, Dewey, 1948, p. 635; hereafter cited as Acceptance Speech, June 24, Dewey, 1948.

<sup>33</sup>Los Angeles, September 24, Dewey, 1948, p. 652.

As Table XI shows, Dewey had the larger scores on all three concepts which comprise the insignificant area of Rationality--Thought-Form, Think, and Cause. An examination of the data reveals that the difference on the concept of Thought-Form was largely due to Dewey's use of a greater number of word types. Dewey had fourteen words that appeared regularly throughout his speeches, while Truman had ten. Dewey tended to stress problem solving, basic ideology, and fundamental beliefs. He made frequent use of such words as "problems," "example," "belief," "ideals," and "knowledge." In his speech accepting the Republican nomination, Dewey said the convention ". . . has been a stirring demonstration of the life and vitality and ideals of our Republican Party."<sup>34</sup> In Des Moines, Iowa, on September 20, he told an audience that an administration that could unite the American people ". . . will have taken the greatest single step toward solving these problems."<sup>35</sup>

Truman also had some favorite words in the Thought-Form concept. He seemed most interested in calling for the facts and asking the question why. And at the National Plowing Contest on September 18, he did both.

Why is it that the farmers and the workers  
and the small businessman suffer under Republi-  
can administrations and gain under Democratic  
administrations?

I'll tell you why.

. . . . .

---

<sup>34</sup>Acceptance Speech, June 24, Dewey, 1948, p. 635.

<sup>35</sup>Des Moines, Iowa, September 20, Dewey, 1948, p. 640.

These are the facts the people need to know. I am going to keep hammering away at the facts until the whole country rings with the truth about these gluttons of privilege.<sup>36</sup>

The difference in the means of the candidates on the concept of Think was due to causes similar to those in Thought-Form. Dewey tended to favor such words as "understand," "belief," and "solve," while Truman stressed such terms as "think" and "remember." A typical example of the manner in which Dewey used this concept appears in his speech at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, on September 22. While discussing how the American people would handle their problems he said, "We will solve our problems through the good sense, the patriotism and the unity of the American people."<sup>37</sup>

Truman's use of the concept is demonstrated in his Labor Day speech in Detroit on September 6. In it he discussed labor and the reactionary Republicans. "Remember that the reactionary of today is a shrewd man."<sup>38</sup> And, he continued, in the future ". . . I think it is clear that labor will need to link its position more closely with that of the farmers and the small businessman."<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup>Dexter, Iowa, September 18, Truman, 1948, pp. 505, 507.

<sup>37</sup>Address at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico, September 22, 1948, Dewey, 1948, p. 647.

<sup>38</sup>Detroit, September 6, Truman, 1948, p. 477.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 478.

The difference between the means on the concept of Cause was also due to patterns of use similar to those in Thought-Form and Think. Truman tended to use the same basic words, primarily four, to convey a cause-effect meaning. These words were "because," "cause," "result," and "effect." Dewey tended to have a larger vocabulary of cause-effect words. The seven words that Dewey used were "because," "cause," "result," "essential," "necessary," "establish," and "source."

When the two candidates' scores on the insignificant areas were compared with the mean index scores of the control documents, no significant differences between the speeches of 1948 and the control documents were revealed. For all practical purposes, the three sets of speeches reflected the same intensity in the use of these components of the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric.

Table XIII shows the two areas of content that displayed differences between the mean index scores which were of slightly significant size--Acceptability and Resoluteness. On the area of Acceptability, the Dewey mean was slightly greater than that of Truman. However, of the three components of Acceptability, Truman had a greater mean than Dewey on two--Action-Norm and Peer-Status. Only on the concept of Sign-Accept did Dewey have a mean greater than that of Truman.

The analysis revealed that the difference between the candidates on Sign-Accept was linked both to frequency and

TABLE XIII  
 MEAN INDEX SCORES OF MAJOR ADDRESSES ON THE  
 SLIGHTLY SIGNIFICANT AREAS OF CONTENT

	Truman Mean	Dewey Mean	Per Cent of Difference Between Truman and Dewey	Control Mean	Per Cent of Difference Between Controls and Truman	and Dewey
Acceptability	4.01	4.73	17.9	4.88	21.7	3.2
Sign-Accept	2.13	3.10	45.0	3.21	50.7	3.6
Action-Norm	1.68	1.51	11.2	1.40	20.0	7.9
Peer-Status	.22	.13	69.2	.26	18.2	59.1
Resoluteness	4.13	5.06	22.5	4.61	11.6	9.8
Attempt	.31	.42	35.5	.47	51.6	11.9
Ought	.52	.70	34.6	.98	88.5	40.0
Sign-Strong	3.29	3.95	20.1	3.16	4.1	25.0

to selection of words. In his major addresses, Dewey made multiple use of twenty words that were assigned as Sign-Accept. Most prominent among these were references to "America" and "Americans," "unity," "team," and "teamwork." Truman made similar use of fourteen words in his major addresses. Prominent among these were references to "America," "Americans," and "loyalty."

While both candidates made references to "America" and "Americans," their frequency was greatly varied. Truman used such references a total of 123 times in his major addresses--an average of over five per speech. Dewey used these terms a total of 396 times in his major addresses--an average of over twenty times per speech. A typical example of how Truman used these words is found in his speech at Madison Square Garden on October 28.

And the American people are not going to be fooled. They want to hear something more than platitudes. You know, "G.O.P." now stands for "Grand Old Platitudes."<sup>40</sup>

Dewey tended to use the themes of "America" and "unity" in a related series. An example is found in his speech at Kansas City, Missouri, on October 14. There he wove "unity" and "America" together into a single thought.

In this campaign to unite America, I have talked with many people about many problems. Wherever I have gone I have repeated my belief--my unshakeable belief that for America no job is too big when we are a united people.

. . . . .

---

<sup>40</sup>Madison Square Garden, October 28, Truman, 1948, p. 913.

Our goal is an America so strong and so united that it can meet the problems of today and the challenge of tomorrow.<sup>41</sup>

Also in this speech Dewey demonstrated his use of the concept of the "team" and of "teamwork."

The second great requirement of good government is teamwork.

. . . . .  
I know something about teamwork in government. It isn't always easy. . . . Teamwork calls for frank discussion, free and full debate, a working partnership. . . . We are going to have that kind of team in Washington.<sup>42</sup>

The difference between the means on the Action-Norm concept reflects patterns of use and of frequency similar to those found in Sign-Accept. In this case, however, it was the Truman mean that was greater. Truman stressed the importance of the election, the need for all to vote, and the worthiness of Democratic programs. Dewey frequently spoke of the programs the Republicans would provide. However, he rarely mentioned the election and seldom did he urge the people to vote.

A good example of the use and of the importance that Truman placed on the election and the people voting appears at the end of his speech at Dexter, Iowa, on September 18-- the National Plowing Contest. There he used Action-Norm terms in a strong appeal to the farmers for their votes.

---

<sup>41</sup>Kansas City, October 14, Dewey, 1948, pp. 688-689.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 689.

There is one way to stop the forces of reaction.  
Get every vote out on election day, and  
make it count. You can't afford to waste your  
votes this year.

I'm not asking you just to vote for me.  
Vote for yourselves! Vote for your farms! Vote  
for the standard of living that you have won  
under a Democratic administration!

Get out there on election day, and vote  
for your future.<sup>43</sup>

A typical reference by Dewey to the election appears  
in his Madison Square Garden speech on October 30. While  
discussing how free the Americans were, he stated that Amer-  
icans were also free ". . . to go to the polls next Tuesday  
and vote in secret according to no dictates save the dic-  
tates of conscience."<sup>44</sup>

An examination of the Peer-Status concept reveals that  
both candidates used primarily the same word types. Such  
words as "friend," "friends," "citizen," "fellow," and  
"neighbor" constituted approximately eighty-seven per cent  
of the Truman Peer-Status references and nearly seventy-  
nine per cent of the Dewey citations. However, Truman used  
these references with greater frequency than did Dewey.  
For example, Dewey averaged one reference to "friend" or  
"friends" per major address while Truman averaged two per  
speech.

As Table XIII shows, Dewey not only had the larger  
mean on the area of Resoluteness; he also had larger means

---

<sup>43</sup>Dexter, Iowa, September 18, Truman, 1948, p. 508.

<sup>44</sup>Madison Square Garden, October 30, Dewey, 1948,  
p. 709.



on all three of its components--Attempt, Ought, and Sign-Strong. On the Attempt concept, Dewey's greater mean can be attributed to his use of a larger number of word types and to their more frequent use. Among the words used by Dewey and not by Truman were: "striving," "endeavor," and "seek."

For example, in his speech at Phoenix, Arizona, on September 23, Dewey commented that the advent of atomic energy while being a terrible weapon has also ". . . filled the peace we are striving for with the prospect of vastly increased blessing."<sup>45</sup> And in his acceptance speech, he discussed the goals of the Republican Party and his candidacy.

Our platform proclaims the guideposts that will mark our steadfast and certain endeavor in a peaceful world.

. . . . .  
 We are a united party. Our nation stands tragically in need of that same unity.  
 . . . . .  
 The unity we seek is more than material.<sup>46</sup> . . .

Both candidates freely spoke of the struggle the campaign and the election represented. And, they talked of the effort involved in both. They also spoke of the challenges which faced the nation. However, Dewey made greater use of these concepts than did Truman. For example, in his speech at Kansas City, Missouri, on October 14, Dewey spoke of the challenge that awaited the nation. "We are going

---

<sup>45</sup>Phoenix, September 23, Dewey, 1948, p. 650

<sup>46</sup>Acceptance Speech, June 24, Dewey, 1948, p. 636.

ahead to meet the greatest challenge of all--the challenge of a just and lasting peace."<sup>47</sup>

On the Ought concept, Dewey again made more frequent use of words that conveyed a sense of obligation. Primarily, these oft-used words were "must" and "shall." Dewey tended to use them in conjunction with the pronoun "we" in statements concerning what "we must" do and that "we shall" do it. In his acceptance speech, Dewey freely used "must" and "shall" for imperative meanings.

We must be the instrument of that aspiration.  
We must be the means by which America's full  
powers are released. . . .

. . . .  
We shall harness the unimaginable possibili-  
ties of atomic energy.<sup>48</sup>

Truman not only used these terms less frequently but also in a different tone. Truman tended to stress what "you" (the voter) must do and what he (Truman) shall do. In his acceptance speech, he displayed his use of "must" and "shall" as moral imperatives.

I shall continue to try to deserve it [the nomination].

. . . .  
. . . ., and I shall continue to preach that  
through this whole campaign.

. . . .  
At the same time I shall ask them to act  
upon other vitally needed measures such as aid  
to education, . . .

. . . .  
I shall ask for adequate and decent laws  
for displaced persons. . . .

. . . .

---

<sup>47</sup>Kansas City, October 14, Dewey, 1948, p. 691.

<sup>48</sup>Acceptance Speech, June 24, Dewey, 1948, p. 636.

I must have your help. You must get in and push, and win this election. The country can't afford another Republican Congress.<sup>49</sup>

Dewey also dominated the Sign-Strong concept. Not only did Dewey make more frequent use of such strength and action words as "strong," "strength," "bulwark," and "competent," he also used more verb forms to convey strength or capacity for action. His use of "are," "can," and "will" in this sense exceeded that of Truman by over two to one. Most of the uses of these words were preceded by a group reference such as "we" or by a reference to the future Republican administration. Some typical examples of his use of these terms are found in his speech at Boston on October 28. His main topics in that speech concerned general domestic issues--communism, good government, and economic issues.

And this is what we will do; we shall prove again that men can live in freedom, . . .

. . . . .  
Your next administration will unite our people behind a foreign policy that will strengthen the cause of freedom. . . .

. . . . .  
We will go forward to develop our resources. We will take stock of our farms.

We have been blessed with wonderfully rich natural resources. We are going to protect and develop them. . . .

. . . . .  
We have proved that with patience, integrity and courage our American ideal of freedom can be given new, more practical meaning. Good government can do that job for the nation.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup>Address in Philadelphia Upon Accepting the Nomination of the Democratic National Convention, July 15, 1948, Truman, 1948, pp. 406-407, 409-410; hereafter cited as Acceptance Speech, July 15, Truman, 1948.

<sup>50</sup>Boston, October 28, Dewey, 1948, pp. 704-705, 707.

Truman not only made less frequent use of these types of words, but he also used them in a different tone. His references tended to concern the election and the protection of the people's interests. Typical examples of his usage are found in his speech of October 30 at St. Louis, Missouri.

On November 2nd we are going to have a Democratic Governor in Missouri, and a Democratic delegation in the Congress of the United States.

That's just good commonsense, and some of these days we are going to get it, because the Democrats are going back in power, and we are going to see that we get it.

People are waking up to the fact that this is their Government, and that they can control their Government if they get out and vote on election day.

People are waking up that the tide is beginning to roll, and I am here to tell you that if you do your duty as citizens of the greatest Republic the sun has ever shone on, we will have a Government that will be for your interests, that will be for peace in the world, and for the welfare of all the people, and not just a few.<sup>51</sup>

Also as Table XIII shows, a comparison of the two candidates' means on the slightly significant areas with the means of the control documents reveals an interesting observation. While both candidates varied with the control documents in a similar insignificant manner on Resoluteness, their variance on Acceptability was noticeably different. Dewey's score on Acceptability was almost the same as that

---

<sup>51</sup>St. Louis, October 30, Truman, 1948, pp. 934, 938-939.

of the control documents. However, Truman's score was smaller than the control document mean by a slightly significant amount--21.7 per cent. This suggests that of the three--Truman, Dewey, and controls--the deviants were the Truman speeches. In fact, the scores of six of the control documents (those from recent presidential campaigns) were nearly the same as the Dewey mean index score. It would seem that Acceptability has become more important in the most recent campaigns.

As Table XIV shows, the analysis revealed significant differences between the scores of Truman and Dewey on four areas of content. Of these areas, the Truman mean was the greater on three--Belligerence, Issue Orientation, and Emotional Appeal. The Dewey mean, however, was the larger on Legitimacy.

While Truman had a significantly greater mean on Emotional Appeal, his mean score was significant on only one of the three area components--Arousal. However, his means were larger than those of Dewey on the remaining components --Emotion and Urge--but the difference was insignificant.

Although the difference on the concept of Emotion is rated as insignificant, there are clear distinctions between the ways the two candidates used references to the concept. Truman expressed emotion in statements concerning the campaign and the activities of the opposition. An example is the word "crusade." When used, it transferred the idea of a holy war to the campaign. And, interestingly enough, it

TABLE XIV  
 MEAN INDEX SCORES OF MAJOR ADDRESSES ON  
 SIGNIFICANT AREAS OF CONTENT

	Truman Mean	Dewey Mean	Per Cent of Difference Between Truman and Dewey	Control Mean	Per Cent of Difference Between Truman and Dewey	Control Mean
Belligerence	6.00	2.59	131.6	3.37	78.0	30.1
Attack	1.09	.54	101.8	.72	51.4	33.3
Anger	.58	.21	176.1	.17	241.2	23.5
Sign-Reject	4.22	1.62	160.4	2.41	75.1	48.8
Expel	.11	.06	83.3	.07	57.1	16.7
Issue Orientation	15.68	10.04	56.1	9.97	57.3	.7
Political	7.34	4.82	52.2	5.11	43.6	6.0
Economic	2.98	1.81	64.6	1.27	134.7	42.5
Specific-Issues	5.36	3.40	57.6	3.59	49.3	5.6
Legitimacy	5.15	7.88	53.0	6.84	32.8	15.2
Ideal-Value	2.32	5.05	54.0	3.97	71.1	27.2
Past-Tradition	2.83	2.80	1.1	2.87	1.4	2.5
Emotional Appeal	3.66	2.71	35.1	2.93	24.9	8.1
Emotion	2.14	1.94	10.3	1.91	12.0	1.6
Arousal	.92	.25	268.0	.35	162.9	40.0
Urge	.59	.52	13.5	.66	11.9	26.9

was used only by Truman. Thus, Truman issued the call for the faithful to join him in his righteous cause.

That is why I say to you that we are now engaged in one of the most important battles in our history. It is a crusade for the right, a crusade for the people against the special interests. I want you to join me in this crusade.<sup>52</sup>

Also, Truman turned the Republicans and their activities into sources of emotional expression. This type of reference was used frequently by Truman in his speech accepting the Democratic nomination.

Now it is time for us to get together and beat the common enemy. And that is up to you.  
 . . . . .  
 The League [of Nations] was sabotaged by the Republicans in 1920.

. . . . .  
 I recommended an increase in the minimum wage. What did I get? Nothing. Absolutely nothing.

. . . . .  
 I wonder if they think they can fool the people of the United States with such poppycock as that!

. . . . .  
 In 1932 we were attacking the citadel of special privilege and greed. We were fighting to drive the money changers from the temple. Today, in 1948, we are now the defenders of the stronghold of democracy and of equal opportunity, the haven of the ordinary people of this land and not of the favored classes of the powerful few. . . . , we can save this country from a continuation of the 80th Congress, and from misrule from now on.<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup>Address at the Chicago Stadium, October 25, 1948, Truman, 1948, p. 853.

<sup>53</sup>Acceptance Speech, July 15, Truman, 1948, pp. 406-410.

Conversely, Dewey attempted to remain above emotional partisan outbursts. Consequently, his expressions of emotion were not nearly as fiery as those of Truman. Dewey often invoked traditional American ideals and explained how his administration would revive and continue them. An example is found in his speech accepting the Republican nomination with its many references to freedom.

Mere victory in an election is not our purpose. Our task is to fill our victory with such meaning that mankind everywhere, yearning for freedom, will take heart, and move forward out of this desperate darkness into the light of freedom's promise.

. . . . .  
 The ideals of the American people are the ideals of the Republican Party. We have lighted a beacon here in Philadelphia, in this cradle of our own independence. We have lighted a beacon to give eternal hope that men may live in liberty with human dignity and before God and loving him, stand erect and free.<sup>54</sup>

Truman tended to use the concept of Arousal to deal with two topics: the revival of past and present fears concerning the Republicans, and the winning of the election. Dewey, however, used Arousal primarily to bring forth feelings about the greatness of the country, the people, and their abilities. Truman's use of these techniques is evident in speeches delivered at four cities: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Denver, Colorado; Dexter, Iowa; and Raleigh, North Carolina.

---

<sup>54</sup>Acceptance Speech, June 24, Dewey, 1948, pp. 635, 637.



Senator Barkley and I will win this election and make these Republicans like it--don't you forget that

o . . . . .  
 And when tax relief can be given, it ought to go to those who need it most, and not those who need it least, as this Republican rich man's tax bill did when they passed it over my veto. . . .  
 [the Republicans changed it]. . . but it still helps the rich and sticks a knife into the back of the poor.<sup>55</sup>

This is a "straight from the shoulder" country, and it has produced a great breed of fighting men. I am going to call upon your fighting qualities now. For you and I have a fight on our hands--a fight for the future of this country, and for the welfare of the people of the United States.<sup>56</sup>

There is every reason for the American farmer to expect a long period of good prices--if he continues to get a fair deal. His greatest danger is that he may be voted out of a fair deal, and into a Republican deal.

The Wall Street reactionaries are not satisfied with being rich. They want to increase their power and their privileges, regardless of what happens to the other fellow. They are gluttons of privilege.

These gluttons of privilege are now putting up fabulous sums of money to elect a Republican administration.<sup>57</sup>

I don't mind being on exhibit here [State Fair of North Carolina] myself. I think I belong right here. I'm a homegrown American farm product. That product is just about the same in Missouri as it is in North Carolina.

And I'm proud of the breed I represent--the completely unterrified form of American democracy.

o . . . . .  
 You know what Republicanism means in North Carolina and everywhere else in the south.

---

409. <sup>55</sup>Acceptance Speech, July 15, Truman, 1948, pp. 406,

<sup>56</sup>Denver, September 20, Truman, 1948, p. 517.

<sup>57</sup>Dexter, Iowa, September 18, Truman, 1948, p. 504.

First it means the rule of the carpetbaggers. Then it means rule by the moneybaggers. Either way, it means a rule that treats the South and the West as colonies to be exploited commercially and held down politically.<sup>58</sup>

Dewey's rhetoric reflected a different and less inflammatory use of Arousal. Typical examples of his use of Arousal are found in his speeches at Los Angeles, Madison Square Garden, and Boston.

At this moment, planes built in the great aircraft factories of this West Coast are shuttling back and forth, day and night, in all kinds of weather to keep the torch of freedom lit in tense and explosive Berlin. While they carry the freight of peace, we are proving our determination to stand by the free peoples of Europe until united they can stand by themselves.<sup>59</sup>

I am deeply moved by our welcome, the more deeply because I know this welcome is not meant just for me or just for the Republican Party. You are cheering tonight for the America that is on the way. . . . You are cheering tonight for a great people who are resolved to get a government they can cheer about.<sup>60</sup>

This wonderful old city of Boston has a special place in the hearts of all who love freedom. While patriots dreamed of forging a free and independent United States, Boston became freedom's anvil. The sparks were struck in Boston which kindled the flames of our liberty.<sup>61</sup>

An examination of the concept Urge reveals that Truman's references are different from those of Dewey.

---

<sup>58</sup>Raleigh, North Carolina, October 19, Truman, 1948, p. 824.

<sup>59</sup>Los Angeles, September 24, Dewey, 1948, p. 652.

<sup>60</sup>Madison Square Garden, October 30, Dewey, 1948, pp. 707-708.

<sup>61</sup>Boston, October 28, Dewey, 1948, p. 704.

Truman emphasized the election and the need to defeat the Republicans. Dewey referred to a higher goal--achieving what was best for all America. Dewey's appeal was for the voters to exercise a national altruism. That is to say, they were to forget their selfish individual interests and think only of the good of all. The manner and intensity in which Truman used Urge was displayed in speeches at Dexter, Iowa, and Madison Square Garden.

Get every vote out on election day, and make it count. You can't afford to wast your votes this year.

I'm not asking you just to vote for me. Vote for yourselves! Vote for your farms! Vote for the standard of living that you have won under a Democratic administration!

Get out there on election day, and vote for your future!<sup>62</sup>

I have only one request to make of you: vote on election day. Vote for yourselves. You don't have to vote for me. Vote in your own interests. And when you do that, you can only vote one way--vote for the welfare of the country, vote for the welfare of the world, vote for your own welfare by voting the Democratic ticket straight on November 2nd.<sup>63</sup>

Dewey's appeal for a national altruism is demonstrated in his speeches at Des Moines, Iowa, and at Madison Square Garden. In these speeches, he stressed the principle that one should think not of himself but of the good of America.

---

<sup>62</sup>Dexter, Iowa, September 18, Truman, 1948, p. 508.

<sup>63</sup>Madison Square Garden, October 28, Truman, 1948, p. 914.

I pledge to you that as president, every act of mine will be determined by one principle above all others: Is this good for our country?<sup>64</sup>

This is the eve of victory. Let us use our victory, not for ourselves--but for an America that is greater than ourselves. Let us humbly pray that our children and their children will look back on this election of 1948 and say, with thankful hearts: "That was good for our country."<sup>65</sup>

The analysis revealed a significant difference between the two candidates on the area of Issue Orientation. As Table XIV shows, Truman dominated Dewey on this area. Issue Orientation consists of three components--Political, Economic, and Specific-Issues. And, Truman had a significantly greater mean on all three.

An examination of the Political concept reveals distinct differences between the manner in which the two candidates used political references. Truman referred primarily to either political processes or the opposition. In his twenty-one major addresses, Truman spoke of "Republicans" 427 times--an average of over twenty references per speech. And none of these references were favorable. Other issues to which he frequently referred were: "legislation" (including "bills" and "acts"), five per speech; "congress," two per speech; "voting," two per speech; and "lobbies," two per speech.

---

<sup>64</sup>Des Moines, Iowa, September 20, Dewey, 1948, p. 639.

<sup>65</sup>Madison Square Garden, October 30, Dewey, 1948, p. 710.

The most frequent political references used by Dewey tended to be to the government itself. He used "administration" an average of eight times per speech in his nineteen major addresses. These were references to either the Democratic administration or to his coming administration. He also referred to "government"--either good, bad, or future--an average of six times per speech.

The frequency of these political references by each candidate tended to emphasize their points of attack during their campaigns. Truman struck out at Republicans, the Eightieth Congress, legislation (good, bad, or needed), and vested interests. He also urged the people to vote. Dewey emphasized good government versus bad government and competent administration versus incompetent administration.

An analysis of the Economic concept reveals that the significant difference between the mean index scores was due to Truman's repeated references to unfavorable economic conditions attributable to the Republicans. Truman emphasized the depression of the 1930's, inflation, high costs, and high prices. All of these, he contended, were the result of Republican policies. His speech in Los Angeles on September 23 provides an example of his use of economic references.

I asked for a curb on inflation. No action by the Republican Congress.

The story of the fight on inflation is especially revealing. When I called the Congress into special session this summer, I urged it to deal with the high cost of living. The Republican leadership replied that this was a political maneuver on my part in an election year.

. . . . .  
 The dangers of inflation are continuing to grow. The cost of living is continuing to rise. The Republicans cannot conceal their responsibility by hurling charges of "politics" at me.<sup>66</sup>

Dewey also linked economic problems with his opposition. His references, however, were not as frequent as those of Truman, and he was not as emphatic in placing the responsibility for the conditions. His speech at San Francisco on September 25 provides an example of his use of economic references.

Obviously, the present inflationary high prices arose under the leadership of the present Administration. But I do not place the whole blame on the government in Washington. That might be the easy thing to do. But high prices are not a political problem. They are an economic problem. I want no part in any effort to play politics with human misfortune.<sup>67</sup>

The important concept of Issue Orientation was Specific-Issues. It consists of a listing of the issues to which each candidate referred in his campaign. When the list was completed, all issues that had been cited at least twice in the campaign were tabulated. There were thirty-two specific issues that Truman used two or more times, while Dewey had twenty-two issues that he used more than once. From this list, a second one was prepared for each candidate. The second list contained all the issues that

---

<sup>66</sup>Address at Gilmore Stadium in Los Angeles, September 23, 1948, Truman, 1948, p. 558.

<sup>67</sup>Address at San Francisco Stadium, San Francisco, California, September 25, 1948, Dewey, 1948, pp. 655-656.

had an overall appearance average of at least once per speech. As Table XV shows, this reduced the number of issues to sixteen for Truman and thirteen for Dewey. This process also revealed that there were six items that the candidates shared as campaign issues. These were: communism, inflation, agriculture, labor, the cost of living, and prices.

These six common issues, however, did not constitute the focal points of either campaign. In fact, they represented some of the least controversial of the issues. Everyone was against inflation, communism, high prices, and the high cost of living, and everyone supported better labor conditions and more productive agriculture. The most frequent issue references of each candidate did not appear among the common six. Truman believed there were ten other major issues in the campaign, while Dewey saw seven others as important. And it was from among these that their most frequent references came.

As Table XV reveals, peace was the most discussed issue by Dewey, while Truman placed Republicans at the head of his list. Truman referred to the Republicans an average of twenty times per speech while Dewey averaged ten references to peace per address. Truman also mentioned the six common issues more than Dewey. On inflation and cost of living, the Dewey frequencies were equal to those of Truman. However, he fell behind Truman in references to the issues of labor, communism, agriculture, and higher prices.

TABLE XV  
 FREQUENCY OF SPECIFIC ISSUES PER SPEECH

Issues	Truman	Dewey
Oil Shortage		1
Competence		1
Team and Teamwork		1
Truman Administration		3
Next Administration (Dewey's)		4
Unity		5
Peace		10
Inflation	1	1
Cost of Living	1	1
High Prices	4	2
Labor	4	3
Communism	5	4
Agriculture	9	5
Republicans	20	
Eightieth Congress	8	
Big Business and Wall Street	3	
Special Interests and Privilege	2	
Housing	2	
Reactionaries	1	
Depression	1	
Education	1	
Taft-Hartley Act	1	
Conservation	1	



Six of Dewey's remaining issues--competence, team and teamwork, Truman administration, next administration, unity, and peace--fell into a broad category that comprised his effort to inform the people about how peace and the good life could be attained. The establishment of unity among the American people would lead to the replacement of the Truman administration with one that believed in competence and teamwork. The next administration would institute a good government which in turn would bring about peace and the good life.

Truman's ten remaining issues formed a general indictment of the opposition. As he saw it, the people had been lulled into apathy by the Republicans in 1946, and the Republicans had been wrecking things ever since. Reactionaries, big business, wall street interests, special interest groups, and special privilege groups controlled the Republican Party so that they might profit--and the people suffered. They suffered because the Eightieth Congress refused to do anything about high prices, housing, education, and conservation. However, the Congress did pass the Taft-Hartley Act, which should be repealed. The Republicans were trying to bring about another depression as they had in 1929. And, the Republicans had never done anything for the people--only to them. For Truman, Republicans were the embodiment of selfishness, greed, and evil; and the American people must defeat them at the polls. In fact, the manner in which Truman presented his case against the Republicans

gave the day of the election the aspects of the Battle of Armageddon.

The candidates did have another point of mutual agreement. They saw the problems involved in their respective issues as being caused by the other's party. Indeed, each believed that only his party was capable of solving these problems.

As Table XIV shows, the greatest amount of significant difference between the two candidates was on the area of Belligerence--131.6 per cent. The table also shows that the Truman means were greater on all of the four components of Belligerence--Attack, Anger, Sign-Reject, and Expel.

An examination of the ways in which both men expressed Attack reveals two distinct differences. One difference was in the way they used such aggressive words as "fight," "fighting," "fought," and "kill" in relation to the opposition and the campaign. Truman used these words in such references a total of 176 times in his major addresses. They appear in Dewey's speeches only nine times. Truman readily identified his opposition in this fight-- the Republicans and their cohorts.

Some things are worth fighting for. We have to fight the special interest lobbies instead of being "unified" by them. We must fight isolationists and reactionaries, the profiteers and the privileged few.

The way to fight it is to fight them with votes.<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>68</sup>Address at Bonham, Texas, September 27, 1948, Truman, 1948, p. 593.

This fight is Al Smith's fight.  
 This fight is Roosevelt's fight.  
 And now it is my fight.  
 More than that, it is your fight.  
 And I'm proud to be making this fight with  
 you for the things in which we believe.  
 With your help, and your courage, and  
 your enthusiasm, we are going to win this fight  
 on November the 2nd.<sup>69</sup>

The manner in which Dewey used these expressive terms tended, again, to reflect the idea of an America united in its fight against domestic and international problems. However, Dewey did occasionally slip into a partisan posture.

Do you remember who it was who fought for free labor in America? It was Republicans, . . .<sup>70</sup>

Here at home we will carry on the fight against injustice and discrimination, the fight for the civil liberties of all our people in all the land.<sup>71</sup>

The second difference was in the ferocity of the attacks on the opposition. Truman slashed out at the Eightieth Congress and the Republican Party. He did not hesitate to label them with names that staunch Republicans would have considered, at the very best, as disrespectful.

Ever since its inception, that party [Republican] has been under the control of special privilege; and they have completely proved it in the 80th Congress. They proved it by the things they did to the people, and not for them. They proved it by the things they failed to do.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup>Boston, October 27, Truman, 1948, p. 886.

<sup>70</sup>Pittsburgh, October 11, Dewey, 1948, p. 678.

<sup>71</sup>Madison Square Garden, October 30, Dewey, 1948, p. 710.

<sup>72</sup>Acceptance Speech, July 15, Truman, 1948, p. 407.

That was only the beginning. At every point, that Republican-dominated Congress has shown itself to be the legislative puppet of the most reactionary forces in American life, the puppet of big business, the puppet of the special lobbies--the real estate lobby, the power lobby, the grain speculator's lobby; and many others I could name. . . .

. . . . .  
 You cannot afford to let these reactionaries have their way. Already the big business Republicans have begun to nail the American consumer to the wall with the spikes of greed.<sup>73</sup>

Dewey's attacks upon the opposition possessed a certain degree of subtlety that was missing in the speeches of Truman. Rather than assign derogatory labels, Dewey questioned the ability, honesty, and loyalty of the Truman administration. This he did through implication.

Another essential measure of good government is integrity. A government without integrity is a demoralized government. It cannot attract capable, unselfish people to the public service. It becomes the stamping ground for disloyal elements.

A government without integrity loses the confidence of the people. It tries to deceive them, to play them against each other for political profit. Frightened at its own inadequacies, it tries to frighten the people by raising scares about the future in order to get their votes.

. . . . .  
 There is no magic formula for competent administration. But one thing is certain. You will never get it when positions of high authority go to men simply because they tell funny stories or because they are somebody's old friends or because they are supposed to have special influence over some bloc of voters.<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup>Address at the University of Southern Illinois, Carbondale, Illinois, September 30, 1948, Truman, 1948, pp. 651-652.

<sup>74</sup>Kansas City, October 14, Dewey, 1948, pp. 689-690.

That's not the only way our government has been giving aid and comfort to the enemies of our system. They've [foreign communist leaders] been watching the way these men in Washington have bungled and quarrelled and they've been telling the word that ours is a blundering, bungling system.<sup>75</sup>

And let me reassure our friends abroad that as a people we are now in the process of uniting ourselves--of replacing a weak and fumbling administration with a strong and competent one to lead us out of our troubles both at home and abroad.<sup>76</sup>

There was also a noticeable difference between the two candidates on the concept of Sign-Reject. Truman was almost wholly partisan in his use of Sign-Reject. Dewey was not. Truman followed the theme of denouncing the Republicans and their programs as being of a disreputable, disgusting, and disastrous nature.

Republicans in Washington have a habit of becoming curiously deaf to the voice of the people. They have a hard time hearing what the ordinary people of the country are saying. But they have no trouble at all hearing what Wall Street is saying.<sup>77</sup>

When those Republican leaders of the 80th Congress failed to act against inflation, they proved themselves blind to the lessons of history.

The American people cannot afford to entrust their future to men of such little vision. The Bible warns us that where there is no vision, the people perish.<sup>78</sup>

---

<sup>75</sup>Los Angeles, September 24, Dewey, 1948, p. 654.

<sup>76</sup>Pittsburgh, October 11, Dewey, 1948, p. 680.

<sup>77</sup>Denver, September 20, Truman, 1948, p. 518.

<sup>78</sup>Chicago, October 25, Truman, 1948, p. 851.

Hearst's character assassins, McCormick-Patterson saboteurs all begun firing at me, as did the conservative columnists and radio commentators. Not because they believed anything they said or wrote, but because they were paid to do it.<sup>79</sup>

What they [Republicans and the Eightieth Congress] have taken away from you thus far would be only an appetizer for the economic tapeworm of big business.<sup>80</sup>

However, Dewey's rejections were of two types. He rejected conditions that were not good for America and the cause of peace. And he rejected the Truman administration because it was incapable and incompetent.

Unity in such a cause must be the chief cornerstone of peace. A peace won at the expense of liberty is a peace too dearly bought. Such a peace would not endure.<sup>81</sup>

We know the kind of government we have now. It is tired. It is confused. It scolds and complains. It runs off in a dozen different directions at once. It tries to frighten people. It divides them. It is coming apart at the seams.<sup>82</sup>

We all know the sad record of the present Administration. More than three years have passed since the end of the war and it has failed to win the peace. Instead, millions upon millions of people have been delivered into Soviet slavery while our own administration has tried appeasement on one day and bluster the next.<sup>83</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup>St. Louis, October 30, Truman, 1948, p. 935.

<sup>80</sup>Dexter, Iowa, September 18, Truman, 1948, p. 507.

<sup>81</sup>Acceptance Speech, June 24, Dewey, 1948, p. 636.

<sup>82</sup>Kansas City, October 14, Dewey, 1948, p. 689.

<sup>83</sup>Address at the Chicago Stadium, Chicago, Illinois, October 26, 1948, Dewey, 1948, p. 698.

The analysis of the Anger concept reveals differences between the two candidates in three areas--frequency of the outbursts, subjects of the remarks, and the ferocity of the statements. Truman expressed anger more often than did Dewey. And, he expressed it on a wider range of subjects. Truman was angry about the Republicans, the Eightieth Congress, voter apathy, and certain specific issues--such as communism. Truman also expressed his anger in rhetoric that was more heated than that of Dewey.

They [the Eightieth Congress] passed a bill they called a housing bill, which isn't worth the paper it's written on.

. . . . .  
I recommended an increase in the minimum wage. What did I get? Nothing. Absolutely nothing.<sup>84</sup>

I wonder how many times you have to be hit on the head before you find out who's hitting you? It's about time that the people of America realized what the Republicans have been doing to them.<sup>85</sup>

Who opposed it [national health insurance]? The well organized medical lobby. Who killed it? The Republican 80th "Do-nothing" Congress.<sup>86</sup>

This year we've all had a good look at the Republican Party and their candidate, and it's made me fighting mad.<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup>Acceptance Speech, July 15, Truman, 1948, p. 408.

<sup>85</sup>Dexter, Iowa, September 18, Truman, 1948, p. 505.

<sup>86</sup>Los Angeles, September 23, Truman, 1948, p. 557.

<sup>87</sup>Raleigh, North Carolina, October 19, Truman, 1948, p. 824.

I want you to get this straight now.  
I hate communism. I deplore what it does to the dignity and freedom of the individual. I detest the godless creed it teaches.<sup>88</sup>

[If the reactionary Republicans are elected]  
. . . , you men of labor can expect to be hit by a steady barrage of body blows. And if you stay at home as you did in 1946, and keep these reactionaries in power, you will deserve every blow you get.<sup>89</sup>

Two issues triggered angry outbursts from Dewey. These were inefficiency and incompetence in government, and the tolerance of communism. However, the language of his outbursts was mild when compared to that of Truman.

But it turned out to be a great day for the Communist propagandists because on that very day the head of our own government called the exposure of Communists in our government "a red herring."<sup>90</sup>

Here is an administration that is actually campaigning against the traditional American ideals of unity and competence. It ridicules the idea of teamwork. It has been divided against itself for so long that it has forgotten the meaning of unity, and it never did know the meaning of teamwork or competence.<sup>91</sup>

An examination of the Expel concept reveals that it was rarely used by either candidate. However, when instances of Expel were used, the candidates followed different and distinct themes. For example, Truman stressed the

---

<sup>88</sup> Boston, October 27, Truman, 1948, p. 884.

<sup>89</sup> Detroit, September 6, Truman, 1948, p. 477.

<sup>90</sup> Los Angeles, September 24, Dewey, 1948, p. 653.

<sup>91</sup> Madison Square Garden, October 30, Dewey, 1948, p. 708.



Eightieth Congress and the repeal of certain of its acts-- particularly the Taft-Hartley Act.

. . . but Congress passed instead that so-called Taft-Hartley Act, which has disrupted labor-management relations and will cause strife and bitterness for years to come if it is not repealed, as the Democratic platform says it ought to be repealed.<sup>92</sup>

He [Dewey] can follow me into New York City, . . . but he won't follow me in demanding the repeal of the Taft-Hartley law.<sup>93</sup>

Dewey stressed the repudiation of the Democratic administration and its philosophies. He called upon the people to rid themselves of the Truman administration. In fact, some of his most belligerent statements involved the use of expulsion.

Under such an administration it was no wonder that communists came to positions of power in some American unions and that is just one of the reasons why we need to get rid of this National Administration.<sup>94</sup>

We are going to cast off the shackles of defeatism and despair. We will repudiate the prophets of doom who say that America is on the old road to boom and bust. We will reject the police state thinking of those who would meet the problems of a railroad strike with the proposal that the strikers be drafted into the Army. America can do better than that--much better than that.<sup>95</sup>

As can be seen in Table XIV, Legitimacy was the only significant area dominated by Dewey. However, the analysis

---

<sup>92</sup>Acceptance Speech, July 15, Truman, 1948, p. 408.

<sup>93</sup>Madison Square Garden, October 28, Truman, 1948, p. 912.

<sup>94</sup>Pittsburgh, October 11, Dewey, 1948, p. 678.

<sup>95</sup>Kansas City, October 14, Dewey, 1948, pp. 691-692.

discloses that this dominance was due to his much greater use of one component of Legitimacy. Dewey's mean was significantly greater on Ideal-Value, while the means on Past-Tradition were almost the same. Nevertheless, there were distinct differences between the two candidates on both concepts.

An examination of the Ideal-Value concept indicates that Dewey's greater mean was based on the repeated use of certain Ideal-Value terms. Most noticeable among these were: "American," "free," "freedom," and "peace." For both candidates, these terms represented things to be cherished, protected, and sought after. The frequency of these words per speech varied greatly between the candidates. Dewey used American references an average of over twenty times per speech, while Truman used it over five times per address. The concept of free was used three times per speech by Dewey and only once per speech by Truman. References to freedom appeared in the Dewey speeches an average of six times per address, and in those of Truman an average of two. Peace was a goal sought by Dewey and he referred to it an average of ten times per speech. Truman average less than one reference per speech. In most cases, freedom and the state of being free were to be protected while peace was to be gained. All were considered to be virtues.

Typical illustrations of how Dewey used these terms are found in his speeches at Des Moines, Iowa, on September

20; Louisville, Kentucky, on October 12; and Madison Square Garden on October 30.

We will also carry the hope of freedom and the living promise to a stricken world that man can be free and that free men can live in peace.<sup>96</sup>

We shall pray for peace and we shall work for peace with a strength and competence we have so long and so desperately needed.<sup>97</sup>

That love of freedom has blessed our land and made it great. We shall now go forward to keep our freedom in a world where intolerance and strife and godless materialism are on the march.<sup>98</sup>

Truman's use of these terms was similar but less frequent. A typical instance of his style is found in his speech at Boston, on October 27.

The peace and freedom of the entire world depend on the courage and imagination of a people's Government at Washington.

Yesterday, the free peoples of the world were threatened by the black menace of fascism. The American people helped to save them. Today, the free peoples of the world are threatened by the red menace of communism.

And again, the American people are helping to save them.<sup>99</sup>

The analysis of the Past-Tradition concept discloses additional differences between the candidates. One of these distinctions concerns the terms that were Past-Tradition for one candidate but not for the other. A prominent

---

<sup>96</sup>Des Moines, Iowa, September 20, Dewey, 1948, p. 639.

<sup>97</sup>Address at Louisville, Kentucky, October 12, 1948, Dewey, 1948, p. 683.

<sup>98</sup>Madison Square Garden, October 30, Dewey, 1948, p. 710.

<sup>99</sup>Boston, October 27, Truman, 1948, p. 883.

example of this was the manner in which references were made to the Eightieth Congress. Truman referred to the Eightieth Congress many times, but not in a manner that made it Past-Tradition. However, when Dewey referred to the Eightieth Congress, it was a Past-Tradition reference.

Several terms listed as Ideal-Value also fit the criteria for Past-Tradition. Most prevalent among these were: "America," "free," "freedom," and "peace." These were acceptable traditional ideals and were counted as Past-Tradition. It was such items as these that caused the Dewey mean to compete with that of Truman on Past-Tradition.

In the analysis of Past-Tradition, four distinct categories emerged as major Past-Tradition themes. These categories are: people cited by name, programs and policies, party references, and references to the American people. Truman cited ninety-three people by name in his twenty-one major addresses--an average of over four per speech. Dewey cited fifty-eight people by name in nineteen major addresses--an average of three per speech. However, over one-half (forty-nine) of the Truman references were to the men who had preceded him as Democratic nominee for the presidency--Al Smith and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Furthermore, thirty-five of these were direct references to the last Democratic president--Roosevelt. Dewey did not mention any other Republican presidential nominee, nor did he refer to the last Republican president--Herbert Hoover. The vast majority of the Dewey references were to candidates for

other offices, people presently in government, and people present on the podium. In this way, his references did not differ from the remainder of the Truman citations.

Past programs, cited by name, were used by both candidates as Past-Tradition. Truman used these references over two times per speech, while Dewey averaged only one such reference. The most frequent citations by Truman were to the Central Valley Authority of California, the Social Security System, the Wagner Labor Relations Act, and the Rural Electrification Administration. Dewey's most frequent references were to the Social Security System, the Taft-Hartley Act, the Wagner Act, and the European Recovery Program. These citations presented an interesting situation. Dewey cited the Republican bill, the Taft-Hartley Act, seven times in favorable situations. He also referred to the Democratic bill, the Wagner Act, favorably on five occasions. Truman referred to the Wagner Act six times--all favorable. However, on the twenty-six occasions that he cited the Taft-Hartley Act, he damned it every time.

Each candidate made references to his party and its achievements. However, Truman used over twice as many of these citations per speech as did Dewey. Dewey referred to his party and its accomplishments an average of three times per speech. Truman used similar references to the Democrats an average of eight per speech. These citations were to either fellow Republicans or Democrats, Republican or

Democratic congresses, Republican or Democratic administrations, or Republican or Democratic programs.

An interesting Past-Tradition category is the references to the American people as a collective entity with intellect, power, and virtue. Dewey averaged eight such references per speech, while Truman averaged twelve. These citations by both candidates readily fall into three basic sub-categories--references to the "American people," "our people," and "the people." The distribution of the candidates' references between the three sub-divisions may reflect something of their attitude toward this collective entity--the American people. Of the references used by Dewey, sixty-four per cent were to "our people," eighteen per cent to "American people," and eighteen per cent to "the people." Truman presented a different distribution. Of the citations used in his speeches, eighty-one per cent were to "the people," fourteen per cent to "American people," and only five per cent to "our people." Examples that are characteristic of how Dewey used "our people" are found in his speech at Kansas City on October 14.

We are going ahead to an America where there will be enough homes for all our people--and at prices our people can afford to pay. We are going ahead to broaden the security of all our people against the hazards of unemployment and old age.<sup>100</sup>

Truman's speech at Madison Square Garden on October 28 provides examples of his use of the term "the people."

---

<sup>100</sup>Kansas City, October 14, Dewey, 1948, p. 691.

There he used the term to convey the image of a group with intrinsic strengths, values, and virtues.

But the Republicans kept on trying to stop us, trying to stop the people and trying to kill the New Deal.

. . . . .  
 . . . the Democratic policies of the New Deal are correct and right, and they're for all the people and not just the privileged few.

. . . . .  
 Roosevelt believed in the people, and the people in Roosevelt--and so did I.

. . . . .  
 I have never lost faith in the people. I know that when the issues were laid before them they would arise to preserve their liberties. I have not been disappointed. All over the country the people have become aroused. Democracy is on the march, and it's on the march to victory.<sup>101</sup>

When Dewey used "our people," it tended to be patronizing as it implied a fatherly concern about what would be done for the people. This was particularly true when compared to Truman's use of "the people," which implied what the people were doing or were capable of doing for themselves. Dewey's "our people" carried the image of parental guidance, while Truman's "the people" conveyed the image of group strength and capacity for independent action.

As Table XIV also shows, noteworthy differences were revealed when the candidates' means were compared with those of the control documents on Belligerence, Issue Orientation, Legitimacy, and Emotional Appeal. The means of the Dewey speeches were not significantly different from

---

<sup>101</sup>Madison Square Garden, October 28, Truman, 1948, pp. 910-911, 914.

those of the control documents on three of these concepts-- Issue Orientation, Emotional Appeal, and Legitimacy. Of these, the difference was of slight significance only on Legitimacy, but just barely so--15.2 per cent. On Belligerence, however, the difference was significant as the Dewey mean was smaller by 30.1 per cent. Dewey's speeches were similar to those of the control documents in that they reflected nearly the same levels of emphasis on Emotional Appeal, Issue Orientation, and Legitimacy. This was particularly true of the six control documents from recent presidential campaigns. However, Dewey placed noticeably less emphasis on Belligerence.

The comparison of the Truman means and the control document means on these same four areas revealed greater variations. The difference between the means was slightly significant on one--Emotional Appeal--and significant on the remaining three. The control document mean was greater than that of the Truman speeches on only one area--Legitimacy (32.8 per cent). On the remaining three, the Truman mean was larger--Emotional Appeal (24.9 per cent), Issue Orientation (57.3 per cent), and Belligerence (78.0 per cent). Unlike the Dewey means, Truman's were not similar to the control documents on any of these areas. His speeches reflected less emphasis on Legitimacy than appeared in the control documents. However, they also reflected a greater emphasis on Emotional Appeal, Issue Orientation, and Belligerence.



After all the major addresses had been carefully analyzed and their scores recorded, the last phase of the analysis was undertaken. A clustering technique was used to identify groups of speeches with similar characteristics. The technique used was the Elementary Linkage Analysis developed by Louis I. McQuitty and described for historical uses by Charles M. Dollar and Richard J. Jensen.<sup>102</sup> A measure of association was computed using the index scores for the major components of the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric. This computation produced an  $r$  factor (a correlation coefficient), as it measured the degree of similarity between each speech and every other speech. The next step was to check each address to find what other speech, when paired with it, gave the highest  $r$  factor. This clustering by highest  $r$  drew the addresses into two large and distinct groups.

The first group contained nineteen of the twenty-one Truman addresses and two of the Dewey speeches. The second group consisted of seventeen of the nineteen Dewey addresses and two speeches by Truman. In other words, each candidate delivered two speeches that were more like those of his opponent than like the remainder of his own addresses.

The Truman addresses which clustered with those of Dewey included the speeches he delivered at Harlem in New York City on October 29, and his election eve address on

---

<sup>102</sup>Dollar and Jensen, pp. 223-224.

national radio on November 1. The Dewey speeches that clustered with the mass of the Truman addresses were the ones he delivered at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on October 11, and at Chicago, Illinois, on October 26. As Table XVI shows, a comparison of these four speeches with the means of the Truman and Dewey addresses reveals noticeable deviations.

Table XVII shows the four significant areas of content which readily stand out as having some of the greatest deviations. Three of these--Belligerence, Emotional Appeal, and Issue Orientation--are areas that were significantly dominated by Truman. The fourth, Legitimacy, was significantly dominated by Dewey. However, when the major addresses of the candidates were ranked according to their scores on each of these areas, Dewey's deviant addresses tended to rank higher in the Truman dominated areas while the reverse was true for the Truman speeches.

In these four speeches, the candidates changed emphasis, which caused the addresses to deviate from the general pattern of their rhetoric. Therefore, it caused the speeches to be more like those of their opponent than like the remainder of their own addresses. Truman decreased his emphasis on Belligerence, Emotional Appeal, and Issue Orientation. At the same time, he increased his emphasis on Legitimacy. While Dewey did not change his emphasis much on Legitimacy, he did greatly increase it on Belligerence, Emotional Appeal, and Issue Orientation. This switch of

TABLE XVI  
 MEAN INDEX SCORES OF FOUR DEVIANT SPEECHES  
 COMPARED WITH THE TRUMAN AND  
 DEWEY MEAN INDEX SCORES

	Truman Speeches			Dewey Speeches		
	Truman Mean	Dewey Mean	Harlem Election Eve	Pitts- burgh	Chi- cago	
Crisis Theme	2.00	1.78	.78	1.53	1.79	2.95
Belligerence	6.00	2.59	1.30	1.15	4.55	4.23
Absolutism	8.63	8.21	11.34	12.76	10.37	7.00
Legitimacy	5.15	7.88	12.12	7.02	5.78	7.38
Emotional Appeal	3.66	2.71	2.51	3.57	3.63	3.29
Issue Orientation	15.68	10.04	16.71	8.93	12.80	15.18
Rationality	2.03	2.33	2.25	3.19	2.27	2.53
Acceptability	4.01	4.73	4.50	4.34	5.54	4.99
Resoluteness	4.13	5.05	6.15	4.08	5.70	4.92

TABLE XVII  
 POSITION OF SPEECHES IN A FORTY SPEECH RANKING:  
 MAJOR ADDRESSES OF TRUMAN AND DEWEY\*

	Truman Speeches		Dewey Speeches	
	Harlem	Election Eve	Pittsburgh	Chicago
Crisis Theme	40(21)	25(13)	6(2)	20(8)
Belligerence	35(20)	37(21)	20(2)	18(1)
Legitimacy	2(1)	16(5)	11(9)	22(14)
Emotional Appeal	30(19)	13(11)	17(3)	11(1)
Issue Orientation	9(9)	31(21)	13(1)	22(4)

\*Position when ranked only with other speeches by  
 the same candidate given in parentheses.

emphasis on these four areas appeared to be the key in the establishment of campaign characteristics.

When the seven control documents are clustered with the major addresses from the campaign of 1948, an interesting phenomenon emerges. As Table XVIII shows, only one control document clustered with the mass of the Truman addresses; this was the Declaration of Independence. The remaining six (from recent presidential campaigns) clustered with the mass of the Dewey speeches. Mean scores for these six control documents were computed on the major components of the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric. These mean scores were compared with the mean scores for the Truman and the Dewey speeches, and with the scores for the Declaration of Independence. This comparison reveals several readily noticeable similarities between the scores of the Declaration of Independence and the means of the Truman speeches. Also, similarities were noticed between the mean of the Dewey addresses and the mean of the remaining six control documents.

The most pronounced similarities occurred on the concepts of Crisis Theme, Belligerence, and Acceptability. The scores of the Declaration of Independence were significantly higher than the means of the remaining control documents on Crisis Theme (by 37.2 per cent) and Belligerence (by 314.6 per cent). However, the means of the six control documents were significantly greater than the Declaration of Independence on Acceptability (by 113.8 per cent).

TABLE XVIII  
 COMPARISON OF DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE TO  
 ALL MAJOR ADDRESSES AND CONTROL DOCUMENTS\*

	Truman Mean	Dewey Mean	Declara. of Indepen.	Six Control Documents	Per Cent of Difference Between Controls and Declara. of Indepen.
Crisis Theme	2.00	1.78	2.47	1.80	37.2
Belligerence	6.00	2.59	9.66	2.33	314.6
Absolutism	8.63	8.21	7.49	8.35	11.5
Legitimacy	5.15	7.88	6.36	6.92	8.8
Emotional Appeal	3.66	2.71	2.17	3.05	40.6
Issue Orientation	15.68	10.04	10.63	9.86	2.8
Rationality	2.03	2.33	2.25	2.23	.9
Acceptability	4.01	4.73	2.47	5.28	113.8
Resoluteness	4.13	5.06	4.64	4.61	.7

\*Declara. of Indepen. is Declaration of Independence.

When the seven control documents are ranked with the major addresses on these three concepts, their positions in the ranking also display these characteristics. As Table XIX demonstrates, the Declaration of Independence ranked among the highest on the concepts of Crisis Theme (tenth) and Belligerence (second). It ranked higher than any of the other control documents on Belligerence, and only one control document ranked above it on Crisis Theme. On the concept of Acceptability, the Declaration of Independence ranked in last place--forty-seventh.

Emphasis on three areas of content stand out as being characteristics of the Truman speeches. Truman stressed the concepts of Belligerence, Issue Orientation, and Emotional Appeal in his addresses more than Dewey did in his speeches. Three of the concepts also stand out as characteristics of the Dewey addresses. Dewey placed more emphasis on Legitimacy, Resoluteness, and Acceptability than did Truman. The remaining areas--Absolutism, Rationality, and Crisis Theme--received nearly the same amount of emphasis from both candidates. Generally, the characteristics that each candidate demonstrated over the other were also the components in which each displayed strength over the control documents. Truman exhibited greater strength than the control documents on the concepts of Belligerence, Issue Orientation, and Emotional Appeal. While on the concepts of Legitimacy, Rationality, Acceptability, and Resoluteness, the control documents means were greater than the Truman means by nearly

TABLE XIX

POSITION OF CONTROL DOCUMENTS WHEN RANKED  
WITH ALL MAJOR ADDRESSES ON  
THREE MAJOR CONCEPTS\*1

	Declaration of Independence	LBJ 1964	BMG 1964	RMN 1968	HHH 1968	GMM 1972	RMN 1972	Average Rank of Six Controls
Crisis Theme	10(2)	26(5)	8(1)	25(4)	32(6)	19(3)	33(7)	24
Belligerence	2(1)	41(6)	30(3)	46(7)	33(5)	23(2)	31(4)	34
Acceptability	47(7)	19(4)	22(6)	13(3)	21(5)	2(2)	1(1)	13

\*Position when ranked only with other control documents given in parentheses.

1 LBJ--Lyndon B. Johnson, BMG--Barry M. Goldwater, RMN--Richard M. Nixon,  
HHH--Hubert H. Humphrey, GMM--George M. McGovern.



the same margins as had been the Dewey speeches. However, in the areas that were characteristics of the Dewey speeches, the control document means and the Dewey means were nearly equal. The only exception was Acceptability where the control documents' mean was the greater.

Briefly summarized, the results of the analysis is that emphasis on Belligerence, Emotional Appeal, and Issue Orientation are valid characteristics of Truman's campaign rhetoric. These characteristics proved to be valid when compared with both the Dewey speeches and the control documents. However, the characteristics of Dewey's campaign rhetoric--Legitimacy, Resoluteness, and Acceptability--proved to be valid only when compared to the Truman speeches. They showed little independence from the control documents, particularly those from the recent presidential campaigns.

With its emphasis on Belligerence, Issue Orientation, and Emotional Appeal, Truman's rhetoric reflected strong ties to the crusading approach of campaigning, while Dewey's rhetoric exhibited many of the techniques of the Adman style. Also, the manner in which the control documents aligned themselves with the addresses indicated the possibility that Truman's rhetoric echoed a crusading appeal from the past, while Dewey's style--with emphasis on image--may have been a harbinger of present political campaigning techniques.

### CHAPTER III

#### ANALYSIS OF "WHISTLE-STOP" SPEECHES BY HARRY S TRUMAN AND THOMAS E. DEWEY

In the presidential campaign of 1948, both of the major candidates used the technique of delivering short informal speeches, usually from the rear platform of the campaign train. This technique was known as "whistle-stopping." Truman used the "whistle-stop" concept extensively, and it was considered to be his most effective type of speech.<sup>1</sup> Dewey, however, gave considerably fewer "whistle-stops" than did Truman, and his "whistle-stops" were described as being "a bit forced and awkward."<sup>2</sup>

In this chapter, attention will be directed toward a comparison of the "whistle-stop" speeches. The objective of the analysis will be to determine the nature and the degree of difference between the "whistle-stops" of Truman and those of Dewey. The analysis will follow the procedures established in Chapter II--a study of the major themes, their components, and a cluster analysis.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ross, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 196-197.

Distinct differences between the candidates were revealed by an examination of the mean index scores of the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric. As Table XX shows, there is a significant differences between the mean scores on five areas of content--Belligerence, Issue Orientation, Emotional Appeal, Legitimacy, and Crisis Theme. Two areas--Absolutism and Acceptability--have differences of slightly significant size. The remaining areas--Rationality and Resoluteness--are insignificant in their differences.

Table XXI displays the differences between the two candidates on the insignificant areas and their components. An examination of these areas discloses that while the differences between the mean index scores are insignificant, there are distinctions in the way the candidates used the concepts. Such is the case with the area of Rationality and its three components--Thought-Form, Think, and Cause. The analysis reveals that both candidates used basically the same word types to express styles of reasoning--Thought-Form. However, while the lists of words used by each candidate are almost the same, the differences in the lists are noteworthy. Dewey repeatedly used the terms "problems," "fact," "history," and "belief." These words appeared in some combination an average of over two times per speech in his "whistle-stops." As in his major addresses, Dewey continued to stress problem solving. He called for an administration run by people who understood the problems that faced the nation.

TABLE XX  
 MEAN INDEX SCORES OF "WHISTLE-STOP" SPEECHES  
 ON NINE AREAS OF CONTENT

	Truman Mean	Dewey Mean	Per Cent of Difference Between Truman and Dewey	Control Mean	Per Cent of Difference Between Controls and Truman	and Dewey
Crisis Theme	1.26	.94	34.0	1.89	50.0	101.1
Belligerence	5.01	1.79	179.9	3.37	91.6	88.3
Absolutism	9.35	10.83	15.8	8.23	13.6	31.6
Legitimacy	3.13	4.30	37.4	6.84	118.5	59.1
Emotional Appeal	3.96	2.67	48.3	2.93	35.2	9.7
Issue Orientation	12.31	7.00	75.9	9.97	23.5	42.4
Rationality	1.99	2.27	14.1	2.23	14.1	1.8
Acceptability	3.60	4.17	15.8	4.88	35.6	17.0
Resoluteness	3.14	3.36	7.0	4.61	46.8	37.2

TABLE XXI  
 MEAN INDEX SCORES OF "WHISTLE-STOP" SPEECHES  
 ON THE INSIGNIFICANT AREAS OF CONTENT

	Truman Mean	Dewey Mean	Per Cent of Difference Between Truman and Dewey	Control Mean	Per Cent of Difference Between Controls and Truman	and Dewey
Rationality	1.99	2.27	14.1	2.23	14.1	1.8
Thought-Form	.46	.61	32.6	.87	89.1	42.6
Think	1.22	1.34	9.8	1.02	19.6	31.4
Cause	.30	.33	10.0	.34	13.3	3.0
Resoluteness	3.14	3.36	7.0	4.61	46.8	37.2
Attempt	.36	.30	20.0	.47	30.6	56.7
Ought	.66	.40	65.0	.98	48.5	145.0
Sign-Strong	2.11	2.66	26.0	3.16	49.8	18.8

We are all one great people, and it is time we got an administration that knows it and draws us together. We can start marching forward together as one united people to meet the critical problems of the world and our own domestic problems.<sup>3</sup>

In his major addresses, Truman had stressed a call for the facts and had asked the question "why." He continued to stress these areas in his "whistle-stops." However, they were secondary as he switched his main emphasis to a call for a study of history, a study of the past policies and the past record of the opposing party.

I'm asking you just to read history, to use your own judgement, and to decide whether you want to go forward with the Democratic Party or whether you want to turn the clock back to the horse and buggy days with such people that made up the "Do-nothing" 80th Congress.<sup>4</sup>

If you'll just study history you can't possibly afford to go along with these people who want to turn the clock back. The Republicans haven't any program, they haven't any program.<sup>5</sup>

There was little difference between the candidates on the concept of Think. The insignificant difference in the use was due to more frequent use of commonly used word types connoting thought processes. The words that the two

---

<sup>3</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Salina, Kansas, October 2, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

<sup>4</sup>Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri, September 18, 1948, Chariton, Iowa (Rear platform, 5:36 p.m.), Truman, 1948, p. 501.

<sup>5</sup>Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Colorado and Utah, September 21, 1948, Grand Junction, Colorado (Rear platform, 9:19 a.m.), Truman, 1948, p. 523.

candidates shared in common were: "know," "think," "believe," "understand," and "reason." Truman also repeatedly used "remember." With the exception of "know" and "remember," Dewey used these words at a rate that was greater than Truman by more than two to one. Truman used terms referring to "know" more frequently than Dewey, and Dewey did not call upon the people to remember anything.

The manner in which the candidates used the concept Cause was nearly identical. Both men used primarily the same cause-effect words--"because," "result," "cause," "essential," and "establish." However, the Dewey speeches averaged four references involving one or more of these words per speech, while the Truman speeches averaged three per speech.

While Dewey's overall score is larger on the insignificant area of Resoluteness, he dominates only one of its three components. As Table XXI shows, Truman has the larger mean on two of the concepts--Attempt and Ought. Sign-Strong is the only one dominated by Dewey. There was a clear distinction between the way the candidates used the concept of Attempt. Truman tended to speak primarily about the things that he had been trying to get the Eightieth Congress to do. An example of his use of Attempt is found in his speech at Rebel Stadium in Dallas, Texas, on September 27.

Well, for the last 2 years, I have been trying to get the Republican-controlled Congress to curb inflation and high prices. . . I sent a message to Congress in January 1947, and asked the 80th Congress to do something about prices. Then I sent a message to them again, along

about April or May. Then I called a special session last fall and put the matter squarely up to them with ten points in a program to prevent inflation. Then I told them again, in January 1948. Then I called a special session at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia, and put it up to them again.<sup>6</sup>

Dewey's use of Attempt tended to focus upon his concern about the establishment of a lasting peace, the promotion of the good of the country, and the end to aggressive actions in the world. His use of the word "endeavor" in his speech at Rock Island, Illinois, is a typical example. While describing his goals for the campaign, he said, ". . . , we will endeavor during these months ahead to let every nation on earth know that out of this campaign there is no profit for aggressors."<sup>7</sup>

A clear distinction also exists between the way the candidates used the concept of Ought. Truman spoke often about what the people must do in order to protect their own interests. He stressed their moral obligation to act in their own behalf. An example of this obligation appears in his speech at Rock Island, Illinois, on September 18. There he stated what the voters must do to protect themselves.

You must, if you want this country to go forward, you must always be sure that you have people in control of the Government whose

---

<sup>6</sup>Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Texas, September 27, 1948, Dallas, Texas (Rebel Stadium, 4:26 p.m.), Truman, 1948, pp. 589-590.

<sup>7</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Rock Island, Illinois, September 20, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.



interest in yours and not the special interests who want special privilege in everything that takes place.<sup>8</sup>

Dewey's less frequent uses of Ought tended to stress an obligation of a more general nature. An example appears in his speech at Salina, Kansas, on October 2. There he stressed what the nation and the world ought to do.

Not only our country but the whole world ought to be grateful for the bounteous production of the soil of Kansas and our Mid-West. We ought to be so grateful for it that we will make sure there is a stability of farm income. . . .<sup>9</sup>

The only concept of Resoluteness that Dewey dominated was Sign-Strong. Two words exemplify Dewey's greater use of this component. These words are "will" and "can." Dewey used them in statements concerning what the Republicans would do in the areas of peace and government programs.

We can and we will bring to this government of ours a new sense of vigor and of competence, . . . This new administration will firmly and strongly build for the peace of the world and, for a change, it will lead from strength.<sup>10</sup>

Truman's less frequent use of these words reflects a different objective. Truman stressed what the voter could and would do to protect himself.

---

<sup>8</sup>Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri, September 18, 1948, Rock Island, Illinois (Rear platform, 5:45 a.m.), Truman, 1948, p. 493.

<sup>9</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Salina, Kansas, October 2, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

<sup>10</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Warrensburg, Missouri, October 2, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

Now, in order to prevent that Republican 80th Congress from being repeated in the 81st Congress, you will elect Virgil Chapman to the Senate of the United States from Kentucky, and you will elect Frank Chelf to the Congress; . . . .<sup>11</sup>

As Table XXI shows, a comparison of the control documents with the "whistle-stops"<sup>00</sup> reveals several differences. The mean of the control documents was larger than the means of both the Truman and the Dewey speeches on Resoluteness. The control mean was larger than the Truman mean by 46.8 per cent and larger than the Dewey mean by 37.2 per cent--both significant amounts. Neither of the candidates displayed the amount of strength and dedication in their speeches that appeared in the control documents. However, the differences between the candidates and the control documents on Rationality was insignificant. In fact, the Dewey mean was nearly the same as the control documents, while the Truman mean was only slightly smaller. All three--Truman, Dewey, and the control documents--placed nearly the same emphasis on Rationality.

As Table XXII reveals, two areas of content have differences between their means that are slightly significant. These areas are Absolutism and Acceptability. The Dewey mean is larger than that of Truman on both areas by the same amount--15.8 per cent. On the concept of Absolutism,

---

<sup>11</sup>Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Kentucky and West Virginia, October 1, 1948, Shelbyville, Kentucky (Rear platform, 8:45 a.m.), Truman, 1948, p. 659.

TABLE XXII  
 MEAN INDEX SCORES OF "WHISTLE-STOP" SPEECHES ON THE  
 SLIGHTLY SIGNIFICANT AREAS OF CONTENT

	Truman Mean	Dewey Mean	Per Cent of Difference Between Truman and Dewey	Control Mean	Per Cent of Difference Between Controls and Truman	Per Cent of Difference Between Controls and Dewey
<b>Absolutism</b>	9.35	10.83	15.8	8.23	13.6	31.6
Overstate	3.74	4.61	23.3	4.03	7.8	14.4
Authority	4.39	5.09	16.0	3.13	40.3	62.6
Good	1.00	.98	2.0	.83	20.5	18.1
Bad	.23	.15	53.3	.24	4.4	60.0
<b>Acceptability</b>	3.60	4.17	15.8	4.88	35.6	17.0
Sign-Accept	2.25	2.36	4.9	3.21	42.7	36.0
Action-Norm	1.21	1.49	23.1	1.40	15.7	6.4
Peer-Status	.15	.33	120.0	.26	73.3	26.9

Dewey has the larger mean on two of the components (Overstate and Authority), while Truman has the larger means on the remaining two--Good and Bad.

An inspection of the Overstate component discloses that the difference between the candidates' means was caused by Dewey's more frequent use of words such as "all," "every," "very," and "great." These words appeared in some combination in his speeches an average of almost seventeen times per speech, as compared with an average of nine times per speech for Truman. An example of Dewey's use of Overstate words appears in his speech at Rock Island, Illinois.

Each of us, every single one of us Americans is essential to every other one of us. Each of us is precious to our country and in the sight of God. All men and every element of this country is unable to get along without any other element. It seems to me the greatest tragedy that could befall our land is if we really were successfully divided by those who would seek to divide us.<sup>12</sup>

The candidates' references to the Authority concept can be divided into three types: personal, institutional, and theological. In the use of all three categories, Dewey outdistanced Truman. Common among Dewey's citations of Authority were references to what he had done or was going to do, the competence of his administration, strong government, and God.

---

<sup>12</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Rock Island, Illinois, September 20, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

On the concepts of Good and Bad, the candidates tended to associate Good with their own party and its goals. And each associated Bad with the opposition. Truman continually equated good with the Democratic Party and with the people; while he equated Bad with the Republicans, the Eightieth Congress, and the special interests.

You know the issues in this campaign are not hard to define. The issue is the people against the special interests, and if you need any proof of that, all you need to do is to review the record of this Republican 80th Congress.<sup>13</sup>

The basic issue in this campaign is as simple as can be; it's the special interests against the people; the special interests against the people. And that was conclusively proved by the 80th Republican "do-nothing" Congress which we just finished with--thank God.<sup>14</sup>

And those developments [of resources in the West] have been for the benefit of the people and not for a few special interests.

.....  
If you do that [vote for the Democratic ticket], the Government will be in the hands of those who have the interests of the people at heart and not the interests of the special interests. Keep that in mind.<sup>15</sup>

Don't forget that [the attacks of the Eightieth Congress upon the West], because that shows the

---

<sup>13</sup>Rock Island, Illinois, September 18, Truman, 1948, p. 492.

<sup>14</sup>Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in California and Arizona, September 24, 1948, Colton, California (Rear platform, 1:56 p.m.), Truman, 1948, p. 562.

<sup>15</sup>Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in California and Arizona, September 24, 1948, Yuma, Arizona (Rear platform, 6:30 p.m.), Truman, 1948, pp. 563-564.

policies of the Democrats and the Republicans. One's for the people, one's for the special interests.<sup>16</sup>

Dewey equated Good with the Republican Party, good government, and his proposed administration. To him, Bad was synonymous with the Truman administration and incompetence in office. This he implied in his speech at Julesburg, Colorado, on September 21.

It is my hope that within the next four years in your national government we will have a lot less talking and a lot more performance. . . . I propose to install in your national government in Washington, a group of men and women who would rather do a swell job for the American people than go around making speeches and getting their pictures in the newspapers.<sup>17</sup>

As Table XXII shows, the Dewey means are greater than those of Truman on all three components of Acceptability. While the difference was insignificant, noticeable dissimilarities existed in the manner the candidates employed references to Acceptability. For example, the difference on the concept of Sign-Accept is small--4.9 per cent. However, this difference between the means was primarily caused by Dewey's repeated use of a small number of word types. Dewey consistently used five word types that were Sign-Accept: "America," "friend," "unity," "team," and

---

<sup>16</sup>Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in New Mexico and Texas, September 25, 1948, Deming, New Mexico (Rear platform, 9:02 a.m.), Truman, 1948, p. 569.

<sup>17</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Julesburg, Colorado, September 21, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

"Republican." Some combination of these word types appeared in his "whistle-stops" an average of over fourteen times per speech. Truman used a larger number of word types for Sign-Accept, but not with the frequency of Dewey. Truman made repeated use of nine word types in his "whistle-stops": "Democratic," "American," "aid," "party," "help," "like," "thank," "support," and "friends." Some combination of these words appeared in his rhetoric an average of over eleven times per speech.

Table XXII also shows that the Dewey mean is greater on the Action-Norm concept by 23.1 per cent. This difference between the means was caused by Dewey's repeated emphasis on two Action-Norm terms--"administration" and "job." Dewey stressed the need for a new administration and the ability of his coming administration to do the job. Each of these terms appears in the Dewey speeches an average of almost twice per speech. His speech at Rock Island, Illinois, provides an example.

Our job can be done. . . if we install in Washington a brand new kind of administration. . . . I pledge to you an administration which, after all the years of wobbling that we have seen, will set our country on a straight consistent, strong and honorable course in the conduct of world affairs designed really to assure the peace of the United States and of the world.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Rock Island, Illinois, September 20, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

Truman's emphasis was strikingly different as he stressed the election and the Democratic programs. The Action-Norm words associated with these topics were: "elect," "election," "programs," and "projects." Each of these terms appeared an average of one time per speech.

The difference between the candidates' means on the concept of Peer-Status was caused by Dewey's repetition of a small number of words. Dewey used only two Peer-Status words in his speeches--"friends" and "neighbors." These two terms appeared in some combination an average of almost four times per speech. Truman used a greater number of word types (five), but averaged only one usage per speech. These words were: "friends," "fellows," "neighbor," "citizens," and "brothers."

Table XXII also discloses that the mean of the control documents is smaller than those of the Truman and the Dewey speeches on one of the slightly significant areas of content--Absolutism. The Truman mean was larger than the control mean on Absolutism by 13.6 per cent, while the Dewey mean was significantly greater--31.6 per cent.

On the remaining slightly significant area (Acceptability), the mean of the control documents is larger than both the Truman mean and the Dewey mean. The control mean is larger than the Truman mean by 35.6 per cent and larger than the Dewey mean by 17.0 per cent. It is of interest to note that of the seven control documents only the score of the Declaration of Independence was smaller than the means



of the Truman and Dewey speeches. The remaining six control documents had scores that were higher than the means of the candidates. However, the difference between these six documents and the Dewey mean was slight. The image of Acceptability was of more importance to Dewey and the recent presidential candidates.

Five major areas of content have differences between the means of the candidates that are of significant proportion. As Table XXIII displays, Truman dominates four of the areas--Belligerence, Issue Orientation, Emotional Appeal, and Crisis Theme. Dewey had the larger mean on only one area--Legitimacy.

An examination of the area of Legitimacy and its components reveals several differences between the candidates. Dewey dominated the Ideal-Value concept by a margin of 110.1 per cent. Among the many representations of Ideal-Value used by both candidates, four are conspicuous examples of Dewey's domination. These word types are: "America," "peace," "faith," and "freedom." Dewey's average use per speech is greater than that of Truman by six to one with "America," twenty to one with "peace," and three to one with "freedom." While Truman did not use the concept of "faith," Dewey averaged one reference to it per speech. To Dewey, America and freedom were to be shielded and protected, peace was to be sought, and faith was to be kept.

If we do, we can build a peace and we can use these resources that we are now spending for that single-minded purpose. . . .

. . . . .

TABLE XXIII  
 MEAN INDEX SCORES OF "WHISTLE-STOP" SPEECHES  
 ON SIGNIFICANT AREAS OF CONTENT

	Truman Mean	Dewey Mean	Per Cent of Difference Between Truman and Dewey	Control Mean	Per Cent of Difference Between Controls and Truman	and Dewey
Belligerence	5.01	1.79	179.9	3.37	91.6	88.3
Attack	.85	.46	84.8	.72	18.1	56.5
Anger	.70	.08	775.0	.17	311.5	112.5
Sign-Reject	3.42	1.21	182.6	2.41	41.9	99.2
Expel	.06	.06	00.0	.07	16.7	16.7
Issue Orientation	12.31	7.00	75.9	9.97	23.5	42.4
Political	6.30	3.81	65.4	5.11	23.3	34.1
Economic	2.02	.87	132.2	1.27	59.1	46.0
Specific-Issues	4.00	2.33	71.7	3.59	11.4	54.1
Emotional Appeal	3.96	2.67	48.3	2.93	35.2	9.7
Emotion	2.27	1.92	18.2	1.91	18.2	.5
Arousal	.93	.13	615.4	.35	165.7	169.2
Urge	.76	.70	8.6	.66	15.2	6.1
Legitimacy	3.13	4.30	37.4	6.84	118.5	59.1
Ideal-Value	.99	2.08	110.1	3.97	301.0	90.9
Past-Tradition	2.14	2.22	3.7	2.87	34.1	29.3
Crisis Theme	1.26	.94	34.0	1.89	50.0	101.1
Danger	.39	.21	85.7	.56	43.6	166.7
Distress	.33	.31	6.5	.69	109.1	122.6
Time-Immediacy	.54	.43	25.6	.64	18.5	48.8

. . . We will build in this country a sense of fair play and of unity and of give and take which can increase our productivity, increase the internal peace within the country with a government which believes in our people and which has absolute faith in them and in the freedom by which this country was built, . . . We'll build, I hope, in these years ahead of us, a new sense of abiding faith in the things our fathers believed in, and in abiding faith in the power of the spirit, . . . <sup>19</sup>

The difference between the means on the Past-Tradition concept is small and almost non-existent--3.7 per cent. However, there are distinctions between the candidates' use of the concept that are worthy of notice. Four distinct categories emerge as recognizable Past-Tradition themes. These are the same basic themes that also emerged in the analysis of the major addresses--people cited by name, programs and policies cited by name, party references, and references to the American people. However, the patterns of use for these categories are different from those that appeared in the major addresses. In his "whistle-stops," Truman cited people by name on fifty-five occasions. He averaged almost three citations per speech. Eight of his citations, or fifteen per cent of the total, were to past Democratic presidents. In his "whistle-stops," Dewey cited people by name on thirty-one occasions. He averaged almost eight citations per speech. Dewey, however, did not refer to any past presidents in his speeches.

---

<sup>19</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Rock Island, Illinois, September 20, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

Truman cited specific programs or policies by name a total of seventeen times in his speeches--almost one citation per speech. Dewey cited only one specific program--the Hope-Aiken Agriculture Bill passed by the Eightieth Congress. Truman referred to the Democratic Party, Democratic administrations, and Democrats a total of 130 times--an average of almost seven references per speech. Dewey cited similar references to his party only four times--an average of one per speech.

The references to the concept of the American people as a collective entity displayed a change in the patterns of use from that in the major addresses. Dewey used the three basic designations for this group ("our people," "American people," and "the people") a total of twenty-one times in his four "whistle-stops." Of these citations, nineteen per cent were to "our people," 52.4 per cent to "American people," and 28.6 to "the people." In his major addresses, his references had been sixty-four per cent, eighteen per cent, and eighteen per cent respectively. Truman made eighty-one references in his "whistle-stops" and of these none were to "our people," 6.2 per cent were to "American people," and 93.8 per cent were to "the people." His citations in his major addresses had been five per cent, fourteen per cent, and eighty-one per cent respectively. Both men placed less emphasis on "our people" in their "whistle-stops" that they did in their major addresses. In the "whistle-stops," which were shorter, less formal, and

more personal than the major addresses, they stressed the more independent concepts of "American people" and "the people." Typical of the manner in which Dewey used these references are his speeches at Julesburg, Colorado, on September 21, and at Warrensburg, Missouri, on October 2.

I propose that we get a national administration that will start pulling our people together. Yesterday morning I started this campaign at Rock Island. It was a beautiful example of the kind of country we are, because right there is the crowd at Rock Island was a cross section of the American people.<sup>20</sup>

We'll have team work and we'll have a government that respects the elected representatives of the people. . . .<sup>21</sup>

An example of Truman's use of the concept "the people" is his speech in Rebel Stadium in Dallas, Texas, on September 27. This speech contains his greatest use of the concept--thirteen citations.

I sought to emphasize to the people that the basic issue in this contest is whether or not the Government of the United States is to be run in the interest of the people as a whole or in the interests of a small group controlled by big business.

The Democratic Party stands for the people and our attitude towards the issues is controlled by principle. The Republican Party is concerned with the rights of the selfish and wealthy interests, and they demonstrate this by

---

<sup>20</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Julesburg, Colorado, September 21, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

<sup>21</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Warrensburg, Missouri, October 2, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

taking the fight of the privileged few against the people every time they get a chance.<sup>22</sup>

Another area of content on which the mean of the Truman speeches was greater than that of Dewey was Crisis Theme. As Table XXIII shows, Truman's mean was larger by thirty-four per cent. The Truman means were also the greater on the three components of Crisis Theme--Danger, Distress, and Time-Immediacy. An examination of the concept of Danger reveals a Truman dominance of 85.7 per cent. Among the words used by Truman to connote impending disaster are : "cut," "shortage," and "trouble." As his use of these terms discloses, Truman saw the Republicans as posing the greatest danger to the nation. He particularly emphasized the efforts of the Republicans to cut programs and their refusal to take the action necessary to end the shortages of needed personnel and materials--such as the shortage of teachers and classrooms. His speeches at Yuma, Arizona, on September 24; Pittsfield, Massachusetts, on October 27; and Iowa City, Iowa, on September 18 provide typical examples of this usage.

This [special interest nature of the Republicans] is proved by the efforts of Republican leaders to cut the reclamation program by more than half. That program was saved from destruction by the Democrats in the Congress, and by the protests of you people in the West.

You know, they took a meat axe to my recommendation for reclamation in the West, . . .<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup>Dallas, Texas, September 27, Truman, 1948, p. 589.

<sup>23</sup>Yuma, Arizona, September 24, Truman, 1948, p. 564.

The Republicans slashed so much off the Department of Labor budget that it is scarcely able to run. They cut 25 per cent off the Wage and Hour Division. They cut the Unemployment Service by 20 per cent. They cut the Bureau of Labor Statistics by 60 per cent. Do you know why they did that? They don't want the facts about the cost of living, unemployment, and high prices.<sup>24</sup>

I am also very much interested in education. You know, we have reached a saturation point in our educational institutions because there are so many more people interested in getting an education. Your university, like every other university in this country is crowded. It is short of housing facilities, it is short of teachers, it is short of all those things that go to make for proper education.

I have been fighting with the Congress of the United States in an effort to get an education bill through that Congress that would be helpful to all those universities that are overcrowded, . . .<sup>25</sup>

While Dewey was concerned with the dangers posed by those who threatened the peace and security of the world, he used few references that conveyed a sense of danger. Of those he did use, one-third of them concerned the communists alleged to be in the Truman administration. Symbolic of his references to communism are his speeches at Rock Island, Illinois, on September 20, and at Warrensburg, Missouri, on October 2.

---

<sup>24</sup>Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Massachusetts and Connecticut, October 27, 1948, Pittsfield, Massachusetts (Station platform, 8:14 a.m.), Truman, 1948, p. 870.

<sup>25</sup>Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri, September 18, 1948, Iowa City, Iowa (Rear platform, 7:25 a.m.), Truman, 1948, p. 494.

I am one of those who does not believe that the exposure of communists in our government is a "red herring."<sup>26</sup>

You know, this administration had to ask for twenty-five million dollars of our money to find and get rid of the communists that they themselves put on the federal payroll. I have a better idea and that is that we get a government that won't put them in in the first place.<sup>27</sup>

Truman also referred to communists, but these citations are less than three per cent of his total references to danger. Moreover, his references to communism were of a different tone--they were less emotional. Typical of the manner in which he used the term is his speech at Provo, Utah, on September 21.

No man who knows his ABC's and who has an honest heart can even consider being a Communist if he's educated. It's only suffering, misery, and ignorance that breeds communism.<sup>28</sup>

On the concept of Distress, there was little difference between the candidates. They used many of the same word types to convey a sense of distress. Among the words used by both men are: "fear," "failure," "desperate," and "misery." However, a difference is evident in the way the candidates used these terms. Truman believed the cause of

---

<sup>26</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Rock Island, Illinois, September 20, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

<sup>27</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Warrensburg, Missouri, October 2, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

<sup>28</sup>Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Colorado and Utah, September 21, 1948, Provo, Utah (Rear platform, 4:13 p.m.), Truman, 1948, p. 527.



the distress was the Republicans. On the other hand, Dewey saw world conditions, an unstable peace, and Democratic mismanagement as the causes.

The difference between the candidates on Time-Immediacy was due to Truman's more frequent use of such words as "are" and "now" to indicate impending danger. For instance, Truman used the word "are" in this manner an average of almost two citations per speech--four times the frequency of Dewey. Truman used this term in connection with the activities of the Republicans and the dangers that faced the people.

Take the basic principles of small business and the public distribution of publicly produced power. These principles are being attacked by monopolies, monopolistic public utilities, and by special interest, just as they always have been by the special interests.

. . . . .  
 We are in the same kind of fight today. The effort of your Federal Government to keep the resources and the development of America free from the grasp of monopoly are being attacked now as radical and un-American.<sup>29</sup>

As Table XXIII also shows, there is a significant difference between the candidates' means on the area of Emotional Appeal--48.3 per cent. The Truman means were also the larger on all the components of the area--Emotion, Arousal, and Urge.

An examination of Emotion discloses a distinct difference in the way the candidates used emotional words and

---

<sup>29</sup>Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Nevada and California, September 22, 1948, Sacramento, California (Rear platform, 4:17 p.m.), Truman, 1948, pp. 539-540.

phrases. Both men used such emotional words as "happy," "pleasure," "delighted," and "hope" with nearly equal frequency. However, the difference exists in the number and type of emotional statements made by the candidates. Truman's emotional statements ranged from sentimentalism to accusations against the voters and the Republicans.

You're very cordial and I appreciate immensely the hospitality which has been shown to me in California today, and this, this makes me feel --well, it's right here. I can't express it to you as it should be done.<sup>30</sup>

The question is: Are we going to let this crowd take over full control in Washington? Are we going to let that crowd get control of the Government? I don't think you are. I don't think you are.<sup>31</sup>

And I've been making that perfectly plain across this country, and the people are interested in it. And the reason they are interested in it is because they have had enough of this "do-nothing" 80th Congress--which you stayed at home and allowed to be elected by the Republicans.<sup>32</sup>

The few emotional expressions used by Dewey involved appeals based on idealized values, such as the worth of the individual. A good example of this is in his speech at Rock Island, Illinois, on September 20.

---

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 539.

<sup>31</sup>Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Texas and Oklahoma, September 28, 1948, Ardmore, Oklahoma (Memorial Park, 12:10 p.m.), Truman, 1948, p. 603.

<sup>32</sup>Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Oklahoma and Missouri, September 29, 1948, Springfield, Missouri (Rear platform, 10:05 p.m.), Truman, 1948, p. 631.

Each of us, every single one of us Americans is essential to every other one of us. Each of us is precious to our country and in the sight of God. All men and every element of this country is unable to get along without any other element.<sup>33</sup>

An interesting example of the use of Emotion is the word "crusade." This term appeared only a few times in the rhetoric, and as in the major addresses it was used only by Truman. Its use gave Truman's campaign a revivalistic image.

I'm calling this trip a crusade. It's a crusader of the people against the special interests, and if you back me up we're going to win that crusader.<sup>34</sup>

If you believe in what I am trying to preach--and I am making a crusade across the country, trying to tell the people what the situation is in this country--go out on election day, . . .<sup>35</sup>

I am making a crusade over the country in the interests of the common, everyday man.<sup>36</sup>

Truman greatly outdistanced Dewey on Arousal. This was due to the fact that Dewey rarely use the concept. Moreover, a distinct difference exists between the ways the

---

<sup>33</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Rock Island, Illinois, September 20, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

<sup>34</sup>Sacramento, California, September 22, Truman, 1948, p. 540.

<sup>35</sup>Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Kentucky and West Virginia, October 1, 1948, Huntington, West Virginia (At the railroad station, 4:35 p.m.), Truman, 1948, p. 669.

<sup>36</sup>Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in New York, October 8, 1948, Auburn, New York. (Rear platform, 3:21 p.m.), Truman, 1948, p. 711.

candidates used Arousal. Truman used the concept with four topics: Republicans, the Eightieth Congress, the election, and the depression of the 1930's. However, he concentrated on the Republicans and the Congress.

Now, why do you want to throw that prosperity out the window? You have a good chance to do it, if you don't get to the polls and vote and let these birds know where you stand.

They'll tear you apart. I can prove that they have it in mind to sabotage the farm program.<sup>37</sup>

Yesterday, in Yuma, Arizona, they gave me some sterling silver spurs engraved with my name on them, just the same as this belt is. Now, when I get this belt and that leather lung necktie and that pair of spurs on, I can certainly take the Congress for a ride!<sup>38</sup>

They the Republicans don't want unity. They want surrender.

And I am here to tell you people that I will not surrender.<sup>39</sup>

Republican policy is based on the idea that working people have to be kept in bounds. That's why they passed the Taft-Hartley Act--to put handcuffs on labor.<sup>40</sup>

If you send a Republican Congress to Washington, they will take the rest of your liberties away from you.

. . . . .  
They did nothing about prices. You know, Taft said that if we would let the price controls off, everything would level off, . . .

---

<sup>37</sup> Colton, California, September 24, Truman, 1948, p. 562.

<sup>38</sup> Deming, New Mexico, September 25, Truman, 1948, p. 570.

<sup>39</sup> Dallas, Texas, September 27, Truman, 1948, p. 590.

<sup>40</sup> Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky, September 30, 1948, Evansville, Indiana (Courthouse, 3:00 p.m.), Truman, 1948, p. 644.

[However] prices went up, and up, and up-- went through the roof. Didn't hurt Mr. Taft or the economic royalists.<sup>41</sup>

The few instances of Arousal used by Dewey were directed at the Truman administration. Dewey promised a great house cleaning in Washington to remove that incompetent administration.

I propose after January 20th--beginning on January 20th--to start the biggest unsnarling, unravelling, house-cleaning operation that Washington has ever seen in its entire history, and it needs it.<sup>42</sup>

As Table XXIII indicates, the difference between the means on Urge is small and of insignificant size--8.6 per cent. Nevertheless, there are noticeable differences in the use of the concept by the candidates. Both men urged the voters to support their party. Dewey, however, implied that they should support the Republicans for the good of the country, while Truman asked them to think of their own interests and vote for the Democrats. A typical example of the manner in which Dewey urged voter participation in the election is found in his speech at Rock Island, Illinois, on September 20.

---

<sup>41</sup>Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, October 7, 1948, Bridgeport, Pennsylvania (Rear platform, 9:40 a.m.), Truman, 1948, p. 683.

<sup>42</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Julesburg, Colorado, September 21, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

Our job, our job in this election and in the years that lie ahead is to bring a new unity to this country, . . . Our job can be done and in my judgement can only be done if we install in Washington a brand new kind of administration and by that I mean one that in the first place will say everything we do will be judged by one principle only; is this good for our country.<sup>43</sup>

Truman was more direct in his use of Urge as he openly called for support in the election. Instead of telling the voter to cast his ballot for the good of the country, Truman told him to vote for his own individual interests. This, he contended, was a vote for the good of the country.

I am not only asking you to vote for me, I am asking you to vote for yourselves in your own selfish interests.<sup>44</sup>

Think of your interests, your own interests, the people's interests, and then vote for yourselves. You know, you are the Government when you exercise your rights and privileges. In 1946 two-thirds of you stayed at home and didn't vote. And that's what caused the 80th Congress. Now, I sincerely hope that all of you, three-thirds of you, will vote on election day, November 2nd, and be sure that you vote for yourselves. Vote for lower prices, and better homes, vote for better health and educational facilities. Don't stay away from the polls and then wonder what happened when you get a Government that works for special interests and doesn't work for you.

I am asking you with everything I have: Go to the polls on November 2nd, and to be absolutely sure you're right, just vote the Democratic ticket straight and you will be all right.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Rock Island, Illinois, September 20, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

<sup>44</sup>Yuma, Arizona, September 24, Truman, 1948, p. 564.

<sup>45</sup>Pittsfield, Massachusetts, October 27, Truman, 1948, p. 871.

Table XXIII also shows that the area of content with the second largest amount of difference between the means is Issue Orientation. On this area of content, the Truman mean is the greater by 75.9 per cent. Also, the Truman means are the larger on the components of Issue Orientation --Political, Economic, and Specific-Issues.

On the Political concept, there was a clear distinction between the candidates. Truman tended to emphasize political processes while Dewey tended to refer directly to the government. Three general categories emerged as characteristics of Truman's Political references. These are references to congress and legislative processes, to the election, and to the political parties. Truman averaged nine references per speech to the congress and the legislative process, seven to the election and the elective process, and thirteen to political parties--seven to the Democratic and six to the Republican. In his "whistle-stops," Dewey averaged five references per speech to the government, two to administrations, and two to the congress. The candidates' use of the Political concept reflected the focus of their respective campaigns. Dewey emphasized the need for change in the government, while Truman stressed needed governmental actions, the importance of the election, and the differences between the parties.

The mean of the Truman speeches is the larger on the Economic concept by 132.2 per cent. A repeated use of four economic references was partly responsible for the larger

Truman mean--"prices," "prosperity," "income," and "inflation." These terms appeared in his rhetoric a total of thirty-four, fourteen, twelve, and eight times respectively. Of these terms, Dewey used only one--"prices." The economic terms that Dewey used most frequently were "prices," "dollars," and "appropriations." Each appeared a total of two times in his "whistle-stops." The candidates' Economic emphasis was again demonstrated by their use of the concept. Truman stressed threatening inflationary conditions (caused by the Republicans) and the current prosperity (brought to the people by the Democrats). Dewey tended to avoid most economic issues except the occasional charge that the Democrats were responsible for the unstable economic conditions.

An examination of the Specific-Issues concept reveals definite differences between the candidates' perception of the issues of the campaign. Truman made direct references to thirty-three identifiable issues in his nineteen speeches. Of these, thirty were cited a total of two or more times. Dewey referred to nineteen issues in his four "whistle-stops." Of these, seventeen were mentioned a total of two or more times. A list was compiled for each candidate of only those issues that had an overall average of at least one citation per speech. As Table XXIV shows, this reduced the number of issues to ten for Truman and six for Dewey.

When the issues of each candidate are compared, it appears that Truman and Dewey shared four issues--the



TABLE XXIV  
 FREQUENCY OF SPECIFIC ISSUES PER SPEECH

Issue	Truman	Dewey
Team and Teamwork		1
Next Administration (Dewey's)		5
Eightieth Congress	4	1
Agriculture	3	2
Conservation	1	1
Unity	1	3
Republicans	6	
Special Interests and Privilege	3	
Labor	2	
Education	2	
Housing	1	
High Prices	1	

Eightieth Congress, agriculture, conservation, and unity. However, the fact that they used the same general title for an issue did not mean that they shared the same viewpoint concerning it. For example, both spoke of issues involving the Eightieth Congress and unity. Dewey praised the Eightieth Congress and saw unity as a method to strengthen America. Truman damned that Congress and spoke of unity as a disguise for the special interests. Both men did agree that agriculture was productive and should be kept productive. Also they agreed that conservation--including reclamation and irrigation--was necessary to safeguard the resources for the future. Nevertheless, each gave his party the credit for the advancements in agricultural policies and conservation programs while blaming the opposition for trying to end them.

The issue that each candidate stressed the most was not among the jointly cited issues. Dewey stressed the goals and ability of his coming administration, while Truman stressed the evils of his opposition. Basically Dewey saw the campaign as one to bring unity and teamwork to the national administration. Such an administration would continue the work of the Eightieth Congress and strengthen agriculture and conservation. Truman saw the major issue as a fight against the Republicans and the special interests who were trying to dupe the people with unity. It was Truman's contention that the Eightieth Congress had done nothing about education, housing, and prices. He also

believed that Congress had tried to kill the programs for agriculture, labor, and conservation. Truman stressed that only with the Democrats were the people safe.

As is indicated in Table XXIII, the area with the greatest amount of difference between the candidates' means is Belligerence. On this area of content, the Truman mean is nearly three times the size of the Dewey mean--179.9 per cent. The Truman mean is also the larger on three of the components of Belligerence--Attack, Anger, and Sign-Reject. On the fourth component--Expel--the means are the same.

On the concept of Attack, the difference between the mean of the Truman speeches and that of the Dewey speeches is of significant size--84.8 per cent. This difference was due to dissimilarities in the manner the candidates used Attack. One example is Truman's use of the word "fight" as a form of Attack--a word Dewey did not use. Truman made numerous statements concerning his fight with the Republicans and Congress, his fight for re-election, and the people's fight against the special interests.

The Democratic Party believes that there ought to be a fair distribution of all the wealth so that the farmer, the laboringman, and the small businessman--so that the everyday citizen such as you and me can have a fair share in the prop-  
er way. That's what I'm fighting for right now.<sup>46</sup>

I have been fighting with the Congress of the United States in an effort to get an

---

<sup>46</sup>Sacramento, California, September 22, Truman, 1948, p. 540.

educational bill through the Congress that would be helpful to all those universities that are overcrowded, . . .<sup>47</sup>

I came to Texas because I am engaged in one of the toughest political fights with which this country has ever been faced, and I wanted the people of Texas and the people of California and the people of all the States in the Union to understand just exactly what that fight means.<sup>48</sup>

Truman attacked the opposition as being the source of most of the problems facing the nation. He lashed out with particular sharpness at the Republicans, the Congress, and the special interests.

Now, why did they [Republicans and special interest lobbies] do that? Because they wanted to take you to town. I'll tell you--you're going to get taken to town if you don't use your privilege on election day.<sup>49</sup>

The first thing that 80th Congress did--and I vetoed it 3 times; it took 3 times to get it; I vetoed it 3 times--they passed a rich man's tax bill. They began to line their own pockets.

And the next thing they did was to take some freedom away from labor, that famous Taft-Hartley Act.<sup>50</sup>

So in making their speeches they [Republicans] put them on a very high level, so high they are above discussing the specific and serious problems which confront the people.

Recent efforts have been made to throw up a smoke screen which they hope the American people cannot see through. Republican candidates

---

<sup>47</sup>Iowa City, Iowa, September 18, Truman, 1948, p. 494.

<sup>48</sup>Dallas, Texas, September 27, Truman, 1948, p. 588.

<sup>49</sup>Chariton, Iowa, September 18, Truman, 1948, p. 501.

<sup>50</sup>Rear Platform and Other Informal Remarks in Colorado, September 20, 1948, Pueblo, Colorado (Rear platform, 6:07 p.m.), Truman, 1948, p. 513.

are apparently trying to sing the American voters to sleep with a lullaby about unity in domestic affairs.<sup>51</sup>

You know, the Republicans have opposed every law that has been in the public interest, and I'm sorry to say that your Congressman John Taber from this district has used a butcher knife and a sabre and a meat axe on the appropriations that have been in the public interest both for the farmers, for rural electrification, and for every other forward looking program that has come before the Congress.<sup>52</sup>

Dewey's use of Attack was of a more subtle nature than that used by Truman. Dewey implied that the Truman administration was not competent, loyal, or honest. He asserted that a thorough house cleaning was necessary in order to re-establish good government.

I pledge to you an administration which, after all the years of wobbling that we have seen, will set our country on a straight consistent, strong and honorable course in the conduct of world affairs. . . . I propose that beginning nex January 20th, we have the biggest, toughest, most successful unsnarling, unravelling, house-cleaning that our government ever got.

I am one of those who does not believe that the exposure of communists in our government is a "red herring."<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup>Dallas, Texas, September 27, Truman, 1948, p. 589.

<sup>52</sup>Auburn, New York, October 8, Truman, 1948, p. 711.

<sup>53</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Rock Island, Illinois, September 20, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

I propose to establish in our government, for the first time in a very long time, a group of cabinet officers and men who genuinely understand the problems of the American people and who have the competence to meet and solve those problems.<sup>54</sup>

I would not, for one minute, have you think we are facing an easy task but I'll tell you this, that if we don't get an administration that is both competent and vigorous and will unite our people, we can not handle the task ahead.<sup>55</sup>

As Table XXIII shows, the Truman mean is almost three times larger than that of Dewey on Sign-Reject--182.6 per cent. With this concept, Truman continued the themes he established with the Attack theme--denunciations of the Republicans, the Eightieth Congress, and the special interests.

I'm asking you just to read history, to use your own judgement, and to decide whether you want to go forward with the Democratic Party or whether you want to turn the clock back to the horse and buggy days with such people that made up that "do-nothing" 80th Congress.<sup>56</sup>

You know, there are a class of people who believe that there ought to be a strata of people at the top who milk all the cream, and whatever drops through the bottom of the separator ought to go to the little man.<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Julesburg, Colorado, September 21, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

<sup>55</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Warrensburg, Missouri, October 2, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

<sup>56</sup>Chariton, Iowa, September 18, Truman, 1948, p. 501.

<sup>57</sup>Sacramento, California, September 22, Truman, 1948, p. 540.

Republicans are just simply tools of big business. They believe that there is a top strata in the country that ought to run the Government and that ought to profit from the Government.<sup>58</sup>

I would like to tell you a little bit about what this Republican Party did to mess up your interests, the interests of the people.<sup>59</sup>

Also, Dewey continued his rejection of policies and actions that he considered wrong for America. He continued to imply that the Truman administration was the cause of these harmful actions.

I want to make sure that the division among us and the playing of section against section and group against group come to an end. We are in a very troubled period in which the very object of those who hate our system is to set neighbor against neighbor and group against group in the hope of dividing the whole cause of freedom and everybody else in it. They hope to weaken us so much that it will be easy for those who love to establish totalitarianism.<sup>60</sup>

I just can't see any sense in anybody going around trying to set the American people, group against group and one section against another section and one occupation against another . . . . We are all one great people, and it is time we got a government in Washington that knows we are one united people, . . .<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>58</sup>Colton, California, September 24, Truman, 1948, p. 562.

<sup>59</sup>Pittsfield, Massachusetts, October 27, Truman, 1948, p. 869.

<sup>60</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Julesburg, Colorado, September 21, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

<sup>61</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Warrensburg, Missouri, October 2, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

The difference between the two candidates' means on Anger is the greatest amount displayed on any concept. As Table XXIII shows, it is 775.0 per cent. An examination of the speeches suggests that this large amount of difference was due to the fact that Dewey rarely made angry statements. Truman, however, was not so sedate. Republicans and voter apathy drew the greatest number of angry statements from Truman. He was particularly sharp with the voters as he laid the blame for the Eightieth Congress squarely upon them. In eight of the nineteen "whistle-stops," he clearly stated this conviction. In some, he added that another Republican victory in 1948 would also be their fault, and that he would not sympathize with the electorate if they let it happen.

You stayed at home in 1946 and you got the 80th Congress, and you got just exactly what you deserved. You didn't exercise your God-given right to control this country. Now you're going to have another chance. If you let that chance slip, you won't have my sympathy.<sup>62</sup>

. . . When you don't exercise that right of free franchise, you are not doing the right thing by your country. You are a shirker, and when things don't go right in your government and you don't vote, you're to blame for it.

That's what you did 2 years ago. Two-thirds of you stayed at home 2 years ago, and look what you got. You elected the 80th Congress, and you got just what you deserved; and I don't feel sorry for you about it either. If you do the same thing next time you won't have anybody but yourselves to blame for the conditions as you find them, . . .<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup>Chariton, Iowa, September 18, Truman, 1948, p. 501.

<sup>63</sup>Provo, Utah, September 21, Truman, 1948, p. 527.



Look at the record of the 80th Congress. For 2 years I have been trying to get the Congress to do something for the people. But the Republican leaders were too busy protecting the interests of big business and the bankers. They didn't have time to do anything for the people, but they did plenty to the people.<sup>64</sup>

The means of the Truman and the Dewey speeches are the same on the concept of Expel, as can be seen in Table XXIII. However, the concept was rarely used by either candidate. When instances of Expel were used, they were clearly and definitely stated. This was particularly true with the speeches of Truman. He used Expel in connection with two topics--the Taft-Hartley Act and the Eightieth Congress.

I vetoed the Taft-Hartley Act, and I shall do everything in my power to get this vicious, anti-labor legislation wiped off the statute books.<sup>65</sup>

This year you should send Pat O'Malley down to Washington to help me in the big job of cleaning out the special interests and their lobbies down there in Washington. And I'm very sure that's what you are going to do--I mean, cleaning out the mess made by the Republican 80th Congress. "The Great Lobby Congress," I call it. There were lobbies in Congress with more money than ever before in the history of this great Nation, and it's a disgrace. You ought to clean them out.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup>Evansville, Indiana, September 30, Truman, 1948, p. 644.

<sup>65</sup>Huntington, West Virginia, October 1, Truman, 1948, p. 668.

<sup>66</sup>Pittsfield, Massachusetts, October 27, Truman, 1948, p. 869.

Dewey used Expel in reference to the Truman administration. And, he expressed the need to get it out of Washington.

I propose that beginning next January 20th, we have the biggest, toughest, most successful un-snarling, unravelling, housecleaning that our government ever got.<sup>67</sup>

. . . , I propose to begin the finest, fanciest, most complete housecleaning our government ever had. I think we can bring a great American team that will successfully begin to wage the peace of this world, to lead from strength and not from weakness in our foreign affairs and to remove the dark shadow which hangs over us in the years ahead.<sup>68</sup>

As Table XXIII also shows, a comparison of the Truman and Dewey means with those of the control documents on the five significant areas of content reveals several distinct differences. First, the mean of the control document was significantly greater than either the Truman mean or the Dewey mean on two areas--Crisis Theme and Legitimacy. Second, the control mean fell between those of Truman and Dewey on the three remaining areas of content. The control mean was significantly greater than the Dewey mean on Belligerence (83.3 per cent) and Issue Orientation (42.4 per cent). It was insignificantly greater than the Dewey mean

---

<sup>67</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Rock Island, Illinois, September 20, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

<sup>68</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Salina, Kansas, October 2, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

on Emotional Appeal--9.7 per cent. However, the Truman mean was significantly greater than the control mean on Belligerence (91.6 per cent) and Emotional Appeal (35.2 per cent). And, it was greater than the control mean by a slightly significant amount on Issue Orientation--23.5 per cent. Truman's greater scores on these three areas tend to emphasize his classification as a Crusader, while Dewey's smaller scores on these three, plus his higher score on Legitimacy, tends to accentuate his role as an Adman.

As stated earlier, a cluster analysis was conducted to identify groups of similar speeches. The "whistle-stops" of Truman and of Dewey were submitted to a cluster analysis using the scores from the major components of the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric. Two major clusters emerged; one cluster contains seventeen of the nineteen Truman speeches, while the second cluster contains all the Dewey speeches and the two remaining Truman speeches. These two speeches by Truman were the ones he had delivered at Provo, Utah, on September 21 and at Auburn, New York, on October 8. As Table XXV indicates, a comparison of these two speeches with the means of the Truman and the Dewey "whistle-stops" reveals noticeable variations from the patterns of the Truman speeches.

The two deviant speeches by Truman display noteworthy variations from the mean of the Truman speeches on four of the major areas of content--Belligerence, Absolutism, Issue Orientation, and Resoluteness. On these four areas, the

**TABLE XXV**  
**COMPARISON OF MEAN INDEX SCORES OF TWO DEVIANT TRUMAN**  
**SPEECHES WITH MEANS OF THE TRUMAN AND**  
**DEWEY "WHISTLE-STOP" SPEECHES**

	Truman Mean	Dewey Mean	Provo, Utah	Bridgeport, Pennsylvania	Mean of Deviant
Crisis Theme	1.26	.94	2.33	.72	1.53
Belligerence	5.01	1.79	2.09	3.76	2.93
Absolutism	9.35	10.83	10.93	14.62	12.78
Legitimacy	3.13	4.30	3.84	2.60	3.22
Emotional Appeal	3.96	2.67	3.14	5.79	4.47
Issue Orientation	12.31	7.00	9.07	7.09	8.08
Rationality	1.99	2.27	1.63	2.03	1.83
Acceptability	3.60	4.17	2.09	3.18	2.64
Resoluteness	3.14	3.36	4.65	3.62	4.14

scores of the deviant speeches, and the mean scores of the two, are closer to the mean scores of the Dewey speeches than to those of the Truman speeches. Two of these major areas--Belligerence and Issue Orientation--are areas on which the Truman means are the greater. The remaining two areas--Absolutism and Resoluteness--are areas on which the Dewey means are larger.

As Table XXVI shows, a ranking of all the "whistle-stop" speeches according to their scores on these four areas discloses that the two deviant speeches rank near the bottom on the Truman dominated areas. And, conversely, they rank near the top on the areas dominated by Dewey.

When the seven control documents were included in the cluster analysis, six of them did not cluster with any of the "whistle-stop;" they formed their own separate cluster. However, the remaining control document--the Declaration of Independence--readily clustered with Truman's "whistle-stops." As Table XXVII shows, the Declaration of Independence is more like Truman's "whistle-stops" than it is like the other control documents. This is particularly true concerning its score on the areas of Belligerence, Issue Orientation, and Acceptability.

Briefly summarized, the analysis of the "whistle-stops" reveals that three of the nine areas of content emerged as definite characteristics of Truman's rhetoric. These areas are: Belligerence, Emotional Appeal, and Issue Orientation. On all three, Truman dominated not only the

TABLE XXVI

POSITION OF DEVIANT SPEECHES IN A TWENTY-THREE  
 SPEECH RANKING: "WHISTLE-STOP" SPEECHES BY  
 TRUMAN AND DEWEY\*

	Provo, Utah	Bridgeport, Pennsylvania
Crisis Theme	20(18)	15(15)
Absolutism	6(4)	1(1)
Issue Orientation	17(17)	21(19)
Resoluteness	2(2)	5(4)

\*Position when ranked only with other speeches by  
 same candidate given in parentheses.

TABLE XXVII  
 MEAN INDEX SCORES ON NINE AREAS OF CONTENT:  
 "WHISTLE-STOPS" BY TRUMAN AND DEWEY, SIX  
 CONTROL DOCUMENTS, AND THE DECLARATION  
 OF INDEPENDENCE

	Truman Mean	Dewey Mean	Declaration of Independence	Mean of Six Remaining Control Documents
Crisis Theme	1.26	.94	2.47	1.80
Belligerence	5.01	1.79	9.66	2.33
Absolutism	9.35	10.83	7.49	8.35
Legitimacy	3.13	4.30	6.36	6.92
Emotional Appeal	3.96	2.67	2.17	3.05
Issue Orientation	12.31	7.00	10.63	9.86
Rationality	1.99	2.27	2.25	2.23
Acceptability	3.60	4.17	2.47	5.28
Resoluteness	3.14	3.36	4.64	4.61

Dewey speeches but also the control documents. A fourth area--Crisis Theme--was a characteristic of the Truman rhetoric only when compared to the Dewey speeches. The control documents' mean was significantly greater than the Truman mean on Crisis Theme.

The analysis also reveals that Legitimacy, Absolutism, and Acceptability emerged as characteristics of the Dewey rhetoric. However, they are valid characteristics only when compared to the Truman speeches. The control documents were significantly greater than the Dewey speeches on Legitimacy, and slightly significant over Dewey on Acceptability. Dewey's mean was greater than the control documents only on Absolutism--31.6 per cent.

The patterns of dominance on the areas of content reflects the campaign styles of the candidates. Truman's emphasis of Belligerence, Emotional Appeal, Issue Orientation, and Crisis Theme gave his rhetoric in the "whistle-stops" the flavor of a crusader--a Don Quixote who cried "danger" as he tilted Republican windmills. Dewey's emphasis on Legitimacy, Acceptability, and Absolutism gave the rhetoric in his "whistle-stops" an air of confidence, dignity, and sophistication. In the final analysis, however, Truman appears as more of a Crusader than Dewey does an Adman.



## CHAPTER IV

### A COMPARISON OF THE MEAN INDEX SCORES OF THE SPEECHES FROM THE CAMPAIGN OF 1948

The previous chapters have compared the major addresses and the "whistle-stop" speeches of the candidates. And, it was concluded that in each type of speech Truman projected the image of a Crusader and Dewey, to a lesser degree, presented the appearance of an Adman. However, two important questions concerning the analysis of the major addresses and the "whistle-stops" remain unanswered. The attention of this chapter will be directed toward answering these questions. First, were there any differences between each candidate's major addresses and his "whistle-stops?" Second, how did the rhetoric of the candidates compare when based on an overall mean index score for each candidate? These overall mean index scores were determined by combining the scores of each candidate's major addresses with the scores of his "whistle-stops." Such an overall mean index score provides a generalized measurement of each candidate's rhetoric over all the speeches. Thus it is a means of comparing the essence of one campaign with that of the other.

As Table XXVIII shows, a comparison of Truman's major addresses with his "whistle-stops" reveals noticeable variations between them. This comparison reveals significant differences between the Truman mean scores on four areas: Legitimacy, Crisis Theme, Resoluteness, and Issue Orientation. One area--Belligerence--has a difference that is of slight significance. And, four areas have differences that are small and of insignificant size--Acceptability, Absolutism, Emotional Appeal, and Rationality.

The emphasis Truman placed on Acceptability, Absolutism, Emotional Appeal, and Rationality was--for all practical purposes--maintained at a nearly constant level throughout all of his speeches. Also, the emphasis on Belligerence varied only slightly between the two types of speeches. However, the emphasis on Legitimacy, Crisis Theme, Resoluteness, and Issue Orientation varied noticeably between the major addresses and the "whistle-stops." On these latter four areas and on Belligerence, it was the major addresses that reflected the greater emphasis.

As observed in Chapters II and III, the Truman scores were consistently greater than those of Dewey and the control documents on three areas of content--Belligerence, Emotional Appeal, and Issue Orientation. In the comparison of the Truman speeches, one of these areas is in each of the three levels of significance. The difference between the means is insignificant on Emotional Appeal, slightly significant on Belligerence, and significant on Issue

TABLE XXVIII  
 COMPARISON OF MEAN INDEX SCORES OF MAJOR ADDRESSES  
 AND "WHISTLE-STOPS" SPEECHES BY HARRY S TRUMAN

	Major Addresses (N=21)	"Whistle- Stops" (N=19)	Per Cent of Difference Between Major Addresses and "Whistle-Stops"
Crisis Theme	2.00	1.26	58.7
Belligerence	6.00	5.01	19.8
Absolutism	8.63	9.35	8.3
Legitimacy	5.15	3.13	64.5
Emotional Appeal	3.66	3.96	8.2
Issue Orientation	15.68	12.31	27.4
Rationality	2.03	1.99	2.0
Acceptability	4.01	3.60	11.4
Resoluteness	4.13	3.14	31.5

Orientation. Of these three areas, the major addresses are larger on all but Emotional Appeal.<sup>1</sup>

As Table XXIX shows, a comparison of Dewey's major addresses with his "whistle-stops" reveals a significant amount of difference on six areas--Crisis Theme, Legitimacy, Resoluteness, Belligerence, Issue Orientation, and Absolutism. The remaining three areas are insignificant--Acceptability, Rationality, and Emotional Appeal.

The amount of emphasis that Dewey placed on Acceptability, Rationality, and Emotional Appeal was nearly constant throughout all of his speeches. Of the six areas that are significant, the major addresses received the greater emphasis on five of them--Crisis Theme, Legitimacy, Resoluteness, Belligerence, and Issue Orientation. The remaining one--Absolutism--received more emphasis in the "whistle-stops."

The patterns that emerged from this comparison of each candidate's major addresses with his "whistle-stops" were similar for both men. For each, the major addresses tended to dominate the areas that displayed significant and slightly significant differences. In fact, there was only one exception to this pattern, Dewey's "whistle-stops" were significantly greater than his major addresses on

---

<sup>1</sup>The area of Crisis Theme, which displayed a Truman mean that was significantly greater than that of Dewey in the "whistle-stops," also displayed a difference between the means of the Truman speeches that was of significant size. The major addresses had the larger mean.

TABLE XXIX  
 COMPARISON OF MEAN INDEX SCORES OF MAJOR ADDRESSES  
 AND "WHISTLE-STOP" SPEECHES BY THOMAS E. DEWEY

	Major Addresses (N=19)	"Whistle- Stops" (N=4)	Per Cent of Difference Between Major Addresses and "Whistle-Stops"
Crisis Theme	1.78	.94	89.4
Belligerence	2.59	1.79	44.7
Absolutism	8.21	10.83	31.9
Legitimacy	7.88	4.30	83.3
Emotional Appeal	2.71	2.67	1.5
Issue Orientation	10.08	7.00	44.0
Rationality	2.33	2.27	2.6
Acceptability	4.73	4.17	13.4
Resoluteness	5.06	3.36	50.6

Absolutism. Moreover, the candidates' major addresses stressed the same five areas--Legitimacy, Crisis Theme, Resoluteness, Issue Orientation, and Belligerence. It was in their major addresses that each candidate placed his greater emphasis on his abilities, his strengths, and the rightness of his cause. And, it was here that he emphasized the issues of the campaign, his attacks on the opposition, and the threat of impending disaster.

The second question which is the concern of this chapter involves the comparison of each candidate's overall mean index score with that of the other. A general overview of the rhetoric is obtained when the scores for each concept on all major addresses and all "whistle-stops" by each candidate are combined, a single mean for each concept computed, and each candidate's means compared with those of the other. Table XXX shows the results of this comparison. Two areas reveal differences that are insignificant--Absolutism and Crisis Theme; two areas are slightly significant--Acceptability and Rationality; and, five areas have differences that are significant--Belligerence, Legitimacy, Issue Orientation, Emotional Appeal, and Resoluteness. In general, the distribution of the nine areas of content over the three categories of significance followed the pattern set in the analysis of the major addresses.<sup>2</sup> In fact, seven areas are in the same level of significance on the combined

---

<sup>2</sup>See Table X on page 44.

TABLE XXX  
 MEAN INDEX SCORES ON NINE AREAS OF CONTENT: FORTY  
 SPEECHES BY HARRY S TRUMAN AND TWENTY-THREE  
 SPEECHES BY THOMAS E. DEWEY

	Truman Mean	Dewey Mean	Per Cent of Difference Between Truman and Dewey	Control Mean	Per Cent of Difference Between Controls and Truman	and Dewey
Crisis Theme	1.65	1.65	.6	1.89	14.6	15.2
Belligerence	5.53	2.45	125.7	3.37	64.1	37.6
Absolutism	8.97	8.66	3.6	8.23	9.0	5.2
Legitimacy	4.19	7.26	73.3	6.84	63.3	6.1
Emotional Appeal	3.80	2.70	40.7	2.93	29.7	8.5
Issue Orientation	14.08	9.52	47.9	9.97	41.2	4.7
Rationality	2.01	2.32	15.4	2.23	11.0	4.0
Acceptability	3.82	4.64	21.5	4.88	27.8	5.2
Resoluteness	3.66	4.77	30.3	4.61	26.0	3.5

scores as they were on the major addresses. The difference between the major addresses and the combined scores is that two areas moved to a higher level of significance on the combined scores than they had on the major addresses. Rationality moved from insignificant to slightly significant and Resoluteness moved from slightly significant to significant.

As the analysis of the combined scores reflects, the candidates placed nearly the same amount of emphasis on Absolutism and Crisis Theme. Dewey placed a slightly greater amount of emphasis than Truman on Acceptability and Rationality. However, the major differences in emphasis involved the use of five significant areas. Dewey placed greater stress on Legitimacy and Resoluteness while Truman emphasized Belligerence, Issue Orientation, and Emotional Appeal.

When the combined scores of each candidate are compared with the mean scores of the control documents, noteworthy dissimilarities appear. As Table XXX also shows, the Truman scores not only surpass the Dewey scores on Belligerence, Issue Orientation, and Emotional Appeal, they eclipse the control means as well--by 64.1 per cent, 41.2 per cent, and 29.7 per cent respectively. However, the Dewey scores fail to exceed the control documents on the areas in which they showed strength over the Truman scores. In fact, the differences between the control documents and the Dewey means are insignificant--Legitimacy, 6.1 per cent;



Resoluteness, 3.5 per cent; Acceptability, 5.2 per cent; and Rationality, four per cent. Furthermore, the differences between the Dewey means and the control documents are insignificant on all the areas but two--Belligerence and Crisis Theme. And, the control documents are larger on these two--37.6 per cent and 15.2 per cent respectively.

To summarize, the examination of the combined scores for each candidate reveals that three areas of content--Belligerence, Issue Orientation, and Emotional Appeal--are valid characteristics of the campaign style of Harry S Truman. Indeed in the context of this study, not only is a pronounced emphasis on these areas a unique characteristic of his style, it also gives his campaign rhetoric the appearance of a Crusader.

Four areas--Legitimacy, Resoluteness, Acceptability, and Rationality--are characteristics of Dewey's Adman style of campaign. However, the analysis reveals that while emphasis on these areas is a characteristic of Dewey's style, such an emphasis is not uncommon in presidential campaign speeches. In fact, the control documents from recent campaigns reflect nearly the same emphasis on these areas. Dewey's campaign rhetoric is more like that in the campaigns of the 1960's and 1972 than it is like that of his opposition in 1948. In light of the comparison of the means of Dewey, Truman, and the control documents, it is the Truman speeches that deviate from the norm of this group. The unique style in 1948 was that of Harry S Truman, a political

fighter once described by Murray Kempton as one who dauntlessly meets all competitors. "He'll run on your terms-- any track, anywhere, any time and distance and who in the hell are you?"<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup>As quoted in Merle Miller, Plain Speaking: An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman (New York, 1974), p. 130.

## CHAPTER V

### A COMPARISON OF THE RHETORIC ACCORDING TO TIME: BEFORE AND AFTER

OCTOBER 5, 1948

Did the candidates maintain the same tempo in their campaigns from the first day through the last? Or, did they vary the pace by either accelerating or moderating their campaign rhythm as the day of the election neared? It was noted in the preceding chapter that each of the candidates displayed noticeable variance in the emphasis between their major addresses and their "whistle-stops." Would the candidates present similar differences when their speeches are viewed according to comparisons based on the factor of time--their position within the campaign? In this chapter, attention will be directed toward three analyses which are based upon time. First, each candidate's speeches are divided into two groups--those delivered before October 5 and those delivered after October 5. Each candidate's scores from the earlier period are compared with his scores from the later period. Second, each candidate's "before" and "after" scores are compared with the "before" and "after" scores of the other candidate. The third analysis is a detailed examination of the rhetoric of the first

major campaign tour made by both candidates--September 17 to October 2. On the first two analyses, only the areas of content that display slightly significant and significant differences between the scores are examined. On the third--the campaign tour--all areas are examined.

As stated, the first analysis concerns the variance of emphasis within each candidate's campaign according to time--date of delivery. A study of the election in 1948 revealed that a relatively large number of voters--twenty per cent--did not reach a decision as to which candidate they would support until during the last few weeks of the campaign.<sup>1</sup> It is conceivable that a change in emphasis in the campaign rhetoric could have been a factor in the decision by some voters to support either Dewey or Truman. Therefore, it is the purpose of this first analysis to examine the rhetoric of each candidate and determine if a change in emphasis occurred during these final weeks. The sixty-three speeches from the Campaign of 1948 are divided into two groups for each candidate-- those delivered before and after October 5. The date of Tuesday, October 5, 1948, was selected as the dividing point because four weeks after that day the American electorate went to the polls.

Truman delivered twenty-nine speeches before October 5 and eleven after that date. As Table XXXI shows, there

---

<sup>1</sup>Campbell, p. 7-9.

TABLE XXXI

MEAN INDEX SCORES OF SPEECHES BY HARRY S TRUMAN:  
BEFORE AND AFTER OCTOBER 5, 1948

	Before (N=29)	After (N=11)	Per Cent of Difference
Crisis Theme	1.67	1.61	3.7
Belligerence	5.32	6.09	14.5
Absolutism	8.67	9.78	12.8
Legitimacy	3.81	5.20	36.5
Emotional Appeal	3.75	3.94	5.1
Issue Orientation	14.33	13.41	6.9
Rationality	1.99	2.07	4.0
Acceptability	3.90	3.59	8.6
Resoluteness	3.69	3.86	7.5

is little difference between the group of speeches Truman gave in either time period. Eight of the nine areas of content displayed differences between the means that were insignificant. The scores on these eight areas--Acceptability, Resoluteness, Issue Orientation, Emotional Appeal, Rationality, Crisis Theme, Belligerence, and Absolutism are almost the same throughout both time periods. Only one area has a variation that is of significant size--Legitimacy, 36.5 per cent. And, it is the mean of the speeches in the later time period that is the greater for this area.

Truman's larger post-October 5 score on Legitimacy as shown in Table XXXII was primarily caused by an increased emphasis on Ideal-Value. An examination of this concept reveals that Truman made more frequent use during the latter period of words such as "free," "freedom," "peace," and "democracy." Before October 5, Truman used such words sparingly. In fact, they appeared in his speeches at a rate of from once in every two speeches to less than one in every three. After October 5, Truman made much more frequent use of these terms. His average per speech usage rose to: "free"--one, "freedom"--three, "peace"--two, and "democracy"--two.

There is little difference in the manner in which Truman used the concept of Past-Tradition. The most noticeable difference between the time periods is in the references to people cited by name in the speeches.

TABLE XXXII  
 MEAN INDEX SCORES OF FORTY TRUMAN SPEECHES  
 ON SIGNIFICANT AREA: BEFORE  
 AND AFTER OCTOBER 5

	Before (N=29)	After (N=11)	Per Cent of Difference
Legitimacy	3.81	5.20	36.5
Ideal-Value	1.41	2.42	71.6
Past-Tradition	2.40	2.79	16.3

Prior to October 5 Truman averaged four references per speech to people by name. After that date he averaged six per speech. Also, sixty-one per cent of all his references to the preceding Democratic president--Franklin D. Roosevelt--occurred during the last four weeks of the campaign.

References to party and to the American people are also slightly more frequent after October 5. Prior to that date Truman averaged four references per speech to the Democratic Party. In the later period he averaged five per speech. References to the American people increased from an average of eight per speech before October 5 to nine per speech after that date. However, the distribution of these references over the three categories of "the people," "American people," and "our people" is of interest. Prior to October 5 references to "the people" were 84.4 per cent of all his references, "American people" were 9.9 per cent, and "our people" were 5.7 per cent. After October 5 Truman dropped the "our people" and increased "the people" to 89.3 per cent and "American people" to 10.7 per cent.

References to past programs and policies in a Past-Tradition sense decreased after October 5 from a per speech average of two to an average of one. Prior to October 5 the Central Valley Authority of California, Rural Electrification Administration, Social Security System, and the Wagner Labor Relations Act were the most cited programs.



After October 5 the most cited programs were the Wagner Labor Relations Act and the Commodity Credit Corporation.

Truman's emphasis on the components of the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric was held at a near constant level throughout the campaign. The only noticeable exception was the area of Legitimacy which he stressed more during the later part of the campaign. Truman established a level of emphasis early in the campaign and he maintained it with little variance.

Dewey delivered fourteen speeches before October 5 and nine after that date. A definite difference appears in Table XXXIII between the speeches Dewey delivered before October 5 and those he delivered after October 5. Four areas display differences that are significant in size, three have differences of slightly significant size, and only two areas show a difference of an insignificant size. On the four areas with a significant difference between the means, the emphasis was increased after October 5. These areas are Belligerence, Resoluteness, Legitimacy, and Issue Orientation. Of the three areas with slightly significant differences, two reflect a greater emphasis in the speeches delivered after October 5--Crisis Theme and Acceptability. The third, Rationality, received more emphasis before October 5. The areas of Emotional Appeal and Absolutism have differences that are insignificant in size. These two areas are nearly constant throughout Dewey's campaign.

TABLE XXXIII  
 MEAN INDEX SCORES OF SPEECHES BY THOMAS E. DEWEY:  
 BEFORE AND AFTER OCTOBER 5, 1948

	Before (N=14)	After (N=9)	Per Cent of Difference
Crisis Theme	1.52	1.82	19.7
Belligerence	1.98	2.85	43.9
Absolutism	8.79	8.46	3.9
Legitimacy	6.36	8.66	36.2
Emotional Appeal	2.62	2.83	8.0
Issue Orientation	8.41	11.24	33.7
Rationality	2.47	2.10	17.6
Acceptability	4.31	5.15	19.5
Resoluteness	4.17	5.69	36.5

Table XXXIV shows the significant areas of content and their components, and the scores from the later period are the larger on all the components. The area of Belligerence displays the greatest amount of difference between the time periods--43.9 per cent. Also, a noticeable increase in the scores of all four components is evident during the period after October 5. The source of the increase in all four components is the same. In the last weeks of the campaign, Dewey greatly increased the pace of his attacks against the Truman administration. Prior to October 5, a larger portion of Dewey's attacks upon the Truman administration tended to be of a general nature. These general attacks tended to follow the line used at Des Moines, Iowa, on September 20.

I pledge to you that on next January 20 there will begin in Washington the biggest unravelling, unsnarling, untangling operation in our Nation's history.<sup>2</sup>

However, there were two topics in the early period that caused Dewey to levy charges against the Truman administration. These were references to foreign policy and to communism. When he discussed foreign policy, Dewey attacked the Truman administration by implication.

It is my belief that our country can and will develop a foreign policy which is both strong and consistent in its search for peace. It is my firm belief that our country should never again seem to wobble in foreign affairs, so that dictators may think us weak and irresolute.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>Des Moines, September 20, Dewey, 1948, p. 639.

<sup>3</sup>Denver, September 21, Dewey, 1948, p. 642.

TABLE XXXIV  
 MEAN INDEX SCORES OF SPEECHES BY THOMAS E. DEWEY  
 ON THE SIGNIFICANT AREAS OF CONTENT: BEFORE  
 AND AFTER OCTOBER 5, 1948

	Before (N=14)	After (N=9)	Per Cent of Difference
Belligerence	1.98	2.85	43.9
Attack	.40	.73	82.5
Anger	.10	.32	220.0
Sign-Reject	1.43	1.73	21.0
Expel	.05	.07	40.0
Resoluteness	4.17	5.69	36.5
Attempt	.38	.42	10.5
Ought	.55	.79	43.6
Sign-Strong	3.25	4.47	37.5
Legitimacy	6.36	8.66	36.2
Ideal-Value	3.92	5.49	40.1
Past-Tradition	2.45	3.17	29.4
Issue Orientation	8.41	11.24	33.7
Political	4.08	5.52	35.3
Economic	1.62	1.71	5.6
Specific-Issues	2.71	4.01	48.0

It does not advance our purpose to discuss the manner in which the Soviet has been able to pick the fruits of diplomatic victories that were yielded up at that series of secret conferences culminating at Potsdam. . . . It serves no purpose to review the concessions made by our own government to the Soviet in Manchuria and Northern China at the expense of the Chinese people and without any consultation with them.<sup>4</sup>

When he discussed communism, both foreign and domestic, Dewey laid the blame for the strength of the communists upon the Truman administration.

The tragic fact is that--too often our own government here in America seems to have so far lost faith in our system of free opportunity as to encourage this Communist advance, not hinder it. Communists--looking for grist for their propaganda mill--could see that here in the United States, Communists and fellow-travellers had risen to positions of trust in our government, in some labor unions, in some places in our arts, sciences, and professions. The liemakers could say--and all over the world they've been saying it--that our way of life had about run out; that to save what little we had left we were being forced to turn to Communists for leadership.

And they could go on and say that we were giving these enemies of our system every consideration and protection.<sup>5</sup>

In the later period of the campaign, Dewey was more open and direct in his attack upon the Truman administration. His attacks centered on three topics and their relationship to the Truman government--foreign policy, communism, and competence. In foreign policy Dewey charged

---

<sup>4</sup>Address at the Tabernacle, Temple Square, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 30, 1948, Dewey, 1948, p. 670.

<sup>5</sup>Los Angeles, September 24, Dewey, 1948, p. 653.

that the administration had failed even though the Republicans had tried to help in a bipartisan foreign policy.

Even with the rich benefits of our bipartisan foreign policy, we have not seen the gains the American people had a right to hope for in these years since the shooting stopped.

In part, this has been due to the clumsiness, the weakness and the wobbling of the present Administration. In part, it has been due to the Administration's failure to consult the Republicans before making sudden and vital policy commitments. These have almost invariably got the country deeper into trouble.<sup>6</sup>

We all know the sad record of the present Administration. More than three years have passed since the end of the war and it has failed to win the peace. Instead, millions upon millions of people have been delivered into Soviet slavery while our own administration has tried appeasement on one day and bluster the next. Our country desperately needs new and better leadership in the cause of peace and freedom. It needs a government that will lead from strength to build peace in the world so that your sons and mine will not have to go through another war.<sup>7</sup>

On the subject of communism, Dewey charged that the Truman administration had failed to combat this growing danger.

The one rock of hope in the world is a strong and vigorous America. So the propaganda line from the Kremlin and from its agents around the world is that communism will win anyway because America is going to have a bust. This has been the Communist line for years, but today at this crucial moment in history the communists have now been given a big boost. To support their infamous falsehood that America

---

<sup>6</sup>Louisville, October 12, Dewey, 1948, p. 681.

<sup>7</sup>Address at the Chicago Stadium, Chicago, Illinois, October 26, 1948, Dewey, 1948, p. 698.

is going to have a bust, they are now able to quote the very people who are running our government.

It is a pity that any American would make such a statement. Of course they are only making it for campaign purposes. They won't say it after election. I can only conclude that the people who are saying America is going to have a bust do not understand what they are saying. I am sure they just don't realize that they are unwittingly giving aid and comfort to the communist offensive against world peace.<sup>8</sup>

It was not until two years ago that this administration finally decided that it was really against Communism. Then it asked the Congress for 25 million dollars of your money to find the Communists among its own appointees. Then this year we heard that after all the head of the Soviet Union was really "good old Joe" and that the exposure of communism in our government was just a "red herring" after all.

Our country is entitled to government that is against Communism; that will not need 25 million dollars to find how many Communists it has appointed to government service. Our country is entitled to a government that will not appoint communists in the first place.

Our country is entitled to a government that knows in its heart and its mind, each day and every year, that Communism is a corroding evil which corrupts men's minds and warps their souls; that knows Communism is a dangerous, aggressive, godless evil and will stand firmly against Communism now and for all time in the future.<sup>9</sup>

In the later part of the campaign, Dewey greatly increased his charges that the Truman administration was unstable and incompetent, and he implied that possibly it was disloyal.

---

<sup>8</sup>Pittsburgh, October 11, Dewey, 1948, pp. 679-680.

<sup>9</sup>Boston, October 28, Dewey, 1948, p. 705.

The panic and bankruptcy of the present Administration were finally revealed with the railroad strike which everyone knew was coming six months in advance. When the nation's whole vast railroad system broke down, the helpless, confused men of this administration at last came forth with a proposal. Their idea to improve labor relations was a new law to draft railroad workers into the Army. All they could offer a sorely beset country was a choice between chaos and loss of freedom. These misnamed Democrats who pretend to be labor's friend asked for power to put labor in chains. It was a perfect example of political leadership which was both unstable and incompetent and would sell out freedom because it did not know how to solve problems in the American way.<sup>10</sup>

We know the kind of government we have now. It is tired. It is confused. It scolds and complains. It runs off in a dozen different directions at once. It tries to frighten people. It divides them. Whatever may be its intentions, the tragic fact is that it is not strengthening the cause of peace and it is not strengthening America.

. . . . .  
Another essential measure of good government is integrity. A government without integrity is a demoralized government. It cannot attract capable unselfish people to the public service. It becomes the stamping ground for disloyal elements.

A government without integrity loses the confidence of the people. It tries to deceive them, to play them against each other for political profit. Frightened at its own inadequacies, it tries to frighten the people by raising scares about the future in order to get their votes. . . . We are going to restore integrity to the government of the United States of America.<sup>11</sup>

This administration failed with a Democratic Congress. It failed with a Republican Congress. Now it wants a chance to fail again. Here is an administration that is actually campaigning against the traditional American ideals of unity

---

<sup>10</sup>Pittsburgh, October 11, Dewey, 1948, p. 678.

<sup>11</sup>Kansas City, October 14, Dewey, 1948, pp. 689-690.



and competence. It ridicules the idea of teamwork. It has been divided against itself for so long that it has forgotten the meaning of unity, and it never did know the meaning of teamwork or competence.<sup>12</sup>

But it turned out to be a great day for the Communist propagandists because on that very day the head of our own government called the exposure of Communists in our government "a red herring."

. . . . .  
 . . . Here it seemed was America, the last best hope of the world, shutting its eyes to this rampant evil.

That's not the only way our government has been giving aid and comfort to the enemies of our system.<sup>13</sup>

The second area which shows a significantly larger mean in the later period is Resoluteness. As Table XXXIV shows, the difference was 36.5 per cent. All three components of Resoluteness have higher scores in the later period. These increases were caused by an increased use of words and phrases associated with the components. For example, under the component of Sign-Strong the use of such phrases as "we are" and "we will" to convey strength and ability increased noticeably--"we are" by twenty per cent and "we will" by one hundred per cent. Dewey used these phrases as he had used them in the early period, to state what the Republicans and the people were going to do to strengthen America.

---

<sup>12</sup>Madison Square Garden, October 30, Dewey, 1948, p. 708.

<sup>13</sup>Los Angeles, September 24, Dewey, 1948, pp. 653-654.

We are going to go forward and improve our whole structure of government and strengthen our free society. These are some of the things we are determined to achieve.

1. We will provide firm support under wages as we will provide farm supports under commodity prices. . . .
2. We will overhaul the Social Security System. . . .<sup>14</sup>

We are going to have a national administration that knows these things about America. We are going to bring to Washington a government that believes whole-heartedly in the American system of freedom, . . .<sup>15</sup>

The third area of content which displayed higher scores in the last month of the campaign was Legitimacy--36.2 per cent. As Table XXXIV shows, the components of Legitimacy--Ideal-Value and Past-Tradition--significantly increased in October. An examination of Ideal-Value reveals that Dewey increased his use of certain words such as "America," "American," and "peace" during the later period. References to "America" and "American" increased from an average of fourteen per speech to twenty-four per speech. References to "peace" rose from an average of six per address to twelve.

While the mean of Past-Tradition increased in October, this increment is not apparent in all of the four identifiable themes of Past-Tradition. References to people cited by name are noticeably fewer in the later period. The use of this reference declined from an average of four per

---

<sup>14</sup>Pittsburgh, October 11, Dewey, 1948, p. 680.

<sup>15</sup>Kansas City, October 14, Dewey, 1948, p. 692.

speech to an average of three. However, the remaining three categories did increase in use during the last weeks. Dewey's references to his party increased from an average of two per speech to an average of four. His citations of past programs by name rose from one per speech to two. And, his references to the American people increased from six per speech to eleven.

The manner in which Dewey used the references to the American people as a group entity is of interest. In the early part of the campaign, references to "the people," "American people," and "our people" constituted 26.1 per cent, 27.3 per cent, and 46.6 per cent of his total references respectively. During the later period, their percentages changed to 16.1 per cent, 16.1 per cent, and 67.8 per cent respectively. Dewey increased his emphasis on the patronizing "our people" while he decreased his use of the more independent "the people."

The fourth area of content displayed in Table XXXIV, Issue Orientation, also had a significant gain after October 5--33.7 per cent. However, not all of the three components increased in significant amounts. The concept of Economic shows little variation between the time periods. The concept of Political, however, did display significant variations in the scores and a marked increase in the frequency that Dewey used certain terms. For example, references to the election and voting in the election rose from an average of one reference in every two speeches

to one per speech. Also the use of the terms government and administration rose from six per speech to ten. The accelerated use of these two terms is also tied to Dewey's attacks upon the Truman administration and his call for a return to good government.

The largest gain in the scores for Issue Orientation occurred with the concept of Specific-Issues--forty-eight per cent. A careful tabulation disclosed that the number of issues was practically the same in both time periods: twenty-three before and twenty-seven after. However, as Table XXXV shows, several differences emerge when these issues are charted. When reduced to only those issues with an overall average of at least one per speech, the early period of the campaign has twelve issues while the later period has ten.

Eight of the issues appear an average of at least once per speech in both time periods. And, the emphasis on all eight increased in the later stages of the campaign. Most noticeable of these eight are: team and teamwork, the Truman administration, agriculture, and peace.

Of equal interest, however, are the six issues that are identified with only one time period. Labor and the Social Security System are issues from the later part of the campaign. However, the emphasis on higher prices and inflation during the early period is of great interest. Particularly since Truman continued throughout the campaign to lay the blame for these conditions on the

TABLE XXXV  
 FREQUENCY OF SPECIFIC ISSUES IN SPEECHES  
 BY THOMAS E. DEWEY: BEFORE AND  
 AFTER OCTOBER 5, 1948

Issue	Before	After
Atomic Energy and Atomic Bomb	1	
Oil Shortage	1	
High Prices	1	
Inflation	2	
Team and Teamwork	1	3
Truman Administration	1	6
Agriculture	2	9
Conservation	1	3
Unity	4	6
Next Administration (Dewey's)	4	5
Communism	4	5
Peace	6	12
Labor		5
Social Security System		1

doorstep of the Republicans and the Eightieth Congress.<sup>16</sup> Dewey evidently chose not to respond to these charges.

As Table XXXVI indicates, three areas of content display differences between the time periods that are of slightly significant size--Crisis Theme, Acceptability, and Rationality. Two of these--Crisis Theme and Acceptability--show gains in the later period while the third area--Rationality--displays a noticeable decline after October 5.

An examination of the area of Crisis Theme reveals that its increment during the later period of the campaign is largely due to frequent references to the crisis situation posed by the Truman administration and by communism. To Dewey, both were threats to world peace.

This idea to improve labor relations was a new law to draft railroad workers into the Army. All they could offer a sorely beset country was a choice between chaos and loss of freedom. These misnamed Democrats who pretend to be labor's friend asked for power to put labor in chains.<sup>17</sup>

Instead of finding a secure peace, the tension continues to mount from Berlin to China and from Greece to Korea. The tragedy of these past three years has been that our present national administration has wavered from appeasement to bluster

---

<sup>16</sup>Appendix C provides a listing of the Truman issues according to the "before" and "after" October 5 classifications. This list shows Truman's continued use of the issues of high prices and inflation in both periods. And, Truman blamed the Republicans for these conditions in both periods.

<sup>17</sup>Pittsburgh, October 11, Dewey, 1948, p. 678.

TABLE XXXVI

MEAN INDEX SCORES OF SPEECHES BY THOMAS E. DEWEY  
ON SLIGHTLY SIGNIFICANT AREAS OF CONTENT:  
BEFORE AND AFTER OCTOBER 5, 1948

	Before (N=14)	After (N=9)	Per Cent of Difference
Crisis Theme	1.52	1.82	19.7
Danger	.40	.51	27.5
Distress	.57	.62	8.8
Time-Immediacy	.55	.73	32.7
Acceptability	4.31	5.15	19.5
Sign-Accept	2.65	3.47	30.9
Action-Norm	1.41	1.55	9.9
Peer-Status	.18	.13	31.5
Rationality	2.47	2.10	17.6
Thought-Form	.90	.66	36.4
Think	1.20	1.05	14.3
Cause	.37	.39	5.4

and then back to appeasement and then to bluster. The world rarely knew from day to day where America stood on major questions. The great struggle of America for peace has never been adequately felt. So peace eludes us as tensions mount.

. . . . .  
 As we move forward toward the goal of a better America we shall be vigilant to preserve our freedom. We shall protect it from enemies abroad and we shall protect it at home from those who seek to undermine it. There are those who seek to undermine our freedom out of blind hatred and prejudice toward their fellow men. There are others like the communists and their fellow travellers who seek to undermine our freedom out of hatred for our American way of life. And, unhappily, there are others who unwittingly serve the purpose of these elements by seeking to play upon fear and prejudice for political profit. In this election, I am sure you will rebuke and reject all three.<sup>18</sup>

A band of fanatic zealots is striking at the ramparts of freedom with all means short of war. They have already destroyed the free governments of twelve nations. They are using fear, falsehood, economic and political sabotage, mob violence and treason--all in accordance with a mad but calculated plan fashioned by the Polit buro in Moscow.<sup>19</sup>

Today, dark clouds of aggression and strife hang over the world. They darken our future. They cast the shadow of uncertainty over the lives of our children. It is our daily and our most fervent prayer that we can go forward to live, again, in the bright light of peace.<sup>20</sup>

An examination of Acceptability reveals that while the overall mean rose after October 5, this rise did not

---

<sup>18</sup> Boston, October 28, Dewey, 1948, pp. 705, 707.

<sup>19</sup> Louisville, October 12, Dewey, 1948, p. 683.

<sup>20</sup> Address at the St. Paul Auditorium, St. Paul, Minnesota, October 15, 1948, Dewey, 1948, p. 695.



cover all of its components. Action-Norm is nearly constant over both periods. Peer-Status declined in the last weeks, primarily because Dewey reduced his references to friends and neighbors. The Sign-Accept concept reflects a noticeable gain in the later period as Dewey made more frequent use of such terms as "Americans"--from fourteen times per speech to twenty-four, "unity"--from four to six, "team" and "teamwork"--from one to three, and "Republicans"--from two to four times per speech.

The area of Rationality displays a decline in emphasis during the later period--the only one of the seven to do so. Of the three components of Rationality, only one--Cause--shows an increase in the later period and it was insignificant. The remaining two components--Thought-Form and Think--display noticeable decreases during the later period. An examination of the concepts reveals that this decrease was due to the greatly reduced use of such terms as "solve," "think," and "fact." These terms appeared in Dewey's early speeches an average of at least once per speech with "fact" being used an average of twice per speech. After October 5, these terms almost disappeared from Dewey's speeches--"fact," "solve," and "think" appear only once in every three speeches.

The analysis reveals that the tempo of Dewey's campaign accelerated during the last few weeks as the emphasis was increased on six of the nine areas of content. Also it is interesting to note that of the four

areas which received significant increases two are strong characteristics of the Truman rhetoric--Belligerence and Issue Orientation. Dewey not only increased the emphasis on those areas which represented his rhetoric but he also increased the emphasis of certain Truman characteristics. His attacks upon the Truman administration not only increased in frequency but also in intensity. He openly charged that the Truman administration lacked competence, that it was indecisive, and that its loyalty was questionable. He also increased his emphasis on the issues of his campaign--particularly those dealing with agriculture, conservation, foreign affairs (peace), and labor. In his own way, Dewey began to be belligerent and issue oriented during the waning days of the campaign.

The second analysis with which this chapter is concerned is a comparison of the two candidates' speeches within each time period. Such a comparison discloses interesting differences between the candidates. As Table XXXVII indicates, the areas of content can be grouped into three categories--those with smaller amounts of differences in the later period and with the same candidate being the larger, those with larger amounts of differences in the later period with the same candidate being dominant, and those with larger amounts of differences in the later period with a different candidate being dominant.

The first category is comprised of the areas of Belligerence, Legitimacy, Emotional Appeal, Issue

TABLE XXXVII  
 MEAN INDEX SCORES OF SPEECHES BY HARRY S  
 TRUMAN AND THOMAS E. DEWEY: BEFORE  
 AND AFTER OCTOBER 5, 1948

	Before			After		
	Truman Mean	Dewey Mean	Per Cent of Differ- ence	Truman Mean	Dewey Mean	Per Cent of Differ- ence
Crisis Theme	1.67	1.52	9.9	1.61	1.82	13.0
Belligerence	5.32	1.98	168.7	6.09	2.85	113.7
Absolutism	8.67	8.79	1.4	9.78	8.46	15.6
Legitimacy	3.81	6.36	66.9	5.20	8.66	66.5
Emotional Appeal	3.75	2.62	43.1	3.94	2.83	39.2
Issue Orientation	14.33	8.41	70.4	13.41	11.24	19.3
Rationality	1.99	2.47	24.1	2.07	2.10	1.4
Acceptability	3.90	4.31	10.5	3.59	5.15	43.5
Resoluteness	3.59	4.17	16.2	3.86	5.69	47.4

Orientation, and Rationality. In all of these areas, the candidate who was the larger in the early period also was the larger in the later period, Truman in Belligerence, Emotional Appeal, and Issue Orientation, and Dewey in Legitimacy and Rationality. However, the margin of difference is smaller in the later period. This would indicate that while the candidates remained noticeably different, they had moved somewhat closer together on these areas. As previously stated, this drawing together was caused primarily by an increase in the use of Belligerence and Issue Orientation by Dewey, a decreased emphasis on Rationality by Dewey, and the maintenance of nearly the same levels by both candidates on Legitimacy and Emotional Appeal.

The second category consists of two areas--Acceptability and Resoluteness--in which the amount of difference between the candidates' mean index scores increased in the later period. As previously noted, this was caused by a noticeable increase in the use of these areas by Dewey while Truman maintained practically a constant level of emphasis.

The third category contains the two areas of content in which the candidate with the greater score varied according to time period. These areas were Absolutism and Crisis Theme. This reversal was caused on Absolutism when Truman increased his emphasis while Dewey maintained a constant level. On Crisis Theme, Dewey increased his emphasis while Truman held a constant level.

The third analysis that is the concern of this chapter is an examination of the two candidate's rhetoric on the first major campaign tour. During the presidential campaign of 1948, the two major candidates made several extended speaking tours of the nation. At times the candidates would be in the same area within a few days of each other. This caused Truman to charge that Dewey was following him everywhere he went. However, he continued to state that there was one place that Dewey would not follow and that would be into the White House.<sup>21</sup> The first of these campaign tours ran from mid-September into early October. Truman began his with a "whistle-stop" speech at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on September 17 and delivered speeches in sixteen other states--Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, Missouri (again), Illinois (again), Indiana, Kentucky, and ended in West Virginia on October 1. In these fifteen days he delivered 127 speeches of which 113 were "whistle-stops" and fourteen were major addresses.<sup>22</sup>

Dewey started his first tour from Albany, New York, on September 18 and delivered speeches in fourteen states--Illinois, Iowa, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Oregon, Washington, Montana, Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, Kansas,

---

<sup>21</sup>Madison Square Garden, October 28, Truman, 1948, p. 909.

<sup>22</sup>Truman, 1948, pp. 491-674.

and ended in Missouri on October 2. In these fifteen days he delivered less than seventy speeches.<sup>23</sup>

Of the twenty-nine Truman speeches from the pre-October 5 period that were analyzed earlier, twenty-seven (or 93.1 per cent of them) are from the first tour of the campaign. The two speeches that were not from the tour are the speech at the Democratic National Convention on July 15 and the Labor Day speech in Detroit on September 6. Of the fourteen Dewey speeches from the same period, thirteen (or 92.9 per cent of them) are from the first tour. The one speech that was not from the tour is the speech at the Republican National Convention on June 24. Therefore when the scores for the candidates from the early period of the campaign, shown in Tables XXXI and XXXIII, are compared with the scores from the first tour, shown in Table XXXVIII, there is very little difference between them. Also, the twenty-seven speeches from the Truman tour constitute approximately twenty-one per cent of the total given by Truman on the tour. And, the thirteen speeches are

---

<sup>23</sup>John Conrad Weiser, "A Survey of the Broadcasting of the Local Speeches of Governor Thomas E. Dewey During the Western Campaign Swing--1948" (unpub. M. A. thesis, State University of Iowa, 1949), p. 42; Ross, p. 208. Weiser counted a total of sixty-nine speeches for this tour while Ross believes there were only sixty--of which he said forty-seven were "whistle-stops." However, the published papers of Dewey and the Thomas E. Dewey File of the Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File at the Harry S Truman Library show a total of only eighteen--of which four are "whistle-stops." Since Weiser provides a list of the cities where Dewey spoke and the radio stations that broadcast them, his is probably the most accurate of the counts.

TABLE XXXVIII

MEAN INDEX SCORES OF SPEECHES BY HARRY S TRUMAN  
AND THOMAS E. DEWEY FROM THE FIRST CAMPAIGN  
TOUR, SEPTEMBER 17 TO OCTOBER 2, 1948

	Truman (N=27)	Dewey (N=13)	Per Cent of Difference
Crisis Theme	1.62	1.45	11.7
Belligerence	5.22	2.03	157.1
Absolutism	8.62	8.77	1.7
Legitimacy	3.72	5.84	57.0
Emotional Appeal	3.78	2.66	42.1
Issue Orientation	14.18	8.47	67.4
Rationality	2.00	2.43	21.5
Acceptability	3.87	4.23	9.3
Resoluteness	3.56	4.14	16.3

approximately nineteen per cent of the total give by Dewey on the tour. Although there is a noticeable difference in the actual number of speeches analyzed from each tour (twenty-nine to thirteen), they represent nearly the same proportion of each tour.

Analysis of these speeches indicates that four areas have differences of significant size--Belligerence, Issue Orientation, Legitimacy, and Emotional Appeal. The differences between the scores on two of the areas are of slightly significant size--Rationality and Resoluteness. And, three areas have differences that are of insignificant size--Crisis Theme, Acceptability, and Absolutism.

As shown in Table XXXIX, Truman had the larger mean on one of the insignificant areas--Crisis Theme. Dewey had the larger mean on the remaining two--Acceptability, and Absolutism. On the concept of Crisis Theme, Truman's greater scores on the components of Danger and Time-Immediacy were due to his repeated charges that the Republicans and their policies threatened American life. Truman believed that Republicans, reactionaries, big business, and special interests were all of the same breed, and they were all out to ruin the common man.

These Republican gluttons of privilege are cold men. They are cunning men. And it is their constant aim to put the Government of the United States under the control of men like themselves.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup>Dexter, Iowa, September 18, Truman, 1948, pp. 505-506.



TABLE XXXIX  
 MEAN INDEX SCORES OF SPEECHES FROM FIRST CAMPAIGN  
 TOUR ON THE INSIGNIFICANT AREAS OF CONTENT

	Truman Mean	Dewey Mean	Per Cent of Difference
<b>Crisis Theme</b>	1.62	1.45	11.7
Danger	.56	.42	33.3
Distress	.44	.56	27.3
Time-Immediacy	.62	.58	6.9
<b>Acceptability</b>	3.87	4.23	9.3
Sign-Accept	2.22	2.54	14.4
Action-Norm	1.54	1.46	5.5
Peer-Status	.14	.20	42.9
<b>Absolutism</b>	8.62	8.77	1.7
Overstate	3.67	4.60	25.3
Authority	3.84	3.24	18.5
Good	.88	.87	1.1
Bad	.24	.16	50.0

They [lobbies] spent more money lobbying for special privilege in this "do-nothing\_ 80th Congress that has been spent in Washington in the whole history of the country.

Now, why did they do that? Because they wanted to take you to town. I'll tell you-- you're going to get taken to town if you don't use your privilege on election day.<sup>25</sup>

The Republican Party today is controlled by silent and cunning men who have a dangerous lust for power and privilege. The Republican Party is fundamentally the party of privilege. These men are now reaching out for control of the country and its resources.

. . . . .  
I repeat: The most reactionary elements in the country today are backing the Republican Party in its effort to take over your Government on election day.

If they succeed, I predict that they will turn back the clock to the day when the West was an economic colony of Wall Street.<sup>26</sup>

While Truman was finding the Republicans and their alleged cohorts to be the greatest danger to America, Dewey was finding the greatest danger to be anything that threatened, delayed, or subverted world peace--particularly the communists.

It was three years ago that we achieved a mighty victory in the most terrible of wars. We had hoped and prayed for a lasting peace and believed we would find it. But we have found no peace. Instead, we are facing another program of totalitarian aggression which again menaces our freedom and security. The Communists have a long range scheme. There's no secret about it. . . . It [Stalin's plan] tells how Communists are to be trained to sneak into positions of power and then to use them to liquidate their

---

<sup>25</sup>Chariton, Iowa, September 18, Truman, 1948, p. 501.

<sup>26</sup>Denver, September 20, Truman, 1948, p. 518.

opponents by terrorism and by force. They are following the book. Communists are the same the world over.<sup>27</sup>

Tonight a dark cloud hangs over the future, over the future of every one of us. A ruthless aggression that has mankind's enslavement as its goal--is abroad in the world.<sup>28</sup>

Dewey's larger score on the concept of Distress was primarily due to his greater use of words denoting anxiety and discomfort. For example, he used the word "fear" an average of one time per speech while Truman use it less than one time in every three speeches. When Dewey spoke of fear, he primarily associated it with the current fears of people concerning either their freedom or their future.

Millions of families who have know freedom are in fear of evil, unfamiliar footsteps and at every moment they expect the knock on the door. Millions who still enjoy freedom live in fear that today or tomorrow some crisis or excuse will be seized upon to blot out their freedom too.<sup>29</sup>

Truman tended to use Distress in connection with issues facing Americans in their everyday lives. Of course to him, these issues were distressing because of the Republicans and their activities.

Our schools are badly overcrowded and our teachers are underpaid.

There isn't a city or county in the country that isn't short of schoolhouse room and short of teachers. Most of the teachers in the big cities are teaching two and three times as

---

<sup>27</sup>Albuquerque, September 22, Dewey, 1948, p. 648.

<sup>28</sup>Address at Missoula, Montana, September 28, 1948, Dewey, 1948, p. 666.

<sup>29</sup>Des Moines, September 20, Dewey, 1948, p. 641.

many children as they can possibly do successfully. This same thing happened to that plea for federal aid to education. The Republican Congress didn't do anything about it.<sup>30</sup>

An examination of the area of Acceptability reveals that Dewey's greater score was due to his emphasis on the concepts of Sign-Accept and Peer-Status. Dewey frequently referred to such Sign-Accept terms as "America," "unity," and "teamwork." These terms appeared in Dewey's speeches an average of fourteen, four, and one per speech respectively. Truman used "America" an average of three times per speech and did not use "unity" or "teamwork" as Sign-Accept. Dewey also used the Peer-Status terms of "friends" and "neighbors" more than Truman. In fact while Dewey used "friends" an average of two times per speech and "neighbors" one, Truman's average for both was less than one per speech. Truman had the greater score on Action-Norm because he spoke often of the election and of Democratic programs. He averaged three references per speech to each. Dewey rarely spoke of the election and averaged one reference per speech to Republican programs. Whereas Dewey sought Acceptability through the use of generalized and idealistic concepts such as "America," "unity," and "teamwork," Truman stressed political processes--the election--and specific programs as the basis of his Acceptability. Dewey appealed to a traditional American idealism while Truman stressed things that

---

<sup>30</sup>Address at Lakeside Park, Oakland, California, September 22, 1948, Truman, 1948, p. 545.

were of a more immediate and practical nature--the election and the Democratic programs.

Dewey's slightly larger score on the area of Absolutism was due to his noticeably greater use of words of exaggeration. Dewey used such words as "all," "great," and "every" in an Overstate manner more than did Truman. Dewey used these terms with a per speech average of ten, five, and five times respectively. Truman's average per speech for the same terms was five, four, and one respectively. Truman's larger score on Authority, Good, and Bad was due to his references to himself in an authoritarian manner and to his equating Bad with the Republicans and Good with the Democrats. The manner in which he used Authority while linking the Republicans with Bad is ably demonstrated in his speech at Oklahoma City on September 28.

I charge that the Republicans have impeded and made more difficult our efforts to cope with communism in this country.

I charge that they have hindered the efforts of the FBI, which has been doing wonderful work in protecting the national security.<sup>31</sup>

The Democratic Party stands for the people and our attitude towards the issues is controlled by principle. The Republican Party is concerned with the rights of the selfish and wealthy interests, and they demonstrate this by taking the fight of the privileged few against the people everytime they get a chance.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup>Oklahoma City, September 28, Truman, 1948, p. 609.

<sup>32</sup>Dallas, September 27, Truman, 1948, p. 589.

As Table XL shows, Dewey displayed the greater strength in the two areas where the differences were of a slightly significant size--Rationality and Resoluteness. Dewey's strength on the area of Rationality came primarily from his frequent use of the component Thought-Form. On this concept, Dewey tended to emphasize such words as "problems," "belief," "ideals," and "facts." Truman tended to emphasize such words as "fact" and "why." Dewey was concerned with what he defined as problems facing the nation. He also talked of his belief in traditional ideals of Americans and free people. Therefore, he referred to "problems" an average of three times per speech and to either "belief" or "ideals" one time per speech. Truman rarely used these terms. Both candidates spoke of the "facts" but, of course, they differed as to what the "facts" were. However, both men averaged two references per speech to the "facts." Truman tended to pose questions with the word "why," a technique that Dewey rarely used. Truman was particularly adept at asking "why" and then answering his own question. He averaged one "why" question per speech.

Dewey's slightly larger score on the component of Think was due to his use of such words as "understand," "believe," "solve," and "know." While Truman used basically the same words, Dewey used most of them with a greater frequency. Dewey's per speech average for these words as compared to Truman's is: "understand"--one to less than one, "believe"--three to one, "solve"--one to less than one, and

TABLE XL  
 MEAN INDEX SCORES OF SPEECHES FROM FIRST CAMPAIGN  
 TOUR ON THE SLIGHTLY SIGNIFICANT  
 AREAS OF CONTENT

	Truman Mean	Dewey Mean	Per Cent of Difference
Rationality	2.00	2.43	21.5
Thought-Form	.55	.87	58.2
Think	1.16	1.19	2.6
Cause	.30	.38	26.7
Resoluteness	3.56	4.14	16.3
Attempt	.32	.37	15.6
Ought	.55	.50	10.0
Sign-Strong	2.69	3.27	21.6

"know"--six to five. However, Truman offset part of this with more frequent references to the term "think," by calling upon his audience to remember the past, and by asking them to decide for themselves what they wanted. Truman averaged two references per speech to "think" as compared to Dewey's one. Also, while Dewey rarely used references to remember or to decisions, Truman made such references an average of one per speech.

Dewey's strength on the component of Cause came from his more frequent use of cause-effect words such as "cause," "result," "essential," "necessary," and "establish." Dewey averaged two citations per speech to "cause," and one citation per speech to either "result," "essential," "necessary," or "establish." With the exception of "result," Truman rarely used any of these words. Truman, however, did use such words as "result," "effect," and "because." He averaged one reference to either "result" or "effect" per speech and three references per speech to "because." Dewey rarely used the word "effect" and averaged two references per speech to "because."

An inspection of the area of Resoluteness reveals that Dewey's larger score was caused primarily by his greater emphasis on Sign-Strong. Dewey's references of a Sign-Strong nature were primarily to what America was capable of doing under the right leadership. Dewey used such words as "are," "can," and "will" in a manner to show capacity for action. Usually these three words were coupled with the



pronoun "we" to indicate what the Republicans and the people could or would do.

We will rediscover the essential unity of our people and the spiritual strength which makes our country great. We will begin to move forward again shoulder to shoulder toward an even greater America and a better life for every American, in a nation working effectively for the peace of the world.

. . . . .  
 . . . You and I know that we can surmount our unhappy times by a restoration of our ideals and faith in our country.

We know that because we are Americans.<sup>33</sup>

Truman also used "are," "can," and "will" to convey strength, but less frequently than did Dewey. However, Truman made frequent use of the one term that reflected capacity for action that Dewey did not use--"fight." Truman saw the campaign as a fight and he told his audiences this an average of two times per speech.

The Democratic Party is the party of the people. We are fighting with all our strength to prevent the gluttons of privilege from swallowing up the country. We are fighting the battle of the West, because it is the battle of all the country. We are fighting the battle of the farmer and the worker and the small businessman, because that is the battle of all the people.<sup>34</sup>

I came to Texas because I am engaged in one of the toughest political fights with which this country has ever been faced, . . .<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup>Des Moines, September 20, Dewey, 1948, pp. 639-640.

<sup>34</sup>Address at the Mormon Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 21, 1948, Truman, 1948, p. 534.

<sup>35</sup>Dallas, September 27, Truman, 1948, p. 588.

Dewey's higher score on the component of Attempt can be attributed to his use of a larger number of words and his more frequent use of them. Also Dewey used some words in this category that Truman did not use. Among these were: "striving," "endeavor," and "seek." Some examples of his use of Attempt are found in his speeches at Rock Island, Illinois, and Phoenix, Arizona.

. . . , we will endeavor during these months ahead to let every nation on earth know that out of this campaign there is no profit for aggressors.<sup>36</sup>

Later at Phoenix he stated that atomic energy had ". . . filled the peace we are striving for with the prospect of vastly increased blessings."<sup>37</sup>

Truman's slightly larger score on the component of Ought was due to his more frequent statements conveying what the voters must do, something that Dewey rarely did.

You must, if you want this country to go forward, you must always be sure that you have people in control of the Government whose interest is yours and not the special interests who want special privilege in everything that takes place.

Now, in order to prevent that, you must elect men like Senator Paul Douglas here in Illinois, . . .<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Rock Island, Illinois, September 20, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

<sup>37</sup>Phoenix, September 23, Dewey, 1948, p. 650.

<sup>38</sup>Rock Island, Illinois, September 18, Truman, 1948, p. 493.

As indicated on Table XLI, Truman dominates three of the four areas which display a significant difference between the means--Belligerence by 157.1 per cent, Issue Orientation by 67.4 per cent, and Emotional Appeal by 42.1 per cent. Dewey was the larger on the remaining area--Legitimacy by 57.0 per cent.

The same table also shows that Truman has the larger scores on all three components of Emotional Appeal--Emotion, Arousal, and Urge. A distinct difference between the candidates emerged on the concept of Urge. Truman urged the voters to go to the polls on election day and there defeat the Republicans.

There is one way to stop them /Reactionaries, big business and Republicans/.

And that is to get out on election day and vote. And make every vote count.

This election concerns the security of your homes and your lives and your jobs next year, and the year after and the year after that.

Search your minds and your hearts. Is it to be another era of fear under the Republican reactionaries, or another era of hope under liberal Democratic administrations.<sup>39</sup>

Now, when you get to the polls on November the 2nd, all you need to do to see that you are safe is not only to vote for me and your Democratic candidates for senator and representatives--you must vote for yourselves, and when you do that, you'll vote the Democratic ticket straight and the country will be saved.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup>Carbondale, Illinois, September 30, Truman, 1948, p. 652.

<sup>40</sup>Deming, New Mexico, September 25, Truman, 1948, pp. 569-570.

TABLE XLI  
 MEAN INDEX SCORES OF SPEECHES FROM FIRST CAMPAIGN  
 TOUR ON THE SIGNIFICANT AREAS OF CONTENT

	Truman Mean	Dewey Mean	Per Cent of Difference
Belligerence	5.22	2.03	157.1
Attack	.95	.40	137.5
Anger	.60	.11	445.5
Sign-Reject	3.60	1.47	144.9
Expel	.08	.05	60.0
Issue Orientation	14.18	8.47	67.4
Political	6.81	3.98	71.1
Economic	2.60	1.68	54.8
Specific-Issues	4.76	2.81	69.4
Legitimacy	3.72	5.84	57.0
Ideal-Value	1.36	3.56	161.8
Past-Tradition	2.36	2.29	3.0
Emotional Appeal	3.78	2.66	42.1
Emotion	2.22	1.91	16.2
Arousal	.91	.15	506.7
Urge	.65	.61	6.6

All I ask is that every one of you here-- and all your friends and neighbors--look at the record, and vote not necessarily for me--vote for yourselves. Vote for the welfare of the country. Vote for the future of this great Nation by voting the Democratic ticket straight on the 2nd of November.<sup>41</sup>

Dewey's use of Urge differed as he rarely referred to the election or appealed for the support of the voters. When he did ask for support in the election, it was by implication rather than by direct request.

We can and we will bring to this government of ours a new sense of vigor and of competence, . . . This new administration will firmly and strongly build for the peace of the world and, for a change, it will lead from strength. With your help we'll start next January.<sup>42</sup>

Dewey's use of Urge primarily concerned the good of the country and how the nation needed to be united behind an administration that served for the good of the entire country.

We'll restore our faith in ourselves, we'll restore the belief that was so long held by Americans if we're left alone and have a friendly and co-operative government, there is nothing on earth that we can't do. If you believe with me that that is the objective for our country, I earnestly hope that every one of you will take a personal part in this campaign and even if you disagree with us, please listen, and you may decide we're right. Because right or wrong on any

---

<sup>41</sup>Evansville, Indiana, September 30, Truman, 1948, p. 645.

<sup>42</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Warrensburg, Missouri, October 2, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

particular thing, there can be no doubt about the essential rightness of the great purpose we are setting out to do and that's to bring competence and honesty and clean American administration to the government in Washington to unite our people and to go forward in the years ahead.<sup>43</sup>

Tonight we enter upon a campaign to unite America. On January 20, we will enter upon a new era. We propose to install in Washington an Administration which has faith in the American people, and a warm understanding of their needs and the competence to meet them. We will rediscover the essential unity of our people and the spiritual strength which makes our country great. We will begin to move forward again shoulder to shoulder toward an ever greater America and a better life for every American, in a nation working effectively for the peace of the world.

This is my pledge to my fellow-citizens, the declaration of the principles and purposes of your next administration:

I pledge to you that as President, every act of mine will be determined by one principle above all others: Is this good for our country?<sup>44</sup>

Truman greatly outdistanced Dewey on the use of Arousal. This was caused primarily because Dewey rarely used Arousal. However, the candidates differed greatly in the way they used the concept. Truman referred to the Republicans, what they had done and what they would do, as subject matter for his arousing statements.

---

<sup>43</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Rock Island, Illinois, September 20, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

<sup>44</sup>Des Moines, September 20, Dewey, 1948, p. 639.

You can't get the benefit of low-cost power by dealing with outfits like that. The private power lobby is holding you up and the Republican controlled Congress is helping to do it.

. . . . .

The Republicans who control the Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate, on which the future of this great project /Central Valley Authority power transmission lines/ depends, are not Californians.

They are not Westerners.

They are Eastern Republicans.

They belong to the dominant element of the Republican Party.<sup>45</sup>

--But the party of privilege was ready to carry big business through the crisis. It created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for that purpose. The banks, the railroads, the insurance companies--they got relief, but not the American people.

--For the unemployed, it was Hoovervilles and soup kitchens.<sup>46</sup>

Now, why do you want to throw all that /farm prosperity/ out the window? You have a good chance to do it, if you don't go to the polls and vote and let these birds know where you stand.

They'll tear you apart. I can prove that they have it in mind to sabotage the farm programs.<sup>47</sup>

They have sent out their best orators to make high sounding speeches and to make big promises. But the road down which they are trying to lead you is the same road that nearly led us to ruin in 1930.

You cannot afford to let these reactionaries have their way. Already, the big

---

<sup>45</sup>Oakland, California, September 22, Truman, 1948, pp. 547-548.

<sup>46</sup>Address in Charleston, West Virginia, October 1, 1948, Truman, 1948, p. 671.

<sup>47</sup>Colton, California, September 24, Truman, 1948, p. 562.

business Republicans have begun to nail the American consumer to the wall with the spikes of greed.

Are you going to let them get away with it?<sup>48</sup>

Dewey's less frequent use of Arousal tended to deal with the subjects of peace and the problems confronting the American society.

Never let anyone tell you that America's unfinished job is too big. Never let anyone tell you that we can meet our problems only by surrendering to the methods of the police state.<sup>49</sup>

Now let's squarely face up to the facts about inflation. We can lick this problem. The American people can lick any problem if they understand it and tackle it together.<sup>50</sup>

Whatever the verdict of history, there is one thing on which I am sure you and I will all agree: There must not be another Munich.

. . . . .  
Our foreign policy in this troubled world can no longer be a passive thing--a negative thing. We will wage peace with all the vigor, imagination, skill and energy with which we waged war.

Today in the cause of peace and freedom, we are the decisive world power.<sup>51</sup>

On the concept of Emotion, Truman's greater score was due to his references to the Republicans and their activities. Truman made many emotional appeals for the voters to remember who was responsible for the depression, who

---

<sup>48</sup>Carbondale, Illinois, September 30, Truman, 1948, p. 652.

<sup>49</sup>Des Moines, September 20, Dewey, 1948, p. 641.

<sup>50</sup>Albuquerque, September 22, Dewey, 1948, p. 646.

<sup>51</sup>Salt Lake City, September 30, Dewey, 1948, pp. 670-671.



controlled the "do-nothing" Eightieth Congress, and who was fighting the special interests for the good of the people.

The record of the Republican 80th Congress is on long attack on the welfare of the farmer.

Under the Democratic administrations since 1933, the government sponsored the great soil conservation programs which helped to lay the foundations for the present prosperity of the American farmer. But that "do-nothing" Republican Congress, under the false mask of economy, cut and threatened to kill the soil conservation program.<sup>52</sup>

Did the Republicans give us unity in our fight against monopoly? Well, of course not. That's not the kind of unity they believe in.<sup>53</sup>

I'm calling this trip a crusade. It's a crusade of the people against the special interests, and if you back me up we're going to win that crusade.<sup>54</sup>

However, Dewey did make more frequent use of certain emotionally oriented words than did Truman. This was particularly true of "fear," "hope," and "communism." Dewey's per speech average for these terms was one, two, and four respectively while Truman's average was less than one, one, and two. Also, Dewey did not make the same type of emotional appeals in his speeches as did Truman. And, he did not make these appeals as frequently as Truman did. Furthermore, Truman's emotional appeals were partisan and oriented toward the self interest of the voters. Dewey's appeals, however, were slanted to a sense of nationalism.

---

<sup>52</sup>Dexter, Iowa, September 18, Truman, 1948, p. 507.

<sup>53</sup>Address in Louisville, Kentucky, September 30, 1948, Truman, 1948, pp. 656-657.

<sup>54</sup>Sacramento, September 22, Truman, 1948, p. 540.

But it is part of my faith in America to believe that with the restoration of faith in ourselves, of competence in our government, of unity of purpose among us there is nothing as a people we cannot do.

. . . . .  
 . . . You and I know that we can surmount our unhappy times by a restoration of our ideals and faith in our country.

We know that because we are Americans. It is no accident that our country stands like a beacon of hope to all the world.

. . . . .  
 . . . We are the last, best hope of earth.<sup>55</sup>

Every time a public figure in America makes an appeal to special interest--whether it's an economic or a sectional or a group interest--the bonds of our national unity weakened. We will not forget that lesson. The job ahead will not be easy. But it must be done. With everything we have, we are dedicated to doing it.

. . . . .  
 We are not going to cut off or divide any group or sect or section from the rest of America. We are going to move forward to a new unity for all America and with every American.<sup>56</sup>

As Table XLI points out, Dewey has the greater score on the area of Legitimacy--fifty-seven per cent. However, Dewey did not dominate both of the concepts which comprise Legitimacy. His score on Ideal-Value was significantly larger (161.8 per cent), while Truman's score on Past-Tradition was greater by an insignificant amount (three per cent). Dewey's high score on the Ideal-Value concept was caused by frequent use of words such as "America," "free," "freedom," "peace," and "faith." Truman also used these

---

<sup>55</sup>Des Moines, September 20, Dewey, 1948, pp. 640-641.

<sup>56</sup>Los Angeles, September 24, Dewey, 1948, pp. 652, 654.

words in the context of Ideal-Value. However, Dewey's per speech average use of the terms was noticeably greater than that of Truman. Dewey's averages were: "America"--fourteen, "free"--three, "freedom"--four, "peace"--six, and "faith"--one. Truman averaged three references per speech to "America." And while he did use the other terms in his speeches, Truman's per speech average for the four was less than one.

Truman had the slightly higher score on Past-Tradition. This was due in part to frequent references to his party, past programs, and the American people. Both candidates referred to people cited by name with equal frequency--four times per speech. However, nineteen per cent of Truman's references to people cited by name were complimentary statements concerning past presidents such as Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Grover Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, and Franklin Roosevelt. Dewey did not refer to any past presidents by name--complimentary or otherwise. Truman referred to his party an average of four times per speech while Dewey cited his party only two times per speech. Truman also talked of acceptable past programs an average of two times per speech while Dewey averaged only one such reference.

When referring to the American people as a collective group with group values and ideals, Dewey spoke of the "American people" an average of two times per speech, "our people" three times per speech, and "the people" two times

per speech. Or, of Dewey's total references to America people as a group, 45.3 per cent were to "our people," 28.5 per cent to "American people," and 26.2 per cent to "the people." Truman averaged less than one reference per speech to "American people" and "our people." However, he averaged seven references per speech to "the people." Of his total references, 5.9 per cent were to "our people," 9.7 per cent to "American people," and 84.4 per cent to "the people."

Table XLI also shows that Truman dominated the area of Issue Orientation by 67.4 per cent. And, his scores were significantly greater than those of Dewey on the three components of Issue Orientation: Political--71.1 per cent, Economic--54.8 per cent, and Specific-Issues--69.4 per cent. References to the Political concept can be divided into two categories: those to political processes and those to the government. While both candidates made references to the two categories, Truman tended to concentrate on political processes while Dewey tended toward governmental references. Truman's per speech average was three to legislation (including the words "bills" and "acts"), two to "election," three to "voting," one to "lobby," and five to "congress." Dewey averaged considerably less than one per speech to any of these terms. However, Dewey did exceed Truman in governmental citations. Dewey averaged six references per speech to "government" and six per speech to "administration." These concerned either good, bad, present, or future

governments and administrations. Truman averaged two references per speech each to "government" and "administration."

Truman also outdistanced Dewey on the Economic concept. He spoke frequently of "prices," "costs," "inflation," "appropriations," "wages," "trade," and "depression." While Dewey also talked of "prices," "costs," and "inflation," he rarely spoke of "appropriations," "wages," "trade," or "depression."

Truman's greater score on the concept of Specific-Issues was due to frequent references to a greater number of issues. When a list of all issues cited an average of at least one time per speech is compiled, Truman has fourteen issues while Dewey has twelve. As Table XLII shows, five of these issues were shared by the candidates--conservation, high prices, communism, agriculture, and inflation. However, the candidates did not agree as to who was to accept the credit for the successes in these areas and who was to be blamed for the failures. Each held his own party to be responsible for the successes and blamed the opposition for the failures.

However, the real issues were not among the common five. Dewey concentrated on what the next administration--his proposed administration--could do for the internal unity of America and for the peace of the world. Truman campaigned against the Republicans, the Eightieth Congress, and, as he saw them, the Republicans' cohorts--special interests,

TABLE XLII  
 FREQUENCY OF SPECIFIC ISSUES IN THE SPEECHES  
 OF THE FIRST CAMPAIGN TOUR:  
 SEPTEMBER 17 TO OCTOBER 2

Issues	Truman	Dewey
Oil Shortage		1
Atomic Energy and Atomic Bomb		1
Truman Administration		1
Team and Teamwork		1
Unity		4
Next Administration (Dewey's)		4
Peace		6
Conservation	3	1
High Prices	3	2
Communism	2	4
Agriculture	6	2
Inflation	1	2
Republicans	13	
Eightieth Congress	6	
Special Interests and Privilege	3	
Big Business and Wall Street	3	
Lobbies	1	
Housing	2	
Education	2	
Labor	1	
Cost of Living	1	

special privilege, big business, wall street financiers, and the lobbies.<sup>57</sup>

Table XLI also shows that the area with the greatest difference between the candidates' means is Belligerence. Not only did Truman have the larger overall score (by 157.1 per cent), he also outdistanced Dewey on the four components of Belligerence: Attack--137.5 per cent, Anger--445.5 per cent, Sign-Reject--144.9 per cent, and Expel--sixty per cent.

In the Attack concept, Truman stressed the fight against those who threatened the nation. Truman told the people that together they were fighting the Republicans and their allegedly sinister accomplices.

This is a hard fight ahead. We shall have to fight the slick political propoganda of the special interests and the Republican leadership.

We shall have to fight the millions of dollars that Wall Street is pouring into the treasury of the Republican Party.

We shall have to fight the Republican undercover sabotage of the West.

But we of the Democratic Party are eager for that fight. In fact, I am taking it to them right now.<sup>58</sup>

Some things are worth fighting for. We have to fight the special interests lobbies instead of being "unified" by them. We must

---

<sup>57</sup>The list of issues for the first campaign tour is nearly the same as the compilation for the period before October 5. And, all the averages are nearly the same. The major difference is that Truman has one more issue in the pre-October 5 period--the Taft-Hartley Act with an average of one reference per speech. Appendix C provides a list of the Truman issues for the periods before and after October 5.

<sup>58</sup>Denver, September 20, Truman, 1948, p. 521.

fight isolationists and reactionaries, the profiteers and the privileged few.

The way to fight it is to fight them with votes.<sup>59</sup>

I intend to fight on this line no matter what the monopolists and their congressional henchmen may do about it.<sup>60</sup>

Truman also attacked the Republicans and their cohorts in other ways. For example, he vigorously slashed out at them and he did not hesitate to label them as reactionaries, gluttons of privilege, mossbacks, and puppets of special interests.

The Wall Street reactionaries are not satisfied with being rich. They want to increase their power and their privileges, regardless of what happens to the other fellow. They are gluttons of privilege.

These gluttons of privilege are now putting up fabulous sums of money to elect a Republican administration.

Why do you think they are doing that? For the love of the Republican candidate? Or do you think it is because they expect a Republican administration to carry out their will, as it did in the days of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover?

I think we know the answer. I think we know that Wall Street expects the money this year to elect a Republican administration that will listen to the gluttons of privilege first, and to the people not at all.

Republican reactionaries want an administration that will assure privileges for big business, regardless of what may happen to the rest of the Nation.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup>Bonham, Texas, September 27, Truman, 1948, p. 593.

<sup>60</sup>Sacramento, September 22, Truman, 1948, p. 541.

<sup>61</sup>Dexter, Iowa, September 18, Truman, 1948, pp. 504-



With a majority of Democrats in Congress, these Eastern Republican mossbacks will be removed from their chairmanships on the first day of the new Congress.<sup>62</sup>

At every point, that Republican-dominated Congress has shown itself to be the legislative puppet of the most reactionary forces in American life, the puppet of big business, the puppet of the special lobbies--the real estate lobby, the power lobby, the grain speculators' lobby, and many others I could name.<sup>63</sup>

Truman also attacked the Republicans and the Eightieth Congress for things they did and for things they did not do but should have done. To Truman, Republicans were almost incapable of doing anything that was right for the people.

Let us look at the results of that change [the congressional elections of 1946]. This Republican Congress has already stuck a pitchfork in the farmer's back.

They have already done their best to keep the price supports from working.<sup>64</sup>

Selfish men have always tried to skim the cream from our natural resources to satisfy their own greed. And they have always sought to control the Government in order to accomplish this. Their instrument in this effort has always been the Republican Party.

For the last 2 years, that Republican 80th Congress, listening obediently to the voice of its masters, has sabotaged industrial development of the West.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup>Oakland, California, September 22, Truman, 1948, p. 548.

<sup>63</sup>Carbondale, Illinois, September 30, Truman, 1948, p. 651.

<sup>64</sup>Dexter, Iowa, September 18, Truman, 1948, p. 506.

<sup>65</sup>Salt Lake City, September 21, Truman, 1948, p. 531, 533.

This is a great and growing city [Los Angeles].

People are pouring into it every day. But the supply of houses is pitifully inadequate. Why? The real estate lobby and the Republican Party in Congress have seen to that.<sup>66</sup>

What did this puppet Congress do? They passed the reactionary Taft-Hartley Act. Instead of improving the Wagner Act as I recommended, they cut and hacked away at the workers' newly won rights. The Taft-Hartley Act is the way backward, not forward. It's the Republican way.<sup>67</sup>

When Dewey used Attack, it was aimed at the communists and the Truman administration. However, his attacks were of a different nature than those of Truman. Dewey did not label those he attacked with any colorful names. His attacks on the Truman administration were statements and questions concerning the honesty, loyalty, and competence of its members. He did this, however, without identifying any individuals by name.

Our present inflation danger is greatly aggravated by the mistaken policies, bad management and poor judgement of the Federal government which for years has been moving heaven and earth trying to bring on just such an inflation as we are now suffering from.

. . . . .  
 . . . Why do you suppose it is that almost every time one of those Communists or fellow travellers gets fired--and a few of them have been--he turns up in another Federal job. We, one reason is

---

<sup>66</sup>Los Angeles, September 23, Truman, 1948, p. 556.

<sup>67</sup>Carbondale, Illinois, September 30, Truman, 1948, p. 651.

that there are too many Federal jobs. And that fact is not a red herring. There is too much loose and sloppy budgeting, too little business management and too much plain waste.<sup>68</sup>

In the two and a half years following the end of the war, we provided some twenty billion dollars of foreign aid. Much of that money was wasted behind the Iron Curtain--much of it was squandered by clear incompetence.

. . . . .  
 . . . The tragedy is that the Administration fumbled and hesitated and chose neither of the courses [continue price controls or end them]. Instead it took counsel of its fears and shortly after V-J Day publicly predicted that America was headed for an economic collapse.<sup>69</sup>

Truman also dominated the concept of Sign-Reject.

With this concept, both men tended to follow the same themes as they had in Attack. Truman continued to reject the Republicans, the Eightieth Congress, and their actions.

The country was driven into depression by the policies of a Republican administration and a Republican Congress that served the selfish interests of the rich and powerful business groups.<sup>70</sup>

The Republican Party always was for special interests, and it hasn't changed a bit. They know that the leaders of the Republican Party in Washington will listen to them and do their chores.<sup>71</sup>

Dewey continued to reject the Truman administration, communists, and anything that was not good for America.

---

<sup>68</sup>Albuquerque, September 22, Dewey, 1948, pp. 646-647.

<sup>69</sup>San Francisco, September 25, Dewey, 1948, pp. 656-657.

<sup>70</sup>Charleston, West Virginia, October 1, Truman, 1948, p. 672.

<sup>71</sup>Sacramento, September 22, Truman, 1948, p. 540.

Unless we vitalize our generosity [the European Recovery Program] with this practical purpose [to build up free governments], we shall be simply frittering away the billions we are sending overseas. It is useless to review the failure to make sufficient progress in the three years since V-J Day. What is important is that we start to make greater progress now.<sup>72</sup>

To meet the problems of inflation, Russia simply took away nine-tenths of the money of her people. There are even people in our own country who say we can solve our problems by a similar drastic procedure. That, of course, is sheer nonsense. . . .

. . . . Yet there are some people who actually believe the communists are doing some good. They never have yet and they never will.<sup>73</sup>

Those policies [discouraging production to raise prices] have reflected the administration's basic lack of understanding of the simple fundamentals of our economic system and its tragic lack of faith in the future of America. The unhappy results of these policies are continuing even to this very day and they are the sole responsibility of the present national administration and it cannot pass the blame to anyone else.<sup>74</sup>

On the concept of Anger, Truman's much greater mean was due primarily to two factors. First, Truman expressed anger on a much wider range of subjects than did Dewey. Second, Dewey rarely voiced anger. While Truman's angry statements were aimed primarily at the Republicans, the Eightieth Congress, and those groups associated with them, he also spoke sharply to the voters--something Dewey did not

---

<sup>72</sup>Salt Lake City, September 30, Dewey, 1948, p. 672.

<sup>73</sup>Albuquerque, September 22, Dewey, 1948, pp. 647-648.

<sup>74</sup>San Francisco, September 25, Dewey, 1948, p. 656.

do. Truman laid the blame for the Eightieth Congress squarely upon the shoulders of the voters and warned that if that Congress was re-elected it would be their fault.

I wonder how many times you have to be hit on the head before you find out who's hitting you? It's about time that the people of America realize what the Republicans have been doing to them.<sup>75</sup>

As I told you a while ago, just one-third of the people voted--a light vote in 1946, and you see what you got. You got the Republican 80th "do-nothing" Congress.

Now, if you are going to stay at home again--if you are going to shirk your public duty again, that is what you will get again, and that is just exactly what you will deserve.<sup>76</sup>

And if you stand around on election day and let them get away with it, you'll get just exactly what you deserve, as you did in 1946.<sup>77</sup>

You know what you did in 1946. Two-thirds of you stayed at home--and look what you got. You got just what you deserved.<sup>78</sup>

Incompetent government and communism seemed to be the big factors which caused Dewey's infrequent statements of aggravation. Not only were his statements less frequent than Truman's, they were also milder with considerably less passion.

---

<sup>75</sup>Dexter, Iowa, September 18, Truman, 1948, p. 505.

<sup>76</sup>Rock Island, Illinois, September 18, Truman, 1948, p. 493.

<sup>77</sup>Pueblo, Colorado, September 20, Truman, 1948, p. 513.

<sup>78</sup>Springfield, Missouri, September 29, Truman, 1948, p. 632.

That was the day, the very same tragic day, that the American people were told that the exposure of communism in our government is a "red herring."<sup>79</sup>

Our present inflation danger is greatly aggravated by the mistaken policies, bad management and poor judgement of the Federal government. . . .<sup>80</sup>

Truman also has the larger mean on the concept of Expel. However, both candidates rarely used Expel. On the occasions in which he did use it, Truman called for the expulsion of the Eightieth Congress and the repudiation of its undesirable acts.

With a majority of Democrats in Congress, these Eastern Republican mossbacks will be removed from their chairmanships on the first day of the new Congress.<sup>81</sup>

I vetoed the Taft-Hartley Act, and I will do everything in my power to get this vicious, anti-labor legislation wiped off the statute books.<sup>82</sup>

When Dewey used Expel, it dealt with the removal of the Truman administration from power. He coupled his Expel with comments about that administration's abilities.

There is only one way to get rid of these defeatists in our national government and that is to have a clean sweep with the election of a Republican administration next November.<sup>83</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup>Des Moines, September 20, Dewey, 1948, p. 641.

<sup>80</sup>Albuquerque, September 22, Dewey, 1948, p. 646.

<sup>81</sup>Oakland, California, September 22, Truman, 1948, p. 548.

<sup>82</sup>Huntington, West Virginia, October 1, Truman, 1948, p. 668.

<sup>83</sup>San Francisco, September 25, Dewey, 1948, p. 657.

I propose that beginning next January 20th, we have the biggest, toughest, most successful un-snarling, unravelling, housecleaning that our government ever got.<sup>84</sup>

This analysis of the campaign tour shows that the characteristics of Truman's rhetoric defined in the preceding chapters also characterize his speeches during the first tour--Belligerence, Issue Orientation, and Emotional Appeal. One area which was previously defined as a strong characteristic of Dewey's rhetoric (Legitimacy) also characterizes these speeches. Two other areas on which Dewey had earlier showed a smaller amount of strength are also characteristics of his first tour--Rationality and Resoluteness. However, Truman's strong dominance of Belligerence, Issue Orientation, and Emotional Appeal give his campaign tour more of the appearance of a Crusader than Legitimacy, Rationality, and Resoluteness give Dewey's the appearance of an Adman.

To summarize briefly, the three analyses disclose distinct differences between the two candidates. The first analysis finds that only one candidate, Dewey, significantly changed the tempo of his campaign during the last month. The second analysis shows that during the later period the levels of emphasis in the candidates' rhetoric did draw somewhat closer together as the differences between some of the means decreased in size. However, they still remained

---

<sup>84</sup>Address by Governor Thomas E. Dewey at Rock Island, Illinois, September 20, 1948, Thomas E. Dewey File, Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File, Truman Library.

significantly different. The third analysis reveals that the first campaign tour reflected generally the same patterns that characterized the entire campaign.

The most interesting finding of these analyses is that of the first, in the later part of the campaign Dewey increased his emphasis on six of nine areas while Truman gained strength on only one. Although Dewey significantly added emphasis to two areas that were Truman characteristics (Belligerence and Issue Orientation), his expanded emphasis on those areas which characterized his own rhetoric (Legitimacy, Resoluteness, Rationality, and Acceptability) may have hidden his new belligerent and issue oriented stance from view. However, his campaign style was still that of an Ad-man, and his emphasis on his abilities and his repeated references to traditional idealistic values continued to dominate his rhetoric. The comments of one voter in 1948 tends to substantiate this view. This housewife stated that:

"Toward the end of his campaign he did too much soft-soaping and made too many flowery speeches and turned people against him. He was too highbrow."<sup>85</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup>As quoted in Campbell, p. 16.



## CHAPTER VI

### ANALYSIS OF THE DIFFERENCES WITHIN EACH CANDIDATE'S RHETORIC ACCORDING TO GEOGRAPHIC REGION OF DELIVERY

In the preceding chapters, noticeable differences within each candidate's rhetoric were found between the two types of speeches--major addresses and "whistle-stops." Also, significant variation was noted in the rhetoric of Thomas E. Dewey between the early part of his campaign and those speeches delivered after October 5. Are these the only factors that reflect differences within a candidate's rhetoric? The fourth hypothesis postulated in Chapter I states that a candidate's rhetoric will show variance based on the factor of geography. This is the assumption that a candidate will vary the tempo of his campaign according to the geographic setting of his speeches. Therefore, he would project a different emphasis when speaking to an audience in the Northeast than he would when speaking in the West or the South. This variance of emphasis between geographic regions is a response by the candidate to the varying cultural and political norms in the geographic regions of the nation.

The attention of this chapter will be directed toward an examination of the variance in each candidate's rhetoric based on geographic region. In accordance with the United States Bureau of the Census guidelines, the contiguous states are divided into four major sections containing nine regions. These major sections and their regions are: Northeast--New England (NE) and Middle Atlantic (MA); North Central--East North Central (ENC) and West North Central (WNC); South--South Atlantic (SA), East South Central (ESC), and West South Central (WSC); and West--Mountain (MT) and Pacific (PA).<sup>1</sup>

Both Truman and Dewey gave at least one speech in every region with the exception of South Atlantic, Dewey did not speak in this region.<sup>2</sup> Also, the speeches of each candidate that were media oriented were dropped from the regional study. These speeches were delivered as nation-wide radio broadcasts and the candidate did not face a live audience at the time of delivery. Truman delivered three such speeches: the Democratic Women's Day Broadcast, September

---

<sup>1</sup>U. S. Bureau of Census. U. S. Census of Population: 1950. Vol. II Characteristics of the Population, Part I, United States Summary (Washington, D. C., 1953), p. xi.

<sup>2</sup>It should be pointed out that neither candidate made an effort to campaign through the deep South--they concentrated their efforts in the border states. Neither man spoke in the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Virginia. Truman did make three speeches in the deep South--two in North Carolina and one in Florida--but he did not "whistle-stop" along his route. Appendix D provides a list of the states that comprise the major sections and the regions of the nation.

27; the Broadcast for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, October 21; and the Election Eve Broadcast, November 1.<sup>3</sup> Dewey delivered one media address--the Election Eve Broadcast, November 1.<sup>4</sup> However, the distribution of the remaining speeches over the nine regions is erratic and does not lend itself to providing a suitable degree of validity. Therefore, the detailed examination of all the concepts and components is deleted from this analysis. The variance between the mean index scores on the nine areas of content is the focus of this discussion.

The degree of variance between the geographic regions was gauged for each candidate by comparing each regional mean with the candidate's overall mean index score on each of the nine components of the model. This provides a single standard for the comparison of all regions and converts the difference between the means into a percentage. These percentages are charted for each region on each area of content using a plus and minus system. If the regional mean is 19.1 per cent larger than the overall mean on an area, it will appear as +19.1. If the regional mean is 35.6 per cent

---

<sup>3</sup>Remarks Recorded for Broadcast on Democratic Women's Day, September 27, 1948, Truman, 1948, pp. 579-580; Address on Radio Program Sponsored by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union Campaign Committee, October 21, 1948, Truman, 1948, pp. 828-829; Radio Remarks in Independence on Election Eve, November 1, 1948, Truman, 1948, pp. 939-940.

<sup>4</sup>Address from the National Broadcasting Company Studios, New York City, 9:50 P.M. EST, November 1, 1948, Dewey, 1948, pp. 710-711.

smaller on another area, it will appear as -35.6. If the difference between the regional mean and the overall mean is insignificant, the table is left blank at that space. The tables show, therefore, only those differences of fifteen per cent and larger.

As Table XLIII indicates, there is very little variance in the rhetoric between the four major sectional means and the overall means of the Truman speeches. Two sections--North Central and South--displayed only insignificant differences between their scores and the overall means. The remaining sections--Northeast and West--showed only slightly significant differences on two areas each. The Northeast had larger means on Belligerence and Legitimacy while the West had smaller means on Legitimacy and Issue Orientation. In reality, however, the emphasis Truman placed on the nine areas of content was nearly the same over the four major sections of the nation.

Another pattern emerges in Table XLIV when the regional means are compared with the overall means. However, the number of speeches delivered in two of the regions was quite small--two. While the comparison of means for New England (NE) and East South Central (ESC) appears to be of significance, their small number of speeches make the results questionable. Of the remaining regions, two are readily noticeable--East North Central (ENC) and South Atlantic (SA). The East North Central region reflects a noticeably larger amount of emphasis on four areas of content--Crisis

TABLE XLIII

COMPARISON OF FOUR MAJOR SECTIONAL MEAN INDEX SCORES WITH THE  
OVERALL MEAN INDEX SCORES OF ALL TRUMAN SPEECHES\*

	Northeast (N=7)	North Central (N=10)	West (N=11)	South (N=9)
Crisis Theme				
Belligerence	+17.5			
Absolutism				
Legitimacy	+21.2		-21.2	
Emotional Appeal				
Issue Orientation			-16.4	
Rationality				
Acceptability				
Resoluteness				

\* + indicates amount is per cent greater than overall mean, - indicates amount is per cent less than overall mean, and a blank indicates that the difference is insignificant.

TABLE XLIV

COMPARISON OF TRUMAN REGIONAL MEAN INDEX SCORES WITH THE  
OVERALL MEAN INDEX SCORES OF ALL TRUMAN SPEECHES\*

	NE (N=2)	MA (N=5)	ENC (N=5)	WNC (N=5)	MT (N=7)	PA (N=4)	WSC (N=4)	ESC (N=2)	SA (N=3)
Crisis Theme	+56.4	-58.7	+35.8						
Belligerence	+66.9		+17.0					-29.8	
Absolutism		+15.9				-15.9		-24.9	
Legitimacy	+24.1	+20.3	+24.8	-51.3		-33.9	+17.4	-32.6	-37.8
Emotional Appeal	+16.3							-23.0	
Issue Orientation			+24.4		-25.7				-18.3
Rationality						+15.4			-28.8
Acceptability							+21.2		
Resoluteness				-19.2					-21.2

\*+indicates amount is per cent greater than overall mean, - indicates amount is per cent less than overall mean, and a blank indicates that the difference is insignificant.

Theme, Belligerence, Legitimacy, and Issue Orientation. The South Atlantic region shows a smaller amount of emphasis on four areas--Legitimacy, Issue Orientation, Rationality, and Resoluteness. The greater than average emphasis in the East North Central region gave Truman's rhetoric for that area a definite crusading appearance. There Truman sounded the alarm, moved to the attack, cited the issues, and stressed the rightness of his cause.

Table XLV suggests that noticeable differences exist between Dewey's sectional means and his overall means on at least one area of content in all of the major sections. However, the number of speeches in one section (the South) is very small. Of the remaining sections, the Northeast has the most interesting variances from the overall means. The Northeast section has larger means on four areas that are of noticeable size--Belligerence and Legitimacy are significantly greater while Crisis Theme and Issue Orientation are larger by a slightly significant amount. The scores indicate that this section contains some of Dewey's most Truman-like rhetoric, a greater emphasis on Belligerence and Issue Orientation.

Noticeable variations are indicated in Table XLVI between the regional means and the overall means in all eight of the regions where Dewey spoke. He did not speak in one region--South Atlantic. However, five of the eight remaining regions contain only one or two speeches each. There are only three regions which contain more than two speeches

TABLE XLV

COMPARISON OF FOUR MAJOR SECTIONAL MEAN INDEX SCORES WITH THE  
OVERALL MEAN INDEX SCORES OF ALL DEWEY SPEECHES\*

	Northeast (N=4)	North Central (N=7)	West (N=9)	South (N=2)
Crisis Theme	+15.2	-20.6		+28.0
Belligerence	+29.0			
Absolutism		+16.4		-16.1
Legitimacy	+37.5		-25.4	+39.8
Emotional Appeal				
Issue Orientation	+15.8			+17.1
Rationality				-31.1
Acceptability				
Resoluteness				

\*+ indicates amount is per cent greater than overall mean, - indicates amount is per cent less than overall mean, and a blank indicates that the difference is insignificant.



TABLE XLVI

COMPARISON OF DEWEY REGIONAL MEAN INDEX SCORES WITH THE  
OVERALL MEAN INDEX SCORES OF ALL DEWEY SPEECHES\*

	NE (N=1)	MA (N=3)	ENC (N=2)	WNC (N=5)	MT (N=7)	PA (N=2)	WSC (N=1)	ESC (N=1)	SA (N=0)
Crisis Theme	+28.7			-33.3		+40.2	+62.2		
Belligerence	+24.1	+30.6	+17.1	-24.4	-30.3	+33.5	-23.7		
Absolutism			+23.8			-22.0		-24.4	
Legitimacy	+37.3	+37.6	-25.2		-24.5	-29.0	-28.0	+51.5	
Emotional Appeal	-28.0		+27.8					+15.2	
Issue Orientation	+16.3	+15.7						+44.7	
Rationality								-71.9	
Acceptability			+23.2						
Resoluteness	+31.7					-18.4	+31.2		

\*+indicates amount is per cent greater than overall mean, -indicates amount is per cent less than overall mean, and a blank indicates that the difference is insignificant.

each--Middle Atlantic (MA), three; West North Central (WNC), five; and Mountain (MT), seven. Of these, the Middle Atlantic region is the only one to display means that are larger than those of the overall mean on Belligerence, Legitimacy, and Issue Orientation. West North Central has scores that are smaller than the overall mean on Crisis Theme and Belligerence. The Mountain region has smaller means on Belligerence and Legitimacy. The region that contains Dewey's most Truman-like rhetoric is Middle Atlantic with its greater emphasis on Belligerence and Issue Orientation.

To summarize the analysis, it appears that the amount of emphasis Dewey placed on the components of the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric had more sectional variation than did that of Truman. In fact, Truman's sectional means did not vary in any significant way from his overall means on six of the nine areas of content. The emphasis on these six areas was maintained at a near constant level over all the sections. Only on Belligerence, Legitimacy, and Issue Orientation did Truman reveal any noticeable sectional variations, but only of slightly significant size. Dewey's sectional means varied from his overall means on five areas --with significance on Belligerences and Legitimacy, and with slight significance on Crisis Theme, Absolutism, and Issue Orientation. Dewey's emphasis on the remaining four areas of content remained nearly constant over all the sections.

However, one major section of the nation--the Northeast--received a greater than average amount of emphasis from both candidates, and the emphasis was on the same areas of content--Belligerence and Legitimacy. The difference was that Truman's increases were only slightly significant in size while Dewey's were significant. Also, Dewey increased his emphasis on Crisis Theme and Issue Orientation in the Northeast by a slightly significant amount. It appears that the Northeast with its mass of voting population was considered by both candidates as vitally important to their campaigns. They made a greater than average attempt in the Northeast to get their campaign messages across to the voters. However, it was Dewey who made the greater effort to mold his rhetoric according to the geographic setting of his speeches.

## CHAPTER VII

### ANALYSIS OF THE DIFFERENCES WITHIN EACH CANDIDATE'S RHETORIC ACCORDING TO THE TOPIC OF THE SPEECHES

As noted in the preceding chapters, variance within the rhetoric of the candidates' was found in three comparisons--speech types, time periods, and geographic regions. One question remains to be answered in this study: Did the candidates vary the emphasis in their rhetoric according to the topic of their speeches? The fifth hypothesis postulated in Chapter I states that such a variance will appear when the speeches of a candidate are classified and compared according to their central topics. The basis for this hypothesis is the assumption that candidates will vary the emphasis in their rhetoric to fit the nature of their subject matter. For example, it is assumed that speeches concerning communism would receive a different pattern of emphasis than those concerned with labor or agriculture. If a candidate believed communism to be a grave and immediate threat to the nation, it should receive a greater emphasis on Crisis Theme than would the other topics.

The attention of this chapter will be directed toward an examination of the variance within each candidate's

rhetoric when his speeches are classified according to their major topic. Four speeches were not classified as to subject and were dropped from this analysis. These were each candidate's speech accepting the nomination of his party and each candidate's radio address on the eve of the election. While most of the other speeches touch upon several topics, there is usually one identifying theme around which each is centered. The remaining fifty-nine speeches from the campaign of 1948 were classified according to one of eleven major topics.<sup>1</sup>

However, the distribution of the speeches over the eleven subjects was such that it did not provide an adequate level of validity. Therefore, this discussion of the analysis focuses upon the variance of the topic means from the overall means of each candidate. The procedure for comparing the means is the same as that used in Chapter VI.

The thirty-eight Truman speeches were classified according to one of nine different central themes: Agriculture, the Opposition, Labor, the West (including conservation, reclamation, irrigation, and public power), Economic Conditions, Communism, Education, Civil Rights, and Domestic Issues (speeches that stressed two or more of the preceding topics in an equal manner and were therefore classified as Domestic Issues).

---

<sup>1</sup>Appendix E shows the classification of the speeches by major subject.

The number of speeches for three of the Truman topics is very small--Communism, Education, and Civil Rights. However, as Table XLVII shows, the remaining six topics present several interesting patterns. First, one area of content--Acceptability--displays no noticeable variations over these six topics, while three other areas--Resoluteness, Emotional Appeal, and Absolutism--vary with slight significance on only one subject each. These four areas were maintained at nearly a constant level of emphasis over all of Truman's speeches. Second, three topics are readily noticeable due to the patterns of their variations--the Opposition, Labor, and Economic Conditions.

The subject of the Opposition varies only insignificantly from the overall means on all nine areas of content, it typifies the overall rhetoric of Truman. The topic of Labor displays larger amounts of emphasis than do the overall means on three areas: Belligerence, Legitimacy, and Issue Orientation--all slightly significant amounts. When discussing the Labor issues, Truman increased his attacks on the opposition, stressed his past accomplishments, and spoke often of the issues. At the same time, he maintained a constant level of emphasis on the remaining six areas of content. The subject of Economic Conditions represents the opposite trend from Labor. It has less emphasis than the overall means on three areas--Crisis Theme, Belligerence, and Emotional Appeal. The remaining six areas varied insignificantly on Economic Conditions.

TABLE XLVII

COMPARISON OF TOPIC MEAN INDEX SCORES WITH OVERALL  
MEAN INDEX SCORES OF ALL TRUMAN SPEECHES\*

	Agri- culture (N=6)	Oppo- sition (N=13)	Labor (N=5)	West (N=4)	Eco- nomics (N=3)	Domestic Issues (N=3)	Communi- sism (N=1)	Educa- tion (N=2)	Civil Rights (N=1)
Crisis Theme					-83.3	+20.6	+127.9	+30.9	-111.5
Belligerence			+15.6	+23.9	-21.8			-259.0	-325.4
Absolutism						-16.6		+22.9	+26.4
Legitimacy	-47.0		+23.9				+69.2	-34.7	+189.3
Emotional Appeal					-15.5		+19.7	-20.2	-51.4
Issue Orientation			+22.5				+22.8	-35.5	+18.7
Rationality				-15.5		+15.9			
Acceptability							+23.8	-18.3	+17.8
Resoluteness	-17.3						+22.4		+68.0

\*+indicates amount is per cent greater than overall mean, - indicates amount is per cent less than overall mean, a blank indicates that the difference is insignificant.

When discussing this subject, Truman lessened his stress on impending danger, his attacks on the opposition, and his emotionalism.

The Dewey speeches were classified according to eight major subjects. As Table XLVIII shows, six of these are topics upon which Truman centered speeches--Agriculture, Labor, the West, Economic Conditions, Communism, and Domestic Issues. Also, Dewey delivered several speeches which were concerned with the subject of Good Government, this was his counterpart to Truman's topic of the Opposition. And, Dewey also centered speeches on the issue of Peace. This was a call for a stable, steadfast, and strong foreign policy to bring about international harmony and good will. However as noted in Table XLVIII, the number of speeches for three of these topics is very small--Labor, Economic Conditions, and Communism.

As indicated by Table XLVIII, the remaining five subjects display variations from the overall Dewey means. First, the West received a significantly smaller emphasis on five areas of content--Crisis Theme, Belligerence, Legitimacy, Issue Orientation, and Acceptability. Also it had less emphasis on Emotional Appeal--by a slightly significant amount. In fact, the only areas of content that were not noticeably below average on the West were Absolutism, Rationality, and Resoluteness. When compared with the overall Dewey means, the subject of the West must be considered as a low-key issue for Dewey. A second low-key



TABLE XLVIII

COMPARISON OF TOPIC MEAN INDEX SCORES WITH OVERALL  
MEAN INDEX SCORES OF ALL DEWEY SPEECHES\*

	Agri- culture (N=3)	Good Government (N=5)	Labor (N=1)	West (N=3)	Eco- nomics (N=2)	Domestic Issues (N=3)	Communi- sm (N=1)	Peace (N=3)
Crisis Theme	-43.9	-18.0	+79.9	-65.7	+44.5		+78.1	+17.1
Belligerence	-114.9	-16.7	+72.7	-38.4	+33.1	+59.2	+31.4	
Absolutism	+20.6		-23.7				-37.0	-19.0
Legitimacy	-26.0			-65.8	-25.0	+15.4	-23.5	+37.2
Emotional Appeal			+21.9	-22.2			+20.4	+15.9
Issue Orientation	-18.7		+59.5	-29.0	+34.8	+19.5	-17.5	
Rationality					+20.7			-30.3
Acceptability				-29.6				
Resoluteness							-16.1	

\*+indicates amount is per cent greater than overall mean, - indicates amount is per cent less than overall mean, a blank indicates that the difference is insignificant.

issue for him was Agriculture. This topic contained significantly less emphasis on three areas--Crisis Theme, Belligerence, and Legitimacy--and a slightly significant decline on one area--Issue Orientation. However, a greater emphasis was placed on Absolutism (slightly significant), and the remaining four areas were nearly the same as the overall means.

Third, the subject of Good Government also received less emphasis on two areas of content--Crisis Theme and Belligerence. Although the differences are only slightly significant, the smaller emphasis is interesting considering his two main approaches to the subject. These were his much stated concern that a return to good government was vital and his attacks on the competence, honesty, and loyalty of the Truman administration.

Fourth, the remaining two subjects reflected greater than average emphasis on three of the nine areas. Domestic Issues received greater stress on Belligerence, Legitimacy, and Issue Orientation. Peace displayed greater emphasis on Crisis Theme, Legitimacy, and Emotional Appeal, while reflecting less stress on Absolutism and Rationality. These two topics, with their stress on Belligerence, Issue Orientation, Crisis Theme, and Emotional Appeal, were the most like Truman's rhetoric. However, their continued stress on Acceptability, Resoluteness, and Legitimacy kept them within the Adman style of rhetoric.

To summarize the analysis, Dewey's rhetoric varied between the subjects more than did that of Truman. None of Truman's six major topics varied from the overall mean on more than three areas of content. Of Dewey's five major subjects, two varied on three or less areas while the remaining three varied on five to six areas each. A second way of demonstrating Dewey's greater tendency for variance is that the means of Truman's six major topics showed noticeable variance a total of thirteen times, of which two were of significant size. The means of Dewey's five major topics displayed variance a total of twenty-one times, of which eleven were of significant size. Therefore, it was Dewey who varied his emphasis according to the topics of his speeches. It appears that it was Dewey and his Adman style who attempted to sway the electorate as he tailored his rhetoric to fit the subject of his speeches.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUSIONS

Was Truman's rhetoric in the forty speeches analyzed that of a Crusader? Did Dewey project the image of an Adman in his speeches? Were the five hypotheses postulated in Chapter I concerning the rhetoric correct? The objective of this chapter is to state conclusions drawn from the analysis that will answer these questions. As was stated in Chapter I, the rhetoric of a Crusader, or of an Adman, was expected to reflect certain patterns in the emphasis placed on the components of the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric. It was anticipated that the rhetoric of a Crusader would stress Crisis Theme, Belligerence, Absolutism, Legitimacy, Emotional Appeal, and Issue Orientation, while an Adman would accentuate Legitimacy, Rationality, Acceptability, and Resoluteness. The analysis of the sixty-three speeches from the campaign of 1948 shows that the model did not exactly fit either candidate's rhetoric. However, the model did come very close to predicting the patterns found in the speeches.

An examination of the overall mean index scores reveals that of the areas that characterize the rhetoric of a Crusader Truman clearly emphasized three--Belligerence,

Emotional Appeal, and Issue Orientation, he was dominated by Dewey on one--Legitimacy, and he and Dewey placed the same level of emphasis on the remaining two--Absolutism and Crisis Theme. However, Truman's rhetoric projected its strongest crusading image in his "whistle-stops." In the rhetoric of these messages, Truman placed definite emphasis on Crisis Theme, Belligerence, Emotional Appeal, and Issue Orientation. In fact, aggressive and emotional presentations of the issues were the trademarks of Truman's rhetoric in both the "whistle-stops" and the major addresses. He attacked the opposition, revived memories of the depression, and appealed for votes. He did all of these things as he campaigned on what he believed were the major issues--the Republicans, the Eightieth Congress, and the special interests. Although the model did not fit Truman's rhetoric perfectly, his rhetoric did have definite crusading characteristics. There was little doubt, the Crusader was Harry S. Truman.

Dewey's overall mean index scores displayed definite emphasis on two of the characteristics of an Adman--Legitimacy and Resoluteness. He also displayed noticeable emphasis on the remaining two--Rationality and Acceptability. Also, when the speeches were viewed according to the type of address, Dewey projected the stronger image of an Adman in his major addresses. In these speeches, he placed great emphasis on Legitimacy and lesser, but still noticeable, emphasis on Acceptability and Resoluteness. In fact

throughout all of Dewey's speeches, the only one of the qualities of an Adman that consistently and significantly characterized his rhetoric was Legitimacy. Throughout his campaign, Dewey continually stressed traditional American values and the rightness of his cause. To a lesser extent, he also emphasized his strength, competence, and preception. While the model did not fit Dewey's rhetoric perfectly, it was evident that his rhetoric did project an Adman image. As an Adman, he offered the American electorate a quality product--a better America. All they had to do to obtain it was to accept the first shipment, which was the strong, intelligent, and competent administration of Thomas E. Dewey. The down payment was fair--their votes on election day. And, the installments were reasonable--unity, cooperation, patriotism, and teamwork. Truly, this was the selling of the candidate.

An observation related to the Crusader and Adman images concerns the speeches used as control documents. When they were included in the cluster analysis, the Declaration of Independence was the only one to cluster with the Truman speeches. The rhetoric of Truman's speeches and that of the noted call for revolution were compatible. The remaining control documents (from the presidential campaigns of 1964, 1968, and 1972) clustered with the Dewey speeches. In fact, their scores on the characteristics of the Adman style were very similar to the Dewey scores. Thomas E. Dewey's campaign speeches seemed to be in line with recent

presidential campaigns. The tendency was to place emphasis on personal worthiness rather than on arguments concerning the issues or on emotional castigations of the opposition.

Having concluded that Truman was a Crusader and that Dewey was an Adman, attention shifts to the five hypotheses stated in Chapter I. As originally formulated, these hypotheses concerning the rhetoric were:

1. A basic measurable difference existed between the campaign rhetoric of Harry S Truman and Thomas E. Dewey.
2. The intensity of each candidate's rhetoric varied between the two basic types of speeches delivered during the campaign--major addresses and "whistle-stop" speeches.
3. The intensity of the rhetoric increased during the last month of the campaign.
4. The rhetoric of each candidate varied from one geographic area of the nation to another.
5. The rhetoric of each candidate varied according to the major topics around which individual speeches were centered.

Basically all five hypotheses were found to be correct. The first hypothesis was correct as the rhetoric of Truman and Dewey did display different emphasis. As was stated, Truman's rhetoric was that of a Crusader while Dewey's was that of an Adman. The second hypothesis was also correct as a difference in the intensity of the rhetoric was noted between each candidate's major addresses and his "whistle-stops." In fact, similar patterns of variance emerged for both candidates as each placed greater emphasis in his major addresses on Crisis Theme, Legitimacy, Issue

Orientation, Belligerence, and Resoluteness. For both men, their major addresses contained their greater emphasis on rightness of cause, impending disaster, capacity for action, statement of issues, and belligerent accusation.

The testing of the third hypothesis (the factor of time) provided one of the more interesting results of the study. Both candidates did show a change in the intensity of emphasis during the final weeks of the campaign. However, Truman displayed such a change on only one area (Legitimacy), while Dewey showed a variance on seven areas-- Belligerence, Resoluteness, Legitimacy, Issue Orientation, Crisis Theme, Acceptability, and Rationality. Generally the pattern was one of increased emphasis during the last month of the campaign. The one exception was that Dewey had lower scores on Rationality in the later period. It had been expected that both men would show a general increase in emphasis during the later part of the campaign. However, it appears that Truman reached his peak early in the campaign and maintained that level until the day of the election. While Dewey's scores did reflect a general increase in the later period, this increment did not substantially change the overall profile of the rhetoric. Dewey remained within the Adman style and continued to surpass Truman in emphasis on Legitimacy, Acceptability, and Resoluteness. And, Truman continued to exceed Dewey on Belligerence, Emotional Appeal, and Issue Orientation.



The testing of the fourth hypothesis (the geographic factor) was hampered by a distorted distribution of the speeches over the sectional and regional categories. However, noticeable variations in the emphasis were found to exist in some sections and regions. While Truman's emphasis did have noticeable variations in some of the regional classifications, his emphasis over the major sectional divisions was virtually the same. Dewey, however, displayed a much more pronounced variation over the sections and regions. Again, it was Truman who provided the more constant level of emphasis while Dewey was the more variable of the two.

The fifth hypothesis (major subjects) was also hampered in its testing by the same problem of distribution. Nevertheless, noticeable variations between the major topics were observed in the speeches of both candidates. However, as was the case with the factors of time and geography, the Truman scores projected a more constant level of emphasis while Dewey's scores displayed a greater variance. It would appear that in all three cases it was Dewey who tailored his rhetoric to fit time, place, and subject.

In addition to evidence concerning the Model of Presidential Campaign Rhetoric and the five hypotheses, three other observations pertaining to the rhetoric emerged from the analysis. The first involves the role of the candidates in the rise of McCarthyism. Analysis of the sixty-three speeches from the campaign of 1948 indicates that

consideration should be given to the inclusion of the candidates' rhetoric into the list of antecedents to the rise of McCarthyism. This is particularly true of Dewey as little attention has been given to his relationship to McCarthyism. Analysts of McCarthyism have written that Truman played a substantial part in establishing the climate for McCarthyism through his policy of containment toward the Soviet Union, his rhetoric in foreign policy statements, and the establishment of the President's Temporary Commission on Employee Loyalty.<sup>1</sup> Dewey, however, has been classified as a moderate on the issue of communism, and as one who did not oversimplify the issue into demagoguery.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless while both candidates made sharp statements about communism, it was Dewey who emphasized the danger posed by the sinister forces of communism both at home and abroad. It was Dewey who continually charged the Truman administration with aiding the communists. It was Dewey who charged that the government was infiltrated with communists and fellow travelers. Conversely, it was Truman who repeatedly stressed that communism was not an immediate threat to the nation. He stated that the only threat the communists posed was their hope for a Republican victory in the election. Of

---

<sup>1</sup>Cochran, p. 335; Athan G. Theoharis, Seeds of Repression: Harry S. Truman and the Origins of McCarthyism (Chicago, 1972), p. 31.

<sup>2</sup>Theoharis, Seeds of Repression, p. 115; Harper, p. 73.

the two candidates, however, it was Dewey who played the heavier upon the growing fears concerning communism.

Another observation concerns the position of foreign policy as a campaign issue in 1948. Analysts have stated that Dewey adopted the concept of a bipartisan approach in foreign policy and therefore refrained from making foreign policy a campaign issue, particularly after the blockade of Berlin.<sup>3</sup> However, the analysis indicates that foreign policy was very much an issue in Dewey's speeches. While Dewey did not attack specific foreign policy commitments of the Truman administration, he did keep the issue alive in his addresses. Dewey continually stressed the need for peace in the world, a peace that could only be achieved through the implementation of a type of foreign policy that was not being provided by the Truman administration. He repeatedly accused the Truman administration of being a threat to peace because it was not providing the strong and stable policy needed to defeat communism and insure peace. Consequently, foreign policy was very much a campaign issue for Dewey.

The last observation concerns Truman's campaign style and its implications. While Truman's style was that of a Crusader, his emphasis on Belligerence, Emotional Appeal, and Issue Orientation (and in the "whistle-stops" on Crisis

---

<sup>3</sup>Divine, p. 108; Theoharis, Yalta Myths, pp. 7-8; Ross, p. 168; Cochran, p. 223. Divine provides the most lucid discussion of foreign policy and the Cold War as issues in the campaign of 1948.

Theme) also reflects techniques commonly used by demagogues. These were the emotional exploitation of public anxieties, revival of old fears, and attacks upon allegedly conspiratorial interests.<sup>4</sup> Truman's emotional attacks on the Republicans, and their alleged sinister accomplices, as being the greatest threats facing the people were demagogic. Truman, however, did not recognize them as such. The summer after he left the White House, Truman granted an interview to two professors of speech--Eugene E. White and Clair R. Henderlider. In their published report of the interview, Truman's answers to three of their questions reflect his philosophy concerning campaign speaking.

Q What does the typical audience expect from a speaker?

A People don't listen to a speaker just to admire his techniques or his manner; they go to learn. They want the meat of the speech--a direct statement of the facts and proof that the facts are correct--not oratorical trimmings. Of course, the political speaker must remember that the education of the average man is limited. Therefore, he must make his message as simple and clear as possible. Listeners have to feel a bond with the speaker; they aren't likely to if they believe he is a "high-hat" or "show-off." On the other hand, in working for simplicity one has to avoid "talking down" to the audience.

Q . . . . . Do you make any effort to link your arguments to the basic drives which motivate people?

A I know little about such techniques and have never consciously used them.

Q Perhaps we should rephrase that question. Do you think it wise to make the facts clear and meaningful to the listener by showing that they affect him vitally?

---

<sup>4</sup>Reinhard H. Luthin, American Demagogues: Twentieth Century (Boston, 1954), pp. 302-307.

A I would certainly agree that it is wise. All speakers attempt to do that. That's why speeches are given.<sup>5</sup>

In the forty speeches analyzed in this study, Truman clearly stated the facts and their impact on the voters through techniques that, by any other name, were demagogic. However, it may be that Truman (like Dewey and his emphasis on communism) was only exercising the quality that H. L. Mencken thought existed in varying quantities in every politician--the ability to be a "pumper-up of popular fears and rages."<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, a plurality of the voters in 1948, by their actions at the polls, seem to have agreed with Truman that the Republicans and their allies were a threat to the welfare of the people. Furthermore, it may be as Samuel Lubell speculated, that the people elected Truman because of the enemies he attacked.

Roosevelt's passing removed the common foe who united some Republican elements, while plenty of enemies for the Democrats to vote against survived.

Perhaps that is the moral of the 1948 election--that Americans like to elect their Presidents on the basis of the enemies that they have made. Dewey's fatal error may have been that he did not choose to run against anybody, especially.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup>Eugene E. White and Clair R. Henderlider, "What Harry S. Truman Told Us About His Speaking," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XL, No. 1 (February, 1954), pp. 39-41.

<sup>6</sup>As quoted in Richard H. Rovere, Senator Joe McCarthy (New York, 1959), p. 257.

<sup>7</sup>Lubell, "Who Really Elected Truman?", p. 64.

One fact concerning Truman's emphasis and style in the campaign of 1948 does emerge from the literature; as the years passed, Truman became convinced that his type of campaign was the right way to inform the people on the problems facing them in an election. Once informed, he believed the people would weigh the evidence, agree with you, and support you in the election. In 1956, Truman told Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic presidential nominee, that he had to make himself understood by people.

I walked over to the window and, looking down, saw a man standing at the hotel entrance. I beckoned to Stevenson, and then, pointing below, said: "The thing you have got to do is to learn how to reach that man."

I was trying, as gently as I could, to tell this man--so gifted in speech and intellect and yet so apparently uncertain of himself and remote from the people--that he had to learn how to communicate with the man in the street.<sup>8</sup>

However, it was to President John F. Kennedy that Truman gave his most direct advice concerning campaigns. In August, 1962, he wrote that Kennedy would have no trouble being re-elected providing that: "You meet 'em, cuss 'em, and give 'em hell and you'll win in 1964."<sup>9</sup> As the analysis of forty of his speeches revealed, Truman's statement described his own rhetoric in 1948 perfectly.

---

<sup>8</sup>Harry S Truman, Mr. Citizen (New York, 1960), p. 48.

<sup>9</sup>Harry S Truman to John F. Kennedy, August 11, 1962, as quoted in the Independence Examiner (January 26, 1974), p. 2-B.

## A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

### BOOKS

- Berelson, Bernard. Content Analysis in Communication Research. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952.
- Berman, William C. The Politics of Civil Rights in the Truman Administration. Columbus: Ohio State University, 1970.
- Campbell, Angus, and Robert L. Kahn. The People Elect A President. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, 1952.
- Carney, Thomas F. Content Analysis: A Technique for Systematic Inference From Communications. Winnipeg, Canada: University of Manitoba Press, 1972.
- Cochran, Bert. Harry Truman and the Crisis Presidency. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1973.
- Dollar, Charles M., and Richard J. Jensen. Historian's Guide to Statistics, Quantitative Analysis, and Historical Research. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1971.
- Gerbner, George; Ole R. Holsti; Klaus Krippendorff; William J. Paisley; and Philip J. Stone; Editors. The Analysis of Communication Content. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1969.
- Harper, Alan D. The Politics of Loyalty: The White House and the Communist Issue, 1946-1952, No. 2 of Contributions in American History. Edited by Stanley I. Kutler. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1969.
- Hartmann, Susan M. Truman and the 80th Congress. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971.
- Holsti, Ole R. Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1969.

- Kirkendall, Richard S. "Election of 1948." History of American Presidential Elections, 1789-1968. Edited by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.; Fred L. Isreal; and William P. Hansen. 4 vols. New York: Chelsea House, 1971.
- Lee, Alton R. Truman and Taft-Hartley: A Question of Mandate. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1966.
- Luthin, Reinhard H. American Demagogues: Twentieth Century. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1954.
- Lubell, Samuel. The Future of American Politics. New York: Harper, 1952.
- Matusow, Allen J. Farm Policies and Politics in the Truman Years. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.
- Mayer, George H. The Republican Party, 1854-1964. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- Miller, Merle. Plain Speaking: An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman. New York: Berkley/Putnam, 1973.
- Mooney, Booth. The Politicians: 1945-1960. New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1970.
- Mosteller, Frederick; Herbert Hyman; Philip J. McCarthy; Eli S. Marks; David B. Truman; with Leonard W. Dobb; Duncan MacRae, Jr.; Frederick F. Stephan; Samuel A. Stouffer; and S. S. Wilks. The Pre-Election Polls of 1948: Report to the Committee on Analysis of Pre-Election Polls and Forecasts. Bulletin 60. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1949.
- Phillips, Cabell. The Truman Presidency: The History of a Triumphant Succession. New York: Macmillan, 1966.
- Public Papers of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, 1948. Albany, New York: no publisher, 1949.
- Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1948. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1964.
- Ross, Irwin. The Loneliest Campaign: The Truman Victory of 1948. New York: The New American Library, 1968.
- Rovere, Richard H. Senator Joe McCarthy. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1959.
- Smith, William R. The Rhetoric of American Politics: A Study of Documents. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1969.



Stone, Philip J.; Dexter C. Dunphy; Marshall S. Smith; and Daniel M. Ogilive. The General Inquirer: A Computer Approach to Content Analysis. Cambridge: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1966.

Theoharis, Athan G. Seeds of Repression: Harry S. Truman and the Origins of McCarthyism. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Yalta Myths: An Issue in U. S. Politics, 1945-1955. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1970.

Truman, Harry S. Mr. Citizen. New York: Popular Library, 1960.

U. S. Bureau of Census. U. S. Census of Agriculture: 1950. Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1952.

\_\_\_\_\_. U. S. Census of Population: 1950. Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part I, United States Summary. Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1953.

#### PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS

"The Clark Clifford Memorandum: Three Writers' Observations Regarding a Single Source in the Library's Holdings." Whistle-Stop, II, No. 2 (Spring, 1974), 2.

Divine, Robert A. "The Cold War and the Election of 1948." Journal of American History, LIX, No. 1 (June, 1972), 90-110.

Independence Examiner. January 26, 1974.

Jensen, Richard. "Armies, Admen, and Crusaders: Types of Presidential Election Campaigns." The History Teacher, II, No. 2 (January, 1969), 33-50.

Lubell, Samuel. "Who Really Elected Truman?" Saturday Evening Post, CCXXI, No. 1 (January 22, 1949), 15-17, 54, 56, 58, 61, 64.

White, Eugene E. and Clair R. Henderlinder. "What Harry S. Truman Told Us About His Speaking." Quarterly Journal of Speech, XL, No. 1 (February, 1954), 37-42.

## MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS AND UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

- Broker, Michael John Jr. "The Speech Machine: A Descriptive Study of Speech Preparation Under the Administration of Harry S. Truman." (Unpub. M. A. thesis, Central Missouri State University, 1966.)
- Clark M. Clifford Papers. Harry S Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.
- Cohen, Herman. "A Survey of the Broadcasting by Local Radio Stations of the Speeches of President Harry Truman on the Western Swing of the 1948 Presidential Campaign." (Unpub. M. A. thesis, State University of Iowa, 1949.)
- Curtis, Dan. "A Rhetorical Analysis of Harry S Truman's Use of Proofs from Selected Speeches in the 1948 Presidential Campaign." (Unpub. M. A. thesis, Central Missouri State University, 1966.)
- Democratic National Committee Library Clipping File.  
Harry S Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.
- Hanna, Michael S. "An Examination of the Audience Adaptation of Harry S Truman during the June, 1948, Whistle-Stop Tour." (Unpub. M. A. thesis, Central Missouri State University, 1964.)
- Olmstead, John Martin. "Truman Speaking: The Common Man Image; A Study of Harry S Truman's Campaign Speeches, 1922-1948." (Unpub. M. A. thesis, Central Missouri State University, 1964.)
- Stacy, Bill W. "The Campaign Speaking of Harry S Truman in the 1948 Presidential Election." (Unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Illinois University, 1968.)
- Weiser, John Conrad. "A Survey of the Broadcast of the Local Speeches of Governor Thomas E. Dewey During the Western Campaign Swing--1948." (Unpub. M. A. thesis, State University of Iowa, 1949.)

**APPENDIX A**

**METHODOLOGY: THE HARVARD III PSYCHO-  
SOCIOLOGICAL DICTIONARY AND THE  
INQUIRER II COMPUTERIZED  
CONTENT ANALYSIS  
SYSTEM**

Computerized content analysis presently has two broad categories. The first is mainly word counts or frequency programs. The object of this type of analysis is to find how many times particular words or phrases are used in a document. The frequency of their appearance is then compared to the frequency of all other words or phrases in the document. The second type consists of the utilization of a computerized dictionary. In this case, it is not the frequency of words that is important but the frequency of their meanings--either obvious or implied.<sup>1</sup>

Before the development of computerized content analysis systems, the use of the individual word as a unit of analysis was extremely difficult and time consuming. This was due to the fact that all of the coding, counting, and tabulations had to be done by hand. Therefore, analyses that involved massive amounts of data were usually avoided by the scholars. The use of a computerized system frees the researcher from these laborious and tedious tasks. These types of repetitive operations are ones in which the computer excels. When compared with the human mind, the consistency of the computer, over extended periods of time and over massive data files, is phenomenal. Once freed from these time consuming tasks, the researcher can devote more of his time and thought to postulating his hypotheses, testing them, and formulating his conclusions. As Ole R.

---

<sup>1</sup>Dollar and Jensen, p. 207.

Holsti stated, the computerized systems have made it "easier to 'think big' when doing so doesn't condemn the investigator (or his graduate assistants) to years of thought-numbing drudgery."<sup>2</sup>

The use of the individual word as a unit of analysis is based on the assumption that words have two basic types of meanings--primary or easily recognized meanings and secondary or implied meanings.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, an analysis of content based on the word and using a dictionary provides the broadest base for comparisons of attitudes and themes between documents, speakers, and writers. The computerized dictionary for this study is the Harvard III Psycho-sociological Dictionary. This dictionary was constructed in the early 1960's through a joint project by Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Since then it has been revised several times. Presently it consists of nearly 4,000 commonly used English words that have been assigned one or more of 114 concepts known as tags. It is possible that a word may be assigned as many as twelve tags. These concepts are based on the role theory of sociology and the psychological themes of social-psychology.<sup>4</sup> Words are assigned concepts based on two factors. They are assigned "first order" tags which represent the commonly recognized

---

<sup>2</sup>Holsti, p. 193.

<sup>3</sup>An example of this appears on page 16 of the text.

<sup>4</sup>Stone et al., pp. 170-173; Dollar and Jensen, p. 207.

meaning of the word; and, "second order" tags which represent the implied meanings. For example, the word "doctor" has a "first order" tag of "job-role" and a "second order" tag of "higher-status". The words "ditch-digger" and "garbageman" also have "first order" tags of "job-role." However, "ditch-digger" and "garbageman" have "second order" tags of "lower-status." While all three have the same occupational tag of "job-role," a "doctor" has more social status than a "ditch-digger" or "garbageman."<sup>5</sup> Thus a word can be analyzed according to both its obvious meanings and its implied meanings.

The Inquirer II Content Analysis System consists of a series of computer programs designed to examine a document on a word-by-word basis. In fact, it can be said that the system reads the document. The programs work in conjunction with a computerized dictionary. The first step is the preparation of the documents for the analysis. This requires that each document be coded and punched on to data cards so that it may be read into the computer and stored on a disk. Once the document has been stored in the computer, it is ready for the main operation of the Inquirer II System--the "tagging" program.

This program takes each word of the document text and compares it with the entries in the dictionary. If the exact word is found on the first pass of the dictionary

---

<sup>5</sup>Stone et al., pp. 170-179; Holsti, pp. 157-158.

file, the system codes the text word with the tags that are assigned to the identical word in the dictionary. If the exact word is not found, the system has a series of sub-routines that can determine the root-word. In this manner if the text word is "attacking" and if it does not appear in the dictionary, the system will determine the root-word "attack" and look for it in the dictionary. If the word "attack" is found in the dictionary, the system will code "attacking" with the tags associated with the root-word. If all possible subroutines fail to find the word or a suitable root-word, the system will code the word as a "leftover" word. Once the system has disposed of a word by either coding it or labeling it as "leftover," it moves on to the next word in the text.<sup>6</sup>

Once a document has been "tagged," there are several programs that can be executed to establish the frequency of each concept. One of these is the "Post-Processing" program. This program will tabulate the number of times each tag was assigned in the text, divide that number by the total number of words in the text, and multiply the resulting figure by one hundred. This yields a figure known as the "word index." Due to the standardized procedures used in its calculation, this index can be used for both intra-document and inter-document comparisons.<sup>7</sup> However, since the

---

<sup>6</sup> Holsti, p. 157; Dollar and Jensen, p. 207; Stone et al., pp. 85-91.

<sup>7</sup> Dollar and Jensen, p. 210.

computer's greatest attribute is consistency there are certain distortions that appear in the "word index." These distortions are created when the computer codes a word in a way that is inappropriate to its contextual setting. For example, the computer may accurately and consistently code all occurrences of the word "fight" with the tag "Attack." This is a correct tag and in accordance with the dictionary. However, if "fight" appears in a statement such as "they are fighting for their lives" then "Attack" is not the best tag for "fight." In this case, the speaker used "fight" in a way that indicates a defensive theme rather than one of aggression. Therefore, extensive retrieval must be made to check for such distortions.

The two means of retrieval used in this study are the "Concept Sort" and the "KWIC" programs. Both of these programs are part of the Inquirer II System. The "Concept Sort" lists each of the 114 tags and then lists each document word assigned to that tag. It also provides a count of the number of times each word under each concept appeared in the document. For example, a list would be printed under the title of "Attack"--a concept from the Harvard III Dictionary. This list would include all words in the document that were coded as "Attack" such as two instances of "fight," one of "kill," and five of "attacking." When all the concepts and the document words coded with them have been listed, the program prints a similar list of all "leftover" words in the document.



The "KWIC" (Key Word In Context) program provides an alphabetical list of all words in the document and the number of times they appear in it. However, this program also provides the contextual setting for each occurrence of each word. It lists each occurrence of the words and all words within a certain distance preceding and following it. In this study a distance of fifty letter-spaces before and after each word is used. For example, if there were two instances of "fight" in a document the "KWIC" program would list both cases and the words before and after them. In a shortened form this might appear as:

. . . We will fight until we lose . . .  
. . . so they fight on because they . . .

By using the "Concept Sort" in conjunction with the "KWIC," a check is made for possible distortions caused by inappropriate tagging. The first step of this procedure is to examine the "Concept Sort" print-out for the list of words provided under the concept necessary for the analysis. The second step is to check the contextual setting of each of these words that appear in the tag-lists by using the listing provided by the "KWIC." And, the third step is to check the contextual setting for the "leftover" words. While this is a time consuming task, it does provide a means of controlling the accuracy of the tabulations. Once a valid list of each concept and an accurate count of the number of times it occurs has been compiled, an accurate "word index" can be computed.

Even with the modern technological assistance of the computer, content analysis is not an easy task. Perhaps Bernard Berelson summarized content analysis in the most expressive manner. And, his conclusion can be applied to all types of research. He wrote:

Content analysis, as a method, has no magical qualities--you rarely get out of it more than you put in, and sometimes you get less. In the last analysis, there is no substitute for a good idea.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup>Berelson, p. 198.

**APPENDIX B**

**AVERAGE RAW FREQUENCY PER SPEECH OF THE  
COMPONENTS OF THE MODEL OF  
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN  
RHETORIC**

	Truman Speeches			Dewey Speeches			Con- trols
	M.A. <sup>a</sup>	W.S.	All	M.A.	W.S.	All	
Crisis Theme	50	12	32	42	11	37	50
Danger	19	4	12	12	2	10	16
Distress	14	3	9	15	4	13	17
Time-Immediacy	17	5	12	16	5	14	18
Belligerence	148	49	101	59	20	52	79
Attack	27	8	18	13	5	12	17
Anger	15	7	11	13 <sup>.8</sup>	1	4	4
Sign-Reject	105	34	71	39	14	35	57
Expel	3	.4	2	2	.5	1	2
Absolutism	198	87	145	191	124	179	227
Overstate	88	34	62	104	54	95	108
Authority	85	40	64	62	57	61	91
Good	19	10	14	22	12	20	21
Bad	6	2	4	4	2	3	6
Legitimacy	113	30	74	176	51	154	189
Ideal-Value	51	10	31	113	25	97	109
Past-Tradition	63	20	42	64	26	57	80
Emotional Appeal	88	35	63	63	32	57	77
Emotion	52	21	37	55	22	41	102
Arousal	23	9	16	6	2	5	8
Urge	13	7	10	12	8	11	18
Issue							
Orientation	375	118	253	238	79	211	276
Political	169	59	117	111	43	99	137
Economic	75	20	49	45	10	39	36
Specific- Issues	131	39	87	82	27	72	102
Rationality	48	18	34	55	26	50	61
Thought-Form	15	4	10	20	7	18	24
Think	28	11	20	26	15	24	29
Cause	7	3	5	9	4	9	9
Acceptability	93	34	65	110	48	99	141
Sign-Accept	48	21	35	71	28	63	93
Action-Norm	40	11	26	37	17	33	42
Peer-Status	4	2	3	3	4	3	7
Resoluteness	94	30	63	115	39	102	124
Attempt	7	3	5	9	4	8	13
Ought	12	6	9	15	5	13	28
Sign-Strong	12	20	49	91	30	80	83

<sup>a</sup>M.A. refers to the major addresses, W.S. indicates the "whistle-stop" speeches, All refers to all speeches by the same candidate, and Controls designates the frequency for the control documents. All decimals, with the exception of those numbers smaller than one, were rounded to the nearest whole number. Numbers smaller than one were kept as decimals in order to provide a better indication of their infrequent appearance in the speeches.

**APPENDIX C**

**FREQUENCY OF SPECIFIC ISSUES IN SPEECHES**

**BY HARRY S TRUMAN: BEFORE AND**

**AFTER OCTOBER 5, 1948**

Issue	Before October 5	After October 5
Cost of Living	1	
Lobbies	1	1
High Prices	1	1
Inflation	1	1
Taft-Hartley Act	1	1
Education	2	2
Housing	2	1
Big Business and Wall Street	2	1
Conservation	2	1
Communism	2	4
Labor	3	3
Special Interests and Privileges	3	2
Eightieth Congress	6	6
Agriculture	6	7
Republicans	13	12
Depression		1

**APPENDIX D**

**GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS OF**

**THE UNITED STATES**

**Northeast<sup>a</sup>**

**New England:** Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut

**Middle Atlantic:** New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey

**North Central**

**East North Central:** Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin

**West North Central:** Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas

**South**

**South Atlantic:** Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida

**East South Central:** Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama

**West South Central:** Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas

**West**

**Mountain:** New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, and Arizona

**Pacific:** Washington, Oregon, and California

<sup>a</sup>U. S. Bureau of Census. U. S. Census of Population: 1950. Vol. II Characteristics of the Population, Part I, United States Summary (Washington, D. C., 1953), p. xi.



**APPENDIX E**

**CLASSIFICATION OF SPEECHES  
BY MAJOR SUBJECT**

## Agriculture

### Truman

Dexter, Iowa, September 18  
 Chariton, Iowa, September 18  
 Colton, California, September 24  
 Shelbyville, Kentucky, October 1  
 Auburn, New York, October 8  
 Raleigh, North Carolina, October 19

### Dewey

Rock Island, Illinois, September 20  
 Salina, Kansas, October 2  
 St. Paul, Minnesota, October 15

## The Opposition

### Truman

Rock Island, Illinois, September 18  
 Pueblo, Colorado, September 20  
 Grand Junction, Colorado, September 21  
 Deming, New Mexico, September 25  
 Dallas, Texas, September 27  
 Ardmore, Oklahoma, September 28  
 Carbondale, Illinois, September 30  
 Charleston, West Virginia, October 1  
 Bridgeport, Pennsylvania, October 7  
 Chicago, Illinois, October 25  
 Boston, Massachusetts, October 27  
 Madison Square Garden, October 28  
 St. Louis, Missouri, October 30

## Good Government

### Dewey

Des Moines, Iowa, September 20  
 Sante Fe, New Mexico, September 22  
 Missoula, Montana, September 28  
 Warrensburg, Missouri, October 2  
 Kansas City, Missouri, October 14

## Communism

### Truman

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, September 28

### Dewey

Los Angeles, California, September 24

**Labor****Truman**

Detroit, Michigan, September 6  
Evansville, Indiana, September 30  
Huntington, West Virginia, October 1  
Ladies Garment Workers Union Radio Broadcast,  
October 21  
Pittsfield, Massachusetts, October 27

**Dewey**

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, October 11

**The West****Truman**

Denver, Colorado, September 20  
Salt Lake City, Utah, September 21  
Sacramento, California, September 22  
Yuma, Arizona, September 24

**Dewey**

Julesburg, Colorado, September 21  
Denver, Colorado, September 21  
Phoenix, Arizona, September 23

**Economic Conditions****Truman**

Democratic Women's Day Radio Broadcast,  
September 27  
Springfield, Missouri, September 29  
Louisville, Kentucky, September 30

**Dewey**

Albuquerque, New Mexico, September 22  
San Francisco, California, September 25

**Domestic Issues****Truman**

Oakland, California, September 22  
Los Angeles, California, September 23  
Bonham, Texas, September 27

**Dewey**

Chicago, Illinois, October 26  
Boston, Massachusetts, October 28  
Madison Square Garden, October 30

**Education****Truman**

Iowa City, Iowa, September 18  
Provo, Utah, September 21

**Civil Rights****Truman**

Harlem, New York City, October 29

**Peace****Dewey**

Salt Lake City, Utah, September 30  
Louisville, Kentucky, October 12  
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, October 13

**APPENDIX F**

**INDEX SCORES OF CONTROL DOCUMENTS ON THE  
MODEL OF PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN  
RHETORIC AND ITS COMPONENTS**

	LBJ <sup>a</sup> '64	BMG '64	RMN '68	HHH '68	GMM '72	RMN '72	Dec. of I.
Crisis Theme	1.59	2.78	1.64	1.48	1.89	1.41	2.47
Danger	.39	.81	.34	.68	.18	.65	.90
Distress	.72	.84	.41	.40	.97	.37	1.12
Time-Immedicay	.48	1.12	.89	.40	.75	.39	.45
Belligerence	1.25	2.87	.82	2.26	4.00	2.75	9.66
Attack	.05	.59	.00	.34	.97	.72	2.40
Anger	.00	.09	.04	.06	.40	.09	.52
Sign-Reject	1.16	2.19	.78	1.86	2.55	1.83	6.51
Expel	.05	.00	.00	.00	.09	.12	.22
Absolutism	8.97	7.71	8.79	8.35	7.43	8.85	7.49
Overstate	5.11	4.43	4.06	2.81	3.78	3.91	4.12
Authority	3.04	2.44	3.46	4.79	2.46	3.98	1.72
Good	.77	.75	1.04	.65	.88	.58	1.12
Bad	.05	.09	.22	.09	.31	.39	.52
Legitimacy	8.10	6.68	6.18	5.20	6.94	8.39	6.36
Ideal-Value	4.63	3.87	3.39	3.12	4.04	4.67	4.04
Past-Tradition	3.47	2.81	2.79	2.07	2.90	3.72	2.32
Emotional Appeal	4.73	2.50	2.50	2.41	3.91	2.27	2.17
Emotion	3.38	2.03	1.49	1.55	2.11	1.48	1.35
Arousal	.10	.03	.07	.06	1.27	.25	.67
Urge	1.25	.44	.93	.80	.53	.53	.15
Issue Orientation	7.71	9.84	9.80	11.91	9.58	10.33	10.63
Political	3.52	5.65	5.18	4.67	4.53	5.04	7.19
Economic	1.69	1.50	.41	.40	2.59	1.85	.45
Specific-Issues	2.51	2.69	4.21	6.84	2.46	3.44	2.99
Rationality	1.93	2.47	3.39	2.26	1.36	1.96	2.25
Thought-Form	.58	.87	1.60	.71	.83	.67	.82
Think	1.21	1.32	1.42	1.39	.35	.86	.52
Cause	.14	.22	.37	.15	.18	.44	.90
Acceptability	4.68	4.62	4.92	4.67	6.11	6.68	2.47
Sign-Accept	3.52	2.37	3.17	2.54	5.01	4.67	1.20
Action-Norm	.87	2.09	1.71	2.07	.70	1.57	.82
Peer-Status	.29	.16	.04	.06	.40	.44	.45
Resoluteness	3.66	4.75	5.59	5.47	4.92	3.26	4.64
Attempt	.52	.56	.56	.37	.62	.30	.37
Ought	.39	.94	1.49	2.29	.57	.46	.75
Sign-Strong	2.75	3.25	3.54	2.81	3.73	2.49	3.52

<sup>a</sup>LBJ--Lyndon B. Johnson, BMG--Barry M. Goldwater, RMN--Richard M. Nixon, HHH--Hubert H. Humphrey, GMM--George M. McGovern, and Dec. of I.--Declaration of Independence. A discription of these documents is presented in Table IX on page 40 of the text.

VITA

James Riley Chrisman

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: THE RHETORIC OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF  
1948: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SELECTED ADDRESSES  
BY HARRY S TRUMAN AND THOMAS E. DEWEY

Major Field: History

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Johnson County, Missouri,  
May 9, 1941, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Adam F.  
Chrisman.

Education: Graduated from College Laboratory High  
School, Warrensburg, Missouri, in May, 1959;  
received Bachelor of Science in Education degree  
in Social Studies from Central Missouri State  
University in May, 1963; received Master of Arts  
degree in History from Central Missouri State  
University in August, 1965; received Specialist  
degree in History from Central Missouri State  
University in August, 1970; completed the re-  
quirements for Doctor of Philosophy degree at  
Oklahoma State University in December, 1974.

Professional Experience: Teacher, Warrensburg Senior  
High School, Warrensburg, Missouri--1963-1965;  
teacher, Ervin Junior High School and Smith-Hale  
Junior High School, Hickman Mills, Missouri--  
1965-1969; teaching assistant, Department of  
History, Central Missouri State University--1969-  
1970; teaching assistant, Department of History,  
Oklahoma State University--1971-1972.