A Rhetorical Study of the Public Speaking of Eric A. Johnston During His Presidency of the United States Chamber of Commerce.

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A RHETORICAL STUDY OF THE PUBLIC SPEAKING OF ERIC A. JOHNSTON DURING HIS PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Speech

by

James J. Stansell
B.A., University of Oklahoma, 1937
M.A., University of Oklahoma, 1938
August, 1951
MANUSCRIPT THESSES

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This study is a rhetorical criticism of the public speaking of Eric A. Johnston from 1942 to 1946, while he was president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. It considers the following-named aspects of the speaker's art: basic ideas and their sources, forms of support, methods of speech preparation, audience adaptation, speech arrangement, language, and delivery. Sixteen of 143 available texts were analyzed in detail, and pertinent illustrative data were drawn from the complete list.

The sources of the speech texts were stenographic transcriptions, radio recordings, press releases, the Chamber of Commerce file, the Congressional Record, the magazine Vital Speeches, and the collection Representative American Speeches (Ed., A. Craig Baird. New York: H.W. Wilson Company). The writer gained insight into Johnston's rhetorical theory and speech methods through a personal interview with him in Washington, D.C., and from newspapers, periodicals, interviews with his colleagues and acquaintances, and letter-questionnaires to appropriate correspondents.

Johnston developed his practical, businessman's approach from his travels abroad, his experiences as an employee and an employer, and from his numerous civic responsibilities. Johnston's "New Capitalism" was a compromise plan between liberal and conservative programs. He opposed
such business practices as monopolies, divided markets, and restricted production. At the same time he disapproved of super-government, planned economy, and regimentation by any minority. His dominant speech theme was the value of capitalism, and he argued his cause from premises built around the following ideas: (1) freedom of the individual, (2) cooperation among industry, government, labor, and agriculture, (3) cooperation among nations, (4) such post-war matters as decontrol, employment, and American international leadership, (5) a just social security program, and (6) a downward revision of taxes.

As representative of the United States Chamber of Commerce, Johnston supported his ideas most effectively by ethical and emotional appeals. He felt it important to demonstrate his intelligence, his good character, and his good will. Furthermore, he never omitted making proper appeals to patriotism, whether his purpose was to inform, to persuade, or to stimulate. His logical proofs, that is, evidence and argument, were seldom fully developed, but his careful use of ethical and emotional appeals more than balance the score.

Johnston had a well-trained staff which assisted him in research and planning for his major addresses. However, he was wholly responsible for the ideas and the language. The important characteristics of his style are his own. Each of his manuscripts underwent numerous revisions in his deliberate effort to adapt his speech to a specific audience. His introductions followed no particular pattern, but he did use certain standardized introductions on numerous occasions. The propositions were not always stated specifically. In the body of his speeches Johnston preferred the deductive arrangement, most frequently employing two to
four points. His development ordinarily followed one of two patterns: topical or problem-solution. Numerous "sign posts" and transitions gave an orderly progression to his ideas.

Johnston's language is characterized by his preference for plain, concrete words. He employed three types of sentence patterns: the short, the fragmentary, and the "loose" construction of informal conversation. He did, on occasion, resort to loaded language and flowery style, particularly in his inspirational addresses.

Of the three modes of delivery, Johnston preferred least to read his speeches, reading only when his addresses were broadcast. He had a faculty for rapid memorization, as well as a natural, conversational delivery. As the importance of the occasion varied, he spoke from a manuscript "well in mind," from notes, or without notes. Although he used few gestures, his face and eyes were especially expressive, and his comfortable and confident posture aided in building audience respect. Through his pleasant, flexible voice he often obtained more emphasis and clarity than he did through gestures.

Finally, there emerge from his speeches at least five attributes which account in part for Johnston's success as a speaker: (1) his "middle way" concept of cooperative relations among all economic groups; (2) his broad familiarity with the vital issues of the day, strengthened by his own successful business background; (3) his emphasis upon ethical and emotional appeals; (4) his preference for plain language; and (5) his dependence upon voice rather than gestures for emphasis and clarity.
A final, definitive evaluation of Johnston and his speaking is difficult, if not impossible, at this time. However, the facts do disclose that he received national acclaim for his contributions as a leader, organizer, and conciliator, and there is no doubt but that his speaking facilitated that acclaim. In the future he may never be declared a great orator; nevertheless, he was an effective speaker in the strenuous period of 1942 to 1946. As the war-time president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Eric Johnston served well the cause of American business.
INTRODUCTION

During the last several decades, students of contemporary public address have made critical examinations of many modern speakers. Representative of the variety of fields covered by these investigations are studies of such political figures as Thomas E. Dewey, Franklin D. Roosevelt,¹ and Winston Churchill.² Likewise, prominent clergymen deemed worthy of extensive research have been Charles Coughlin³ and Harry Emerson Fosdick.⁴ H. V. Kaltenborn⁵ is typical of the radio commentators studied.


While politics, religion, and newscasting have provided profitable subjects, there still remains to be considered the field of business—an area which is vital in the understanding of the place of public address in a democracy. Therefore, this investigation has been made of the individual referred to as the spokesman for business, its champion, its ambassador. That man is Eric Allen Johnston, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. The purpose of this study is to examine critically the public speaking of Mr. Johnston.

The period covered by this study is that of Johnston's presidency of the United States Chamber of Commerce, May, 1942, through the expiration of his fourth term in May, 1946. During his affiliation with that office, he became a national figure. Through his speaking he exerted his greatest influence, up to that time, on public opinion.

During these four years, Johnston and his oratory were put to the severest tests. It was his responsibility, as the elected leader of organized business, to re-establish in the people and in the government the favor which business had lost during the depression and the subsequent years of the New Deal. He had the task of fostering cooperation between government and business in order to promote maximum production for war mobilization and prosecution, without complete subjugation and control of industry by the government. Likewise, he had to formulate a program which would rebuild the ideal of capitalistic free enterprise for post-war industry, thus opposing the attractive appeals of planned economy, socialism, communism, and the like.

6 Johnston left the Chamber of Commerce to become president of the Motion Picture Association of America. On January 24, 1951, he took leave of absence from the motion picture agency to become director of the Economic Stabilization Agency.
But even with the limitation as to the specific period to be covered, the need of further limitation is imperative. During his presidency Johnston made several hundred public appearances, and a detailed analysis and criticism of all of them would not be practicable or even possible, for two easily discernible reasons: (1) Many of his speeches are repetitions, and there are neither notes nor manuscripts available on most of his extemporaneous addresses. (2) Some of his speeches that are not direct repetitions are the same in essence; and the differences lie in revised arrangements of points, adaptation to specific audiences, or combinations of blocks of the content from his favorite speeches.

Therefore, to permit the ultimate conclusions to be drawn from addresses representative of Johnston's varied speech occasions and subjects, a thorough screening of 143 available texts was made, and sixteen were selected. Although this small group serves as the core of the study, pertinent ideas and illustrative data have also been drawn from many other speeches. The following-named speeches are those given detailed consideration in the analysis:

1. "Business Addresses Labor," delivered January 16, 1943, from Washington, D.C., over the facilities of the National Broadcasting Company. This recorded transcription is the most representative of the speaker's pleas to labor for understanding, cooperation, and production.

2. "Everybody's Business—Victory!" delivered April 16, 1943, from Spokane, Washington, over the National Broadcasting Company. This address, at the opening of the Second War Loan Drive, is characteristic of his appearances in behalf of such drives as those for Red Cross, Community Chest, Cancer Fund, and Brotherhood Week.

3. "America Unlimited," an address April 27, 1943, in New York at the War Council and 31st Annual Meeting of the Chamber of Commerce. It is representative of the speaker's premise on the superiority of capitalism over other economic systems.

5. "The Economic System—Today and Tomorrow," presented August 15, 1943, as a University of Chicago Round Table discussion from London, England, over the National Broadcasting Company network. This appearance is illustrative of Johnston's participation in discussions, round tables, and forums.


8. "The Four Pillars of Unity," delivered to the Kansas City, Kansas, Chamber of Commerce, November 19, 1943. This memorized speech, delivered a number of times, represents Johnston's premise on cooperation between all segments of the United States economy.

9. "A Warning to Labor and to Management," presented March 13, 1944, at the Boston University Founders' Day Dinner. This speech is typical of the speaker's straightforward plea to labor and to management for peace in their ranks.


11. "The Road to Realism for American Business," delivered April 17, 1944, to the Economic Club of Detroit. This speech is like his many speeches broadly treating contemporary business problems: taxation, labor relations, social security, foreign policy, and expanding economy.

12. "Social Security and a Dynamic Capitalism," presented to the Chicago Executives' Club, September 8, 1944. Here Johnston makes a typical address based on his premise on social security.

13. "Intolerance," an address to the Writers' War Board, New York, delivered January 11, 1945. At this meeting the speaker utilizes two frequently made points: the dangers of intolerance and the benefits of cooperation.
14. "Post-War Construction." This text is a stenographic transcription of a speech to the Construction Industry Advisory Council of the Chamber of Commerce, November 1, 1945, Washington, D.C. Here Johnston makes a concise case of the post-war problems facing the United States in her adjustment to peace.

15. [The Four Pillars of Labor-Management Relationship], a major address at the Labor-Management Conference in Washington, D.C., November 5, 1945. This speech contains the essence of Johnston's many speeches on the relationships between labor and management.

16. "A Decade of Decisions," Johnston's final address as president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, delivered at the annual convention dinner meeting, May 2, 1946, Atlantic City. This speech is valuable in that it summarizes the retiring president's four years in office and presents concisely his points of view: the old vs. the new capitalism; capitalism as opposed to other economic systems; controls; competition and cooperation. If there is any one speech in his career that is most representative of his business philosophies, it is this "valedictory" address.

This historical-critical study of the public speaking of Eric Johnston is justified in the light of two facts: (1) Johnston has been repeatedly called the "spokesman for American business"; (2) he has not previously been examined in the breadth and scope of the present study.

First, Johnston has been referred to not only as "the spokesman for American business," but also as "spokesman for organised business," and "spokesman for the largest organization of business men," to list only a

7Credit World, XXIII, No. 9, (June, 1945), 4.


few of his complimentary titles. Obviously, as president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, composed then of some 2,500 trade associations and a membership of nearly a million and a quarter businessmen, he might be called the spokesman for the group. However, unlike that of previous presidents of the organization, Johnston achieved a reputation as a speaker and an authority on business affairs. This study has aimed at determining those qualities within Johnston and the circumstances surrounding him which carried him to that reputation.

In the second place, this study is justified in that no adequate consideration of Johnston as a speaker has been made previously. There are numerous periodical accounts of his life and of certain highlights in his business career. In no sense can they be considered rhetorical criticisms. Even Johnston's autobiographical account of himself and his business philosophies gives little attention to his significance as a speaker.\(^{10}\) Only one comparatively short examination has been made of his speaking,\(^{11}\) covering only a limited number of his speeches. That study devoted little space to the motivations behind Johnston's speaking and drew broad findings from too few speeches. In this present study, through abundance of detailed information and analysis, and through a careful sampling of a large number of representative addresses, a more nearly complete criticism has been made.


The approach to this study has been that of rhetorical criticism, defined by Thomsen and Baird as "... a comparative study in which standards of judgment deriving from the social interaction of a speech situation are applied to public addresses to determine the immediate or delayed effect of the speeches upon specific audiences, and, ultimately, upon society."12 The specification by these authors concerning "the social interaction of a speech situation" and the "immediate or delayed effect" of the speeches was concisely stated earlier by Rahsteof in his list of questions pertinent to the rhetorical critic.13 In brief, Rahsteof's contention was that rhetorical criticism is a means of determining the ability, methods, and motivations of a speaker to control or influence the forces around him.

Thus, rhetorical criticism is an examination of four interacting forces: (1) the speaker as an individual; (2) the subject, as determined by the speaker's purpose and use of facts; (3) the audience and their background; and (4) the occasion, as influenced by the conditioning factors of the speaking situation. This writer has made that examination of these forces on a wide range, not specifically and speech-by-speech. For example, a view of Johnston's entire audience is presented: a nation of people torn by depression and war. His over-all occasion was one of national emergency. Johnston, an individual who had progressed through a varied personal and

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13 Horace G. Rahsteof, "John Quincy Adams' Theory and Practice of Public Speaking," *Archives of Speech*, ed. by A. Craig Baird (Iowa City: State University of Iowa, 1936), 1, No. 4, pp. 5-96.
professional background, made his speeches as the audience, occasion, and his personality dictated. No one of those forces stands alone, and the examination herein seeks to observe their interrelationships and to determine Johnston as a total speaker. This analysis has observed Johnston's ability to discern the vital issues of the moment and to adapt himself and his ideas toward reflecting or influencing those issues. Similarly, because the speaker and his ideas reach the audience and occasion through the medium of the address itself, Johnston's speeches are analyzed as to organization, style, and delivery for the contribution of these elements toward the speaker's goal.

In detail this study follows the conventional classical canons of inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, and pronunciatio. These canons, according to Thonssen and Baird, represent the broad divisions of the whole subject of rhetoric and "... in many respects, they constitute the basic pattern of all theoretical and critical investigations into the art and practice of speaking."14

Inventio, says Baldwin, is "the investigation, analysis, and grasp of the subject-matter."15 This division involves the speaker's effort to accumulate, from all sources, material for his subject and to discover the proper arguments and proofs which bear upon his rhetorical aim. The second canon, dispositio, covers the arrangement of the materials, ordering them into such divisions as the introduction, body, and conclusion and conceiving unity in each division and in the whole. Elocutio is the stylistic

manner of word choice. It is the orator's use of language, wherein he so chooses his vocabulary and relates his words that he achieves his desired effect of the moment. *Memoria* is that canon of rhetoric which involves "the speaker's mastery of all his material in sequential order."16 Here he fixes in his mind through concentrated study, not only what he wants to say, but also the sequence in which he wishes to make the points. Finally, *pronunciation* involves a consideration of all the elements of delivery: any form of bodily activity and all aspects of voice, diction, and pronunciation as contributing factors toward effectiveness.

The outline below indicates the plan of the dissertation.

**Part I**  *Invention*
- Chapter 1: The setting: the audience and the occasion
- Chapter 2: The sources of the speaker's ideas
- Chapter 3: The speaker's ideas
- Chapter 4: Forms of support
- Chapter 5: Speech methods: preparation and adaptation

**Part II**  *Disposition*
- Chapter 6: Speech arrangement

**Part III**  *Style*
- Chapter 7: Use of language

**Part IV**  *Memory and Delivery*
- Chapter 8: Delivery

A concluding chapter makes a synthesis of the findings of the entire study, to the end that the overall effectiveness of Johnston's public speak-
ing may be gauged. After the method of the rhetorical critic, this chapter takes a panoramic view of the speaker in an historical setting and evaluates the manner in which the man and his public speaking influenced or reflected that setting.

The critic in public address is forever confronted with the problem of determining whether the printed speeches attributed to the speaker are actually those delivered by him. Has there been post-speech editing? Is the text a pre-release which contains only broadly and generally what the speaker said? Did the speaker have "ghost writers?" Therefore, in order that the conclusions drawn from this study may be as valid as possible, especial care has been made to ascertain the authenticity of each speech text studied. Whenever possible, stenographic transcriptions, made by professional reporting agencies at the time of the speech, are used for the analysis. Still other texts are derived from recordings of speeches, made either by broadcasting studios or by this writer. A third source of text is the press release, which, under first impression, may seem of dubious authenticity, inasmuch as it is printed before the delivery of the speech. Mr. Johnston, himself, however, declares that speeches important enough to warrant a release of his entire speech to the press are important enough for him to commit to memory "as closely as is humanly possible." The reliability of his memorized speech texts is covered in Chapter 8.

Of the 143 available texts, the writer has twenty-seven copies, re- copied personally or furnished by Johnston's office. Also, he has sixteen texts which appear in such collections as the Congressional Record, Vital Speeches, and Representative American Speeches. In addition to these typed

17 Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.
or printed texts, this study utilized five recorded transcriptions, made by the writer or by the National Broadcasting Company.

For consideration of Johnston in action, several prime sources are employed herein. This writer had the opportunity to hear personally Johnston deliver two addresses, and he made an immediate report on personal impressions, audience response and reaction, delivery, and the like in the manner recommended by Thompson\(^{18}\) for speech reporting. Similarly, he made reports on a number of Johnston's appearances in newsreels and motion picture short subjects. These two sources provided an opportunity for comparison of Johnston's techniques before the live audience and before the camera. Still a third opportunity for personal observation was afforded in the one-hour interview granted this writer by Mr. Johnston; of value not only for the specific information that he gave, but also for a close-up of the man himself.

Other primary sources are the writer's personal interviews and letter-questionnaires with Johnston's colleagues and employees, as well as those with prominent businessmen who have known Johnston for a number of years and have heard him speak often.

Another store of material examined, not for texts of speeches, but for an indication of immediate reaction to the man and his ideas, is that appearing in newspaper and magazine articles and editorials, in various professional and trade journals and house organs. This source was highly profitable and is referred to frequently.

\(^{18}\)Wayne N. Thompson, "Contemporary Public Address As a Research Area," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXXIII, No. 3 (October, 1947), 274-283.
Finally, this writer had free access to a near-complete file of Johnston's Chamber-of-Commerce speeches in the office of the Director of Publicity of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington, D.C. For the most part, the only texts known to be missing from this invaluable source are several of the speeches Johnston made during his trips abroad, and his informal, extemporaneous addresses for which no manuscripts were prepared. This file, arranged chronologically, is contained in three large, looseleaf notebooks: Book I, 5/23/42--12/16/43; Book II, 1/1/44--12/15/44; and Book III, 1/1/45--5/2/46.
CHAPTER I

THE ATTITUDE OF JOHNSTON'S AUDIENCE

When Eric Allen Johnston was elected April 30, 1942, to the first of his four one-year terms as president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, he began a career which almost immediately placed him in the public eye and laid the groundwork for his reputation as an authoritative spokesman on American business and economy. It was not long until his name and ideas appeared regularly in the newspapers and magazines. One writer said of him, "In two years he has made himself the liveliest U.S. evangelist of free enterprise . . . Eric Johnston may well be the White Knight of U.S. business." \(^1\) Still another declared, "When Johnston became President of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, he became the savior of free enterprise . . . the Luther of a business reformation." \(^2\)

Moreover, Johnston has retained his reputation. In 1950, when he received the Tau Kappa Alpha award as the outstanding business speaker in 1949, George Lamb, in making the award said, " . . . your name has become synonymous with enlightened, forward-looking, progressive American business. When we think of effective and responsible leadership today—when we think

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\(^1\) *Time*, XLIII (March 27, 1944), 20.

of a spokesman for American business—we think of you."\(^3\)

To determine those elements which make a man a leader and a spokesman, it is necessary to isolate the social and economic forces that set the stage upon which the man appears. Therefore, it is the purpose of this chapter to examine the undercurrent of American events, particularly those in business, which were at work when Eric Johnston assumed his responsibilities with the United States Chamber of Commerce. The audience to which Johnston spoke had, for the previous thirteen years, been subjected to certain forces which made his appearance in 1942 a timely one.

In the 1929 depression era and the Roosevelt era which followed it, four primary forces were at work against private industry. They were mass unemployment, the phenomenal rise of labor unions, a deluge of restrictive legislation upon business, and a surge of propaganda for a change in the economic system of the United States. Those forces influenced all segments of American life and hence all groups which made up the auditors to whom Johnston spoke. They combined to necessitate the rise of a "spokesman" to present a new case for the capitalistic system of business enterprise.

The first of these forces, unemployment, was an outgrowth of the 1929 depression. This is not the place to argue whether private industry had been at fault and had itself brought on the depression.\(^4\) The fact is that where private owners and operators had previously been the employers of the

\(^3\)Presentation speech to Johnston, meeting of the American Trade Association Executives, Washington, D.C., April 29, 1950. Mimeographed copy of the text furnished the writer by the Motion Picture Association of America.

people, the government had by 1940 taken over much of that responsibility.\(^5\) Business, on the financial decline since 1929,\(^6\) had been unable to provide employment, and for over a decade the people had turned to the government for jobs or outright relief. Business was relegated to a less important role, and its cries for help were ineffective. As a result of those circumstances, the people lost faith in the ability of private industry to provide a solution to the current economic problems. Beyond any doubt, the depression and its consequent unemployment made imperative the need for someone to arise and plead the case of private business.

Still another force acting to restrain the capitalistic economy had its origins in the depression and its development in the New Deal. That was the marked growth in the activity and influence of labor unions.\(^7\) Their steady, influential rise pushed business still farther from its earlier position of dominance in the American economy. As labor strength grew, employer strength waned; and by the time Johnston assumed his responsibilities in Washington, 72% of all workers were members of unions.\(^8\) The men who had been speaking for business had been unable to cope with the National Industrial Recovery Act, the National Labor Relations Act, and

\(^5\)By June 30, 1940, it was determined that 14,193,602 persons were receiving all or part of their income from the federal government. The Economic Almanac for 1941-42 (New York: National Industrial Conference Board, 1941), p. 338.

\(^6\)Almost 18,000 private corporations fell by the wayside by 1937. Ibid., p. 120.

\(^7\)Union membership increased by 4,000,000 between 1935 and 1937. Hacker, p. 304.

similar legislation. They found those laws to be especially strong bargaining weapons in the hands of labor. Again business saw itself lose ground. Government dictated the conditions under which business concerns must operate; labor dictated the conditions under which it would work. Roosevelt spoke for increased government authority; labor spoke through the John L. Lewis and the William Greens. Business was hesitant to speak. "A few years ago," said Eric Johnston in 1944, "it took a great deal of courage to speak for and defend free enterprise." Thus, the preservation of free enterprise—as opposed to an economic system highly favoring labor—was dependent upon whether business could find the proper individual to speak in its behalf. In this second matter, the rise of influence of labor unions, the stage was further set for the entrance of Eric Johnston.

The third force at work against business was the vigorous program of emergency legislation. Whether the New Deal legislation can be justly called an outright attack on free enterprise is debatable. The fact remains, however, that the laws showed preference to labor and agriculture over business. In contrast, the pre-Roosevelt administrations had a policy of friendly interest toward the nation's industrialists, and was either uninterested in or unfriendly toward labor. The New Deal, however, began with enthusiasm its program of correcting the abuses that had been revealed by the depression, the idea appearing to be that the United States could


legislate its way out of its difficulties.11

Moreover, by the time Johnston became president of the national Chamber of Commerce, the era of restrictive law-making had entered its second and even more confining stage. Industry had received the full impact of the new world wars: controls, rationing, priorities, increased taxes. Through the legislation of the New Deal program and the national mobilization for war, the bonds upon business were tightened. Day by day the government was assuming more power, and the interests of labor, agriculture, and government were taking precedence over any interest in behalf of business. To many businessmen there was no question but that "free enterprise" was down, perhaps even on its way out. Its only hope for revival and survival was a gigantic promotion campaign to re-sell itself to the government and to the people. Business needed a spokesman.

In the combination of the three dominant forces so far named—unemployment, the growth of labor unions, and the mass of restrictive legislation—lies the final set of events which gave impetus to the demand that there be a spokesman for business. That final force was the outspoken criticism against the capitalistic system of economy. Critics pointed to such inequities as the maldistribution of wealth,12 and to the exploi-
tion of workers, with all their contingent effects upon standards of living, housing, education, security, and the like. In spite of any efforts on the part of business to convince the public otherwise, the people were accepting more readily the theory that the depression had been the fault of money-grabbing capitalists. Roosevelt's unrelenting program against monopoly and big business lent further credence to the idea that the old system must be wrong.

Again, those who spoke and acted for business interests were ineffective, and those who offered such panaceas as socialism, the planned economy, fascism, and even communism steadily gained followers. The loud and persistent voices of the counsellors for those changes found enthusiastic supporters among a people struggling with shattered confidence, misinformation, lack of information, and an over-all feeling of insecurity. It was to a nation of such people that private industry must make its appeal. The case of business could not be postponed indefinitely. Its leaders believed that unless the proper change in approach came soon, there would be little left to salvage.

The United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of


16Lawrence Dennis, "Is Fascism the Way Out?" Andrews and Marsden, eds., p. 124.

17Karl Browder, "Does Communism Point the Way?" Andrews and Marsden, eds., p. 142.
Manufacturers, and large private firms as well did speak in their own behalf during this period of distrust and antagonism. However, those organizations failed to make their point. "Professional spokesmen for business put on lush campaigns 'to educate the public.' But the public wouldn't listen. Huge sums spent to popularize cliches about the American way of life bounced off the public awareness without leaving a mark, because the campaigns were so glaringly negative and often so flagrantly self-interested."\(^{18}\) In attacking the New Deal or opposing the NRA, WPA, the NIRA and similar legislation in the courts,\(^ {19}\) they appeared to disapprove of employment and food for the needy and to be interested only in greater profits and wealth for themselves. Instead of making appropriate adjustments between the 1920 brand of capitalism and the social and economic trends established by the New Deal, business leaders retained their old program of defense of capitalism, a justification of its operations.

Johnston recognized that fact as one of the essential weaknesses of business when he observed, "Spokesmen for the American system of private enterprise—for capitalism—have too often made the silly mistake of defending


See also Rauch, p. 128; and Clark and Simon, p. 16.
the faults and inequities of our way of life. For some reason they have thought it necessary to deny, explain away or even praise aspects of American life which no normal, decent-minded, warm-hearted human being can possibly approve."20

The United States Chamber of Commerce included in its wide membership men of all political parties and representatives of business theories that ranged from the conservative to the liberal. Eric Johnston, a Republican and always a liberal, had been critical of the national leadership of the Chamber of Commerce since his presidency of the Spokane group in 1931.21 When he became vice-president of the national organization in 1941, he represented the liberals as opposed to the "Old Guard," the conservatives. The latter group would not recognize or admit that the New Deal was making headway. They firmly believed that the country would return, somehow, to "business as usual," and that any real cooperation with President Roosevelt meant the end and defeat of what they referred to as "the American way of life," that is, individualism and freedom of big business.22

Johnston, on the other hand, designated the leader of the "insurgent crowd," brought a new philosophy. He and those who backed him "wanted to accept the facts, to ease up on fighting the government and labor, in a word, to take their place in a wartime united front. 23 In the 1942

20America Unlimited, p. 54.
21Chamberlain, p. 105.
22Business Week, August 8, 1942, p. 19.
23Ibid.
national Chamber of Commerce election, Johnston, who never considered himself a big business man, had the support of the "small" owners who employed fewer than 100 men. Likewise, he was supported by Republicans who had no personal liking for Roosevelt or the New Deal, but who believed that a change in policy was necessary if ever industry was to be relieved from the pressure of labor and government. Private business had a public relations job to do, and Johnston, an outspoken liberal, appeared to be the proper man to put new life into the organization. On April 30, 1942, he was elected president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

Not only was Johnston's entrance timely, but Johnston himself was a product of the times. His exposition on the relationships between labor, management, agriculture, and government and his ideas on a "new" versus an "old" capitalism were a new line of attack.

There is the capitalism of the bureaucrats. I am against it. ... Second, there is the capitalism of private monopoly and special privilege. I am against it. ... Finally, there is ... a people's capitalism.

A people's capitalism such as I am describing may not be what some spokesmen of business have in mind, but it is what the average American has in mind when he speaks of free economy. It is the kind of capitalism equally distasteful to the statist, the super-planner, the socialist, and communist on one side, and the monopolist, the cartel builder, the financial imperialist on the other.24

One writer recognized pertinent similarities in Roosevelt and Johnston, the liberals of government and business. Both men were indications that there was a new era at hand, and it had to be reckoned with by a new strategy. "... just as the White House," said Daniel, "was taken over by a new

24Johnston, America Unlimited, pp. 93 ff.
and somewhat unpredictable tenant when Franklin Roosevelt moved into it in 1933, so, in 1942, was the office of the President of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, with the result that times have changed.\textsuperscript{25}

Johnston's first interview with President Roosevelt, scheduled for five minutes, lasted for twenty-five minutes. When Johnston took his leave, it is reported, Roosevelt asked in surprise, "How did they ever elect you president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce?"\textsuperscript{26} Thus, two liberals had met, and Johnston had begun the first of his unrelenting drives for cooperation with government—government represented by a man outspoken in his attack on big business during the last decade.\textsuperscript{27}

Thus was the stage set for the entrance of Eric Johnston. For more than ten years business had been relegated to a less important role. No longer was the economic system of free enterprise free in the sense of the pre-depression days of \textit{laissez-faire}. The New Deal was outspoken in its attack on the big business interests and monopolies. The depression brought the people closer and more securely into dependence upon the

\textsuperscript{25}Hawthorne Daniel, "Eric A. Johnston," \textit{The Railroad Workers Journal}, VI, No. 3 (April, 1945), 11.

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., p. 5.

\textsuperscript{27}"Examination of the methods of conducting and controlling private enterprise which kept it from furnishing jobs or income or opportunity for one-third of the population is long overdue. . . . No people . . . will endure the slow erosion of opportunity for the common man, the oppressive sense of helplessness under the domination of a few, which are overshadowing our whole economic life. . . . The power of a few to manage the economic life of the nation must be diffused among the many or be transferred to the public and its democratically responsible government." \textit{The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt} (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941), VII, pp. 312 f.
government. Advocates of new ideologies preached socialism, government planning, communism; and a weary and confused populace sought earnestly for a solution. Many held that the government spent too much; others, that it did not spend enough in the right places. To some, the problem was over-production; to others it was under-consumption. The solution could be found in everything from shorter working hours, higher wages, and a redistribution of wealth, to a revised tax plan, a reestablishment of public confidence, and a balanced budget. Business either had no capital on which to expand, or it had great surpluses of unused wealth. On the one side, the monopoly was the source of the problem; on the other, it was cutthroat competition. The causes and solutions could be counted in the hundreds.

Business had had its spokesmen, but their appeals had not reached the core of the matter: they sought a return to privileges enjoyed in the pre-depression era. The "Old Guard" of the chamber of commerce were aware that a change was underway, but they fought that change in the courts and in business practices.

Unquestionably, private industry—capitalism—needed a man with new, progressive adaptable ideas. Eric Johnston, chosen by the businessmen of the nation to be their leader, had the responsibility of making all segments of the economy aware of their inter-dependence—the working relationships between government, industry, labor, and agriculture. Johnston's "audience" must be shown that cooperation was essential in the successful prosecution of the war and the survival of economic freedom. Johnston believed the new era at hand was comprised of the economic "Big Four," not a triumvirate of government, labor, and agriculture, omitting industry. The time to act had come, industry felt; further delay would mean additional defeat.
CHAPTER IX

THE SOURCES OF JOHNSTON'S IDEAS

Among the forces which molded the economic thought of the 1930's were unemployment, the rising influence of labor, restrictive legislation, and the advocates of foreign ideologies. Eric Johnston, like thousands of other businessmen, was a part of the environment of struggle and uncertainty. Johnston, however, emerged with a point of view which equipped him to be the leader of businessmen. For twenty years prior to his move to Washington, for example, he had owned and managed a number of successful businesses on the West Coast. In 1931, when he became president of the Spokane Chamber of Commerce, he also began his service with the national office as a member of the committee on taxation. In 1932 he was elected to the board of directors, and in 1941 he was made national vice-president.

The question now is: Where did his "liberal" tenets have their origins? The present chapter is an examination of the man and his background to discover the sources of his ideas.

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

In the first place, Johnston's childhood and early school days were a definite influence on his ideas. During that period, which he refers to as a genteel variety of penury, Johnston learned his first lesson in self-sufficiency and the need for hard work. His father, Bertram J. Johnston,
a pharmacist, lost his drug store in Washington, D.C., during the depression of 1894. In 1896, a year after Johnston’s birth, the father moved his family to Marysville, Montana, where he struggled for eighteen months with another unsuccessful drug store. His move to Spokane brought only another failure. Before he died of tuberculosis, he suffered an extended period of illness during which he was unable to support his family. Mrs. Johnston earned the living, nursed her husband, and reared young Eric. She gave her son, he said, "... a little of the granite of her spirit—and the velvet of her human sympathy."^1

During his grade school years Eric Johnston knew the disadvantages of too little money and the imperative need to lend his own hand toward the family livelihood. He sold newspapers in Spokane, while his mother worked in a doctor’s office. Of his boyhood days, he says,

Thus the most revealing fact about that penniless, work-filled boyhood of mine is that it was devoid of resentment at the time and left no sediment of bitterness afterward. It did not occur to me that I was a victim of society; that there was anything the least bit shameful about being poor; that the folks who exchanged their pennies for my papers were ‘exploiting’ me. Hardship did not stir me to revolt; it only served as a spur to ambition."^2

During his high school days he held odd jobs, the best of which was writing a school column for the Spokane Spokesman-Review, for which he received forty dollars a month. By the time he was eighteen he had seen at first hand that the lack of money was not an insurmountable obstacle. Financial independence was available for those who were determined and re-

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^2 Ibid., p. 7.
sourceful. Johnston's ideas on individual initiative and opportunity, on self-confidence and freedom of spirit must certainly have had their origins here.

PRIVATE BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

Likewise, Johnston derived many of his ideas from his personal experiences in private business and industry. His university career and his life after the world war offered a varied opportunity for him to observe both sides of the system at work.

After his graduation from Lewis and Clark High School in Spokane, he entered the University of Washington at Seattle. He planned to study law and accept a position with his uncle, a lawyer in Seattle. During his stay at the university, he earned his way as a bill collector, shoe salesman, railroad worker, wheat binder, longshoreman, and law librarian. When the United States entered the war in 1917, he had just completed his Bachelor of Arts degree and lacked only a few months completing his law degree. He accepted a commission in the Marine Corps and began his five-year period of active duty. In 1922 he returned to Spokane to begin again earning his living as a civilian. His first job was that of vacuum sweeper salesman, an assignment which later proved to be his first real opportunity.

In such jobs Johnston met the problems of self-employment and the one-man business concern. He knew long hours, low wages, limited possibilities for advancement. His ideas of the proper relationships between employer

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3Letter from the Hon. Matthew W. Hill, Judge, Washington State Supreme Court, April 12, 1951. Judge Hill was a student at Washington University during the years that Johnston attended.
and employee came, not from sociology or economics textbooks, but from his own experience. He became convinced that the American system of business permitted the man with drive and ambition to go as far and as fast as his ability and initiative would allow. "Out of his varied jobs developed... a feeling that boundless opportunities are there for anyone to seize if only the will to work is present."4

The Power Brown Company, in which Johnston's mother had invested $2500 of her savings, hired Johnston to sell vacuum sweepers on a commission basis. This job offered him the chance to move ahead. Because sales were slow and his income was low, he learned to repair sweepers and washing machines. Soon he had enough faith in himself and the future to invest $5000 in the concern, which then became the Brown-Johnston Company. Subsequently this firm took over a wholesale supply house, and after a few months Johnston bought out his partner. At the age of thirty-three, Johnston had become the sole owner of the Brown-Johnston Company, an electrical retail concern, and of the Columbia Electric and Manufacturing Company.

Johnston's enterprises survived the depression, and in the year that Franklin Roosevelt moved into the White House, Johnston made his next business venture. It came at the hands of a bank which employed him to salvage the Washington Brick, Lime, and Sewer Pipe Company, a concern in debt over a quarter of a million dollars. The creditors, considering liquidation, hoped for no more than a return of twenty cents on the dollar. Johnston can rightfully boast of his accomplishments on that assignment:

"Instead, I put it back to work, and ... just ten years later, I turned the company back to its owners without a trace of red in its balance sheet, sizable capital in the bank, and profitable operations in full blast."\(^5\)

The indebtedness had actually been paid off within four months, and the prospects for the concern were so bright that Johnston bought twenty-five per cent interest in it and became chairman of the board of directors.

Later, as part owner, he was elected president of the Wayne-Barnaby Company, a contractor in large electrical installations. By the time Johnston went to the presidency of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the businesses that he owned outright or in part were capitalized at about $2,500,000.\(^6\)

Therefore, when he discusses labor-management relationships, he speaks as both a laborer and as a manager. When he presents the problems of unemployment, he speaks as one who has needed a job and who has made jobs. "My personal experience as job-maker has run the gamut from one employee, namely myself, in a one-man business, to my present position \(^7\) in 1944 as employer of nearly two thousand workers."

Yet even Johnston himself can identify the moment at which he formulated his basic philosophies or the source from which they sprang. His total business experience, his battle of give-and-take in the depression, his resuscitation of near-defunct companies gave rise to the ideas that made him the new spokesman for business.

\(^5\)America Unlimited, p. 10.


\(^7\)Johnston, America Unlimited, p. 163.
I thought a great deal in terms of work to be done, rather than in general principles. Perhaps an all-knowing outsider . . . might have discerned the unfoldment of a philosophy of living. I suppose he would have called it practical, pragmatic, a philosophy of action. But I was too deep inside myself for any such analysis. Not until recent years, when I had begun to play some role in the public affairs of my city and state, did I begin to formulate and to some extent systematize my ideas and reactions. The black depression of the 1930s and the spread of various ideologies of despair—challenges to my basic beliefs—implied me, as they did millions of others, to take apart and appraise matters that had until then been accepted uncritically. The increasing demands upon my small talents as a speaker, if nothing else, then forced me to reduce vague inner certainties to more concrete shape.

As John L. Lewis speaks as a first-hand authority on the problems of the coal mining industry, Eric Johnston also offers the school of experience as a source of his ideas on business. Moreover, the record of his successes substantiates those ideas. Charles F. Robertson observed:

I like to think of an individual who by his own ingenuity, his ability, and his industry, has made a success of his own private endeavors. And then having made that success he has been called in to play a great role in the general welfare of the country in a public service, if you please. And I think of no one who more completely symbolizes that particular than Mr. Eric Johnston. . . .

Finally, Johnston acknowledges that his personal experiences as employer and employee were an immediate source of many of the ideas and plans of action he took with him to Washington. The following reference is indicative of that point of origin of his business philosophy: "These are not generalities but concrete facts to which I can bear testimony from long years of rubbing shoulders with workers and businessmen on every social and

8Ibid., p. 3.
TRAVEL

The numerous trips that Johnston made abroad were a third important source of his ideas. On the whole, his travels served as the bases of his comparisons of other standards of living, economic systems, and production methods, with those of the United States. His observations were friendly, yet critical and discerning; and most of the things he saw added strength to his faith in America.  

His Marine Corps duty with the legation guard in Peiping during World War I provided Johnston with his first opportunity to know another country. At odd times he studied and learned some Mandarin, helpful to him in his intelligence section assignments in Siberia, Korea, and the Chinese Interior. Those trips "... opened his eyes to the difference between standards of living in America and the outside world."  

His next major foreign visit came in February, 1943. As chairman of the United States Commission on Inter-American Development, he traveled for five weeks through Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Peru, and Colombia. He visited with presidents and other top officials, with the leading bankers, industrialists, labor leaders, and educators. In the capacity as "business

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10 America Unlimited, p. 174.

11 "I like the American system," Johnston said. "I am committed to it. It's the best I've seen, and I've seen them all." Johnston, "Can the United States Avoid Socialism?" Address, the Economic Club of New York, New York City, March 10, 1949. Mimeographed copy of this speech furnished the writer by the Motion Picture Association of America, p. 11. Hereafter referred to by title and date only.

12 Chamberlain, p. 100.
ambassador," he acquired a first-hand knowledge of economic and social conditions in South America.\textsuperscript{13} Johnston had made this trip for two reasons: (1) he traveled officially for the government, and (2) he traveled for himself, the businessman, seeking information which would provide background for future national business policy. Ever quick to observe and compare, Johnston was struck by "new economic and social-service projects that mirrored modern technology and modern thinking—set against startlingly primitive backgrounds.\textsuperscript{14}

In August, 1943, he began another business tour abroad. This time he "... whirled smoothly and articulately through England..."\textsuperscript{15} as a guest of the British government and the British National Committee of The International Chamber of Commerce. For three weeks he toured Britain, representing the businessmen of the United States. In their behalf he spoke on the war economy and on post-war international commercial relations. He studied British industry and industrial methods in wartime. He inquired into England's war plans on public works, employment, and the future prospects of local and foreign (American) private enterprise.\textsuperscript{16}

Of significance here is the indication of Johnston's ever-present quest for additional information. The more he traveled, the more people he interviewed, the better he could prepare himself to execute his national


\textsuperscript{14}Johnston, \textit{America Unlimited}, p. 190.

\textsuperscript{15}\textit{Time}, XLII (August 30, 1943), 82.

\textsuperscript{16}\textit{New York Times}, July 16, 1943, p. 27.
assignment for business. "You go around talking to people, experiencing new sights and sounds, and you polish yourself like the facets of a diamond."17

Johnston's six-weeks tour of Russia in June and July, 1944, is still further indication of travel as a source of his ideas. He declared that he made this trip as a private citizen. He informed the Russians that he wanted to discover the possibilities of post-war industrial relations between American and Russian interests. The Russians, Pravda observed, knew and appreciated Johnston's position:

When Mr. Johnston returned to the United States, his opinions about Russia were well received in America... because there was a desire in them to judge the Soviet people without prejudice. Johnston related that he had met many Soviet people--directors of plants, engineers, and workers. They all spoke to him freely and sincerely. They all helped him to learn about our country, its achievements and the prospects of its industry.18

On this trip Johnston sought information upon which he could draw in the future. The month he spent there with influential Russian industrialists and his three and one-half hours in private conference with Joseph Stalin were valuable. The visit furnished him many of the ideas he later expressed concerning Russia.19 Several months after his return from that country, he commented on the value of his foreign tours: "In my travels I have rediscovered America. Never before did I realize the importance of our freedom, our standard of living, our right of habeas corpus, our Bill of

17 Time, XLIII (March 27, 1944), 20.

18 Pravda, Moscow, December 9, 1944, quoted in New York Times, December 10, 1944, p. 35.

Rights.*

Johnston emphasized the importance of his broad travel. From many of the personalities he met, he picked out those parts of their philosophies which seemed best, and he made them his own.

I have had a great deal of good fortune.... I have been lucky enough to travel the length and breadth of our nation many times, and also to visit many other countries. Moreover, I have been privileged to meet the leaders of men wherever I went, as well as the rank and file. As I went along I explored the minds of these people and shamelessly appropriated what seemed to me wise, stimulating, and true.21

Johnston's travels are no doubt a pertinent source of his ideas.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

A final source of Johnston's ideas is the national Chamber of Commerce, its systems of operations and its established policies and procedures.

Broadly speaking, the national office is an organization devoted entirely to representing the business point of view. For many years it has steadily disseminated pro-business opinion and policy.22 Once it had determined its attitude on a given issue, it began the task of promoting the idea nationally. Through the press, radio, public platform and its own magazine Nation's Business, it conducted "... a never-ending campaign


21/America Unlimited, p. v.

22/When Johnston, always the man of action, was reminded that the national Chamber of Commerce was founded as a policy-forming organization for business, he observed, "By now it has accumulated enough policy to run on for years." Hereafter, he declared, it would be a service organization. Business Week, August 8, 1942, p. 20.
to get the American people and their governmental agencies to accept as their own. . ." the chamber of commerce policy.

A basic philosophy of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States is that there must be unrestricted freedom of enterprise and competition for American industry. That office aspires "To foster individual initiative in America and throughout the world, so that the private enterprise system can provide more and better things at lower cost for more people." Furthermore, as a safeguard against attacks on the system, it aims

To make a constant study of legislation bearing upon the national economy, to keep the chamber membership advised of legislative developments in this field, and to oppose all schemes which would substitute a planned economy for free enterprise.

Government restrictions on private industry directly restrict the American people and discourage private initiative. Even during the depression there was "no wavering in the firmly-rooted chamber policy that government should neither aid nor regulate—except where absolutely necessary—in the area of private enterprise." There is neither time nor need to list here the stands taken by that office on the numerous New Deal policies, for it was opposed to all restrictive legislation. Shreve comments specifically on that opposition: "In its every pronouncement on the social legislation spree of the 1930's, the Chamber varied not a whit from its underlying belief that

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26 Ibid., p. 20.
the general welfare is forever best served through free institutions, through freedom of opportunity and through freedom of movement."27

At its annual meetings, attended by representatives of the local groups, the national organization adopts resolutions concerning the position that will be taken on current matters of interest to business. Here the whole membership can express its views and finally arrive at a plan of action that represents business. Also, the national Board of Directors, composed of elected prominent businessmen throughout the nation, frames a question on a specific issue. Through its system of referendum, it then polls the membership to determine the stand that business will take on that issue.28

In addition to the basic policy, the activity of the national convention, and the system of referendum, there is still another factor within the national Chamber of Commerce which influenced Johnston's personal relationship to his office and his representation of American business. That is the make-up of the "Old Guard," the men who had previously made the office in Washington "a practical adjunct of Republican Party diehards..."29 One editorial writer observed, "The senior group held honestly to the conviction that any real alliance with Roosevelt meant an end of cherished individualism, defeat of 'the American way of life,'"30

27Ibid., p. 21.
29Chamberlain, p. 105.
30Business Week, August 8, 1942, p. 19.
The fact that such an attitude existed does not mean that Johnston perpetuated it. Actually, he was elected to combat it. Where previously there had been a constant feud between government and business, between labor and business, Johnston immediately embarked upon a program of reconciliation. "One of my main hopes," he declared, "... was to end that feud, to heal that breach." To attack and overcome the highly unfavorable reputation that business had experienced during the last decade necessitated his forceful yet diplomatic plowing a new field: he had to break through to government, labor, and agriculture.

A month after he became president, he obtained his interview with Franklin D. Roosevelt. Likewise, he conferred with the leaders of labor, potent and longtime foes of the Chamber of Commerce. Johnston had no intention of moving into the "enemy's" camp and accepting the New Deal in toto. Rather, he wanted to establish for business its just place in a changing economic system.

Thus, the Chamber of Commerce influenced Johnston's ideas: (1) it had broad, generally agreed upon purposes, which the new president developed or changed; (2) it utilized a system of national convention and referendum to assist in the determination of policy; and (3) it provided the challenge to overcome a backward philosophy of private enterprise.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter has been to point out some of the sources of Johnston's ideas as related to his activity in the United States Chamber of Commerce. Four have been discussed: (1) Johnston's childhood and school

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31 America Unlimited, p. 22.
days founded his life-long attitude toward self-sufficiency and initiative. In his Horatio Alger background lay the seeds of the ideas he later put in his premise of "individualism in America": resourcefulness, confidence, and the desire to make the most of things as they are.

(2) His own career in business was the source of his ideas on capitalism at work for the small businessman. For twenty years prior to his becoming president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, he worked at a variety of jobs, advancing himself until he was manager, owner, or director of numerous businesses. When Johnston later spoke on labor, the problems of wages and hours, the responsibilities of management, the risks in investment or production or distribution, he could well speak with authority from his personal affairs conducted successfully. What he knew of business had come from his personal experiences.

(3) Johnston's travels were a third source. His tour of duty in World War I gave him his first observation of foreign economic conditions. His numerous trips throughout the United States and later to Russia, South America, and England provided him a deeper insight into foreign and domestic affairs. By his first-hand, personal knowledge he could compare conditions here and abroad, make suggestions for improvement, defend the good, and attack the bad. What he saw and learned abroad was a source of his ideas.

(4) Finally, the Chamber of Commerce gave him ideas and lines of action. Some of its philosophy guided him, as did some of its operational techniques. Likewise, its purpose as a clearing-house for the dissemination of information in behalf of business, and its failure to represent accurately the opinion of businessmen, moved him to speak. The faults to be corrected in the approaches and attitudes of that office were a source of his ideas.
Eric Johnston's basic ideas about the capitalistic economy had their source in his childhood and early youth, his travels, business experiences, and in the Chamber of Commerce. They more nearly conformed to the changes that had taken place during the New Deal era and the period of war preparation than did those of many other business leaders.

As a spokesman for business, Johnston had only one subject: capitalism. No matter what his immediate topic, he ultimately related it to that subject. He called his special brand of capitalism by many names: the "American-born capitalism," "participating capitalism," "people's capitalism," and "nurturing capitalism." His favorite name for it, however, was simply "the New Capitalism."

In this chapter the speaker's ideas are examined from two aspects:
(1) What is the basic philosophy of Johnston's "new capitalism"? and
(2) What are the lines of argument through which he presented that philosophy?

BASIC PHILOSOPHY: THE "NEW CAPITALISM"

Johnston's advocacy of a "new" approach to the American economy did not mean that he wished to abandon capitalism or change its name. "I belong," he said, "to those spokesmen for the capitalistic order who accept it
enthusiastically despite its shortcomings.¹

However, as a representative of a new approach, he was quick to point out his disapproval of the "old capitalism." By that name he referred to the era of *laissez-faire* and the "Robber Barons." That was the period described by the dictionary definition: "A system that favors the concentration of capital in the hands of a few."

The entire New Deal had attacked that old regime, and Johnston advocated a compromise. For example, he held no more respect for monopoly than he did the New Dealers. The old capitalism encouraged special privileges for special groups, and it forbade true competition, he said. Johnston catalogued the iniquities of the earlier system as forcefully as any anti-capitalist:

> It had a preponderance of plutocrats on the one hand and a preponderance of paupers on the other. It was a capitalism of class distinctions, of special privileges for a ruling class; ... a capitalism of private monopolies, cartels, state grants, and charters. Its creed was to divide up markets, restrict production, keep wages down and prices up.²

But that "freebooting period" is gone, he declared. No longer should business seek to thrive on low wages and maximum profits from minimum turnover. He believed that there was justification for certain public regulation of the competitive process. He recognized that collective bargaining is here to stay, and the *laissez-faire* capitalism is out forever. The old-style monopolists "who would turn back the clock of history in this respect


are as unrealistic in their way as the addle-brained paper planners of our
economic salvation. . . ."\(^3\) It is therefore easy to understand why the
"Old Guard" in the Chamber of Commerce thought Johnston was a radical and
why President Roosevelt was surprised that such a man had been elected head
of the Chamber of Commerce.

Johnston's ideal lay somewhere between the extreme right of \textit{laissez-faire} and the extreme left of government ownership and control. He defined
the "New Capitalism" as "... a competitive economic system designed for
the enrichment of the many and not to make a few men rich."\(^4\)

He maintained that the success of both government and industry was so
interrelated that complete separation was possible only on paper. "Our
task is not to drive government out of business or business out of govern-
ment. . . . Our task is to adjust old values to new conditions; to cure
economy and government alike of abuses. We shall indeed be unwise if we
fail to survey the common ground on which old and new can meet and blend.
That common ground is what I have called the middle way."\(^5\)

Johnston held that any extreme form of control, whether by government,
labor, or industry, was dangerous. Super-planners, socialists, and, conse-
sequently, the Robber Barons were equally undesirable in his plan of
moderation. He sought temperance on the part of all socio-economic groups,
rather than restraint imposed by any one of them.

\(^3\) Johnston, "America Unlimited." Address, the War Council and 31st
Annual Meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, New York City, April 27, 1943.
Vital Speeches, IX (June 15, 1943), 524. A copy of the text is also de-
posited in the United States Chamber of Commerce.

\(^4\) Johnston, "A Decade of Decisions." Address Chamber of Commerce Annual
Convention, Atlantic City, New Jersey, May 2, 1946. Pamphlet (Washington,

\(^5\) Johnston, \textit{America Unlimited}, pp. 38 f.
Whether Johnston spoke on taxation, foreign relations, the post-war economy—whatever his subject—he always sought to find the common grounds of agreement between opposing factions. There must be concessions made, he believed, between the freedom of industry and the alarming trend toward the super-state. "The middle-way program," he held, "recognizes that dictatorship from left or right is an ever-present threat so long as hunger, misery, privilege and corruption exist. The imperative need for compromise and ultimate agreement between factions is basic in his idea of the middle way, for, he argues, "We prosper best under the freedom of give-and-take."7

Johnston's compromise approach necessitated a greater freedom of the individual. In fact, he saw capitalism and democracy as complementary systems of economics and government: both recognized liberty of thought and action for people living and working together in an economic society which they owned, operated, and governed. "In the field of government, this [human freedom] has taken the form of political democracy... In the field of economy, it has taken the form of a free capitalist society."8

In a New York Times radio forum Johnston specified the interrelation of individualism, democracy, and capitalism:


7America Unlimited, p. 37.

8"America Unlimited," Address, April 27, 1943, p. 523.
The main source of our economic power and achievement has been the individual American—his urge to express and to realize the best that is in him. He has found a competitive capitalist society the most stimulating to his creative instincts. America and capitalism are synonymous. The individual is the key to economic accomplishment.

Johnston's own faith in "democratic capitalism" was sincere, and the people who listened to him sensed it. As one writer said, "To anyone who has the opportunity to listen to this man's expressions of his belief it becomes manifest that here, if anywhere, is an American who sincerely believes in the vast future of America." Properly enough, Johnston has been referred to as the "Missionary for the American system." 

Johnston aptly phrased his idea of individualism as a component part of capitalism in a University of Chicago Round Table discussion in London:

What we should do is to stimulate the individual to the fullest possible extent to make use of the advantages and talents which he may have. . . . In America I want to preserve the chance to take a chance. . . . I want the same opportunity for the young man that I had after the last war—the freedom to choose for himself and not to have that choice made by some bureaucrat; the freedom to invest his money as he chooses and not to have that money taken away by taxation because the bureaucrat knows better how to invest it than he does.

Finally, the new capitalism permitted a compatible existence for big and little business. Small businesses were to be encouraged, Johnston maintained, to stand on their own initiative without the artificial

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10 Daniel, p. 11.

11 Newsweek, XXVII (January 14, 1946), 65.

crutches of too much government subsidization. Their life, growth, and prosperity were "the heart and core of the American system" and evidenced the demise of the "old" capitalism.  

"Bigness" alone was not to be condemned. The real test, Johnston said to a House Judiciary Subcommittee investigating certain charges against big business, is that there must be fair dealing, efficiency, opportunity, and competition. "In the years ahead, in my opinion, the inevitable trend will be toward bigger business, bigger government, bigger labor, bigger agriculture. This big country is getting bigger all the time." Popular criticism had previously been sidetracked to another issue: capitalism was a matter of one big element against another.

"... instead, it's a question of living side by side with one another. It is important to keep this picture in proper perspective, or we shall get warped and distorted views."  

To a Young Republican National Confederation meeting he contended that "In a free society, the spirit of competition is as inevitable as it is necessary and valuable to the society. The competition of ideas; the competition of personalities for posts of leadership, constitute a bulwark of a free society. It is the antithesis of the total state system where no competition with the views of the central ruling group is


14 Johnston, statement, November 16, 1949. Copy furnished the writer by the Motion Picture Association of America, p. 4.

15 Ibid., p. 2.
tolerated."16 Competitive enterprise, Johnston held, gave vent to American initiative in the industrial "game."17 Competition between the big and the little business demands all improvements which reduce production costs and thereby lower the market price for advantage.

Thus, five salient features distinguish the new capitalism. (1) It disapproves of monopoly, but rejects any attempt by government or labor to dominate private enterprise. (2) It recognizes such employee rights as collective bargaining, minimum wage, and pension plans; but it reserves for management the right to manage. (3) It advocates that concessions be made by all factions of the economy. (4) It upholds freedom of the individual. (5) It offers a competitive program for both big and little business.

The philosophy underlying the entire system is that there must be constant adjustment as capitalism adapts itself to social, economic, and political change. Unlike the old system, which floundered in "congealed and untouchable dogmas" and "petrified prejudices," the new approach is never closed. Rather, it is "a human institution, vibrant and evolutionary, capable constantly of adjusting itself to new conditions."18

16 The Republican Creed and a People's Capitalism. Address, June 7, 1947, p. 3004.

17 "It is not an accident that Americans refer to their work as the 'game' they are in. Whatever the game, competition is its soul." Johnston, America Unlimited, p. 10.

LINES OF ARGUMENT

Johnston believed in capitalism, and he designed his speeches to support his belief. In developing his arguments for the middle-of-the-road program, he spoke on five specific topics. The following outline shows those topics and their relationships to subsidiary ideas.

The New Capitalism

I. Cooperation is imperative among all segments of the economy.
   A. Industry-government relations are dependent upon cooperation, for
      1. Certain government controls are necessary and justified.
      2. Continuation of all the New Deal and war controls will not permit free enterprise to survive.
      3. The theory of the super-state violates the entire principle of democratic government.
   B. Labor-management relations are dependent upon cooperation, for
      1. Neither group can gain at the expense of the other.
      2. Cooperation will protect both groups from the rise of a super-state.
   C. Industry-agriculture relations are dependent upon cooperation.

II. The foreign policy of the United States must promote a cooperative, industrial prosperity.
    A. Cooperation will insure a better understanding among nations.
    B. Different nations have different ideologies and practices.

III. The post-war problems must be anticipated and worked out in advance.
    A. Controls must be lifted as soon as possible.
    B. The responsibility of employment must be returned to private industry.
    C. The United States will be an international leader.

IV. Industry must support a fair social security program.
    A. Provide only a minimum protection.
    B. Retain the employee's desire for creative employment.
    C. Eliminate federal doles.
    D. Be substantial enough to keep the employee from turning to government for aid.

V. The present tax laws should be revised downward.
    A. The current trend in taxation leads toward the totalitarian state.
    B. The present laws destroy incentive to conduct a profitable business.
Cooperation.—One of Johnston's five principal arguments was that all components of the capitalist society—labor, management, agriculture, and government—must be brought into a cooperative, working agreement. There must be positive effort on the part of each, Johnston maintained, to find solutions to their overlapping interests. "We're going to have to have statesmen in the true sense of the word in business and in labor and in agriculture and in government, statesmen who will sit down with other statesmen and in a calm and sensible manner work out a solution to common problems."

Johnston's idea of cooperation did not imply that labor, management, agriculture, and government had no fundamental differences or no real conflicts of interest. He did insist, however, that the factors which unify them far outweigh those that divide them. "If the effort to find the areas of agreement is undertaken in a spirit of cooperation, it will appear quickly enough that the common interests are overwhelmingly more important than the cleavages." Similarly, he asserted to a radio audience, "We will always have differences of opinion and we will always have a striving to obtain group advantage. But we must realize that there must be an equitable balance in our economy, and that if one end

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of the seesaw is always up the other is bound to be always down.21

The greatest stumbling block to understanding lay not in the unwillingness of the various groups to meet cooperatively. Instead, the participants brought with them to their meetings the assumption that their interests were irreconcilable and that they were essentially opposed. "I, for one," Johnston insisted, "prefer to start from the opposite assumption, that cooperation is normal, and conflict a kind of mental aberration that should be cured before it makes too much headway."22

Johnston was well aware that many groups preached cooperation while wholeheartedly grinding their own axes. The idea of "interlocking interests has been so often made the object of after-dinner oratory and inflated generalization that it has lost its appeal."23 He maintained, however, that his premise was not a generalization or a vague sentimentality. Cooperation in the new capitalism would work . . . because it rests on the unsentimental fact that there are areas of agreement on which the most diverse groups in our national community can meet as friends in search of solutions and not as enemies in search of lethal weapons."24

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23 Johnston, America Unlimited, p. 29.

24 Ibid.
Johnston also found a moral aspect in cooperation. Selfishness in any form, in his opinion, is morally wrong. Any immediate advantages that one group may win over another will ultimately be paid for in imbalance and chaos. "Intelligent self-interest," he is convinced, "demands that the well-being of the whole American people be made the sole and final criterion of action." Planning only for the betterment of the group is a moral mistake and is bad business for the group, even if that planning is "good and high-minded." The program of one segment in the intricate social pattern "... is irrelevant unless it fits into the larger mosaic of forces and interests and obligations."25

Here, then, is the essence of Johnston's tenet on cooperation in the "new" capitalism. There was no limit to it: it applied to all segments of American life, wherein the greatest accomplishments materialized only "... when the competitive and cooperative instincts both become integrated."26 Labor, agriculture, and management are interdependent and prosper only when they share the prosperity.

One group cannot permanently enjoy advantages and privileges at the expense of the other or both of the others. Our economic life is not broken into separate, independent compartments. Its component parts overlap and entwine, so that decay and corruption in one spreads inevitably to the rest. Any group which through coercion or wile succeeds incornering undue privileges in the long run pays for it tenfold in the general economic maladjustments that follow.28

26Ibid.
27Ibid., p. 19.
28Ibid., p. 28.
After he had been in Washington for one year, he made a radio appeal to the nation, calling for concentrated effort of all Americans to win the war. Those in business could manage better, he said; those in labor could work even harder; those on farms could produce more; those in government could be guided by the rule that the war comes first.  

Cooperation, although it would perhaps not settle every difference between factions, could at least be the initial step in the conciliation process. "Cooperation . . . is a wonderful thing," he told a motion picture group seen after he left the Chamber of Commerce. "It works two ways. It's not alone getting the other fellow to work with you. Cooperation means taking the kinks out of yourself so you can work with other people. It makes for a balance."

On numerous occasions Johnston built his speech specifically on the idea that successful industry-government relations are dependent upon sincere cooperation. There must be a positive effort on the part of each, Johnston maintained, to find solutions to their overlapping problems. In one of his earliest speeches as president of the Chamber of Commerce, he emphasized that idea.

...we must have a new order of cooperation between government, management, labor and agriculture. . . . This era will not come to pass without a new perception by management of the problems of government and a new understanding by government of the problems of management. . . .


We are all going to have to row together if we're going to shoot the rapids of post-war conversion and maintain our freedoms. We're going to have to stop calling names and engaging in backstairs gossip like disgruntled old housewives.31

One of Johnston's ideas most shocking to many big industrialists was that he believed a certain amount of government regulation and control of business was necessary. That regulation of industry should be kept at a minimum, of course, and so devised as to stimulate, rather than suppress individual initiative and ambition. The new capitalism acknowledged "... that severe economic and social dislocations accompanying war and depression ... have caused government to assume responsibilities which necessarily tend to burden and hamper the capitalistic mechanism. ..."32 As government assumed more authority and established more bureaus, the nearer it came to the super-state, socialism, or communism. Whatever name the super-government took, its increasing strength lay in the freedoms it took from the people. "We need effective government, of course," he said at a dinner of the Newspaper Publishers Association in 1944. "We recognize that changes in modern life have necessitated some extension of central public supervision. ... But government must be limited in scope. A little government goes a long way."33


By the time of this speech, the War Production Board controlled the use of raw materials and fabricated items through priority regulations; the Office of Price Administration undertook the gigantic task of rationing and price ceilings; the Selective Service System and the War Manpower Commission limited the right of a worker to change jobs. See The United States at War, Historical Reports of War Administration, Bureau of the Budget, No. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 463.

Proper understanding and cooperation between industry and government would arrest the trend toward government domination of the people. The super-state is not a government by and for the people it is supposed to represent. As government assumed more powers, Johnston asserted, it was becoming the employer of the nation's labor. It starved capital by wiping out savings and earnings through excessive taxation. When the public treasury held all the available investment capital, only the government could create jobs. If cooperation fails, and government assumes supremacy, the bureaucratic state will result:

Government cannot assume the job of dictating to business— or of running business—without arming itself with the arbitrary powers necessary for such a gigantic undertaking. Government cannot absorb the functions normally exercised by thousands of separate private enterprises without producing a fantastically swollen bureaucracy. And that bureaucracy—if only in the interests of efficiency—will tend to perpetuate itself until it becomes a ruling class apart from and above the people.34

Finally, industry and government must work together to find those areas of production in which there would be the least industrial competition between them. The participation of government in industry should be confined to those projects which least hamper private production. In that agreement, said Johnston, would lie the indication of the government's sincerity in maintaining private enterprise. "We must not," Johnston said on an A.F. of L. radio forum broadcast, "underestimate the importance of Government in our national economy. Let us hope that Government will always be willing to encourage. Instead of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs, we shall all do much better by trying to

hatch more geese that can lay golden eggs—and the golden eggs of tomorrow are the jobs created by big business and by little business enterprise which has dreams of itself some day becoming big."

A second particular area for cooperation, Johnston maintained, was that between labor and management. Profitable relationship was possible only when both groups solved their mutual problems cooperatively. It is that idea which lends credence to his use of the term "partnership capitalism."

Johnston held that labor and management should not think of each other as opponents. The owner, manager, foreman, technician, worker, salesman, advertising man, lawyer, and many others must cooperate for the success of a business. "In detail American capitalism is intensely competitive," he asserted; "but in its entirety it is inter-dependent. No part of it . . . can long be permitted to decline or to suffer without dragging down the rest. They must flourish together." Labor and management must work together to keep a business operating smoothly and to protect their investments, their incomes, and their existence. Industry, in starving


36"American capitalism," said Johnston, "is unlike the old world style of capitalism, as much so as our standard of living is unlike the old world standard. It's a partnership capitalism, a people's capitalism. They benefit from it, and so they support it." Johnston, "To Give Labor a Sense of Dignity," the New York Times Magazine, March 30, 1947, p. 56.

37America Unlimited, p. 11.
labor, starves the purchasers of its products. By the same token, when labor starves capital by imposing restrictions on profits and savings, it is limiting new capital and new jobs.

Johnston declared that labor and management had real stakes in the policies and practices of each other. Neither could set itself up as a secret society, forbidding public scrutiny of finances, elections, policies. Unless labor and management took it upon themselves to control and regulate their interests and differences amicably, the government would step in and impose controls to the disliking of both.\(^{38}\) As monopoly and oligarchy in big business were repugnant to the new capitalism, so were the minority dictation and oligarchy in labor. The essence of the American democracy is lost when either the union member is denied a voice in his union's affairs or the stockholder is prevented from actively participating in the formation of policies for his company. Democracy and cooperation are necessary between unions and industries, he said, for "... to survive and prosper they must become more free, more democratic, more socially minded. They must cease to regard themselves as embattled armies and learn to think of themselves as vital, co-ordinated elements in a complex economic machine."\(^{39}\) At a Boston University Founders' Day dinner he made the same argument: both labor and management will always exist, and despite their immediate or temporary gains over each other, neither can flourish or contribute to the advancement of the nation unless they work at their problems cooperatively. Both groups must

\(^{38}\text{Ibid., pp. 183 ff.}\)

\(^{39}\text{Ibid., p. 177.}\)
make the choice—whether to continue the brawl and ruin the country, or
to work together and stay free. Isolating himself for a moment, he stated
concisely the theme: "Gentlemen of management and gentlemen of labor—
if you really want a free and fair America, you have got to go after it
together." 

Finally, Johnston argued that through cooperation, labor and manage­
ment could protect themselves from the rise of the super-state. It was
his idea that the more either group asks for, the more power it relin­
quishes to the government. Management and labor, by cooperating, can
reduce the appeals they make to government for aid. Armed with the
strength of their numbers, they are in a better position to bargain with
government. The alternative, he said, "... is a super-state, the decay
of the American system, the beginning of a cycle of tyranny and impover­
ishment such as other nations have experienced when the individual was
superseded by the State." 

To conclude this discussion of Johnston's labor-management arguments,
it is appropriate to cite what Johnston proposed as four fundamental
principles from which amicable relations between those groups must stem:

First: Labor unions are now woven into our economic fabric
and collective bargaining is an essential part of the demo­
cratic process. The nation and industry must accept this as
a fact. I mean accept it, not from the lips, but from the
heart.

40 Johnston, "A Warning to Labor and to Management," March 13, 1944,
Boston, Massachusetts. A. Craig Baird, Representative American Speeches,

41 Johnston, "The Road to Realism." Address, Columbia Institute of
Arts and Sciences, New York City, March 24, 1943. Pamphlet (Washington,
Second: Management must retain the unabridged right to manage. Its right to initiate, the right to make decisions must remain where it is now.

Third: Both labor and management must recognize that even higher standards of living come only from increased productivity. Anything which retards output or cuts into quality becomes by definition immoral, anti-social and untenable.

Fourth: The consumer, the worker and the investor must all share equitably in the fruits of increased production. Their respective shares might be labeled lower prices, higher wages, sounder profits.

Consistent with his view of cooperation among all elements of the new capitalistic economy, Johnston argued that profitable industrial-agricultural relations will stem from a mutually cooperative program. He held that neither group could prosper independently: the farmer could not benefit if industry were trampled; the industrialist could not benefit if agriculture were underpaid or undersold by foreign markets. To a Chamber of Commerce audience of industrialists and business men, he pointed out the need for cooperation in this area: "Agriculture, in the spirit of unity, must understand that we must produce more efficiently, at lower cost; that an economy of scarcity in the post-war world, will be an economy of ruin; that a well-paid management and a well-paid labor is [sic] essential to buy the produce of the farm."

As he constantly warned industry and labor of the dangers of too much reliance upon government, he likewise gave agriculture that admonition. If agriculture was to remain free, its salvation lay in cooperation

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with industry and labor in working out their common destinies. They must not turn to government for all the solutions to difficult problems.

Bluntly he stated that idea to an annual meeting of the American Farm Federation in 1944:

I know that American farmers do not want to become wards of the government. As free men they want to stand on their own feet. But if they rely upon government subsidies and government handouts, the day will eventually come when they will not be free. They need rain to grow their crops, but they do not need government wet nurses.

On another occasion Johnston spoke on a forum sponsored by the same organization. On this program to promote cooperation between the three groups, Edward A. O'Neal, president of the American Federation of the Farm Bureau, represented agriculture; William Green represented labor; and Johnston, industry. Here Johnston called for "... the highest degree of unity and the fullest cooperation among our economic groups."

He concluded the speech with his basic contention that their common purpose can be fulfilled and enjoyed only through their unity:

To be prosperous, as you have indicated, America must produce. That applies to the farm and to industry. Industry needs a prosperous agricultural population to absorb its products; and the farmer wants a prosperous industry with high employment at good wages because the industrial worker buys the products of the farm abundantly or sparingly as his income goes up or down.

Without an economy of abundance, we cannot enjoy abundant living. We cannot have either unless we are united in a com-

men purpose to aid each other in building a better America. 45

Foreign Policy.—A second major topic in Johnston's argument for the new capitalism was that for an enlightened foreign policy. The foreign policy of the United States, Johnston held, must promote a cooperative, industrial prosperity. That prosperity should be centered around a program of "freedom to trade", not necessarily "free trade." The feature of capitalistic competition should be applied on a world scale, he said, and "The new era will be one of economic partnership among nations." 46

Johnston believed that an extensive, international trade could serve as the basis for better understanding among nations. Through a more liberal trade program the industrially backward nations could raise their standards of living. The whole world could share the increased potentialities of mass production if there were freedom to exchange goods and services on a competitive international market. 47 Without the better understanding and the general prosperity that will come with it, "... we may find more soldiers crossing the borders in the future; there is no peace without prosperity." 48

45 Unity of Labor and Management, p. A2205.


Johnston's idea of a foreign policy called for the recognition that different nations have different ideologies, standards of society, and morals. Even though space has been telescoped by the airplane, radio, newspapers, "... the differences between nations and peoples are as formidable as ever." He did not hold with Wendell Willkie about the "oneness" of the world. Instead, to Johnston the world was complex, disjointed, and often contradictory. The "dizzy multiplicity" of the varied nationalities led him to feel that

Places separated by only a few hours' flying are too often separated by centuries of history.

What is 'truth' in one place is regarded as the essence of falsehood in another; what seems just from our standpoint may seem iniquitous from the other fellow's; one nation's reasonable expediency may be another's deadly poison.

Cooperative nations must recognize those fundamental differences. They must admit the rights of individuals and separate nations to retain the points of view each chooses. The United States has every right to boost her own ideals of freedom, democracy, and individualism. On the other hand, every other nation has the same right. "... despite our colossal weight in world affairs," Johnston declared, "... we are far from out-balancing the rest of the nations. The voice of America is listened to, but it is not a solo; it must be harmonized with the chorus of nations."

49 Johnston, America Unlimited, p. 220.


51 America Unlimited, p. 220.

52 Ibid., p. 221.
In a statement on the eve of Wartime National Foreign Trade Week, May 16—20, 1943, he voiced precisely those factors which, to him, constituted the core of a successful post-war foreign relations program. In the period after the war, he said, there will be great opportunity for the real test of American democracy:

... in this period we must come to some understanding of interrelationships between nations. ... There is no better way to secure this understanding than through the increase in the exchange of goods and services between various parts of the world. ... World trade must be stimulated. In the process it must be further understood that allowances must be made for differences in political, social and economic conditions in the respective nations. But ways will be found to protect adequately these differences, while increasing the happiness and prosperity of the peoples of the world through the greater exchange of goods and services.53

**Post-War Problems.**—Johnston's third basic argument was that the post-war problems must be anticipated and solutions must be sought in advance. At a board of director's meeting, he gave the Chamber of Commerce the essence of the idea: post-war planning must be the cooperative effort of all groups in the economy. He declared,

The key part of my program is that agriculture, labor, business, and Government all have the same fundamental interests. The problems facing the country after the war will be so big that no one of them will be able to handle them alone.54

One of the most difficult problems would be the matter of controls. Generally, the scores of war-time agencies held the respect of industry and the public.55 In spite of the hardships and inequities visible in the

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55 *The United States at War*, p. 133.
restrictions on society, the American people recognized controls as inevitable in an all-out war. But the most serious concern to Johnston was the enthusiasm with which the government entered into its role as a totalitarian state. Did the government assure the people that the privileges they had relinquished would be returned after the war? Were the socialists and super-planners, he wanted to know, becoming so entrenched that they could not or would not be dislodged after the war?

In a luncheon address to the Union League Club of New York late in 1942, he firmly took the stand that controls must be removed as soon as possible after the war. He declared that the American people were willing to endure the present hardships and regimentation. They were willing, he predicted, to endure more than they had so far because they knew and understood the reasons for such action. But, he pointed out, when the war was over, the American people would remove from office any official who tried to impose or retain regimentation.56

In November, 1942, at the New York Herald-Tribune forum on current affairs, Johnston put it bluntly:

The American people are tasting regimentation in this war, and we are willing to swallow more of the medicine of sacrifice if it means quicker victory. However, any politician who proposes regimentation after Hitler and Hirohito have gone to their well-deserved doom will be quickly removed from office by the dictate of the people.57

Decontrol did not mean, however, that the entire control system should be instantly removed on the V-Days. Instead, Johnston's middle-

56 Johnston, "The War of Preparation." Address, The Union League Club, New York City, October 8, 1942. Text deposited in U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

of-the-road plan specified that certain controls be continued for a period after the war, and even then be relinquished gradually. The crux of the whole matter lay in the ability of the government to plan justly and adequately to return to private individuals and private concerns the activities that had been controlled or restricted during the emergency.

The majority of the United States citizens favored, Johnston believed, the economic freedoms provided by capitalism. For that reason, they wanted to see capitalism returned after the war. The bigger the government became, he pointed out to them, the smaller the people would become and the fewer the privileges they would have. In a radio address late in 1943 he forcefully expressed that point:

Public opinion in the United States overwhelmingly favors the freest possible economy for this country when the war is over. We know from experience that the greatest progress for our nation can be achieved under a system which calls forth the initiative, the enterprise of millions of individuals. We know that a handful of bureaucrats in control of the economy cannot hope to match the energy and intelligence of millions. . . . it is the hope of American business men to conduct their trade after victory, domestically and internationally, with a minimum of controls and restrictions and a maximum of free enterprise.

A second major post-war consideration was unemployment. Johnston believed that after the war the responsibility of employment should be returned to private industry. Only a few days after he became president

58 Johnston, interview, reported by the New York Times, April 26, 1943, p. 21.


60 In 1940 there were 4,816,000 persons in government employ; 9,533,000 in 1942; 15,301,000 in 1943; 17,825,000 in 1944. The Economic Almanac for 1950 (New York: National Industrial Conference Board, 1950), pp. 163 ff.
of the United States Chamber of Commerce, he spoke by shortwave to the fighting forces abroad, promising them that American business and industry "... will have jobs for you when you return to your country..."

We cannot allow hundreds of thousands of men and women, hungry for employment, eager for a chance to use their talents, their brains and their energy, to go jobless in this land of hope and opportunity. If private industry were not permitted to provide employment after the war, there would be no alternative but for the people to turn to the government for their livelihoods. If the government became the principal employer, Johnston said later on a current affairs forum, the employee and eventually the industrialist would be under state domination. However, Johnston had such faith in the ability of private industry and the people's desire for a democratic government, that he declared, "I absolutely refuse to believe that in fighting a totalitarian war, we must, after winning victory, become totalitarian ourselves."

Within the post-war problem of employment lay the highly controversial question of wages. Johnston contended that labor and management must begin immediately to work out mutually acceptable wage and salary


scales. If industry failed to offer a "living wage," as had been the charge against it during the 1930's, again government would step in to prevent or alleviate widespread depression. Whether the government was Democratic or Republican made no difference, declared Johnston. Either party would promote a new and greater public works program, putting millions to work. The result: workers are not likely to kill their employer at the ballot box; the socialistic bureaucracy would tend to perpetuate itself. The United States and, in turn, its system of private enterprise, were thus endangered; it was the responsibility of industry "... to provide adequate employment at just compensation..." and be ready to offer a workable plan which would meet post-war conditions.

In 1943 John Snyder, of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, predicted that "... substantial unemployment lies ahead." If there were to be "substantial unemployment," it must not come as a

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66 Snyder said, "It is unlikely that the economic absorption of workers, either through retirements from the labor force or increased employment, can keep pace with the demobilization of troops in the next six to nine months. We must face the fact that substantial unemployment lies ahead." New York Times, October 2, 1945, p. 1.
surprise. Private industry must be ready for it. The point was, Johnston believed, that the United States had to be economically free to permit those with initiative the opportunity to find or make their employment. Planners who held that the economy had reached the saturation point for new developments and expansions heard Johnston define their "mature economy" as "an economy where the frontiers of land have been reached and the frontiers of the mind are closed."67 The new capitalism, instead, would meet the challenge of full employment, offering to the returning service men a nation that is "Open to them to get jobs, open to them to become employers of labor. Open to the opportunity for the plumber's son to study law, to become a doctor; or a doctor's son to be a plumber, if that's what he wants."68

There is no single speech which better illustrates Johnston's premise on post-war America than that he delivered on a New York Herald-Tribune radio forum in 1942. In discussing the part that both management and labor must play after the war is won, he cites three responsibilities of private enterprises: (1) private enterprise should provide employment at just compensation; (2) the United States should work toward a better world so that there will be peace and prosperity in this nation; and (3) better management will insure that progress will not be


68Johnston, "Peace through Vigilance." Address, National Convention of American Legion, Omaha, Nebraska, September 21, 1943. Text deposited in U.S. Chamber of Commerce.
The third basic post-war problem to which Johnston referred was the position of the United States as a world leader. Whether the people wish it or not, Johnston contended, the United States will have to assume world leadership after the war. Because the United States will be the most powerful nation mentally and physically, he asserted, "... America will have no alternative, in the name of decency or self-interest, but to help bring order out of the chaos brought by war." The ultimate aim of the new capitalism, Johnston believed, was prosperity; that prosperity, however, could not be one-sided. The capitalist system would grow and become stronger only if the world were prosperous. The United States, as the victor, the strongest survivor, and the exponent of democracy and capitalism, had the moral obligation to lend her hand in world leadership after the war. "There are no roads to global peace that do not lead through the United States. ... We are destined to play a major role in the drama of post-war development." Thus, Johnston argued from three basic contentions on post-war American problems: (1) business, labor, and agriculture must work together to free themselves of pre-war and emergency controls; (2) employment for

69 "The Adventure of Tomorrow." Address, November 16, 1942.


the masses must come from private industry, not from a would-be totalitarian government; and (3) the United States must take her place as an international leader to help war-torn countries re-establish themselves, bringing economic peace and prosperity to the world.

**Social Security.**—A fourth line of argument basic to Johnston's new capitalism was that a good social security program should have the wholehearted support of American business. In spite of his strong belief in the initiative and resourcefulness of the American people, he nevertheless recognized the urgent need for a social insurance plan to protect the workers against unpredictable economic hazards. In a Chicago address in 1944 he declared,

> Social security is a public necessity in our kind of economy. It fulfills a vital need which can be met in no other way. I say that our dynamic capitalism must have the shock-absorbing cushion of a practical, working social security system.72

> In the first place, the program should provide only a minimum protection. It should not, for example, offer so much aid that the worker would regard social security as an end within itself and lose his incentive for continued, productive occupation. Johnston likened the businessman's need for insurance protection to the employee's need for social security.73 While the businessman relies for the most part on

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73 Ibid., p. 766.
his own initiative for his success, at the same time he does turn to
the insurance company to underwrite such hazards as flood, fire, and
threat. The same opportunity, Johnston reasoned, should be available
to the employee as social insurance against "... that part of un-
employment and wage losses which cannot be abolished..." and can-
not be covered by his individual thrift.74

To Johnston, the social security program in no way absolved the
individual of his own responsibility to society. That is, the pro-
gram must not permit him to become a public ward. The employee must
exercise care in the form of personal savings, personal insurance,
and self-reliance against the "social hazards." Johnston's faith in
the integrity of the American made him confident that the employee
would do just that.

It is an insult to the American worker to assert that he
would rather have a dole than a job. I am convinced that
a vast majority of the American people want productive em-
ployment and that they will produce better when their haunt-
ing fears of unemployment have been alleviated.

Of course, there may be a few individuals who prefer mere
existence at the expense of others to the greater satis-
factions to be won through productive work, but our course
cannot be governed by this negligible minority. No one
proposes to suspend operations on the railroads because a
hobo sometimes gets a free ride.75

74 Johnston, (Social Security). Address, Social Security Confer-
ence, Washington, D.C., January 10, 1944. Text deposited in U.S. Chamber
of Commerce, p. 3.

75 "Social Security and a Dynamic Capitalism," September 8, 1944,
pp. 767 f.
Johnston further maintained that no social security scheme should be so conceived as to provide by law what anyone could do better by his own voluntary effort. Actually, Johnston pointed out, the bulk of the load is already being carried by the individual, who privately purchases his own insurance against such contingencies as sickness, accidents, and old age. But the nation must guard against the demands for social security plans which offer to substitute a kind of state or federal dose, financed by the government and the employer. The effective one "... substitutes an orderly, systematized setup for the hit-or-miss private charity, local poor relief, and federal boondoggling of an earlier day."

Finally, Johnston strongly urged management's participation in the program. If American business and industry could not offer security to its masses, he warned, the people would turn to some other form of government and economic system which would. However, Johnston believed that American industry could solve the problem. Industry needed to take the initiative in a constructive plan for real security to the workers in the capitalist system. That security would best come from private enterprise, because workers, in turning to government for further aid, would thereby lose their freedom in exchange for it.

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76 Ibid., p. 766.


"As we businessmen know," he told the Chicago Executives' Club in 1944, "a chain is no stronger than its weakest link. Always remember, therefore, that society is no stronger than its least secure members."79

This consideration of Johnston's ideas on social security has pointed out four principal characteristics of a program which he recommended to business. Social security should (1) provide only a minimum protection, (2) retain the employee's desire for creative employment, (3) eliminate federal dotes, and (4) be substantial enough to keep the employee from turning to government for aid.

**Taxation.**—A fifth line of thought in Johnston's case for capitalism concerned taxation. Johnston's premise on this matter was that the present laws should be revised downward for two principal reasons: (1) the current trend leads toward the totalitarian state, and (2) excessive taxation destroys incentive to conduct a profitable business.

Throughout the New Deal period, business and industry complained about exhorbitant taxation. Fundamentally, the tax program had had two broad objectives: to place the burden upon those who received larger incomes, and to remove that burden from the small-income group who then bore it. When Johnston was elected president of the United States Chamber of Commerce in 1942, the tax receipts by the federal government were the highest in history, accounting for 98% of the total income. The excess profits tax and the income tax amounted to more than the total...

79 Johnston, "Social Security and a Dynamic Capitalism." Address, September 8, 1944, p. 768.
receipts from all sources for any previous year.

Johnston pointed out that the system of private enterprise necessitates a constant supply of capital for equipment, materials, labor, and expansion. If the capital, the profit of a business, he said,

... is not allowed to accumulate, if it is drained off by the government, there will be no job-creating funds available—except in the hands of government. Taxes that dry up the sources of savings... are therefore a more direct assault against free capitalist economy than any socialist or communist propaganda. If we allow this trend to go unchecked, we will never need to vote for socialism—we'll get it by default.

The capital which was taken from industry and from individuals went directly into the control of the super-state. Holding the available wealth, the government thereby became the principal investor, the employer, and the "Big Business" to which everyone must look for his livelihood. A bureaucratic monopoly, rather than an equally distributed income, was the inevitable result of the current excessive taxation, Johnston said.

Equality of incomes is an attractive political slogan. It has the surface sheen of justice. Fewer Americans would fall for it if they realize that its ultimate effect is to dry up the sources of all income, equal or otherwise. Its logical end products are general impoverishment, a stalled economy, and the totalitarian state exercising monopoly powers.

To Johnston, the tax program was another instance of the government's depriving the individual of initiative. If penalizing taxes

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removed the incentive to be productive, the employee would become a drone and permit the course of events to go as it would, with the least possible effort on his part. On the other hand, Johnston argued, when the man with potential investment capital believed he could increase his capital, he would spend, build, invest, and add to the continued life of a "participating" capitalism. To the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce he put it this way:

Government must understand that you don't increase purchasing power by taking a dollar from somebody and handing it to somebody else; that the individual should be stimulated to his greatest productive capacity; that there should be a revision of the tax laws to stimulate the investment of risk capital to give jobs to men. 83

The "soak-the-rich" tax laws not only withdraw from circulation capital that could otherwise be productive, but they also lower the number of new and successful small business enterprises. 84 Practically speaking, Johnston pointed out, lower tax schedules would give incentive to risk capital, and the government's share of the successes of new enterprises and new jobs would be even greater than the revenue brought through "confiscatory" taxation. 85

One year after Johnston left the Chamber of Commerce he made an address in which he summarized his points of view concerning taxation.


84 Johnston, "Fair Taxes Can Aid Tomorrow's Job Makers," Nation's Business, XXXII (April, 1944), 22 ff.

85 Johnston, "The Road to Realism for American Business." Address, The Economic Club of Detroit, Detroit, Michigan, April 17, 1944. Text deposited in U.S. Chamber of Commerce, p. 3.
To this Milwaukee audience he emphasized:

Today, initiative in America is being substantially thwarted by the Federal tax structure. It is freezing opportunity for too many younger people. We need a tax system today which will encourage new men and new dollars to go into new businesses.

I am not as interested in cutting taxes as I am in adjusting them to a point where they cease to do mischief to our economy. One of the strengths of our capitalism is the number of small businesses. We need more and more of them. Our tax structure should be overhauled so that it will encourage, and not discourage, young men in young business enterprises.

In all, Johnston argued that a strangling tax condemned American capitalism to a sure death. Existing businesses would be taxed out of business. New enterprises would arise less frequently and with more difficulty. The super-state was thriving and growing as it increased its claims and powers over industry and the individual. Men who wished the end of capitalism, he said, were finding taxation a convenient method toward their aim. "The proverb has it," he wrote, "that there is nothing certain but death and taxes. So far as the capitalist system is concerned, unhappily, the certainties have tended to merge into one."87

Summary.—The new capitalism was a compromise approach to the solution of the ills besetting business. Johnston sought a middle ground between the pre-depression laissez-faire idea and the New Deal of the 1930's. There were seven basic ideas around which his entire program

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86 The Republican Creed and a People's capitalism. Address, June 7, 1947, p. A3004.

87 America Unlimited, p. 162.
was formed.

In the first place, Johnston defended capitalism as superior to any other economic system. Therein the individual is free to develop himself to the extent of his own ability and to enjoy the highest standard of living in the world. Moreover, big and little business can work side by side in this competitive economy which does not condone monopolies and special privileges.

Johnston emphasized one main idea concerning the relationship between all groups in the economy: business, labor, agriculture, and government must cooperate in finding solutions to their many common problems. No one group, he held, can prosper at the expense of the others. Government and industry have two vital problems: (1) the removal of certain controls as soon as possible; and (2) the prevention of a government-dominated industry. Likewise, labor and management must stop their fighting and cooperate to protect themselves against a rapidly growing super-state.

Similarly, Johnston sought cooperation in his proposal for American foreign policy. All nations, he argued, must recognize their basic differences and work together for international peace and prosperity.

Johnston's fifth premise concerned the need for early, carefully planned solutions to national post-war problems. Certain controls would have to be lifted to restore the system of free enterprise. Also, the responsibility for employment must be returned to private industry. Finally, the United States must be prepared to take her place in international affairs after the war, not merely as a victor, but as a strong leader.
Johnston further held that business should take the lead in supporting a new social security program. Social security, as he saw it, should provide only enough employee protection to eliminate the government dole. Under no circumstances must the worker see the program of aid so attractive that his incentive for self-reliance would be destroyed. Conversely, the aid must be sufficient to prevent the employee's looking to government for additional support.

Finally, Johnston believed that the tax program should be revised downward. Taxation is a vital part of his argument for restoration of freedoms and opportunities in post-war America and in the formulation and finance of a social security program. Taxation, he said, can serve as a means of financing a democratic government or of killing the democracy it professes to support. Basically, his belief was that the existing tax structure so deprived industry of a just return on its investment that fewer jobs materialized, wages decreased, and new businesses would not venture forth. The American public and American industry could understand war-time restrictions, controls, and regimentation. Unless, however, the people demanded that oppressive and discouraging tax laws be revised, business initiative and incentive would be so thwarted that government would take over both industry and employment. Thus, the totalitarians would win by default.
CHAPTER IV

FORMS OF SUPPORT

Most rhetorical critics since the classical period have maintained that supporting materials may be classified as ethical, pathetic, and logical proofs. Aristotle, without so naming them, recognized the divisions:

Of the means of persuasion supplied by the speech itself there are three kinds. The first kind reside in the character of the speaker; the second consist in providing a certain attitude in the hearer; the third appertain to the argument proper. . . .

Therefore, the plan of this chapter follows the classical order. The first of the three sections examines the manner and extent to which Johnston relied upon his personality as proof. The second considers the speaker's appeals to the emotions of his audience. The third part analyzes his kind of logical proofs.

ETHICAL PROOF

Authorities generally agree that a significant part of a speaker's technique is the use he makes of his own personality. The ancients referred to this element as ethos, or ethical appeal. Aristotle, who has

given rhetoric many of its standards of criticism, placed great emphasis on this type of proof. "... we might almost affirm," he declared, "that his character is the most potent of all the means to persuasion."²

Furthermore, Aristotle observed that there were three kinds of ethical proof. He said that "... the sources of our trust in them are three, for apart from the arguments there are three things that gain our belief, namely, intelligence, character, and good will."³

The speaker's control over each of them is evidenced by his words and actions during the speech. The audience's belief and trust, said Aristotle, "... should be created by the speech itself, and not left to depend upon an antecedent impression that the speaker is this or that kind of man."⁴

Thomessen and Baird maintain that "Antecedent impression" is essential part of ethical proof "... since the attitude of the audience toward the speaker—based upon previous knowledge of the latter's activities and reputation—cannot accurately be separated from the reaction the speaker induces through the medium of speech."⁵

Bryant and Wallace also hold that reputation and prestige have a definite influence on the disposition of the audience toward accepting

³Ibid., p. 32.
⁴Ibid., pp. 8 f.
Likewise, Haiman listed prestige and physical attractiveness as constituents of ethos, concluding that "... personality and physical appearance are highly important to persuasive success."

In evaluating how a speaker uses his personality, therefore, the critic must consider five elements: (1) appearance, (2) reputation, (3) intelligence, (4) character, and (5) good will.

**Physical Appearance.**—In appearance, Johnston has been described all the way from “smooth” to “handsome.” He is tall and slender, being about five feet and eleven inches tall and weighing approximately 160 pounds. He sits and stands erect; his walk is brisk and vigorous. His smile is friendly and sincere, and grey-green eyes are barometers of his mood.

His clothes have been the source of comments: his suits and ties are conservative and in good taste, and from his shined shoes to his carefully combed, greying hair he is immaculate.

In every respect he is a pleasant man to meet. He shakes hands warmly, puts a visitor immediately at ease, and discusses in unhurried conversation whatever presents itself. Before his audience he has the

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7"Ethos consists of such things as the speaker’s prestige, character, likableness, and physical attractiveness—all as seen by the audience. It is not necessarily his ‘real’ self, but the audience’s impression of that self.” Saul Franklyn Haiman, An Experimental Study of the Effects of Ethos in Public Speaking (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1948), p. 7.

8Ibid., p. 100.
sane manner. His genuine friendliness appears in his face even before he begins to speak.  

There is no doubt that his well-groomed appearance and his obvious cordiality stood him well in the audiences' first judgments of him. These visual perceptions, as well as his oral expressions of his intelligence, character, and good will, combine to give a broader scope to Johnston's ethical proof.

Reputation. Eric Johnston went to the national Chamber of Commerce with a well-established prestige. His list of private businesses, directorships, honors, and honorary degrees is impressive.

In addition to his presidency of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce and his vice-presidency of the United States Chamber of Commerce, he was president or board chairman of four business concerns in his home state. In addition he was a director or chairman of at least seven banks, insurance and trust companies, and civic commissions. The fact that Johnston had started from small beginnings and had climbed to such heights must have had some degree of favorable influence upon the respect his listeners had for his ideas.

During his four years in Washington, Johnston participated still


Time, XXXI, No. 26 (June 29, 1942), 61.

more actively in public affairs. At various times he served as a chairman, director, or member on twenty-one different boards.\textsuperscript{11} Colleges and universities awarded him four honorary Bachelor of Arts degrees and seven Doctor of Law degrees.\textsuperscript{12}

Johnston, himself, is convinced that a favorable reputation is invaluable in the audience's pre-estimate of the speaker. Reputation, character, and prestige, he believes, give the audience a willingness and a desire to listen and believe during the speech. A reputation for honesty and truthfulness, he told this writer, add "considerable weight" to audience belief.

If the man of good reputation delivers a weak or unconvincing speech,

\textsuperscript{11}The following is a partial list of committees and boards on which he was a member: Committee for Economic Development, Management-Labor Policy Committee of War Manpower Commission, Postwar Foreign Policy Committee (State Department), Advisory Committee for Civilian Governmental Organizations, Delegation to International Labor Conference, War Manpower Commission, Committee for Drafting Federal Employees, War Mobilization and Reconversion Committee, Business Advisory Council of Department of Commerce, Economic Stabilization Board.

He was chairman of Inter-American Development Commission, Committee on Guaranteed Annual Wage, Executive Council of American Cancer Society.

He was a director of the Olympic Steamship Company, United Air Lines, Committee on International Economic Policy.

\textsuperscript{12}The honorary B.A. degrees were awarded by University of Washington, Tufts College, University of Southern California, and State College of Washington.

The honorary LL.D. degrees were awarded by Whitworth College, Whitman College, Rhode Island State College, Boston University, Lafayette College, Tufts College, and University of Southern California.
Johnston said, the element of reputation will still lend credibility to what he has to say. To illustrate his contention, he drew a parallel between himself and Acheson:

Now, I'm not considered an authority on international affairs. If I made a speech on such a subject, the audience would listen politely, the newspaper might give it a few lines, but it would not be important or have any effect. But if Dean Acheson made such a speech, it would make headlines. Yes, who a man is has much bearing on how well he is received and believed. 13

Johnston received a number of coveted, honorary awards which served further to enhance his reputation. For example, in 1944 he was named by the National Association of Public Relations Council as the man who "... made the most outstanding achievement of a business executive" 14 in the field of public relations. He was also given the 1944 Captain Robert Dollar Memorial Award for his "distinguished contribution to the advancement of American Foreign trade." 15 He received the Poor Richard's Club (Philadelphia) silver medal for "promoting a better understanding of business and industry in the American system of private enterprise." 16

Furthermore, pre-speech publicity added to Johnston's stature.

13 Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.
16 *New York Times*, April 2, 1945, p. 34.
Local newspapers published an account of his arrival, something of his background, and sometimes his speech subject. Radio stations frequently made an announcement concerning him. Even without reference to any particular speech or activity, periodicals found occasion to mention him in editorials. *Business Week* said of his relations with labor, "Both hard-headed A.F.L. bosses and C.I.O. visionaries have found him [Johnston's] persuasive and personable. Even John L. Lewis was once heard to make a kindly comment about him." In a preface to one of his articles *American Mercury* said, "Eric Johnston, as the dynamic president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, has made himself spokesman for a refreshingly progressive business viewpoint. By general acclaim his has been the most sensible defense of American free enterprise as a unique way of life." The *New York Times* said that the war was calling forth the voices of America in behalf of a new national faith. "One of the most eloquent and statesmanlike of these voices heard recently," that newspaper added, "was that of Mr. Eric A. Johnston..."

The evidence here indicates, then, that Johnston's appearance and his over-all reputation as a businessman, a leader, and a patriotic citizen contributed to his speaking. Five factors were outstanding:

17 *Business Week*, October 27, 1945, p. 33.

18 *American Mercury*, April, 1944, p. 396.

(1) personal business successes; (2) executive positions in various private enterprises; (3) memberships on many national boards and councils; (4) special recognition awards; and (5) favorable pre-speech publicity.

The details of appearance and reputation are not purely "artistic" by Aristotle's limitation of this kind of proof, for they are external of Johnston. They cannot, however, be separated from his ultimate influence upon audience reaction. They were an essential part of Johnston's means of persuasion. With his prestige thus enhanced, his listeners were better inclined to accept his ideas.

Intelligence.—In the first place, Johnston's careful choice of subjects indicated his wisdom. He was president of the Chamber of Commerce during the war, a period which offered a multiplicity of subjects that were of immediate import to the people. He began his term only five months after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, and he held the office until the Axis powers had gone down in defeat and the world had begun its long road to reconversion. For four years he deliberately and methodically covered the topics that concerned the American people and their economic, political, religious, and social well being.

During his first year in Washington his principal subjects were (1) post-war employment; (2) reconversion; and (3) the interrelationship of labor, management, government, and agriculture in maintaining a united front for victory. In 1943 he added such topics as the good
neighbor policy of the United States, post-war international relationships, and the role of the United States in world leadership. From 1944 through the end of the war Johnston spoke on still other subjects as they became important in the American economy: post-war building, post-war trade, industrial demobilization, decontrol, and foreign loans.

In this variety of subjects he was alert to the causes, dangers, and impending results of the rapidly mounting costs of living. He was outspoken about the increased limitations on business and the individual through the government program of controls and rationing. He was concerned about the mounting strife between labor and management and their demands upon each other in vital war contracts.

Thus Johnston's broad familiarity with the national interests was one indication of his sagacity. Further evidence appears in his application of what is popularly called "common sense."

Johnston emphasized his "common sense" by purposely drawing from his wide background of business experience and his extensive wartime tours of foreign countries. He frequently referred to himself as a man who had come up from the ranks. He spoke of his having gone from a door-to-door salesman to the owner of several successful business enterprises on the West Coast. "I want the same opportunity," he said to one radio audience, "for the young man that I had after the last war. . . ."20

On occasion he spoke to "... businessmen like myself." 21 or pointedly included himself in the group of industrialists when he declared, "... we in the world of business." 22 are making the United States the greatest nation on earth. To another audience he said, "In my official capacity as an employer of labor, and in my more recent capacity as president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. ... I have noticed one significant fact." 23

He was even more explicit in his reference to personal authority when he spoke at the annual dinner of the Purchasing Agents Association of New York. On that occasion he established himself not only as a man qualified to speak on the subject, but also as one morally obligated to do so:

I want to talk to you about Russia. I feel obligated to do so. If I didn't, I would be dodging an issue I am supposed to know something about. Few Americans have had my opportunity to see that land of mystery, ruled by men of mystery. Few Americans have seen as much of Russia as chance afforded me.

I went to Russia in the summer of 1944 for a close-up look at Russia's industrial plant, and to talk to Russia about trade between our countries after we had won the war. I spent 6 weeks there. I traveled 10,000 miles in that vast country. I spent nearly 3 hours with Generalissimo Josef Stalin in his

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22Ibid., p. 584.

23Johnston, "Victory." Address, Omaha Chamber of Commerce, Omaha, Nebraska, October 18, 1944. Quoted by Omaha Chamber of Commerce News Bulletin, October 20, 1944, p.3.
apartment in the Kremlin.24

Johnston further strengthened his audience's respect for his sagacity by other general references to his travels. "In my travels around the world. . . . In my travels around the United States . . . ."25 he said to one Chamber of Commerce group in extolling the advantages of capitalism. To a radio audience in 1943 he deliberately referred to his travel experiences before stating his thesis:

Probably you gentlemen know that I have just completed a six-week trip to South America. There I visited the presidents of seven countries. We talked to the leaders of labor; to the leaders of business, both native and foreign; to the leaders of the church. We talked very frankly to those people, and I believe that I can assure the American people today. . . .26

Finally, Johnston indicated his wisdom in his sense of tact and moderation. Previously, the spokesmen for organized business had been adamant in their opposition to government and labor policies which bore unfavorably upon capitalism. Johnston, however, sought moder-


26 "Is the Good Neighbor Policy Here to Stay?" University of Chicago Round Table, transcript No. 268 (Chicago: University of Chicago, May 9, 1943), p. 3.
ation, as typified by his tactful criticism and warning to labor and management. He did not resort to name-calling; he did not harangue his opponents.

I'd like to see a pact of non-aggression and mutual assistance between management and labor. You can't get rid of management and you can't get rid of unionism in a free country. Both are social economic facts. The right of labor to organize into unions is the legal right of American citizens. . . . We of management, having gone through our dog-house, are still here. You of labor unions, when you've barked and yowled your way through your dog-house, will still be here. I admit that we of management might become more labor-minded. But I also think that you of labor might become more business-minded. . . . If we're going to meet, we've got to meet half way. 27

Similarly, he exercised diplomacy when he appeared before a British Chamber of Commerce audience, a group not altogether sympathetic with American capitalism. Here Johnston acknowledged the Briton's right to the British economic system, without surrendering anything of the capitalist's point of view. "Americans overwhelmingly have no inclination to try to revise your economic methods or your political methods in the international field," he said. "On the other hand, they do not intend to revise theirs." 28

At the 1945 labor-management conference in Washington, Johnston again employed tact as he pleaded for a sincere, cooperative effort between the conferees: "I suggest that in the future we meet less often


in the headlines and more often around the conference table. I say these things bluntly but with the utmost good humor. This is an excellent time for self-analysis and self-criticism.\textsuperscript{29}

Thus, Johnston made use of his intelligence and wisdom as an artistic proof: (1) he revealed, through his choice of speech subjects that he had a broad familiarity with matters pertinent to his audiences; (2) he relied upon personal authority for "common sense" observations a listener would expect to hear from a practical, successful businessman; and (3) he acted with tact and moderation in matters calling for diplomacy. By those three means he made a conscious effort to obtain greater audience respect for his ideas.

\textbf{Character.---} The second component of ethical appeal is character. The question to be answered here is, "How did Johnston reveal his character in what he had to say?" The criteria for the examination are (1) his evidences of sincerity; (2) his finesse in praise of his theme; and (3) his presentation of himself and his cause as "good," in contrast to the "bad" of his opponent and opponent's cause.

Johnston deliberately employed several devices to convey his sincerity of purpose. Frequently he spoke of himself as an ordinary man whose "home-baked philosophy" consisted in "... honest American

answers, growing out of the soil of American achievement." He had no desire for the audience to overestimate his abilities or his reputation. Instead, he wished his listeners to hear him as a man who spoke honestly on matters only within his scope. He knew, moreover, the point at which sincere modesty ended and insincere self-deprecation began. His remark at a Moscow press conference in 1944 illustrates the technique. When he arrived in Moscow for a tour of Soviet production centers, he declared, "I am a production man. I make things that people use. I am not a politician and I am not going to discuss politics while I'm here." Similarly, he told a World Trade Conference, "At the beginning I want to make a confession. I am not an economist. I want to talk in an ordinary business man's language. . . ." Again, when he spoke to the Association of British Chambers of Commerce in 1943, he made every effort to convey his message sincerely and plainly, without any reliance upon favorable publicity that preceded him. In discussing the occasion, he later wrote, "In my address, carefully prepared in advance, I sought to cut through the


33 "A Local World." Address, August 18, 1943.
protocol of formalities. I was determined to "talk Spokane." 34

Johnston displayed his sincerity in another way. He pointed out his faults to create the effect that he was baring himself of all pretense. If he appeared to have nothing to hide from his listeners, they may be better inclined to believe him to be sincere. To one labor group he cited criticism about himself and pointedly declared his sincere purpose:

I've been accused of being pro-labor, because I believe in unions, because I believe in the right of the worker to organize. I've tried to recognize and then I've repeated what I believe to be true about labor's rights, labor's ambitions and labor's hopes. I've tried to tell it honestly and straightforwardly. And management hasn't always wanted to hear it.

... I think it is only a matter of record to repeat that I have talked straight and honestly to management. Now, just as I talked honestly to management I want to talk honestly to you. 35

Johnston also had a modest and honest response when introductions of him were especially glowing and flattering. On numerous occasions he showed his listeners that he recognized the flattery, but he added that he liked it. "I do not deserve the orchids that have been thrown at me," he said, "but I am human and therefore I enjoy them." 36

34America Unlimited, p. 214.


It may follow to the audience that a man sincere in so personal a matter may well be honest in the presentation of his ideas.

Johnston fully realized the value of sincerity as a persuasive device. He maintained that the man who carried the audience to the desired end was by no means always the most eloquent or best-informed speaker. A speaker's personal sincerity and belief in what he is saying will carry itself through to the audience. "Sincerity," he told this writer, "is the important thing—that you believe what you're saying." He illustrated his point:

One speaker may not be as eloquent as another, but if he is sincere, he will be more effective. Take Douglas and Lincoln. Douglas was a polished, marvelous 'speaker.' Lincoln wasn't. Now of course the things they talked about and stood for very likely influenced the audience—but Lincoln had sincerity. To me that's an illustration that the best speaker doesn't always win. Take Harry Truman. . . . in the last presidential election. Everybody said Truman couldn't win and that Dewey would. Truman made speeches; Dewey spoke a few times. Truman was effective because he talked to the people—their language. Although he was less the 'speaker' than Dewey, he won. Sincerity is what counts, not eloquence.

By well-chosen, tactful commendation of a good cause, Johnston designed to enhance his good reputation and character. His sincere espousal of democracy, for example, may indicate to some people his desirable moral character. His praise of democracy, in turn, would put a favorable light on the new capitalism, a democratic economy. His correlation of these two praise-worthy causes appears in one of his radio addresses to labor, a group often antagonistic to the point of view of management:

37Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.
Our production to date has been nothing less than remarkable, serving to confound our enemies. . . . Teamwork between management and labor has paid enormous dividends in planes and guns and ships and tanks. American industry's performance has given the complete lie to the dictator's false theory of the decadence of democracy. 38

Likewise, Johnston paid tribute and offered tempered praise to other groups who did not always share his ideas. For example, he wanted foreign opponents to recognize him as a man of virtue. When he upheld ideas and events they honored, they may be more inclined to see him as a man of good character. Therefore, after his three-week stay in Britain in August and September, 1943, he returned to laud warmly the British people, if not the monopolistic practices in their economy.

Any American who visits Great Britain at this crucial stage of the war returns with two distinct reactions—one of admiration and one of conviction.

The admiration is for the splendid spirit and the character of the British people. They have undergone privations and hardships to a degree unknown to us in the United States. And after four grueling, weary years of this life of total war, the British people are still good natured, uncomplaining, and spirited. The American who visits Britain will know what the British mean when they call Dunkirk not a defeat—but a victory. For events have proved that it was a victory for the character of the British people. 39

38"Business Addresses Labor." Radio address, National Broadcasting Co., Washington, D.C., January 16, 1943. Disc transcription furnished the writer by the National Broadcasting Co. (Text also on file in U.S. Chamber of Commerce.)

A final method by which Johnston sought a favorable audience impression of his character was to place his opponent in an unfavorable light. By associating his opponent's cause with those qualities the audience considered corrupt, evil, or unvirtuous, he could at the same time show his own position to be the opposite. He frequently used this approach when he pointed to the government as a force destroying many of the American citizen's freedoms, gaining for itself by taking from the people. Concerning the need to remove war-time controls and return free enterprise to private industry, he declared,

To keep our thinking clear we must recognize that something entirely new has been added to our economic setup. Formerly we had three primary economic estates: management, labor and agriculture. Now we have a fourth—huge, sprawling, power-hungry, throwing ever new tentacles around the other three. It is the government. It is no longer simply an instrument of the people—all of the people... It is swollen with the urge of growth, expansion, and perpetuation. 40

Johnston made the most of the technique of associating his opponent with the unvirtuous when he responded to Henry Wallace's 1947 European speaking tour. For the most part, Wallace had attacked the capitalistic system of economy. Johnston had occasion to be in Brussels soon after Wallace's appearance there, and he spoke to the Belgium-American Society:

Europe recently had a distinguished visitor from the United States, Mr. Henry Agard Wallace. He left you with some very bad misconceptions about my country. He gave

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you some very bad advise about the United States and its role in the affairs of the world today.

It is not my intention to attack Mr. Wallace or his motives. But I am going to attack some of the things he has said. I do so in the interests of world understanding and world peace. . . .

Mr. Wallace would have you believe. . . .

If Mr. Wallace can find any place on earth. . . .

I am afraid Mr. Wallace may have forgotten to remind you. . . .

Mr. Wallace gave you a doleful picture. . . .

But this you should know and I doubt if Mr. Wallace mentioned it. . . .

Mr. Wallace didn't tell you these things. But I want you to know them, because I want you to know the facts. . . .

Briefly, the truth about the United States is this. . . .

[In conclusion] I have wanted only to tell you the truths about my country. I have wanted to dispel some of your doubts and fears and uncertainties. I have wanted to bring you a message of promise, encouragement, hope, and faith. 41

In summary, the evidence here points to three means whereby Johnston knowingly revealed himself to be a man of commendable character. First, he established his sincerity of purpose by referring to himself as only a plain businessman, whose faults and weaknesses were like those of most other Americans. Second, he made certain that he sponsored beliefs which his audiences held to be

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praiseworthy. Finally, he attacked in his opponents the ideas he knew his listeners held to be unvirtuous.

**Good Will.**—A grave problem facing the capitalist system when Johnston went to Washington in 1942 was the imperative need for private industry to regain the good will of the public and all economic groups. Many persons had been convinced that capitalism was to blame for the ills of the nation. As president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Johnston had to lead the campaign, representing the segment of the economy which had long been in national disfavor.

How did Johnston show labor, government, agriculture, and the rest of the nation that he did not belong to the "Old Guard?" He utilized four positive means to obtain audience good will for himself and his cause: (1) he observed decorum in the praise of his audience; (2) he established a common ground between himself and his listeners; (3) he offered criticism with careful tact; and (4) he spoke candidly and plainly. This section examines those four means in detail.

Just as good will can fail to develop because of the speaker's disregard of the audience and their problems, the same result is possible if the speaker becomes too glowing and zealous in his praise. However, Johnston knew the extent to which he could praise his audience and the point at which it was in good taste to stop. His remarks to a House Judiciary Subcommittee investigating certain business trends toward monopoly demonstrate his capture of the proper balance between too much and too little praise.
In this audience there were undoubtedly men who were unsympathetic toward business. It was his job to be courteous to them, yet maintain his own dignity and regard for his cause. His opening paragraphs illustrate the technique:

Mr. Chairman, you have had an array of talented witnesses before you. They have discussed virtually every phase of the anti-trust laws. So I am wondering if there is much I can contribute to the important study your committee is making.

I am not an expert on monopoly. Even if I thought I were, I frankly doubt I could add too much light to your inquiry. For I am constantly discovering that men who have spent their whole lives studying the subject don't agree. That has been quite obvious, of course, in these hearings.

But I do have one or two approaches to the problem of economic concentration and monopoly to suggest, and I appreciate your invitation to come here. 42

Furthermore, Johnston made a determined effort to identify himself or his subject with his audience and their immediate problem.

"No matter what the subject or who the audience," he told this writer, "always find some way to tie together the audience and what you have to say." 43

In one of his first speeches as the new president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Johnston appeared before a large audience of businessmen in Baltimore. Without pretense or artificiality, he spoke of himself as one of the group; he, too, was a businessman. Moreover, he was interested, as was the audience, in seeing

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43 Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.
a free, peaceful United States. In that sense he belonged as a patriotic citizen as well as a businessman. In the following excerpt, his use of we is especially effective:

We want more than just security. We want opportunity and progress, the opportunity to go places and do things. We want to run our country as a majority of the people believes it should be run. We want to read real news in newspapers. We want to listen to the radio programs of our choice; not those programs thought 'best' for us by a group of officious officials. We want to worship and work as we see fit, to start or stop a business when and where we choose. In a nutshell we want to run our government; we don't want the government to run us. . . .

In the third place, Johnston was tactful in offering criticism. He spoke from the assumption that an audience is moved to action or belief only when the speaker exhibits sincerity in a man-to-man approach to the audience. The rule is the same whether praise or blame is due. To talk up or talk down to the auditors is to belittle one's self or insult the audience. Johnston put that idea bluntly, yet tactfully, to a Joint Survey Group of the Office of Foreign Service:

My impression is that you do a pretty good job. I think, of course, there are exceptions. The principal criticism that I have heard is that you are stuffy—a little high-hat, and that you really don't associate with the common people very often if you can avoid doing so. I don't know whether that is a just criticism. I think that in some instances it is.

I think your first job in dealing with business men is to make them feel that you are not talking down to them--

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that you really like to see them. 45

Johnston based one of his most well-received addresses 46 entirely upon a note of "warning" to labor and management. He pointed to the weaknesses and failures of both camps, putting his accusations as strongly upon one group as he did upon the other. Both could conceivably give him their good will. The following excerpts are representative of his warning and rebuke, tempered with tact, humor, and good taste:

Beginning with 1933, we [management,] got the biggest public beating that any group of Americans ever took. Congress socked us with a new law just about every other day. It socked us with good laws. It socked us with bad laws. . . . Who cared? The public wanted us socked, and socked we were.

Gentlemen of labor, I must accuse you of not being very original. How faithfully you have imitated us of management! From 1933 to 1942 you rode high. You were tops. A friendly administration in Washington. All sorts of favors fed to you daily from the Washington political table. Management weak and intimidated.

You forget the very thing we forget. In the architecture


46 Of this speech, Time observed, "The speech of the week was made in Boston. The subject was the sins of U.S. labor and management. The speaker was Eric Allen Johnston, 47, kinetic, personable president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. He spoke to a Founder's Day dinner of Boston University, which had just given him his fourth LL.D. . . . The Boston speech was only one of twelve made last week. Both the speech and the week were typical. The speech was an almost electrically fresh restatement of old but much neglected truths. Its impact derived from its clarity, frankness, and vigor. . . and from Johnston's steadily growing personal prestige." Time, XLIII (March 27, 1944), 20.
of American society it's just three jumps from the master bedroom to the dog-house.

Now the dog-house is yawning for you. The Federal Government and many of the State Governments are beginning to seek you with laws. Some of these laws may have too many teeth. Some may bite chunks out of good unions as well as out of bad unions. Who's going to care? If the public wants you socked, why, socked you will be.

Gentlemen of management, monopolistic practices have helped to make us unpopular. Monopolistic practices are now helping to make organized labor unpopular. Gentlemen of labor and gentlemen of management, when we wash our hands, the right hand washes the left and the left the right. How about a little joint hand-washing to cleanse both sets of hands of monopolistic practices? It wouldn't be a bad idea, in case you both want to get in right with the American people.

Finally, parallel to Johnston's technique of fair and considerate rebukes is his frank, straightforward presentation of what he believed was the truth. He placed no confidence in hinting. If he sincerely felt that he knew the cause of trouble or knew a solution to a problem, he presented it openly and undisguised. His frank speech was a deliberate bid for the good will of the audience.

Johnston contended that the best understanding comes only when all the facts, regardless of their implications, are faced squarely. When the speaker finds the proper balance of candor and respect, probity and consideration in presenting his facts, the audience is more likely to extend to him their good will.

His speeches to the Russians and to American audiences about Russia are illustrative of his studied, tactful, straightforward speaking. He knew the value of Russia as an ally during the war. But he also recognized the fundamental differences in Russian Communism and American Democracy. While seeking Russian friendship and cooperation, Johnston believed, the United States must at the same time retain its own ideologies and self-respect. Early in 1943 he sought American and Russian good will in that amicable balance:

We wish to join wholeheartedly in our gratitude to the Russian people for their heroism and their sacrifice against a common enemy at the European end of our global war. We in America will continue to give every help possible to the Russian people, fighting for their home-land. But, we do so without any hypocritical pretense that we want their social set-up introduced within our own country. The Russian leaders, who pride themselves on being realists, will readily understand this straightforward attitude. They will no more expect us to conceal our views on their collectivist economy than we would expect them to conceal their opinions on our democratic capitalism.

In June, 1944, Johnston spoke before a hundred Soviet trade officials at a luncheon given by A. I. Mikoyan, Soviet Foreign Trade Commissioner. The audience very likely regarded Johnston as a "bloated capitalist" who lived on "greedy and swollen profits" wrenched from the "proletariat." Yet, at the outset of this speech he sought their good will through his sincerity and frankness.

I shall try to show you my admiration for your heroic deeds and my gratitude for your hospitable invitation by talking to you from the bottom of my heart, non-politically, and even with frankness.

You cannot have solid friendship until you have solid understanding. We have a familiar American proverb which says your only true friend is the man who knows all of the worst about you and still likes you. So now I am going to tell you a direct, harsh, tough business fact.

In economic ideology and practice, my country is different from yours. You are State-minded and collective-minded. We are most private-minded and individual-minded, and, gentlemen, make no mistake—we are determined to remain so and even become more so. Gentlemen, there is a point that must be totally clear between us before we can be really cooperative friends. 49

Thus Johnston knowingly indicated his good will toward his audiences. First, he reached the proper point of sincerity between too much and too little audience praise. Second, he associated himself with his listeners and their problems. Third, he was tactful when he had occasion to offer rebuke. Finally, he spoke in a disarming, straight-from-the-shoulder manner. In these ways Johnston gave his audiences a feeling of his interest in them and established himself as a man of good will.

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In reporting this speech, the New York Times observed it to be one of "straight-from-the-shoulder frankness." Commenting on its reception, the report said: "At first the Russians appeared non-plussed by Mr. Johnston's bluntness, but later they burst into gales of mirth at his sallies at American Communists and Marxists." New York Times, June 5, 1944, p. 1.
Summary.—The first two factors which contributed to Johnston's ethical proof, although Aristotle did not include them as "artistic" means, were Johnston's personal appearance and his reputation. In appearance, he was masculine, dressed in conservative good taste. When he went to Washington at 46 years of age, he had had an impressive, successful background in private industry. During his four years there he had a widely recognized reputation for leadership on civic and government boards and commissions.

Johnston's broad business experience gave him an invaluable source of material for his speeches. He thoughtfully applied that knowledge to the interests of the day, using his personal authority for "common sense" suggestions and recommendations. He was matter-of-fact but tactful in presenting his ideas, whether to a friendly or unfriendly audience. By these devices Johnston established his wisdom.

Johnston, in both his selection of subject and in his manner of phraseology, disclosed his character. In the first place, he indicated himself to be sincere. Not only did he often say, "I sincerely believe..." and "I tell you in all sincerity..." but he also personally believed that the speaker must be sincere. He made deliberate effort to show himself and his cause as sponsors of the right and the good. Similarly, he represented himself as the opponent of those things most persons held to be unvirtuous. In those ways he sought to establish the audience's favorable opinion of
his character and thereby lead them to be more amenable to his ideas.

Johnston expressed praise and recognition of his audience, whether his listeners were opposed, partisan, or neutral. However, he was skilled enough to draw the proper line between adequate praise and overdone, ill-timed flattery. He made sure to identify himself with his listeners and their fundamental problems; he was an owner, a businessman, a laborer, an industrialist, or simply an American citizen. This speaker made another bid for audience good will by his skillful and expert facility in offering justified rebukes or self-criticism with good taste. Johnston employed these four devices to exhibit his interest in the welfare of his listeners, to obtain their good will, and to strengthen his ethical proof.

Thus, five factors constituted Johnston's ethical proof: appearance, reputation, intelligence, character, and good will. By those means he led his audiences toward favorable response to his ideas.

EMOTIONAL PROOF

A second important element of Johnston's supporting material was his selection of emotional proofs. That motivation by the speaker is defined by Gray and Braden as "... the process by which the speaker arouses or stimulates ... internal compulsions to such a degree that the listeners are more favorably inclined to respond as
he intends they should.\textsuperscript{50}

Johnston expressed himself plainly on the matter of emotional appeal. Through the emotions, he held, the speaker has an important access to audience agreement. "The great masses are emotional," he told this writer. "Shoot for the emotions, and once having hit the emotions, you can reason with them and lead them to a conclusion."\textsuperscript{51}

This section of the study examines the manner in which Johnston deliberately employed certain "motive appeals"\textsuperscript{52} to guide his audience toward a more favorable response.

**Patriotism.**-- Johnston, the spokesman for capitalism, employed extensively the appeal to patriotism, which was the most appropriate while the nation was engaged in World War II. He seldom included the appeal alone. Ordinarily, he combined it with others to make the total impression stronger, for "it is seldom that a given act arises from a single motive."\textsuperscript{53} Johnston intended to take every advantage made available to him by this kind of proof. For example, he might make patriotism the dominate note in a speech, but he reinforced it with obligation


\textsuperscript{51}Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.

\textsuperscript{52}"... the appeal to all the specific sentiments, emotions, and desires by which the speaker may set the primary motives into action." Alan H. Monroe, *Principles and Types of Speech* (New York: Scott, Foresman and Co., 3rd. ed., 1949), p. 194.

\textsuperscript{53}Gray and Braden, p. 55.
of duty or some other appeal. On another occasion he might combine the appeal to patriotism with that of personal enjoyment. Similarly, he appealed to fighting spirit, group loyalty, and freedom from restraint.

Many times Johnston put the patriotic appeal to work in reestablishing public confidence in business. He made it appear patriotic to defend capitalism, for through the system of free enterprise the Allies had the equipment to defeat the Axis powers. In the following typical example of this approach, he uses the pronoun we to mean industrialists and American citizens. "Our country's businessmen and industrialists," he said, "are giving the dictators smashing proof of freedom's power. We of America, one nation united, are producing better weapons, planes, and guns and producing them faster than the three Axis nations combined."54

Johnston often pointed to the United States as the greatest of all nations. At the same time, however, he extolled the virtues of his immediate cause—capitalism—which had contributed immeasurably to that greatness. Thus, the listener who felt pride for his country may have been moved to confidence and pride in the economic system that supported it. To a Chamber of Commerce audience in 1944 he made that appeal.

Our system of private enterprise has lived through crises—and emerged with new vitality. It has won for America a standard of life, a standard of popular education, a degree of self-government, a wide-spread relish and enjoyment not merely of the necessities but the luxuries of existence, without equal anywhere now or in past centuries. 55


55"America Unlimited." Address, April 27, 1943, p. 524.
Similarly, Johnston linked the appeal of patriotism to that of duty to country. American citizens, he said, had the solemn obligation to protect their democratic government not only from foreign powers but also from a federal super-government. Incidentally, in preserving democracy, the patriotic citizen sought to retain the identical features for which capitalism stood: freedom of the individual, equality of opportunity, and faith in the individual.

We all have the solemn obligation to see to it that this time our children inherit the kind of America their fathers fought and died for. Not an ersatz America polluted by the very tyranny over which we have scored a victory, but an America faithful to its own unique way of life. An America suited for free men, not robots. An America which rejects the bogus equality enforced from above by some superstate; but cherishes the true equality that derives from equal opportunity. An America that seeks diligently to remove unfair handicaps and protects those who fall by the wayside; but does not call off the race. An America that refuses to yield to the totalitarian contagions of this epoch; but adheres resolutely to its faith in the individual and its preference for high striving and fullblooded adventure. 56

Because Johnston often used the terms democracy and capitalism synonymously, his appeals to patriotism often served his ultimate subject—capitalism. His reasoning was that the individual who loves his country thereby cherishes the ideals for which that country stands: a free, progressive, self-governed nation. Capitalism, in turn, represents the same features in the economy that democracy does in government. As it is a citizen's duty to uphold his country, it is likewise his obligation to defend its ideals—and those same ideals are imbedded in

capitalism. That idea Johnston expressed in an October, 1944, address in New York City:

There are those who rummage around in the ideological debris of other lands for magic formulae. They should be taught that it is much better to search right here at home—in a progressive and free America; an America in which the power is firmly held in the hands of the people and not given to some super government or self-perpetuating bureaucracy. Such an America will always throw its weight on the side of free skies, free seas, and free people.

Our obligation to ourselves, and to the rest of the world as well, is to remain prosperous and to remain free. 57

Johnston had a wide variety in his appeals to patriotism. Many times he spoke not as an industrialist, a business executive, or a Republican, but only as an American citizen. In the speech in which the following quotation appears he strikes the familiar note of love of country; then he points out the personal enjoyment that comes in being an American. He opened this radio address, delivered on the day that Roosevelt was elected for the fourth time, with "Tonight I am mighty proud to be an American." Throughout the speech he developed that theme, concluding with

Our enemies have told the world that democracy is decadent. We have begun to disillusion them on that score. What they do not know—what we may have difficulty in proving to them—is something that only we can understand: that democracy has an inner joy for those who believe in and practice it, regardless of whether their particular side is in or out. Today America has given a mighty shout. It is a shout of confidence and of hope—of confidence in victory, of hope for a finer world to come. In that shout we all join.

57[ World Trade. ] Address, October 11, 1944, p. 10.
I repeat, tonight I am mighty proud to be an American. Often Johnston coupled the appeal to patriotism to that of the fighting spirit in the individual. The American must not only fight on the battlefield, this speaker contended, but he must also accept the challenge at home to make his nation the greatest in the world. In his September, 1944, speech to a group of Chicago executives, Johnston appealed to the patriotic pride of the audience as he tabulated the potentialities that are the American's. Then he offered the torch for patriotic citizens to carry forward. If the future held failure for the United States, it would be because her citizens had failed her, and themselves, and the Almighty.

If ever mankind and geography were brought together under favorable conditions, it is here in the United States of America. It would seem that the Almighty Being that had brought about this great miracle was watching to see how this epic struggle of mankind's was working out. Can man, endowed with all these prerequisites which we find in America for greatness, can we reach and use the opportunities that lie ahead? If we can, then this is "America Unlimited."  

Miscellaneous Appeals.--- Johnston frequently appealed to his listeners' pride in matters other than their country. Basically, he contended, we are Americans; a man can be a proud democrat, Presbyterian, Rotarian, and union member without losing his identity as a proud American.


In an address to a meeting of Young Republicans he made a typical appeal to group pride.

I urge you, as the heirs to leadership in the Republican party, to exert every influence at your command to assure that our part in world affairs will be kept as a people's policy; I urge you to demand a bill of particulars—to ask "How much?" and "How soon?"

Ours is a party which built altars to the spirit of freedom for all men. Ours is a party which believes in equality; in justice; in civil liberties. Ours is a party born in an hour of crisis. Ours is a party born among the people, and today's decisions must be made by the people. This is our Republican creed. 60

Johnston frequently sought to awaken and stimulate love of freedom. Many of his speeches contained a parallel comparison of the freedoms enjoyed by the democracy and those forbidden by other ideologies. He maintained that the American citizen too often takes for granted his rights and privileges. On one occasion in 1944 he appeared before a group of prominent educators, businessmen, religious leaders, and labor representatives. The meeting was sponsored by twelve national organizations who sought a nation-wide peace movement. 61 Here he argued that the struggle between a free America and an American super-state could not be settled by "party labels, religious or geographic lines."
The real solution lay in the American's choice between freedom and subjugation, which Johnston symbolized in a national hero:


Shall we follow the new-fashioned liberal whose blazing banner proclaims—"Man belongs to the State; the State will protect him; the State will employ him for the benefit of the State"? Or shall we follow the old-fashioned Jeffersonian liberal whose blazing banner of many struggles proclaims—"The State is but the servant of man, to be used for his greater achievements and freedom"? 62

The entire matter of war-time controls lent itself easily to an appeal to the individual's desire for freedom. Whenever Johnston had occasion to refer to the emergency controls, he always remarked on the American's willingness to accept them for the time being. But, he warned, each represented a restriction on some phase of individual freedom; the people must make certain that that freedom would be returned fully and promptly after the war. Johnston presumed that his audiences wished to have freedom, but he also felt that most people needed that desire stimulated. In a New York City address, at which he substituted for Governor Dewey as the principal speaker, he appealed to the listeners:

When wartime controls can be lifted, will individual rights be fully restored? Will the pendulum that has moved so far in the direction of Government domination be allowed to swing back freely from Authority to Liberty? ... These questions touch the core of American destiny.

As a people we Americans do not frighten easily. But I would remind you that in the decade before the war we were fed on a heavy diet of fear, fear of personal insecurity, fear of another depression, fear of business, fear even of ourselves. Life became just one damned fear after another.

The defeatist and pessimist got us so busy fearing other things we forgot to fear that which is really important, and that is Big Government. In the resulting panic of the spirit, the American people grew indifferent to Big Government’s steady and ever more arrogant encroachments. But today we see what it means to be regimented by Big Government. And more and more of us don’t like it.

There are two ways in which our patrimony of liberty can be lost. It can be taken away from us by frontal assault, as the Axis is threatening to do. This is a danger we are surely overcoming. But it can also be lost by default. It can slip through our fingers. And this is the more deadly danger, because the adversary is our own smugness or indifference or lack of understanding, and the battle lines not so easily defined. 63

Summary.— Thus the evidence here reveals that Eric Johnston assiduously practiced his own advice: "Shoot for the emotions." He did not imply thereby that the truth is to be compromised. Rather, recognizing the strength of emotional stimuli, he used the motive appeals as another means to impart the truth to his listeners. It is appropriate to end this discussion with a quotation from a typical "America Unlimited" speech. It represents his inspirational addresses in which he makes a plea for the "American Ideal," blending many emotional appeals. The three concluding paragraphs follow:

We can well be proud of our progress, but we cannot rest on our achievements. Still other hard, grim months loom ahead. Our efforts must be rekindled in the fires of freedom. In the hour glass of victory, no single, precious minute must be wasted. We are united for victory, and as a united people we will concentrate our strength with increasingly furious power against a tyrannical enemy.

The American Ideal—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—is no idle phrase or empty promise. It is a living

63 Post-War Problems. Address, April 27, 1944, p. 5.
reality. It is you and me and the men on the war fronts and the families at home. It means equality of opportunity, it means liberty and the self-respect of the individual. It means adventure, reward and security.

That ideal has always been our beacon in dark and stormy times. When peace at last is ours, it will be the inextinguishable torch which will light the world.64

Thus Johnston, the inspirational speaker, put to strong use the appeals to his listener's motives.

LOGICAL PROOF

The final form of support employed by Eric Johnston was that of logical proof. Most writers declare that this method of gaining audience belief is achieved through the speaker's propitious handling of facts and arguments.

On the matter of selecting evidence and developing arguments, Johnston himself had this to say: "You should strive to create, by skillful analysis, skillful presentation and skillful broadcasting of your findings, such an overwhelming array of fact, evidence and interpretation that you will get the hearing which your findings deserve."65

By that statement Johnston recognized the relation between the two constituents of logical proof: facts and inferred facts.66

Chapter III considered Johnston's basic ideas. The present discussion examines two matters related to those ideas: (1) the methods of

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64 "America Unlimited." Address, April 27, 1943, p. 525.


66 Gray and Braden, p. 281.
inference he chose and (2) the kinds of evidence he selected to prove his contentions. What were the speaker's reasoning processes? What kind and how much evidence did he employ? This section seeks the answers to those questions.

Inference

A. Generalisation.— Johnston frequently argued by generalization, drawing a conclusion from a number of "specific instances." He did not approach, and probably had no need for, "perfect" induction. In the realm of human affairs the speaker seldom, if ever, can present all cases. Furthermore, within the limits of a fifteen-minute speech, he can only suggest his proofs, seeking "... a high degree of certainty, or at least of probability." 67

For example, Johnston made no claim at citing all the "sins" in his "Warning to Labor and to Management." 68 Instead, he enumerated what he called the "seven deadly sins" 69 of both groups and inferred that labor and management were in disfavor with the American people. His conclusion was based on that finding. To the two factions he declared, "Go ahead and turn this country into a continuous brawl, and the government will chain you both. [or] Make a better choice. Work together

67 Thomsen and Baird, p. 355.

68 "A Warning to Labor and to Management." Address, March 13, 1944.

69 In brief, the "sins" were: (1) monopoly by labor (closed shops) and management; (2) arbitrary fines and suspensions by unions and unfair competition by management; (3) union and corporation autocrats; (4) failure to make public financial accounts; (5) strikes; (6) picket-line violence; (7) restraints on production.
and stay free."\(^70\)

At the outset of that address Johnston admitted that his "evidence" was not all-inclusive, that he had not covered every conceivable case. "Let's take a look," he said, "at the seven deadly sins in a spirit of frank helpfulness and with full recognition that they do not apply to all unions and all management or at all times."\(^72\).

Twice Johnston generalized from specific instances during a speech to a British Chamber of Commerce group. Typical of his handling this kind of evidence, his "specific" facts were always not as specific as they might have been:

The American... is... opposed to private artificial monopolies.

The United States... has legislated emphatically and repeatedly against... artificial trade practices. Our laws utterly forbid such domestic devices as dividing of markets, the allocating of outputs, and the fixing of prices by trade groups.\(^72\)

His generalization was that the average American citizen is opposed to economic imperialism. His instances might well have cited several of the laws to which he referred and specifically enumerated some of their provisions. Because he did not, his generalization was based on very general declarations of fact.

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\(^70\)Ibid., p. 203.


\(^72\)"A Local World."

Address, August 16, 1943, pp. 9 f.
Similarly, in the same speech he spoke of political imperialism:

President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy toward Latin America is no mere personal whim of his. President Coolidge began the Good Neighbor policy by withdrawing our marines from Santo Domingo. They have been withdrawn also from Nicaragua and Haiti. We have surrendered to Cuba our treaty right to intervene in Cuban affairs. We have pledged independence to the Filipinos on a definite date. We are in full retreat from the political imperialism into which we were plunged by the Spanish-American War and President McKinley.  

The generalization from these instances was that the average American is opposed to political imperialism. Here the speaker did stand on firmer ground; he listed the five cases in which the United States had relinquished her hold on foreign soil.

On the whole, Johnston's generalizations are characterized by one outstanding fact: he draws them from undeveloped examples that stand without elaboration. This study does not reveal his having made use of the "extended" example. Typically, in a bond drive speech in 1944 he defined what he meant by "freedom," one of the goals for which the war was being fought. As examples of what freedom is not, he cites France, Norway, Poland, and Italy. He gives no detail here about the lack of freedom in these countries; rather, he lets the audience draw its own conclusions from his suggestions:

Sometimes, though, we don't appreciate freedom until it's taken away from us. Ask a Frenchman what freedom means to him today, ask a family in Norway or in Poland what freedom means to it. Ask those living dead in the concentration camps of the Nazis what is the meaning of freedom to them. Or even ask an Italian what freedom would mean to

73 Ibid., p. 10.
him—if Mussolini and the Nazis would let him have it. . . .

The same lack of development appears in an address to the War Writers Board. There he maintained that racial and religious intolerance are fundamentally contrary to the democratic philosophy. To disregard or to attack minorities is to deprive the nation of many of its effective citizens. He listed nine examples as proof:

Subtract from the grand total of America the contributions of our racial and religious and economic minorities—and what remains? Subtract foreign-born Andrew Carnegie from our metallurgical industry; or David Sarnoff from American radio; or George Gershwin and the Negro composers from our native music; or Norwegian-born Knute Rockne from our football; or Dutch-born William Bok from publishing; or Danish-born William S. Knudsen from the automotive industry; or Russian-born Major de Seversky from American aviation; or Belgian-born Leo H. Baekeland from American chemical achievements; or slave-born Dr. George Washington Carver from biological developments. Temptation is to list hundreds and thousands who have thrown their particular genius into the American melting pot.

For a Baltimore audience in June, 1942, he likewise listed general examples to substantiate a general statement. His immediate point was that after the war private industry will not permit a period of economic stagnation like that which followed the first World War. He prefaced the catalog with, "I base my convictions on five logical precepts."

After this war we will have the greatest plant capacity in history; we will have a greater source of raw materials, both natural and synthetic, than we have ever had; we will have the greatest number of skilled mechanics and technicians ever available to any nation; we will have the greatest


75"Intolerance." Address, January 11, 1945, p. 182.
back-log of accumulated demands for all sorts of commodities; the people will have accumulated savings with which to buy this back-log of accumulated demands. 76

But there his example ends. Actually, his "logical precepts" could be strengthened with some further explanation or evidence. Each statement could be made more convincing if accompanied by statistics. In this instance, as he most often did, his broad statement was "substantiated" by other broad statements.

In the same speech he made the broad observation that "...business built America, created the world's most powerful nation." As proof he offered these examples:

Business dug the coal and iron ore from the mines of America, and created railroads and skyscrapers. Business placed wheels under the combustion engine and sent more than thirty million cars and trucks gliding from assembly lines to a vast network of highways, which business also built. Business developed and sold everything from bathtube to ice cream, and gave America an opportunity to enjoy a standard of living and a way of life such as no nation in history ever even dared dream. 77

Probably no one in that Chamber of Commerce audience would have argued the point with him. They were pleased to hear that through their own efforts they had created America, the most powerful nation in the world. The fact remains, however, that his "proof" was weak, and he spoke only in the familiar symbols readily acceptable to his partisan audience.

In summary, Johnston drew his generalizations from broad instances; seldom were they completely developed. Because he was primarily an


77 ibid., p. 583.
inspirational speaker, relying most heavily upon ethical and emotional proof, he had little need for the extended example as proof. Therefore, without suggesting that he had examined every possible circumstance, he presented his undeveloped illustrations and let the audience determine the validity of the final generalization. The logician would doubtlessly be unconvinced and would demand greater specificity. Yet the businessman, the worker, the general public, whom Johnston had the responsibility to move or inspire, were probably more easily satisfied with less meticulous detail.

B. Analogy.— Johnston made more effective use of analogy than he did generalization. His most frequent subjects for comparison were labor and industry, and he often drew parallels of their similarities. The analogies considered in this discussion are typical only of those he offered as proof. Those made figuratively are classed as a stylistic device and are examined in Chapter VII on style.

Speaking to a large group of union employees in Chicago, Johnston drew an analogy when he declared that labor was asking for the same public and federal reprimand that industry received during the New Deal.

Business ignored public opinion for years, and you're heading for the same direction. Business thought it was an untouchable prima donna in the nineteen twenties. It didn't care who was crushed beneath its wheels when it was driving toward its own determined goal.

And you know what happened to business.

It's still groggy from the socks it got from an outraged public through a responsive Congress.
That can happen to you. 78

Here he did not have to dwell upon the mass of legislation and the un-
favorable public opinion that had harassed business for over a decade.
His audience knew, for they had profited as industry became less potent.
"That can happen to you," served the speaker as an ominous fact in his
argument that labor and management must cooperate.

Johnston made a typical comparison in his analogy between the
insurance that business buys for its protection and the social security
that the worker deserves. He offered it as proof that industry must
take an active part in formulating and supporting an adequate social
security program.

The businessman relies most heavily on his own initiative. . . .
There are some risks, however, which he lets insurance
companies underwrite, such as the hazards of fire, flood or
fraud. Business believes in insurance.

Any businessman has an overwhelming interest in the contin-
unity of his production. . . . He knows he has certain
inescapable overhead costs regardless of the volume. There-
fore, when his business goes into a tailspin, he knows
that overhead costs will soon convert profits into losses.
These losses will bankrupt the enterprise if persisted in
long enough.

I like to compare the situation of the businessman with that
of the workingman. I am convinced that they have common
interests. . . .

For instance, in modern society a worker also has overhead.
It is his constant worry. . . . The worker also finds he
has a minimum overhead which persists whether he is on or
off the payroll. His unavoidable expenses such as rent, or
mortgage payments, installment contracts, grocery, light,
gas, and telephone bills must be paid monthly. If he is

idle long enough, he also goes bankrupt—or even worse—on relief. . . . 79

In his speech of warning to labor and management he made use of an analogy which he carried through the entire speech. The basic comparison appears in the introduction. He speaks first to labor.

Right now you're just where we of management were ten years ago.

. . . From 1921 to 1930 we had everything all our own way. A friendly administration in Washington. Low taxes. A friendly public. And what did we do with our power? On the economic side we gave this country a balloon boom that had to burst. On the moral side we produced men like Insull and Hopson and Musica, who undermined confidence in business.

So what did we get? Beginning with 1933 we got the biggest public beating that any group of Americans ever took. . . . The public wanted us socked, and socked we were.

. . . How faithfully you have imitated us of management. From 1933 to 1942 you rode high. You were tops. A friendly administration in Washington. All sorts of favors fed to you daily from the Washington political table. Management weak and intimidated. So what did you do with your power? On the economic side you gave yourselves a labor boom, regardless of the consequences to any other element of the population. On the moral side you produced men like Browne and Bioff and Scalise who gave all labor a black eye. 30

By this comparison Johnston reasoned that that group would meet the same economic and social fate which had earlier been the experience of management. Again, the speaker's specific details were broad. "Friendly administration. . . Low taxes. A friendly public," all may well have profited by some elaboration. Nevertheless, his inference that labor

79 "Social Security and a Dynamic Capitalism." Address, September 8, 1944, p. 766.

was due for a set-back was clearly established, and it served as a core around which he formed the remainder of the speech.

C. Other types of argument.--- Johnston's causal inference is characterized by oversimplification. Too quickly, and with insufficient evidence, he pointed to general conditions or circumstances as an absolute cause of others. For the most part, this kind of reasoning appeared in his speeches which dealt broadly with capitalism and democracy. Sometimes he established the new capitalism (CAUSE) as a system opposed to the pre-depression era of laissez-faire, then cited the advantageous changes that will come from the conversion (EFFECT). On other occasions he pointed to federal restrictions, high taxes, and public disfavor (EFFECTS), then found that they had been brought about by the old capitalism (CAUSE). In his last speech as president of the Chamber of Commerce, Johnston reasoned that the Allies emerged from the war as military victors (EFFECT) because capitalist America furnished the equipment (CAUSE). In the same address he declared that the United States has an abundance of physical, natural, and spiritual resources (CAUSE); under the new capitalism the United States will be a

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61 We ought to be proud of the capitalistic system. Competitive capitalism just got through winning the greatest war in all history. Let's not be modest about it. Neither Britain nor Russia could have survived without the endless flow of goods from this capitalistic American country." "A Decade of Decisions." Address, Chamber of Commerce Annual Convention, Atlantic City, New Jersey, May 2, 1946. Pamphlet (Washington: U.S. Chamber of Commerce), p. 5.
world leader (EFFECT). 82

Johnston seldom took occasion to argue through the formal syllogism. Although there are some instances of his deductive reasoning, he made no actual statement of a major premise, minor premise, and conclusion. Typical of his inferred syllogistic argument is the speech to the Purchasing Agents Association in New York City, where he argued:

The people want a greater middle-class economy, more job security, and real prosperity for everyone.

The new capitalism furnishes all those features.

Therefore, the people want the new capitalism. 83

Similarly, he did not formally state a conclusion to his deductive argument in his March 20, 1946, address: "If a nation gives its word that it will do a certain thing on a certain date, that nation is

82 "We've got abundance... We in America have got the greatest industrial power on earth... I propose that we add a dimension of unlimited hopeful promises to our advocacy of our democratic capitalism. We have every right to do so. Reason plus resources, physical, natural and spiritual, give us that right. Up to now, we've put all the emphasis on the known and measurable past and present achievements. From now on, let's put the accent on the immeasurable possibilities of the future under a brand new capitalism. Ibid., p. 6.

83 "We (The American people) say we are for a greater middle-class economy... We say we regret to see slack times and seasonal employment. We say we are for steadier jobs...

We all say we want better homes for everybody; that we want better education opportunities for everybody; that we want higher health standards; that we want a better national diet; that we want security for all in their declining years; that we want all the things which spell real prosperity for all the people." Johnston offers the contention that the New Capitalism provides those features and thus is the choice of the American people. "The Road to World Peace." Address, March 20, 1946, p. A1660.
expected to live up to it. Russia promised to withdraw her troops from Iran on March 2 [1946]. She hasn't done it. ["Therefore, Russia is a nation that has not lived up to her promise." And that's why we're worried.]

Evidence

A. Examples.—It has already been pointed out that Johnston's reasoning from examples would not always stand up under detailed scrutiny of the logician. The point to be made here, however, is that his examples, as a kind of evidence, were appropriate and effective.

The number of examples he chose for evidence varied from a single illustration to an impressive list. For instance, his discussion on a radio forum with Harold J. Laski in England illustrated his apt choice of only one. "Natural monopolies," he said, "can be operated better... under private enterprise with government regulation than they can under government ownership... As an illustration, your telephone system right here in England..."

Johnston selected current examples that were close to the audience. Typically, he emphasized to one group the gravity of post-war unemployment by phrasing his examples as the job-seeker's questions. "He..."

84 Ibid., p. A1661.

worker looks at it in relation to his personal experiences, asking himself, for example, 'Will my job be there after the war? What will my weekly pay check amount to? Can I keep that job?'

Similarly, when he spoke on a forum on Latin-American trade, his examples were those of the businessman, chosen to convince other businessmen who were interested in buying and selling on a foreign market.

"We are paying more for those things than we would normally. We are paying more for rubber than we did before the war; we are paying more for copper; we are paying more for wool."

When he wished to impress one group about the endless opportunities for development and expansion after the war, he took one example, the airplane. For that topic, however, he gave examples of what his listeners could expect to do in post-war air transportation.

Within five years after this war, you will probably be no more than thirty hours from any place in the world. You will fly from New York to Buenos Aires... in one day. You will fly from New York to London in less than six hours. You will fly from New York to Moscow, Russia, or perhaps to Shanghai, China, in one day. You will fly over the poles...

For examples he might have chosen kinds of airplanes or he might have

86 "Industrial Problems." Address, January 27, 1944, p. 3.

87 "Is the Good Neighbor Policy Here to Stay?" Radio forum, May 9, 1943, p. 5.

88 "America Unlimited." Address, April 6, 1944, p. 5.
mentioned advanced engine designs, but his references to flight times between countries were more convincing to his audience of businessmen. By air they made trips, shipped their products, and received supplies. Their interests would more likely lie in flight hours than in engines and designs.

As emphasized earlier in the chapter, Johnston did not ordinarily develop his examples or substantiate them in any detail. The fact remains, however, that they were pertinent to his subject, were of sufficient number to be meaningful, and had their sources in the speaker's and the audience's immediate experiences and interests.

B. Testimony and statistics.—Johnston seldom quoted the testimony of an authority to prove his point. As a rule, the evidence in this study indicates, he preferred the indirect quotation. Characteristic of his handling of authority, he based his remarks to a group of union employees on the idea that full production is not merely the selfish industrialist's point of view to get the greatest return on investment. Full production is imperative, he contended, in all economic systems. In support of the contention, he paraphrased what other men and governments had to say. For a surprise ending, he saved the strongest point, and the only direct quotation, for the end. The underscoring has been supplied by this writer to point out the indirect quotations.

Let's look at Great Britain. . . . The British government told the British workers it would lead them to Utopia. And when it took over, it told them this. . . . Utopia is production. . . . What does it mean? . . . We're not going to get the good things of life unless we make them. And that, in substance, was precisely what the British labor
government has told its people.

The Prime Minister called on British unions to drop any 'customs or rules' which might hamper full production. He called on employers to toss out all 'restrictions on output calculated to create artificial scarcities.'

... look at France. France has a pro-labor government. And France is determined to increase her production. ... French unions are underwriting full production ... France, like Britain, knows there is no real hope outside of production. These governments tell their people this: Give us more production or we're doomed.

... look at Russia. ... Communist Russia is employing capitalistie techniques in an all-out drive for production ... Russia has recognized the value of incentives to production. ... Let me quote you this: 'Increased efficiency is the way to higher wages, lower prices for the consumer, a better market for your product and a more secure job for you. Increased efficiency does not mean speed up when accomplished through union-management cooperation.'

That's the end of the quotation, and, gentlemen, I didn't make that up. That isn't management talking to labor, either. I quoted that directly from Labor's Monthly Survey, an excellent publication of the American Federation of Labor.

In selecting support for his original idea that both labor and management must achieve full production, Johnston chose three pertinent authorities—three labor or pro-labor governments—and a quotation from the American Federation of Labor. There could be no charge that his sources were biased, for they were all from the camp of the audience. In the words of their own economic group lay his proof that full production was essential.

39 "Utopia Is Production." Address, July 23, 1946, pp. 8 f.
Only occasionally did Johnston employ statistics as evidence to prove his point. The few instances are represented by the one quotation given below, wherein he lists figures in round numbers and relies more on apparent abundance of material than on the significance of the figure itself. To this audience of the Economic Club of Detroit he declared that America is a land of many undeveloped frontiers. A portion of the argument follows:

Some say that the frontier has disappeared in America. Let me take the eleven western states from out in my part of the country. Exclude California and Washington, because they are more developed, and include the two Dakotas. . . . There you have an area about the size of all of India, or all of Europe, excluding European Russia. In these eleven western states you have a population of six and a half million people. In India you have a population of 365 million, and in Europe, excluding European Russia, 265 million people.

.................................................................

In the state of New Mexico alone there are 192 billion tons of coal in known seams. . . . this state of New Mexico has sufficient coal in known seams to last the United States, at its present rate of consumption, for 450 years.

. . . there is more land under cultivation in these eleven western states, or capable of being brought under cultivation. . . than in either India or in Europe.90

Johnston's statistics were pertinent, on the subject, and not so voluminous as to overwhelm his listeners. They served his point, moreover, by

90 Johnston, "The Road to Realism for American Business." Address, the Economic Club of Detroit, Detroit, Michigan, April 17, 1944. Text deposited in U.S. Chamber of Commerce, p. 17.
the ease with which they permitted comparisons to be drawn in substantiation of his idea.

Summary

This examination of the speaker's kinds of proof discloses these facts:

In the first place, Johnston made full use of his ethical appeal. His physical appearance gave him an immediate advantage: he was pleasant, well-groomed, and masculine. Moreover, his successful personal businesses and his four years of leadership in civic and federal commissions during his tenure in Washington provided a reputation that lent respect and credence to his ideas. This speaker made a deliberate, yet subtle, display of his wisdom. He exhibited a broad knowledge of current affairs and tactfully and impressively drew on his personal authority for solutions to pertinent questions.

Johnston further established his ethical proof through his character. He took care to show himself and his ideas to be on the side of the good and to represent his opponent as favoring those things the audience believed to be unvirtuous. By emphasizing his good character he led his audience toward a more favorable consideration of his beliefs. He purposefully presented himself as a man of good will by identifying himself with his auditors and their problems and by offering praise or censure with decorum.

Overall, the material covered here would indicate that Johnston
relied heavily on his ethical proof and took advantage of many devices to establish and display it: his appearance, reputation, intelligence, character, and good will.

In the second place, this spokesman for business depended equally as much upon emotional appeal as he did upon ethical. The nature and demands of his principal type of address, the inspirational, required emphasis upon this kind of proof. His predominant motive appeal was that to patriotism, but with it he merged such secondary appeals as duty, personal enjoyment, and freedom from restraint. He so combined those motivating factors that he made it appear patriotic to defend capitalism.

Johnston's total patriotic appeal appears to follow this reasoning: Democracy stands for freedom of the individual, freedom from restraint, self-development, self-expression, and self-rule. Capitalism fosters the same elements in economics that the American democracy does in government. If the people desire these elements, they must support both democratic government and "democratic capitalism." Furthermore, the person who loves freedom does not wish to be restricted by a super-government, have his profits taxed away, or be dictated to by any minority. Capitalism combats the usurpation of the individual's rights and freedoms. Therefore, the freedom-loving American prefers the "people's capitalism." Similar reasoning lay behind his appeals to group pride and the fighting spirit.

It was Johnston's responsibility to industry to reestablish
the good will of all economic, social, and political groups for capitalism. His emotional appeal was comparably important to that of his ethos in accomplishing his mission.

Finally, Johnston depended least upon logical proof. However, he did not disregard completely the possibilities of a certain amount of inference and evidence. Although he preferred to argue from specific instances, his instances were frequently as broad as the final generalization he wished to establish. He was more effective in drawing conclusions by analogy. Causal inference and the formal syllogism, he employed infrequently.

Johnston made some use of examples, testimony, and statistics. His examples were well chosen, appropriate to the point, although not always as complete as might be desirable for their fullest effectiveness. Not often did he find occasion for direct quotation and statistics to prove his statement.

It must be concluded here that Eric Johnston looked to ethical and emotional proofs for his greatest effectiveness. He was essentially an inspirational speaker, having the responsibility of reestablishing good will for capitalism. Thus, his appearance, reputation, character, and pleasing manner gave his words greater weight than did his presentation of evidence and his methods of argument. Likewise, his appeal to the logic of his listeners may have been less important than that to their emotions. He could more easily defend capitalism through a defense of "the American way of life" than through a logically reasoned case for his cause.
CHAPTER V

SPEECH METHODS: PREPARATION AND ADAPTATION

This final phase of invention concerns the speaker's methods of speech preparation and adaptation. The people in Johnston's audiences represented a cross-section of the American public. For that reason his speech purposes varied. The matters of his preparing a speech and adapting it to the group, therefore, are interdependent and cannot be entirely separated.

Every address in this study indicated deliberate effort on Johnston's part to make his message conform to the needs and interests of his auditors. Much of that adaptation was obviously determined beforehand in the preparation of the speech. Therefore, this chapter examines those two aspects of invention to discover the speaker's methods: his preparation of the address and his adaptation of his ideas to a particular audience.

SPEECH PREPARATION

Any well-trained or experienced orator can speak easily and even extemporaneously upon subjects with which he is intimately familiar. However, one test of a man's ability to move an audience through his words lies in the thorough preparation he makes for his major addresses. On an important occasion, familiarity with the subject and experience
in speaking are not alone adequate. "The strength of the message, itself, depends entirely upon the amount of preparation that went into it."

The steps that Johnston made in the preparation of a speech appear simple enough, but the work involved in their completion was exacting. "First you get an idea," he said in discussing his own speech preparation. "Then you refine it. Then do research. Then outline. Then fill in the details in a full manuscript. Refine again. Revise. Study. Deliver."  

After Johnston had accepted a major speaking engagement, he spent some time personally reflecting upon the theme or the main points he wanted to make to the particular audience. Maintaining that any one speech must have unity, must be about only one subject, his immediate problem was to determine that his subject met that standard. Frequently his statement of his subject appears in one short, simple sentence: "Tonight I want to talk about illiteracy among the literate." "The theme of my talk tonight is peace." "Tonight I want to talk about how America can avoid socialism." "Tonight I want to talk about the most militant force in the world."

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2Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.
Once he had determined his theme and had made certain that the points he wished to include were clearly on the subject, he began the discussion phase. "I call in the top staff," he told this writer, "and explain what I want to talk about, what I want to say to that particular group." It was here that he discussed, particularly in the preparation of a major address, the principal ideas and the overall content. His staff, made up of specialists in many fields, listened, offered suggestions, then went out to gather details. During this discussion-research step Johnston drew up an outline which served not only as a guide toward the unity of the speech but also as a framework upon which he built the final speech. "The outline is especially important," he declared. "It is a guide to what you are trying to hit. Without an outline you lose track."4

Once he had assembled all the material, Johnston then wrote or dictated the first draft of his speech. Baird quotes Johnston as saying that this first manuscript is made "a few days in advance" of the speaking date. Evidently, however, the importance and length of the speech actually governed the time between the first and final drafts. He has been known, for example, to have written a single speech as many

3Ibid.

4Ibid.

as a dozen times. Each revision represented his determination to be concise and to the point, for he maintained that "People like capsule doses of public speaking. Thus, what we say must be condensed. In my Boston speech to labor I started out with an original manuscript of twenty pages. When we got through revising it, it was eight pages."

During this period of writing and revising Johnston kept close touch with his researchers and the specialists in the various fields he was to cover in the address. Those persons read each version as it was prepared, made suggestions, and sent it back to Johnston for consideration and possible additional revision. The final copy of the speech was not ready until it had the approval of all those working with it.

The final phase of his speech preparation was study. Once all appropriate changes had been made, and Johnston and his co-workers were satisfied with the content and its arrangement, the study manuscript was typed. Depending upon the importance of the speech occasion, he read and re-read this speech for complete memorization or for familiarization. As he told Baird, "After I have gone over it a number of


8Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.
times and feel that I have it well in mind, it is filed away."9

The fact that he delivered twenty-one separate speeches in
seven days10 does indicate that he prepared some speeches more hur-
riedly than others and that his study period was not always so long.
The fact remains, however, that even for addresses for which he pre-
pared no actual manuscript, he nevertheless utilized the same care in
the analysis of his subject, the outline of content, and the study
and consideration of his notes. The secret to his ability to short-
en his study period lay in his facility of memorization. Mr. Ben
Lambe, who accompanied Johnston on a number of speaking engagements,
relates the incident of Johnston's studying a manuscript during the
plane trip to the city in which the speech was to be delivered.
Lambe said that he watched the manuscript while Johnston spoke at
the meeting, and there were only the slightest variations between
it and what Johnston said.11

At this point it seems appropriate to consider the matter of
"ghost writers." As has already been pointed out, Johnston did have
help in the preparation of his speeches. He heard the suggestions
of those closely associated with him, and he took their assistance
into consideration when he finally prepared his addresses. Ben Lambe,

10John Chamberlain, "Eric Johnston." Life, XVI (June 19, 1944),
96 ff.
11Statement by Lambe, personal interview, January 4, 1951.
an official and associate of Johnston's in the Chamber of Commerce,
declared that this prolific speaker "had researchers and literary experts, long with him, who knew his style and could write in his style. Johnston gave them his basic ideas and they might even draw up the first draft of a speech. Johnston, himself, however, was a fluent writer of speeches, and the final drafts were his."12

Furthermore, Johnston's own comment using "we" concerning the Boston address13—that "when we got through revising it..."

would indicate that he acknowledged the helpful thinking and ideas of his staff. It is concluded here that although he drew freely upon the suggestions and advice of certain associates and specialists, he did not have "ghost writers."

Thus Eric Johnston's speech preparation is characterized by the thoroughness with which he conducted his research, organized and revised the drafts, and studied his final manuscript or notes. He did have a staff of trained researchers to aid him through the preparation of his main addresses. However, the final manuscript from which he studied, spoke, or read, was his own.

"It takes some native ability to make a successful speech."

12 Ibid.

13 "Warning to Labor and to Management." Address, March 13, 1944.
he said; "but it also takes years of practice." By "practice" he undoubtedly intended not only the actual delivery of the address but also its preparation.

AUDIENCE ADAPTATION

Audience analysis and adaptation, say Thonssen and Baird, appear in two aspects: the speaker's pre-analysis of the audience and the immediate adjustments that the speaker makes during the presentation of the address. The critic must determine how carefully the speaker looked into such factors as audience information on the subject; their various political, social and professional affiliations; their attitudes and prejudices on the subject; their self-interests; and the immediate situation of the occasion. While the speech was in progress, did the speaker adjust himself and his material immediately and properly to any overt audience response and to the subtle, barely discernible reactions to him and his material?

Johnston made frequent use of three mechanical devices to adapt his speech to a given audience: familiar references, professional jargon, and establishment of common grounds. Furthermore, he employed

14 Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.


16 Johnston also made a bid for audience good will through these same devices.
such other means as his choice of specialized subjects and illustrative materials. This section considers those elements of the speaker's adapting his speech and his ideas to the audience.

**Mechanical means of adaptation.**—Many of Johnston's inspirational addresses on the glory of America, the advantages of the democratic government, freedom of the individual, and winning the war and the peace, to name only a few, had essentially the same content and purpose, regardless of the make-up of the audience. Even so, by referring to a previous speaker or to the city in which he spoke, Johnston gave his audience the feeling that the address was made especially for them. A few typical examples show his rather standardized but purposeful introductory and concluding remarks:

1. "I have longed all my life... to have the opportunity of being introduced to such a large crowd at Wilmington, the home of my good friend and a man whom I consider one of the most efficient secretaries in America, Mr. Cassaway. . . ."¹⁷

2. "Johnston had just been introduced by Mr. Marshall. The name Marshall stands foremost amongst our nation's jurists. After this evening's performance, the name Marshall will stand foremost among our nation's toastmasters... It is grand to be out of the mental fog of Washington, and before this very large audience of the Pennsylvania Chamber of Commerce at Harrisburg. We have a saying in Washington that you never send your best people to the National Capital... But there is an exception to that in Charlie Zimmerman, who was sent down there as a Director of the United States Chamber of Commerce and served very auspiciously for a good many years.

Charlie, I am glad to be back with you in Harrisburg tonight, also a number of my other friends that I see out through the audience this evening.18

3. "If we can do this. . . . Then I can say to you in Atlanta this evening. . . ."19

4. "Are we able to use the tools. . . .? If we can, then I tell you in Rochester this evening. . . ."20

5. "Can he temper his spirit. . . .? If he can, then I can tell you this afternoon in Detroit. . . ."21

Often Johnston employed the technical language and the jargon of the group as an audience-adaptation device. The words may have been meaningful to other audiences, but such deliberate phraseology indicated his intentional adaptation of his idea to the particular


It is pointed out, that the foregoing illustrations came from speeches delivered in Wilmington, Harrisburg, New Haven, Atlanta, Rochester, and Detroit, during a period in which he made twenty major addresses of record. It does not consider the less important speeches, on which no manuscript was preserved in the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.
group. His speech to a meeting of the Electric Institute of Washington, D.C., is typical of the scheme for a specialized audience:

I think we should describe Washington in the terminology of the light and power industry and say that we should have in Washington far more high-powered incandescent light upon our national problems and far less low-powered edicts against American business. It seems to me that we should have more of the glow of national pride, and less of the heat generated by internal friction. We should deliver more power to the fighting lines, and dissipate less power in the party lines. We should have more light upon subjects, and less sound about these subjects.  

When his audience was composed of men representing a variety of professions, trades, and skills, he presented his ideas in the language of the particular group. In his May 2, 1946, speech to the annual Chamber of Commerce meeting, for example, he made use of such words as accumulated capital, flow of goods, mass production, pressure groups, minimum wage, annual wage, profit sharing, and social security. In the conclusion he drew an analogy between the old and new capitalism. The phraseology would have been inappropriate for any other audience:

22 He made use of the same technique for humor. The examples given here are plays on words, but the subject and situation are serious.

Yesterday's models are today's candidates for the junkyard. Tomorrow's model is already on the drawing board. Today's model is already second-hand. We don't repair or repatch the worn-out machine. We don't hesitate to scrap worn-out tools. We shouldn't hesitate to scrap worn-out social concepts.24

In the third place, Johnston adapted himself and his cause to his audience through the establishment of a common bond of interests. The same device also enhanced his ethical proof, as previously shown; nevertheless, it emphasized his effort to make a specific speech appropriate for a particular audience. These short comments are typical:

1. "In my official capacity... as the president of the United States Chamber of Commerce..."25 he spoke of himself to a Chamber of Commerce audience.

2. To businessmen at a World Trade dinner he was a businessman: "I want to talk in an ordinary businessman's language."26

3. In 1944 he went to Russia as "...a private citizen... a production man."27

4. To a group of writers he was a builder and manufacturer, who had a vital, common interest with writers: "We are all of us, in our several ways, seeking to preserve America. You who write... do it with the weapon of words. Those of us who build and manufacture do it with machines and goods."28


25 Johnston, \\Victory\]. Address, Omaha Chamber of Commerce, Omaha, Nebraska, October 18, 1944. Omaha Chamber of Commerce News Bulletin, October 20, 1944, p. 3.


Other Means of Adaptation.—Johnston frequently employed means of adaptation less obvious than the very familiar ones discussed in the foregoing pages. In this section, the writer has chosen for a more detailed analysis two addresses listed earlier as basic to this study.29 These examples are typical of the means by which Johnston adapted himself and his cause to his audience.

The Opposed Audience.—Johnston delivered "A Local World"30 during his three-week visit in England where he was a guest of the British Government and the British National Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce during August and September, 1943. During his stay there Johnston was "representing United States business men,"31 and the opinions he expressed and the observations he made were sure to receive consideration, if not agreement. Since this was one of his principal addresses there, he obviously gave it careful thought and planning.

Johnston knew that this British audience was likely to be made up of prominent businessmen who operated under an economic system which was more and more coming to favor socialism. Already the British Broadcasting System, a "public" agency, was owner and operator of all radio stations. Many industries, although not socialized, did

29 Supra, pp. 3-5.


31 New York Times, July 18, 1943, p. 27.
operate under the privileged system of cartels. Financial institutions and railroads enjoyed huge private monopolies, typical of what Johnston called the "old world" capitalism and the antithesis of his "new" capitalism. Although they may not have supported British socialism, in many other ways the listeners did not favor the practices of American business. On the whole, he could class this audience, for one reason or another, as "opponent."

As he knew their background, he could feel certain that his audience knew him as one who persistently argued for fullest freedom of private enterprise. They would expect this speech to contain some defense of American capitalism, since Johnston was the spokesman for that economic system. They might also anticipate some attack or censure, however polite, of their own system.

Johnston had evidently made some such conjectured analysis of the group, considering their intellectual and informational backgrounds, their political and business affiliations. Without fear of being misunderstood, he could use freely such terms as sovereign government, private monopolies, artificial monopolies, artificial trade practices, political imperialism, currency exchanges, and popular sovereignty. This select British group would not be baffled at his references to Homer, Shakespeare, Sir Francis Drake, the Hudson Bay Company, James K. Polk, Calvin Coolidge, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, Haiti, Chungking, and Tehran.

Johnston's problem with this group was one of many facets. He must
admit fundamental differences in his and his audience's points of view, yet make no retreat in the "enemy" camp. At the same time he had to foster good will for a program he would propose. Knowing his listeners' attitudes and prejudices, he must find basic points of common interests and objectives on which they could all agree, then ease into his proposal as another matter upon which they could agree. Here was a serious problem in audience adaptation.

In a friendly introduction he made humorous reference to his home in Spokane, the audience's home in London, and the pride that New Yorkers, Texans, and all other Americans take in their particular localities. Immediately he plunged into a consideration of the basic British and American differences. "Many Americans, in addressing British audiences, stress the resemblances between the two countries. I think it wiser to begin by stressing the differences. Only through realizing those differences can we break through them and arrive at true terms of friendship."\(^3^2^\) He found areas of disagreement in four specific instances. (1) Large banks have branches throughout Britain, as opposed to America's independent banks in all localities. (2) The London newspapers are read all over the country, while New York and Washington newspapers are circulated widely only in the metropolitan area. (3) British radio stations are owned and operated by the

\(^{32}\)Ibid., p. 8.
British Broadcasting Company, while those in the United States are privately owned and operated. (4) The British government is sovereign, while in the United States it is the people who are sovereign. In short, the American opposed exactly what the Britisher advocated—private monopolies, cartels, concentrated powers. However, Johnston assured his prejudiced audience, "Americans overwhelmingly have no inclination to try to revise your economic methods or your political methods in the international field. On the other hand they do not intend to revise theirs." 33

Speaking to this audience of business leaders, Johnston put his proposal as a matter-of-fact business proposition. It would not have served the purpose to a group of legislators, or lawyers, or politicians. It was businessmen who would be interested in building up the earning power of backward nations so that buying power in those nations would increase. The result would be greater profits for the initial investors. He called for a merger of American and British capital, invested cooperatively with the capital of the prospective regions. Britain, he said, had had more experience in the management of international capital; America had more capital. That kind of cooperation would pay off financially and promote a free-trading, peaceful world.

Johnston had also considered other factors when he prepared his speech. He knew that his listeners were British, men whose national

33 Ibid., p. 10.
pride was not surpassed even by the American's. Establishing a common bond of understanding, he took occasion to remark on "Mr. Churchill's popularity among us," how the Americans respect him as witty, eloquent, and stubborn. "Your Prime Minister," he added, "is certainly one of the most popular British Prime Ministers that America has ever had." He praised the work of the British at Gibraltar, Malta, Africa, and Asia, declaring that now, on the threshold of victory, "...we of America salute you of Britain for the magnificent fight that you have made, standing all alone, during the darkest part of the war."35

There is only one indication of Johnston's adapting his material to an impromptu circumstance during this speech. Even the one instance, however, emphasizes this speaker's constant awareness of the audience and its makeup. Furthermore, it discloses his ability to take advantage of an immediate situation. Evidently, his fair, point-blank contrast of the American and British points of view on national economies, followed by his praise and "salute" to the valiant, war-time British, had been favorably received. Sensing the opportune moment, Johnston declared, "It [our anti-imperialistic philosophy] means what I am now about to say to you after long deliberation as to whether I should say it or not. I have decided to

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.
say it."36 Apparently the decision came at the moment. The reaction of the audience to what he had already said must have let him know just how far he could go with this particular group.

On the whole, Johnston had taken advantage of the possibilities in adapting this speech to the non-partisan audience. This discussion does not infer, however, that everything he said was accepted wholeheartedly by his listeners. On the day following this address, The Manchester Guardian Weekly referred to Johnston's "flash of enthusiasm" for the American's interest in anti-trust legislation. The editorial, entitled "Confident Capitalist," possibly intended some sarcasm in the remark "We are so used to hearing business men apologize for being capitalists that the proud and confident entrepreneur from America [Johnston] is apt to startle us."37 But "startle" them or not, Johnston had made an effective analysis of the audience on this occasion.

The Partisan Audience.—Johnston spoke frequently to audiences which accepted or agreed with his philosophies. These "partisans," nevertheless, provided him a real problem. His appearances before local Chambers of Commerce and his periodic addresses to the national

36 Ibid. He made the point here that Americans would not, as the British have done, either practice or promote political or economic dominance over people anywhere.

37 The Manchester Guardian Weekly, August 20, 1943, p. 103.
Chamber of Commerce offer evidence of that fact. The real challenge came in the need to vary and enliven old and familiar information in such a way that his audience would not be bored. He was confronted with the task of presenting in an interesting manner the material that his listeners read and heard many times: the advantages of capitalism, a true "free enterprise," the need for cooperation, the dangers of a super-state.

Such was Johnston's situation when he accepted the invitation to be guest speaker at the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce.38 This audience, like that in London a few months earlier, would be composed of businessmen, industrialists, bankers, men representing big and small enterprises. In adapting his material and himself to this audience, Johnston would have no need to persuade his listeners that the "American way" was the best. This time, merely to remind and emphasize that fact would suffice. His most serious concern would be that of retaining not only polite but genuine interest.

In his introduction Johnston made a bid for the group's interest and good will through humor. His humor lay not in funny stories but rather in the unexpected twist to a commonplace and in plays on words. After a few polite sentences concerning his appreciation of the introduction given him, he began:

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38 "America Unlimited." Address, April 6, 1944.
I was glad to have Mr. Bulette tell you a few moments ago that he was for free enterprise. Now about a year ago, it took a lion-hearted man to get out and say that he was for free enterprise, and those who did it spoke in rather soft terms and didn't wish to be quoted; but now it seems that everybody is for free enterprise. Why, even our friend, Earl Browder, has come out for free enterprise. I presume that if Diogenes were alive today that he would have a fluorescent lantern and would go up and down the streets attempting to find somebody who was not for free enterprise.

I am not sure whether this sudden conversion to free enterprise, however, comes from searching their hearts or the ballot boxes. I am not sure whether it comes from the soul or from the polls.39

Here again is an indication of Johnston's recognition of the above-average or high intellectual and informational background of his audience. It is not likely that anyone missed the reference to Browder, who had lightened his all-out attack on democratic government since the United States and Russia had allied themselves against the Axis.

Probably most of his listeners had heard of Diogenes, who searched during the day with a lighted lantern for an honest man.

Johnston especially liked the rhetorical question, which gave him something of an appeal to the group's curiosity and at the same time provided a transition between his self-put questions and answers. This device appears during his presentation of figures on the natural resources and land under cultivation, the point being that the United States has a greater abundance than India and Europe combined. "Does this look like we are finished?" he asked. Then he presented additional

39 Ibid., p. 1.
statistics. "And you want to tell me," he asked, "that we haven't a frontier left in the United States?" And to eliminate all doubt as to the proper answer, he gave further illustration of her wealth of natural resources. Happily, he knew the saturation point and stopped short of either boring the audience or completely over-whelming them with statistics.

To keep this well-informed group interested he resorted to the technique of describing the familiar in a novel way, at the same time appealing to his hearers' imagination. After having enumerated the present wealth and advantages that are the American's, he asked that these men look into the future with him at what was in store for everyone after the war.

Let me take one thing, the airplane, with which you are already familiar. . . . Today in Harrisburg, you are no more than sixty hours from any place in the world. Within five years after this war, you will probably be no more than thirty hours from any place in the world. You will fly from New York to Buenos Aires, a trip I made in four days, and you will make it in one day. You will fly from New York to London in less than six hours. You will fly from New York to Moscow, Russia, or perhaps to Shanghai, China, in one day. You will fly over the poles, where the air is warmer and less turbulent at the same altitude than it is in the tropics. You will be able to go places and do things that you never conceived of before.48

Johnston almost always made one or more references to the locality in which he was speaking. One example appears in the excerpt above. But in this same speech there are subtler references to that basic

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48 Ibid., p. 4.
appeal to the group's community pride and their satisfaction in recognition and respect. During Johnston's statistical tabulation of natural resources, he used that scheme to this Pennsylvania audience: "In one state— and it isn't considered a coal state, and let me mention it because you are a coal state—New Mexico, there are 192 billion tons of coal in known mineable seams."41 In speaking of what the future has to offer, he paid his respects to the state: "In the realm of new inventions and new ideas and new techniques, why should I come to you in the heart of the manufacturing area of America and try to tell you about those?"42

But his references to Pennsylvania coal and industry in general were not enough. This time, in their technical vocabulary, he appealed to the pride of those in the steel industry:

"We in the United States are an amalgam of many peoples. Those of you who live in this great steel producing area of America realize that pure iron is not the strongest metal, that it must be alloyed with other metals in order to give it strength and a cutting edge, and we in the United States are an alloy of many races and many creeds."43

Such specific audience analysis and adaptation gave the speech as a whole some of the variety necessary to retain interest. Observer of other interest factors, Johnston was careful not to overwork the pronoun "I". "I am one of those who fervently believes. . . . ."

41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid., p. 5.
he began. After voicing his position, he added: "Now there are not all people in the United States who agree with that. As a matter of fact, a very high official in Washington told me two weeks ago..." Then again he brought in his opposing belief: "Now I am one who vehemently disagrees with this theory..." Such bits of conversation lend vitality to material which may otherwise be dull. In this address he also drew from a variety of fields for his statistics in comparing a block of eleven western states with India and western Europe. He used in his evidence, statistics on the sizes of geographic areas, populations, development of resources, and agriculture.

Although consideration will be given later to Johnston's style in choice of word and phrase, it must be mentioned here that his imagery and his ability in such figures of speech as the metaphor and simile lent much to his holding the interest of a partisan audience. This fact is best illustrated late in his speech when he likens history to land and the American people to Columbus.

I have sometimes felt that stretches of history are very much like stretches of land. You go for a long time, sometimes almost across a continent, with little change, and then suddenly you come to the land's edge. Beyond lies the great unknown, the open sea. We are the pioneers on the Continental edge of one of those periods of history. I sometimes think we are like Christopher Columbus taking off from the European continent. We don't know exactly where we are going. There is dissention in the country, and when we get there, we probably will arrive at a spot which is quite different from that to which we thought we were going. I wish I had a periscope and could look around the corner and depict that tomorrow for you accurately. But there are some things that are looming up through the nebulous fogs of tomorrow, and one of them is that we
are in a great revolution and we stand in the midstream. 14

Throughout this speech there was an undercurrent of one of Johnston's basic personal motives. He himself so firmly believed in the ability and the greatness of the United States that he could use with facility the appeal to the audience's national pride and patriotism. Most Americans, Johnston knew in preparing this speech, enjoy praise, not only of themselves, but also of things they hold dear. He made use of that appeal here.

... we have greater horizons before us than ever before...

... we have only begun to explore the frontiers in science and invention and in new techniques.

... we shall have greater opportunities in business...

... we have the greatest resources, the greatest opportunities, the tools in our hands...

... we are the strongest country in the world financially. We have the greatest productive capacity of any nation in the world. We have potentially the greatest armed and military force of any nation in the world.

There never was a place in the history of the world where mankind and geography were placed in such auspicious positions together.

The final sentences clinch the entire appeal and mood: "Can man thus endowed with all the prerequisites of greatness seize the opportunities that lie ahead? Can we temper our spirit and raise our minds to new levels of achievement in this country? If we can, then this is "America Unlimited." 15

\[14\] Ibid., p. 6.

\[15\] Ibid., p. 7.
'I always try to make each group feel,' Johnston told this writer, "that that speech was especially and only for them." In keeping with that goal, Johnston placed great emphasis upon his speech preparation, the analysis of his audience, and the adaptation of his ideas to the listeners.

Although he had a competent staff to assist him in the discussion and research phase of preparation for a major address, the evidence available does not indicate that Johnston had "ghost writers." The final speech drafts were his own. Johnston spent considerable time in revising his manuscripts toward the final draft. Finally, through a concentrated study period, he committed the speech to memory or so familiarized himself with it that he could speak with a few or no notes.

This speaker took special care to adapt each speech to its intended audience. Even his general, inspirational speeches bore that characteristic. His most frequently used devices toward that end were familiar references, professional jargon, and the establishment of common grounds.

Two typical addresses illustrated Johnston's subtler means of adapting his speeches to opposed and partisan listeners. For the former group he devoted more time to establishing good through humor, common grounds, and straightforward language. His suggestions were those of one businessman to another. He made a dominant emotional appeal to the audience's patriotism.
In the friendly and sympathetic audience, however, Johnston's task was to maintain a sincere interest on the part of the group for his old and familiar truths. Through humor, description, and apt phraseology he sought that end.

"I get a thrill from the audience's response," said Johnston. Without the care he gave to his speech preparation and the adaptation of his case to his audience, he could not have had that enjoyment.

Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.
CHAPTER VI

SPEECH ARRANGEMENT

This chapter considers the manner in which Johnston arranged the parts of his total speech. Although the rhetoricians did not agree on the exact number or names of speech divisions, they did agree that the canon of dispositio involved arrangement and proportion of the speech material. The modern division, Brigance points out, however, is firmly established at "introduction," "discussion," and "conclusion." 1

Johnston placed great emphasis upon the importance of his speech organization. His speeches reveal that fact, and he strongly expressed himself to this writer: "The purpose of public speaking is to leave an idea and to get the people to execute the idea. Thus, the address must be confined to one thing, one point, one idea. The more points a speech has," he added, "the poorer the speech." 2


2 Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.
Johnston's introductions cannot be strictly catalogued by "types," for they were combinations of the classifications ordinarily cited in studies of speech divisions. Broadly, however, the principal content of those covered by this examination includes (1) personal reference, (2) reference to subject, (3) reference to audience, (4) humor, (5) anecdote, and (6) startling statement.

**Personal reference, humor, reference to audience.**—Johnston frequently utilized a combination of personal reference, humor, and reference to the audience. In only a few sentences he could acknowledge the man who introduced him, make a polite reference to his listeners, and blend the material humorously in a bid for audience good will. His "orchid" introduction, which he adapted many times, is typical of the technique. In Wilmington, Delaware, he put it this way:

> I do not deserve the orchids that have been thrown at me, but I am human and therefore enjoy them. I tell you before I go any farther, however, that not only have I feet of clay, but many of my friends think that I have the head of a dodo as well. I have longed all my life . . . to have

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the opportunity of being introduced to such a large crowd at Wilmington, the home of my good friend and a man whom I consider one of the most efficient secretaries in America, Mr. Gassaway. 4

To an Atlanta Chamber of Commerce group he began:

It is grand to again be in the heart of the deep South. I have been living for the past year and a half in another portion of the political anatomy of our country that is a long ways from the heart and not in the South either. I see most of you either don't know your anatomy, or else you don't know Washington. It is great to have so many orchids thrown at me tonight by Carlyle Fraser. I knew he was in the parts business but I did not know he raised orchids on the side. 5

In Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, Johnston said at a state Chamber of Commerce dinner meeting:

I appreciate very much the orchids he Mr. Marshall] has thrown my way, and although I do not deserve them, being human I must confess I enjoy them. I have always wished that I might be introduced by my friend, Bill Marshall, and tonight before this very large group I have the honor and privilege of being introduced by him. 6

He adapted the same introduction to a group of businessmen in Detroit:

I know one of the reasons at least why Norge Corporation and Borg-Warner are so successful, in listening to the sales talk which Howard Blood has just given about me. I want to assure you, however, that although he has thrown a number of orchids at me, I do not deserve them, but being


5Johnston, "Post-War America." Public address sponsored by Atlanta Chamber Forum Committee, Atlanta, Georgia, February 1, 1944. Text deposited in U.S. Chamber of Commerce, p. 1.

human I must confess that I enjoy them.7

Subject and humor.—Many times Johnston related the words of a previous speaker to his subject, then gave the topic a humorous twist. He was careful to listen for such phrases as "free enterprise" in the remarks of the man who introduced him. With that as a lead, plus a humorous anecdote, he was able to name his subject at the outset of the speech, at the same time stimulating laughter and good will in the audience. His Earl Browder and Diogenes quips are typical of these introductions. To a group of professional men in Washington in 1944 he began:

I was very glad tonight to hear Dr. McClellan talk about free enterprise or what he calls "individual" enterprise. It was a lion hearted man who, even as little as a year or so ago, stood on a public platform and talked about free enterprise. Those who did so did it in hushed tones and didn't wish to be quoted. But now we have a sudden—yes almost an alarming—conversion to free enterprise, or individual enterprise if you wish to call it that. Even Earl Browder is for free enterprise. I am not sure whether these people have searched their soul or are watching the polls. I am not sure whether they speak from conviction or from convenience.8

To audiences in Harrisburg (Pennsylvania), New York City, Rochester

7Johnston, "The Road to Realism for American Business." Address, the Economic Club of Detroit, Detroit, Michigan, April 17, 1944. Text deposited in U.S. Chamber of Commerce, p. 2.


(New York), and Detroit he adapted the same idea. 10

However, not all of his introductions which gave a humorous treatment of his serious subject were the Browder-Diogenes type. Many times he began with an abrupt statement of his general subject, included a humorous story, then went immediately to the discussion of his topic. His warning to labor and to management at the Founders' Day speech in Boston represents that variety in the approach.

This is a talk about labor and management and their place in meeting American human needs.

I remember a strike out my way in the West. The strike leader was a smart man. When the newspaper reporters asked him what all this labor trouble was about, he said:

"Labor trouble? There's no labor trouble. The employees in this plant are just having a little management trouble."

And he was right. That particular strike was management's fault.

Tonight, I'm going to mention plenty of bad practices by labor; and plenty by management also. . . .11

Anecdote.—Although Johnston was a dramatic story teller, he did not often use the isolated anecdote as his introduction. The "management


Also, "The Road to Realism for American Business," April 17, 1944, p. 1.


trouble story quoted above illustrates the type. The serious story immediately related to his subject, however, appeared occasionally. It is typified by his opening sentences in a radio address during an annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce in 1943.

Good evening, Americans, everywhere. One day in the year 1912 a Congressman stood up to speak in the House of Representatives. He held two telegrams aloft, one in each hand. He said, 'Gentlemen, in my right hand I hold a telegram from the business men in one city of my state. It opposes the passage of the legislation we are now considering. In the other hand I hold a telegram from the business men of a nearby city. It favors the passage of this legislation! How in the world are we going to know whether business is for or against this legislation?'

Startling statement and suspense.—Johnston often began his addresses with a startling or arresting statement. This type of introduction, he maintained, was especially strong as an initial means of obtaining audience attention and interest. He called it the "shock treatment." Illustrative of that introduction are the opening sentences to one of his radio addresses:

The world is on fire!

True, we are getting the fire under control, but the job will not be finished until not a single ember is left smoldering.

The Sixth War Loan Drive, now starting, symbolizes the

12 Johnston, "Responsibilities of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce." Radio Address, National Broadcasting Co., New York City, April 28, 1943. Disc transcription furnished the writer by the National Broadcasting Company. (Text also deposited in U.S. Chamber of Commerce).

13 Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.
mass efforts of all of us to snother the devouring flames. 14

More frequently, however, he employed only an "arresting" statement, one that appealed to the interest and imagination of his listeners. For example, typical first sentences were: "My journeys around America have convinced me that from ocean to ocean our people are stirred by two deep emotions . . . .”15 or "This is in the nature of a valedictory address. . . .”16 or "The American system of free enterprise has passed the test of war with flying colors.”17

This same classification includes the element of suspense. In a Chicago speech in September 1944, for example, he employed this technique to build toward his delayed announcement of his subject. Here


Johnston hinted and immediately involved his audience in "a very controversial question." In the following quotation he built steadily, adding little by little toward the climax, the announcement of his topic.

I think we all need to rediscover America, and if you go abroad these days, you are bound to rediscover America. . . . I find that people all over the world are rediscovering America, whether it is Vargas in Brazil or Lloyd George in England or Stalin in Russia, . . . the people in the United States who said it couldn't be done, . . . that we couldn't pull together in great stress and strain. . . . Even those people are rediscovering America, and it is because of that that I want to discuss with you important business executives a very controversial question. It is a question that most business men should decide, and yet very few business men have made a decision. Great national business organizations have not made a decision upon this subject, although business organizations pay most of the cost of this particular thing. And so I want to discuss it with you today, perfectly frankly. Maybe some of you will not agree with me. I think that is unimportant. But, I think that American business should make up their minds and make their decision on the matter, and so, whether you think I am right or whether you think I am wrong is completely unimportant, of only you make up your mind as to what should be done. And that is the question of social security. 18

Length of introduction.—Miller's study found that speech introductions, without regard for type of speech, average almost ten per cent of the total speech length. 19 The second column in the following table is reproduced from Miller's findings. The third column shows the comparable figures for Johnston's introductions. These statistics were

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18 "Social Security and a Dynamic Capitalism." Address, September 8, 1944, p. 765.

compiled from the sixteen speeches basic to this study.\(^\text{20}\)

## LENGTH OF INTRODUCTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of speech</th>
<th>Miller's findings</th>
<th>Johnston's average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Convince</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inform</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stimulate</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All speeches</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>8.8</td>
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The tabulation discloses that, overall, Johnston's introductions are slightly less than the average length of those studied by Miller. Johnston's averages for speeches to inform and stimulate are well under the average, and only introductions to speeches to convince are above average.

No valid relationship can be drawn between the length and the type of introduction. For example, the introductions to speeches to inform ranged from 2.6 per cent to 7 per cent of the total length. Those for stimulative speeches ranged from 1.1 per cent to 20.5 per cent. Speeches to convince had introductions between 9.6 and 15.4 per cent. Moreover, the shortest speech considered in the sixteen typical examples had an introduction 15 per cent of the total length— the same percentage given to the longest speech examined.

\(^{20}\) Supra, pp. 3.
The introductions appear to be long or short, depending upon
the speaker's knowledge of the audience and the length of his anecdote.
At Chamber of Commerce meetings in which Johnston had a wide acquaintance, he announced many names and his humorous remarks were sometimes extended. Such speeches were often inspirational or aimed at good will and it was not necessary for the speaker to save time for his discussion.
His "America Unlimited" address in New Haven, 1944, is typical of his friendly remarks before he actually introduced his subject.

It is certainly grand to be out of the mental fog of our national capital in Washington and into the intellectual stratosphere of the Yale University at New Haven. In order that you be here tonight, I left the smoky slums of the Pacific coast in my own State of Washington, where I was born for four days, flew over the jagged Rocky Mountains, where snow-capped peaks arise like the Democratic addition to our national debt, and here I am in New Haven on the 150th Anniversary of the founding of this organization.

I am glad that I am here for four reasons. First, to be able to follow a man whose vigor, whose intelligence and whose leadership has made him as one of the best governors in the United States of America, I don't need to tell you who that is, evidently. Second, to be able to hear and to follow a man who has been elected seven times as Mayor of New Haven. Anybody with the name of 'Honest John Murphy' I'd like to follow. Third, to be able to be here and say a few words to Mr. Ober and Mr. MacBain who are running a perfectly magnificent Chamber of Commerce in New Haven. And fourth, because I like New Haven. As a matter of fact, it is about the same size as the community that I live in out in Spokane, Washington. . . .

Summary.—Johnston's introductions in general exhibit the ease with which he could vary their content. In one short introduction he could combine a personal reference, humor, and an announcement of his subject. In another he might combine references to himself, his audience, and his subject. The most outstanding characteristic was his use of humor. Of the sixteen introductions considered in detail here, fifteen contained a humorous anecdote, several plays on words, or humorous references to Johnston or a previous speaker. He was a good narrator and his stories were to the point.22 Finally, his introductions were slightly below average in percentage length of the total speech. His familiarity with the audience, rather than the type of speech, appears to have been the determining factor. On the basis of such a limited survey, however, it is impossible to make any final pronouncement.

STATEMENT OF SPEECH PROPOSITIONS

Johnston carefully phrased his propositions in most of the speeches covered by this investigation. These "subject sentences" were a concise statement of the speech content; each division and subdivision pointed directly back to them.

22Johnston's humor is discussed in detail in Chapter VII on the speaker's style.
His propositions were most often stated at the end of his introductions. However, there are some isolated instances in which he withheld the statement until the conclusion. Because the latter are not typical of his technique and because they are infrequent, this study does not consider them.

Johnston's address to a labor-management conference in 1945 contains a representative statement of his proposition. On that occasion his purpose was to urge cooperation in all conference meetings between the two groups. After three short introductory paragraphs, Johnston led to his main idea with the observation that "We tend just now to magnify minor quarrels into major crises and major crises into revolutionary upheavals." Immediately, he stated the thesis: "The deliberate cultivation of a sense of proportion might well be our first order of the day."23 The development of the speech elaborated on the need for cooperation, and the conclusion cited the speaker's "Code of Conduct," which he proposed as four principles through which cooperation could be achieved.

His "America Unlimited" speech of April, 1944, was a like instance of the broad thesis for a general, inspirational subject. To this audience he praised the American democracy as a political society which

permits and encourages freedom of the individual. His proposition appeared at the end of the introductions: "The program for the future must be to unleash and unshackle the productive capacities of man so that he may have a wider horizon than ever before." 24

Johnston did not express all of his propositions in one sentence. Occasionally, but worthy of mention here, he extended a thesis idea through two or more sentences. One of his speeches in London is typical of that variation. His contention in this instance was that British-American cooperation is dependent upon mutual understanding of the fundamental differences in the economic, political, social, and cultural lives of the two nations. He said:

This sentimental localism which exists all over our country, is fortified by our economics and our politics. Many Americans, in addressing British audiences, stress the resemblances between the two countries. I think it wiser to begin by stressing the differences. Only through realization of those differences can we break through them and arrive at true terms of friendship. 25

The body of this address was a straightforward discussion of those differences and a plea for understanding and cooperation.

Johnston's last address as president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States contains his typically broad proposition of a broad subject. "Tonight," he said, "I want to talk about capitalism and its

24 "America Unlimited." Address, April 6, 1944, p. 3.

role in the decisive decade ahead.\footnote{A Decade of Decisions.} On the whole, these features mark Johnston's propositions: (1) He stated them at the end of the introductions. (2) Ordinarily he presented them in one sentence, although he sometimes employed a "thesis paragraph," instead of a thesis sentence. (3) He so constructed them that they served as statements of his overall idea and the unifying elements for his main and sub-topics. (4) He did not always make a concise statement; often the key sentence was broad enough to permit a variety of developments.

**DEVELOPMENT**

*Topical arrangement of ideas.*—When Johnston said that the best speech is "confined to only one thing," he did not imply that the speech might not be developed by a series of points supporting or illustrating his one main idea. In fact, his addresses abound with numbered ideas and illustrations, and his arrangement of material in the discussion is characterized by the topical method.

Most of his speeches do disclose a carefully planned development. Six of the speeches considered in this study are organized by the topical method, and his "Warning to Labor and to Management" is a representa-

\footnote{A Decade of Decisions.} Address, May 2, 1946, p. 1.

In numerous other speeches Johnston stated his theme in his opening sentence, eliminating the introduction almost altogether: "The theme of my talk tonight is peace." (May 28, 1946); "Tonight I want to talk about how America can avoid socialism." (March 10, 1949); "Tonight I want to talk about the most militant force in the world... peace." (May 18, 1949.)
tive example. Therein he tabulated the "seven deadly sins" of the two opposing camps. He elaborated upon those "sins" in support of his basic contention that the two groups had missed their opportunities at lasting favor with the American public.

Let's take a look at the seven deadly sins in a spirit of frank helpfulness.

Sin One. Arbitrary refusals to accept workers into membership [is labor's sin comparable to]. . . . cute little schemes for preventing new competitors from getting into . . . . industry.

Sin Two. Arbitrary . . . fines [and] suspensions [by unions is like] unfair competition [by industry].

Sin Three. Some unions do not hold regular meetings or regular conventions. . . . or fair elections of officers. . . . And I have heard of top-flight corporation executives. . . . who become corporation bosses. . . . and can't be dislodged.

Sin Four. Failure to make public proper financial accounts [by unions and corporations].

Sin Five. Too many strikes. . . . A strike by a union is a withholding of labor. But there can also be a strike that is a withholding of product [by management].

Sin Six. Violence on the picket line.

Sin Seven. Restraints on production. . . . 'feather-bedding' and 'false-doing' by labor, [which may be brought on by] management's failure to provide adequate job security.

The entire speech consists in Johnston's complete coverage of those points.

Similarly, his Chicago speech on social security in 1944 evolved

from three principal "doubts" concerning the subject:

Doubts can be summed up in three broad questions:

1. Why does the United States need social security?

2. Can the United States afford the cost of a broad social security program?

3. Does social security remove the incentive to work and turn us into a nation of drones, each striving to live at the expense of the others? 28

Still another typical instance of this arrangement of speech material and Johnston's liking for numerical "sign posts" appears in his address to the British Chamber of Commerce. As a transition from the introduction into the body of this speech, he makes this analogy: "You do not change the spots of a leopard by putting him into a zoo. One of the most pernicious fallacies of a certain sort of world planner is that he thinks that if he can just put leopards and lions and antelopes and elephants into the same international cage they will cross-breed right off into an identical international animal. They will not." The "American leopard," he contends, has certain indelible "spots," and each "spot" Johnston develops as a main point. The body begins:

I will now commend three American spots to your particular attention because they have a particular importance in international affairs.

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28 Johnston, "Social Security and a Dynamic Capitalism." Address, Chicago Executives' Club, Chicago, Illinois, September 8, 1944. Vital Speeches, X (October 1, 1944), 765. (Text, numbered J-5-6, also deposited in U.S. Chamber of Commerce).
The first is... Here Johnston develops the idea that the American believes that he has made a new race out of many races. He concludes the point with: In other words, and to sum up this point, we cannot, as I look at it, cooperate on the basis of racial sentimentality.

... But I come then to my second spot on the American leopard. 
Now he makes the point that the United States wholeheartedly favors free enterprise and will condone no part of monopolies.

... I think I can see a quite sure chance of cooperation... in what I have chosen to call the third spot on our American national character. Then follows the discussion of the American's national pride and his determination to remain American. He blends this with a smaller "spot," the interest the United States has in building up the backward areas of the world, and he asks specifically for cooperation between British and American capital and skill. He concludes the point of American national pride by showing that a man's pride in his locality has a vision toward a better country, and ultimately, a good world.

Johnston did not always observe the matter of proportion in allotting time to his main ideas. Sometimes there was an overbalance in favor of one or two. His "America Unlimited" address in April, 1943, is a case in point. In this annual report, an inspirational address to the Chamber of Commerce, he declared, "Concretely, that means that we... the Chamber of Commerce... must dedicate ourselves to two supreme objectives. The first, of course, is the winning of the war... The second is to

29 "A Local World." Address, August 18, 1943.
The first of these two objectives he treats briefly in one paragraph with such phrases as primary goal, sacrifices, enduring victory, proud privilege, and free men. The second objective, however, occupies two-thirds of the discussion. Although he does not so name the sub-divisions, they are easily discernable as (1) insist on freedom of the individual in economics and government (2) attack the superstate and foreign politico-economic systems like Fascism and Communism, (3) support capitalism, (4) cooperate with labor, agriculture, and government.

Problem-solution arrangement of ideas.— The only other speech plan Johnston used frequently enough to be considered typical is the problem-solution arrangement. His conclusions sometimes contained solutions to basic problems, but the speech organization did not depend on their presentation.

When he opened the Labor-Management Conference in Washington in 1945, his discussion clearly had two divisions. "... we have had a long and often disquieting array of proofs of its [a meeting of labor and management] urgency and importance." In this first part of the discussion Johnston developed the need for the conference and

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31 It is doubtful that Johnston made this division for space emphasis, for nowhere else did he suggest that winning the peace was twice as important as winning the war.
established the problem as that of reaching accord. In the second part he enumerated the "Four pillars of Labor-Management Relationship," his suggestion for the way to reach that accord. The solution employed the enumerated catalog.

First: Labor unions are now woven into our economic fabric and collective bargaining is an essential part of the democratic process.

Second: Management must retain the unabridged right to manage.

Third: Both Labor and Management must recognize that even higher standards of living come only from increased productivity. Anything which retards output or cuts into quality becomes by definition immoral, anti-social and untenable.

Fourth: The consumer, the worker and the investor must all share equitably in the fruits of increased production.

Johnston's "The Four Pillars of Unity" is another typical example of the same problem-solution arrangement. In the first half he discusses the problems that face the American: mass unemployment after the war, violence and hatreds, strikes, war or peace. In the second part he argues that cooperation between government, labor, management, and agriculture is the solution:

We shall meet their challenge—the challenge of the problems—only if we grasp at the outset that all Americans—whether in management, labor, agriculture or government—fundamentally desire the same thing. Each of these groups has a stake in the American system.

Management, in this spirit of unity, must understand.

32The Four Pillars of Labor-Management Relationship. Address, November 5, 1945, pp. 3 f.
Labor, in this spirit of unity, must remove. . . .
Agriculture must recognize. . . .
Government must understand. . . .

This type of unity—this type of cooperation between the four elements of our society will mean. . . .

Summary.—Johnston limited his discussions almost altogether to two plans of arrangement: (1) the topical and (2) the problem-solution. In both methods he made extensive use of "sign-posts" to lead his listeners through his catalogs of points. In the opinion of this writer, Mr. Johnston was effective with both plans: through them he maintained interest, aided audience understanding, and moved his ideas to his planned conclusion. The number of points in his speeches ranged from two to seven. Three and four, however, usually made his case. A few of his titles show his liking for enumeration: "The Four Pillars of Labor-Management Relationship," "The Four Pillars of Unity," "Post-War Trinity."

He carefully related his points with appropriate transitions and by references to his central idea. In every speech covered by this study Johnston developed his discussion deductively, beginning with his proposition, then citing evidence and argument in support.

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Speech Conclusions

Types.—Johnston’s speech conclusions, like his introductions, are varied. However, this speaker had a strong preference for making his final sentences offer a challenge to his listeners. Not only did he use this plan in his inspirational speeches, but also in those to inform and to convince. In fact, thirteen of the sixteen basic speeches in this study are marked by this technique. Moreover, it is safe to say that 95 per cent of all the texts examined were concluded with a direct challenge to the listeners. In almost every instance, he appealed to patriotism. When Johnston spoke to the annual Chamber of Commerce convention in 1943, for example, he appealed to the American citizen’s love of country and challenged him to continue his fight for “the American ideal.”

Still other hard, grim months loom ahead. Our efforts must be rekindled in the fires of freedom. In the hour glass of victory, no single, precious minute must be wasted. We are united for victory, and as a united people we will concentrate our strength with increasing fury against a tyrannical enemy.

The American ideal—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—is no idle phrase or empty promise. It is a living reality. It is you and me and the men on the war fronts and the families at home. It means equality of opportunity, it means liberty and the self-respect of the individual. It means adventure, reward and security.

That ideal has always been our beacon in dark and stormy times. When peace at last is ours, it will be an extinguishable torch which will light the world.

34 “America Unlimited.” Address, April 27, 1943, p. 525.
Similarly, his address in Harrisburg in 1944 reveals the combination of the challenge to build a better nation and the appeals to patriotism and religion:

There never was a place in the history of the world where mankind and geography were placed in such auspicious positions together. It would appear as though the kindly Providence that had wrought this miracle is anxiously watching to see this epic test of man's capacity for grandeur. Can man thus richly endowed with all the perquisites of greatness seize the opportunities that lie ahead? Can we temper our spirit and raise our mind to new levels of achievement in this country? If we can, then this is America Unlimited. 35

Although Johnston employed summaries and restatements, they did not always constitute the entire conclusion. At times he added a challenge to the audience. On other occasions he would combine the summary with a highly emotional appeal. This speaker concluded four of the sixteen basic speeches with either the single or combined form of summary or restatement. Within those few were speeches to inform, stimulate, and convince.

For example, his 1943 radio address on the responsibilities of the Chamber of Commerce concluded with a simple restatement of the two main ideas of the speech: "To hasten victory, and, then, to plan for the rebirth of America—a vital America which will help guide the whole world to peace and prosperity—that is the purpose and duty of business as represented by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States

35 "America Unlimited." Address, April 6, 1944, p. 7.
of America."36

On another occasion he added to his restatement of his two main ideas a strong emotional appeal to patriotism:

We want to win the war first of all. Afterwards we want employment, economic opportunity, freedom and liberty. We want a great middle class society under the American genius of life.

Then, with a unity of purpose at home and abroad and a sublime faith in a Divine Being we will all sing in unison——

The Star Spangled Banner
Long may it wave
O'er the land of the free
And the home of the brave. 37

Johnston made still another variation of the summary in his "Warning to Labor and to Management." Here he added the challenge to his suggestions by which the two groups could correct their "seven deadly sins."

So, to summarize:

What about agreeing more or less as follows?

We of management will try. . . . You [labor] will try to repress. . . .

We will tell you. . . . You will tell us. . . .

36 "Responsibilities of the United States Chamber of Commerce," Radio address, April 28, 1943.


Johnston effectively concluded another inspirational address with the final stanzas of "In Flanders Fields." ("Our Priceless Heritage." Address, Corrections Commission of the Council of Special Agencies, Washington Criminal Justice Association, March 25, 1944. Text, numbered C-14-25, deposited in U.S. Chamber of Commerce, p. 8.)
We will try... You will try...
We will try... You will try...
We will recognize... But you will recognize...
The United States can be strong only by acts of popular free-will. That is why I say in conclusion just two things to you of management and to you of labor.

One. Go ahead and turn this country into a continuous brawl, and government will chain you both.

Two. Make a better choice. Work together and stay free. If you stay free, I have no doubt of the result—a strong America, an America Unlimited.

In brief, the evidence here reveals that Johnston utilized almost exclusively a conclusion which offered a challenge. Because he was primarily an inspirational speaker, and because his theme was often a glorification of the "American ideal," he clearly chose the type most appropriate to his content and purpose. To his challenge, Johnston sometimes added an emotional appeal. Patriotism was the predominate note.

Johnston's conclusions are also typified by the summary or restatement. This plan does not occur as a distinct or separate type, for again Johnston added other devices to it. His summary may be combined with an appeal for action.


This typical summary-challenge conclusion also appears in the speech "Anglo-American Peace Policy." Radio address, National Broadcasting Company, Chicago, Illinois, September 24, 1943. Disc transcription furnished the writer by the National Broadcasting Company. (Text also on file in U.S. Chamber of Commerce.)
This consideration of conclusions further substantiates this writer's earlier contention that Johnston depended more upon ethical and emotional proof than he did upon the logical. His pleas for action were combined with a motive appeal as he sought favorable reaction to his idea.

Length of Conclusions.— The Miller study found that speech conclusions average 5.4 per cent of the total length of the speech. Johnston's conclusions, without regard to type of speech, averaged 5.5 per cent of the total speech. The second column in the following table is reproduced from Miller's findings. The third column shows comparable figures for Johnston's conclusions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of speech</th>
<th>Miller's findings</th>
<th>Johnston's average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Convince</td>
<td>4.9 %</td>
<td>4.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inform</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stimulate</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All speeches</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By Miller's standard, Johnston's conclusions are somewhat under average length, except those in the speeches to inform. A comparison of the table above and that showing the length of introductions

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40 *Supra,* p. 163.
discloses that the addresses with the longest introductions (those to
convince) have the shortest conclusions. Those with the shortest
introductions (those to inform) have the longest conclusions.

In each of the sixteen basic speeches, the long introductions were
devoted to the establishment of subject background and speaker good
will. The conclusions for those speeches, however, were short chal-
lenges, appeals to the audience to make the proper choice for future
action. Here the length of conclusion was determined by the type of
speech.

Furthermore, nine of the eleven speeches to stimulate were con-
cluded with the challenge. It was that short, stereotyped pattern
which placed the conclusions to such speeches considerably below
(6.4 per cent) Miller's average of 9.4 per cent.

Johnston concluded his speeches to convince with various combi-
nations of types, such as the summary, appeal, challenge, and visuali-
zation of the future. These, as the foregoing table reveals, more nearly
approximate (4.1 per cent) Miller's average of 4.9 per cent.

Thus, two observations are justified relative to this speaker's
conclusions: (1) they are long or short, according to the type of speech,
and (2) overall, without regard to content, they are of average length.

SUMMARY

This study has revealed a closely knit relationship between the
introduction, discussion, and conclusion of Eric Johnston's speeches.
Introductions: In the first place, Johnston introduced his convincing, informative, and stimulating speeches with interchangeable combinations of introduction types. Those principal types were blends of personal reference, reference to subject, reference to audience, humor, anecdote, and startling or arresting statement. Johnston made most extensive use of humor. The introductions served to establish Johnston's good will and the audience's good will for him; introduce the subject; or establish a thesis to be proved or explained. The evidence here did not show conclusively why the introductions were long or short. Apparently, Johnston's familiarity with the audience was the determining factor.

Propositions: In all of the sixteen speeches basic to this study Johnston presented his proposition or thesis sentence before he began the discussion. His thesis was not always concisely worded, however. His many patriotic, emotional, inspirational addresses were broad, general treatments of abstract ideals (freedom, individualism, unity, "the American way of life") so that his propositions in them were necessarily broad and general. In any event, that statement of his thesis was a dependable forecast of the case he would present in the discussion.

Discussions: In each of the sixteen typical speeches, Johnston arranged his discussions deductively. His main and sub-divisions followed and supported his initial statement of the proposition. This speaker favored the topical and the problem-solution ordering of his proof.
developed both types with two to seven substantiating ideas, the usual number being three or four.

Johnston gave an orderly progression to his case through appropriate transitions and through "sign post" designations of the points as he discussed them. His principal guides were the enumeration of the divisions, that is, one, two, three, or first, second, third. The speeches in this study indicate that he deliberately listed and named his divisions, related them adequately to his subject sentence and to each other, thereby giving unity and coherence to the total speech.

Conclusions: Finally, Johnston's conclusions are characterized by his almost exclusive use of one type, the challenge. Thirteen of the sixteen speeches basic to this study and an estimated ninety-five per cent of all speeches ended in that manner. Johnston, principally an inspirational speaker, appealed in his closing sentences to the patriotism, self-interest, or pride of his audience as he offered them the challenge to make the proper choice between good and bad, success and failure. He did employ the summary and restatement frequently enough for that type to be considered here. Even so, that plan was combined with a final challenge or motive appeal.

By Miller's standard, Johnston's conclusions were of average length, 5.5 per cent of the total length of the address. Nine of his eleven stimulating speeches concluded with the challenge, an ending shorter (6.4 per cent) than Miller's average of 9.4 per cent. Conclusions in which Johnston summarized or restated his main ideas were shorter
than those of the first type. The observation appears justified that the length of conclusion was determined by the type of conclusion.
CHAPTER VII

USE OF LANGUAGE

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze Johnston’s language and to evaluate it in terms of clarity, vividness, and impressiveness. The discussion will consider the following aspects of the speaker’s style: (1) plain language, (2) concrete and abstract terms, (3) exalted expression, (4) humor, (5) figures of speech, (6) repetition of idea, (7) loaded words, and (8) sentence structure.

PLAIN LANGUAGE

Monroe declares simplicity of language to be characterized by words readily understandable to the audience, that is, words that are short, simple, specific, and obviously clear.\(^1\) Schiffman suggests homely symbols, folk expressions, and slang.\(^2\)

Whether the audience was large or small, whether the occasion was formal or informal, Johnston usually confined himself to homely, simple words to express his ideas. In fact, he often stated his


intent to talk plainly to his audience, and he deliberately selected his vocabulary to bring his expressions as closely as possible to familiar, dignified conversation. He strove to speak "... in simple laymen's language...", "... in an ordinary businessman's language...". He wanted to "...talk Spokane...".

Johnston's address "Responsibilities of the United States Chamber of Commerce" serves as an example of this speaker's plain language and his effort to employ the more commonly understood expressions. A detailed word count disclosed that 64.5 per cent of the vocabulary in this speech lay within the first five hundred most frequently used words; 74.5 per cent were in the first thousand; 92.7 were in the first five thousand. All of the words fell within the first twenty thousand. By way of


6 Radio Address. National Broadcasting Company, New York City, April 26, 1943. Disc transcription furnished the writer by the National Broadcasting Company. (Text also deposited in U.S. Chamber of Commerce).

7 The figures given here were determined by the Thorndike word frequency list. (Edward L. Thorndike, A Teacher's Word Book (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932).

Although such words as reconversion, reemployment, and demobilization do not occur in Thorndike's list (conversion and employment were shown at 8000 and 5000 respectively), they were arbitrarily included in the first 20,000 word-frequency group in this study. All words were classified by Thorndike's figures, although such terms as inflation (15,000), and radio (11,000), and United States (13,000) surely had a more prominent position in 1943 than in 1932.
comparison, 99.5 per cent of the vocabulary in Roosevelt's first inaugural address came within the first five thousand, and 98.5 per cent of that in Lincoln's Gettysburg Address appeared in that group. The following table shows comparative word-frequency percentages on selected speeches for Roosevelt, Lincoln, and Johnston. The second and third columns are from Schultz's findings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most Frequently Used Words</th>
<th>FDR's First Inaugural</th>
<th>Lincoln's Gettysburg Address</th>
<th>Johnston's Wartime C/O Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>67.8%</td>
<td>77.7%</td>
<td>64.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>74.2%</td>
<td>85.5</td>
<td>74.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>82.9%</td>
<td>90.7</td>
<td>83.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>86.8%</td>
<td>94.0</td>
<td>87.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>89.5%</td>
<td>94.0</td>
<td>90.2%</td>
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<td>92.0%</td>
<td>98.5</td>
<td>92.7%</td>
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<td>97.0%</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td>96.6%</td>
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<td>15,000</td>
<td>98.0%</td>
<td>99.6</td>
<td>98.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>99.5%</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The outstanding significance of this comparison is that Johnston's choice of the plain vocabulary compares favorably with Roosevelt and

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Richard B. Schultz, "President Roosevelt's Vocabulary," School and Society, XXXIX (June 23, 1934), 813.
Lincoln. Both men are known for their ability to express themselves clearly to the masses.

**Popular idiom: folk expression, slang.** Craig Baird, in discussing Johnston's "Warning to Labor and to Management," characterized the language as "informal. . . semi-slangy, but colorful phrasing. . . ." Throughout Johnston's speeches there are many examples of what Baird refers to as "informal" phrasing. In every text examined in this study, there are several such expressions as "in a flash," "at the end of the rope," "scapegoats," "lip service," "fair play," "a great deal," "to test out," "and 50-50 arrangement," to name only a few. On occasion he resorted to slang: "strictly the bunk," "played out," "nealy-mouthed," and "boomer and booster."

The speech Baird mentioned abounds with these down-to-earth expressions, and they typify the speaker's choice of the popular idiom. On this occasion Johnston declared that labor was asking for trouble by persistently engaging in unfair practices. "And don't think you can duck it by yelling. . . ." he warned. The businessman used to have "cute little schemes" to cut down competition; he would "shout himself hoarse" in favor of free enterprise; and then "squeak and squall" when the Anti-Trust Division "put him on the fire." Johnston spoke casually of "feather-bedding," "slow-downs," and getting "laid off." In describing the dis-

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favor which business experienced in the 1930's, he reminded both labor
and management:

Congress socked us with a new law just about every day. It socked us with good laws. It socked us with bad laws. It socked those of us who were criminal. It socked those of us who were decent. Who cared? The public wanted us socked, and socked we were.\[11\]

That typically slangy, informal vocabulary is also evident in Johnston's January, 1945, speech on intolerance.\[12\] Here he asked people who declare that class distinctions are not made in America to "stop kidding themselves." Intolerance is encouraged by "a tendency to soft-pedal the spread of alien doctrines of intolerance." American citizens must face the facts: "Let's not deny," he said, "that there are differences in race and that our country has all the fifty-seven varieties of God's humanity."

On the occasion of his final speech as Chamber of Commerce president,\[13\] his word choice was similarly "popular." Even though the American has "know-how," he said, there is much disagreement, staggering, and

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\[11\]Ibid., p. 11.


squabbling. "We've got to snap out of it," he added, if there is to be
a prosperous nation. Typical of the plain expression was his comment
on the extreme unpopularity of business in the 1930's. "... to call
yourself a socialist was smart, and you could crash the best social
circles. Capitalism sat below the salt and had to slink around the
side doors of the best thinking. Capitalism provided the bread for the
banquet, but it was considered crummy to be a capitalist." 14

Thus the popular idiom, the folk expression, and slang gave a sin-
cere quality to Johnston's formal and informal addresses. There is no
note here of the carefully polished language of Webster, for example.
This is not the language of fine literature. Nevertheless, it was high-
ly appropriate in Johnston's speaking to the broad public. It was the
language of one average American citizen talking to his friends—and
opponents.

Visual Imagery.—Johnston also enhanced the vividness of his style
by his visual imagery. Typical of his ability to visualize his idea for
his audience are his inspirational comments to the Union League Club of
New York.15 He was not content, for example, to say flatly that war pro-
duction since Pearl Harbor had gone steadily upward. Instead, he declared,

14 Ibid., p. 4.

15 Johnston, "The War of Preparation." Address, Union League Club,
New York City, October 8, 1942. Text deposited in U.S. Chamber of
Commerce.
"If I held before you a chart indicating the rise in American war production since Pearl Harbor, you would see a line rising steadily at an angle of forty-five degrees." In the same speech he described the doleful scene painted by the pessimists: "They say that after the war the unemployed will roam our streets; ... the great new industrial capacity ... will become cobwebbed with disuse, ... ." Frequently his picturizations were emotionally colored. In his April, 1943 bond drive speech, for example, he asked his radio audience to consider whether "... your friend, or relative, perhaps, right now is braving machine gun fire, or the ack-ack of the enemy aircraft. ... he may be somewhere couched in a fox-hole, wary of Jap or German bullets. ... ."

On another occasion, he asked the businessmen in his audience to look with him into the future as he took them on imaginary airplane flights to all parts of the world.

In review, Johnston's plain language aided him in achieving clarity and vividness. The principal characteristics are his simple vocabulary, his folk expressions and slang, and his visual imagery.

16 Ibid., p. 20.
17 Ibid.
18 Johnston, "Everybody's Business—Victory!" Radio address, National Broadcasting Company, New York City, April 16, 1943. Disc recording furnished the writer by the National Broadcasting Company. Text also deposited in U.S. Chamber of Commerce.
19 Supra, p. 149.
CONCRETE VERSUS ABSTRACT TERMS

In the second place, Johnston achieved clarity in his speeches through concrete words. For the most part he spoke in terms of definite things and experiences, drawn from his personal background or from that of his audience. None of his speeches is without such meaningful words and expressions as farmers, foremen, ordinary workers, jobs and "... apple pie and hot dogs, and the baseball scores and all the other things which are typically American."20

Most radio addresses available for this study illustrate his preference for the plain, meaningful phrase. For example, in his 1943 radio address on the Anglo-American Peace Policy, he referred to bombing raids, Dunkirk, allied attacks, fighters, daylight bombers, battlefront, steady jobs, and raising a family.21 In another, he talked of railroads, airfields, and factories.22 In a war bond speech in January, 1943, he spoke of the real things money invested in war bonds had already bought: "Millions of us helped buy bullets and bombs and planes and tanks."23


23 Radio address, "Everybody's Business—Victory!" April 16, 1943.
His concrete terms were close to the lives of his audience; no one would misunderstand the vocabulary, or miss the implied picture, or fail to sense the emotional tone in his reference to the worker's suspension from the union: "He loses his job. He and his wife and children lose their bread and butter." The worker, Johnston continued, "... has his family to hold together. He has to keep on paying the landlord and the grocer and the butcher. His costs don't stop just because he is laid off."25

On the other hand, it must be pointed out that Johnston did not always base his subjects on concrete subjects or express himself in concrete terms. In fact, he employed abstractions and generalities to such an extent that those traits must be cited as characteristics of his style. However, there was no indication that he dealt with generalities deliberately to evade or gloss over a subject. Johnston, as an inspirational and good will speaker, found it desirable to promote intangible subjects like democracy, cooperation, and brotherhood. Thus, such familiar symbols as "way of life," "American creed," "American endeavor," and "dynamic America," "the driving force generated by capitalism," "freedom's power," "social consciousness," "standard of life," and "essentials of life" are difficult to translate into the concrete. Nevertheless, they are familiar phrases and have some meaning to everyone,


25 Ibid., p. 207.
Typical of that feature of Johnston's style is the following excerpt from a speech in Kansas City in November, 1943:

There are dangerous years ahead of us with multitudinous unsolved problems, divergent interests, and almost insuperable difficulties. We shall meet their challenge only if we grasp at the outset that all Americans—whether in management, labor, agriculture or government—fundamentally desire the same thing. They all want to preserve our unsullied democratic institutions, our superior levels of existence, our free economic life which have made us the greatest nation in the history of the world.26

Similarly, his phrases "framework of mutual understanding," "welfare of our country," and others in his speech on post-war construction must have carried a variety of meanings to his audience:

"I hope that you can be a model for the rest of the nation of self-regulation within the framework of mutual understanding, respect and admiration. I hope that you understand that the welfare of our country is more important than the welfare of any individual in this room. I hope that you can understand that if you can regulate yourselves, if you can do the thing which you think you can do and which this nation hopes you can do, then there is no question about the continuation of democratic capitalism in the United States."27

Generalities and abstractions also characterize his opening address to the 1945 Labor-Management conferences in Washington:

In its economic life America faces clearcut and fateful


alternatives: peace or war, cooperation or violence, self-regulation or coercion by law. . . . It is this fundamental choice which confronts this labor-management conference. If we make that choice clearly, unequivocably and unanimously, we shall in effect be registering a vote of confidence in the American way of life.28

In summary, the facts here indicate that for the most part Johnston preferred the concrete to the abstract word. He drew his down-to-earth vocabulary from his personal experiences and from those of his audience. As his vocabulary was plain, it was also concrete and vivid. Nevertheless, a substantial number of his good will speeches are marked by the opposite type word, the abstract. He spoke in generalities on such abstractions as American, democratic and patriotic ideals—subjects which are difficult to express in the concrete. It is fair to conclude that this speaker, however, did not use the abstract language to excess. There was sufficient of the concrete and vivid words to insure clarity as a whole.

EXALTED EXPRESSION

Although Johnston's language is characterized by the plain style, he did sometimes employ "flowery" language. On occasion, for example, there appear such expressions as "tomorrow's dawn," "a golden sunrise,"

"the land with peace, contentment and prosperity." On this matter of style, Gray and Braden write: "An exalted style, a part of which may consist in the use of words that would rarely be used in conversation, may on some occasions be appropriate; but the occasion must call for the style. Even then, it can easily be overdone."29 In this present evaluation, the question arises as to whether Johnston used this element of style excessively.

Johnston's words themselves were not exalted. It was his combination of words, sentence structure, emotional appeal and highly figurative language that gave the total effect of the elevated style. Usually this language characteristic appeared in concluding paragraphs of his inspirational addresses. Only occasionally was it in the discussion.

A typical example lies in his two final paragraphs of a Chamber of Commerce speech in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1944:

I trust that American business furnishes that leadership, not in your own business only, not in your chamber of commerce only, but in the community, in the state, and in the nation in which you live. If American business will furnish that leadership—American business that has been endowed by education, by training and by experience and by tradition, to furnish that leadership—then I have greater assurance that tomorrow's dawn will be a golden sunrise that will flood the land with peace and contentment and prosperity.

Ladies and gentlemen in Wilmington, I trust tonight that the Lord gives us the courage, the vision and the wisdom to play the part which has been assigned to us in the very complicated world of tomorrow. I know of no other way to preserve peace in our lifetime. 30

On the other hand, the last paragraph of the introduction to "The Four Pillars of Unity" begins this speech on an imposing note. On this occasion the speaker made a strong plea for national and international unity:

The world is caught in a chaos of violence and hatreds. There are wars between nations, conflicts between groups within each nation, misunderstandings even among allies. For that very reason the key word of our time, whether at home or abroad is UNITY. It is the word that holds one great hope for a decent, peaceful prosperous existence for the masses of mankind everywhere. Unity is the open sesame from that devastating chaos. Not even the booming of cannon and the explosion of block-busters can drown out its syllables. Though the ears of mankind be filled with the din of destruction, its heart catches and hoards the echo of that hope. 31

In only one speech did the style appear in the text: "Ill abused and unjustly treated are the victims of intolerant hate, but the dupes who follow the intolerant leader are unmercifully betrayed." 32

This stylistic device is not incompatible with the plain language and manner of expression ordinarily associated with Johnston. In the


32 "Intolerance." Address, January 11, 1945, p. 183.
addresses examined here, he did not go so far with elevated language as to make the effect tiresome or otherwise objectionable. The language was effective and appropriate to the subject, and it lent dignity to his purpose.

Language that is most vivid is highly descriptive. However, Johnston makes so little use of description as a stylistic means that it does not warrant consideration here. Johnston does approach it, however, in his metaphors and in the colorful adjectives of his "elevated" language.

FIGURES OF SPEECH

Much of Eric Johnston's vivid language is attributable to his apt figures of speech. Although he employed many different kinds, four appeared frequently enough throughout this analysis to make them an essential part of his vivid style. They are the metaphor, simile, figurative analogy, and epigram.

Metaphor and Simile.—The metaphor, the implied comparison of unlike things, is a pronounced trait of Johnston's style. In numerous instances his ideas were heightened and emphasized by his apt choice of such vivid figures as these:

Americans do not want an "arsat America."

"infected by the poisons of despair."

Hitler achieved production "by driving an entire nation with the flaming whips of terror and propaganda."
"...a durable peace cannot last on the shifting sands of an unsure foreign policy."

"We are not engaged in a musical comedy war with soldiers marching through the streets every day to amuse and thrill the populace."

"... the machines... that businessmen are pouring over the Axis in a fiery torrent..."

Self-interest is "the dynamo that propels the machine of human enterprise."

In his radio address on labor-management cooperation in November, 1945, he made a figurative comparison of labor and management to football players. "Some of us seem to have forgotten that we are all playing on the same team. Instead of running down the field together we have been tackling our own men and running the ball in the wrong direction."33 On another occasion, American combat aviators were "young knights of the air, winged messengers of death and destruction to the Nazis."34 In the same speech he spoke of American planes as enemy targets: "... they fly through a veritable hail of exploding steel." Two other typically vivid metaphors appear in his address on intolerance: "Most of them are not aware that they have been infected by the virus of intolerance which already has the whole world writhing..."


in the fatal fever of war." In the following metaphor, the democracy was the "American boat": "The obstreperous hate-mongers and their foolish fellow travelers who think it is smart to rock the American boat may drown with the other passengers."36

Johnston's similes were as vivid and effective as his metaphors. For example, he made the point that during the war all economic groups worked and fought together, but when the danger was over, they again took up their bickering for special favors: "Like bull buffaloes," he said, "we'd formed a ring against the wolf-pack which attacked our herd, but once we'd beaten off the enemy, we locked horns with each other in domestic struggle."37 Also, this comment on the new capitalism contains the stated comparison: "We didn't import our kind of capitalism from Europe. It grew here on this side of the Atlantic. It is as native to America as Indian corn or the Mississippi River."38 On another occasion he observed that "confidence in the American enterprise system... is like an electric current which is flowing from person to person, charging them with new zeal."39

35 "Intolerance." Address, January 11, 1945, p. 178.
36 Ibid., p. 179.
Figurative Analogy.—A third type of figure represented in John­ston's speeches is the figurative analogy. By this extended comparative device he lent vividness and interest to his ideas. Again, his speech on intolerance bears a typical illustration:

Any metallurgist will tell you that the toughest, most res­istant metals are not "pure" ores but alloys that blend the most valuable qualities of many ores. It is thus with the American, who fuses in his blood and spirit the virtues and vitalities of many races, creeds and cultures—giving us an amalgam that is new, unique, and immeasurably strong.40

On another occasion he urged the American to "sell" democracy to other buyers of ideologies.

The bargain counter days for democracy are at an end. In the market places of the world today, it is no longer enough to spread out the wares of democracy and sit behind the counter with folded and complacent hands. We get no custom­ers and make no converts that way against the high pressure salesmanship of communism which peddles its bag of promises from door to door. In the world struggle of ideologies today, this is a buyers' market.41

This man's figurative analogies not only carry a pertinent comparison of two ideas but also paint a vivid picture for his listener's imagi­nation. His plea in Kansas City, Missouri, in November, 1943, illustrates clearly Johnston's skill with this figure. He began the idea by reminding

40 "Intolerance." Address, January 11, 1945, p. 181.

the audience that leaders of government, industry, labor, and agriculture all blame one another for the national economic ills. Then he added, "The savage medicine man sets up a symbol of disease and in belaboring it he thinks he is curing the ailment. There are demagogues aplenty in each group (government, industry, labor, and agriculture) who empty their vials of wrath upon the other."42

Humor.—In the fourth place, Johnston had a facility of humor which aided him in clarifying and heightening his ideas. He maintained that humor was one means of holding attention and making a point clear.43 His rule for the anecdote in the speech was that the story must be funny; that it must be "fresh," not worn out; and that the speaker must be able to tell it properly. However, there were not sufficient examples of this type of humor to consider it here as typical. For the most part, Johnston's humor lay in the pun and the clever turn of phrase. These bright spots in his speeches stand out as clearly as his epigrams. He fit his humor smoothly into his point, never straining to insert a laugh for its own sake.

The following excerpts are characteristic of this speaker's humor


43 Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.
and of the ease with which he employed it. They also show his preference for the pun.

"... our high protectionist dogma is getting mangy."

"It is only a step from mass picketing to the sit-down, and only a step from the sit-down to revolution. Watch your step, gentlemen of labor."

"They [the farmers] need rain to grow their crops, but they do not need a government vet nurse."

"In business there are two colors I dislike. One is red ink on the balance sheet; the other is the pink discharge slip in the worker's pay envelope."

"Mr. Butt's introduction of me as an international 'brain trust' is appreciated, but remindful of my grandmother's definition of 'soft soap'—sixty per cent 'lye'."

"Concerning British nationalization of industry. It has yet to be demonstrated that the changing of a name on a stock certificate from 'George King' to 'King George' will produce more coal."


Epigrams—Finally, Johnston often employed the epigram as a stylistic means of giving vividness to his ideas. In 1950, when he was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Commercial Science by New York University, the degree citation referred to him as a "celebrated archer of words which seldom miss their mark" and a "coiner of the golden phrase." It is true that Johnston was skilled at so succinctly phrasing ideas that the resulting epigrams are easily remembered and quoted. These "golden phrases" are scattered through his speeches, and the few shown below are typical of his prolificacy:

"You can't legislate the golden rule as you can the gold standard."  

"I invite you to have another look to see if the beam in your eye has gotten you off the beam of tolerance."  

"In truth, we must continue to cultivate our American tolerance for everything except intolerance."  

"Stubbornness is not in the facts but in the men called upon to deal with the facts."  

"I suggest that in the future we meet less often in the headlines and more often around the conference tables."  

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50 Quoted by Motion Picture Herald, CXCVII (April 15, 1950), 38.  
51 "Intolerance," Address, January 11, 1945, p. 179.  
52 Ibid., p. 178.  
53 Ibid., p. 181.  
54 The Four Pillars of Labor-Management Relationship. Address, November 5, 1945, p. 3.  
55 Ibid., p. 4.
"When we run to government with our problems our own good sense should solve we're asking for harnesses, and harnesses, gentlemen, are for horses, not for human beings."

"...we've got to go hell-bent for it [new capitalism] if we don't want the good things we've got to go to hell."

"...we must begin to shape history instead of letting history shape us."

"Competition is the carat mark on the real gold of golden opportunity...competition brings out the best in all of us for the best of all of us."

"In the architecture of American society it's just three jumps from the master bedroom to the dog-house."

"Labor cannot talk its way out of public disfavor by crying anti-labor, reactionary, and Fascist. Business tried with anti-business, bureaucrat, and communist. It failed."

"You can't stop hell with vocabulary."

"Formal signatures and fine rhetoric are useless unless they symbolize and sum up concrete realities."

Overall, Johnston's facility with figurative language gave clarity and vividness to his ideas. There are many figures in this speaker's


58 Ibid., p. 8.

59 Ibid., p. 13.


61 Ibid., p. 203.

addresses, but only four kinds are outstanding: figurative analogy, metaphor, simile, and epigram.

REPETITIVE DEVICES

Johnston often added strength to his points by repetitions of key words. The effect was not only one of emphasis but also one of a preponderance of detail and illustration. In one Chamber of Commerce speech he achieved the maximum effect by his repeating the single word competition ten times:

Competition, as I mean it, is more than competition between two gas stations on the same street. It is competition which provides opportunity for ideas, for leadership, for thinking. It is competition which sets inventive minds to work; it is competition which puts one community on its mettle to outdo its rival in municipal improvements. It is competition which holds prices at reasonable levels. It is competition which makes for better living.

Competition is the carat mark on the real gold of golden opportunity. Competition as we have in America should know it, should stimulate but never stymie opportunity. Competition brings out the best in all of us for the best of all of us.63

Similarly, in his New York City speech on intolerance he repeated a key word. Here, however, repetition is a part of parallel series, another possibility for emphasis:

The simple human fact is that prejudice is latent in all of us. The average Protestant, Catholic, Jew is normally prejudiced in favor of his own kind and against the others. The under-

privileged against the well-to-do. The strong are prejudiced against the weak and vice versa. Men are prejudiced against women and women, alas, are even more prejudiced against men. The saintly soul who goes through life devoid of all prejudices is rare indeed.64

Johnston's repetition did not consist entirely of a repeated key word. In other sentences his plan was to repeat a short key sentence. This method is typified in his "Utopia Is Production," wherein he repeated the short, snappy sentence as a refrain in a three-member series.

You want security? I'm for that. You want higher living standards? I'm for that. You want to feel that you belong to this industry and that you share in it? We can have all these things. Production will give us all these things.65

Frequently Johnston restated an idea, then rephrased it in other words to lend strength to a specific idea. For example, when he spoke on the need for Western Europe to remove controls and lower taxes as incentives to greater production, he declared, "This is the core, this is the crux, this is the heart of Europe's economic problem which we must keep constantly in mind. . . ."66

This speaker also placed to good account the more mechanical devices of emphasis, that is, verbal comments directing the listener's attention to a statement. In no instance were more than two such

64"Intolerance." Address, January 11, 1945, p. 133.


devices employed in any one speech. Those which appeared most frequently are: "Remember this!" "I repeat!" "I want to emphasize that." "I want to underline these words. . . ." and "Listen!" Johnston did not overwork this means of emphasis, yet he used it often enough throughout the speeches examined here for it to be considered a typical method of his calling attention to important points.

LOADED WORDS

Johnston, who relied heavily upon emotional proof, necessarily had in his speeches many "loaded words," those in which "the affective, or emotional, component in meaning is so strong that for the moment it outweighs whatever there may be of logical meaning."\(^{67}\) Johnston made his language more impressive by this device.

In his April, 1944, speech on post-war problems, for example, he referred to the government as being the fourth economic estate, branding it as "huge, sprawling, power-hungry, throwing ever new tentacles around the other three [labor, management, and agriculture]. It is no longer simply an instrument of the people—all the people—. . . It is swollen with the urge of growth, expansion, and perpetuation."\(^{68}\)

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\(^{67}\)Gray and Braden, p. 457.

The foregoing typical example of this speaker's attack on governmental bureaucracy appears to mark an inconsistency in his point of view. That is, when he pleaded for tolerance and cooperation among all groups, he warned against the epithet and name-calling as foes of the democratic process:

We can't succeed if we live in an atmosphere of agitation and irritation. We won't succeed if spokesmen for either side hurl thunderous statements and biting epithets at each other like old-time military commanders about to engage in battle.

The epithet, gentlemen, is the natural enemy of sound industrial relations. Name-calling is the most deadly foe of the democratic process.69

Even so, his speeches contain many such "foes," and his language is heavy in emotional connotation. In one radio address he referred to the "savage slave system of Hitlerism," and added that "We are fighting for the right to raise our children as free Americans instead of slaves to a tyrannical state."70 Other emotionally toned words include dictators, the withering influence of dictators, the bureaucratic elite, social planners, you socialists, regimentation, and stifling controls.

Johnston's September, 1944, speech in Chicago in which he advocated the formation of a sound social security program, is typical of his

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69 The Four Pillars of Labor-Management Relationship. Address, November 5, 1945, p. 4.

technique of throwing unfavorable light on his opponent. Through his deliberate choice of loaded words he hit the New Deal program of the 1930's: "Social security substitutes an orderly, systematized set-up for the hit-or-miss private charity, local poor relief, the federal boondoggling of an earlier day." Later in the same speech he resorted to name-calling: "Business is now paying most of the costs of social security. But the credit is going to the welfare worker, the social uplifter, and the politician." In the address "The Challenge of Peace," Hitler and Mussolini were the targets of Johnston's epithets. Mussolini was "... that deflated example of small-time dictatorship. ..." Hitler was "A man mad with ego, a man with a Napoleonic complex much magnified, a former housepainter and unsuccessful artist. ..." and a "lunatic with a distorted but clever mind. ..."

In all, Johnston did make his ideas impressive and vivid through emotionally loaded words. Almost without exception, he employed this language device to put himself and his cause on the side of "good" and to put his opponent on the side of "bad." As shown in the previous

71 "Social Security and a Dynamic Capitalism." Address, September 8, 1944, p. 766.

72 Ibid., p. 768.

chapter on his forms of support. Johnston relied more often on ethical and emotional proof than on logical. The "loaded" vocabulary is necessarily inherent in his emotional appeal.

SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Johnston's composition, that is, his sentence structure, was by no means accidental "glibness of tongue." He phrased his speeches carefully and deliberately to give the sound and the sense of friendly, yet dignified, conversation. When Charles James Fox observed, "Did the speech read well when reported? If so, it was a bad one," he had in mind the exact distinction which Johnston made between written and oral sentences. Regarding the differences he made in sentence structure of speeches and in that of magazine articles, Johnston said:

The speech has short sentences, snappy sentences. In a written article the short sentences may sound jerky. Its longer sentences are adaptable to involved thought. The reader can think over the sentence, the paragraph, even the whole article. He can go back and read again. But the listener to a speech cannot go back. He must get it the first time. Thus the speech sentences are short, to the point, and carry a main idea.

The outstanding characteristic of Johnston's compositional style is his use of the short sentence. In his attempt to appear informal and conversational, he interspersed throughout his speeches many short, simple

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74 Suqua, p. 75.


76 Statement, personal interview, January 5, 1951.
statements. For example, in an address to a group of construction in-
dustryists, he said,

You are here today to try to help a great industry. You are
here today as a symbol of the essence of democratic capi-
talism, self-regulation. You are here today to try to help
a great industry, the construction industry. We have looked
to Washington during the war, and perhaps we had to, for a
guiding hand on many things. From now on we should look to
ourselves and to the self-regulation of our industry for
these same objectives.

Even in his last formal address to the Chamber of Commerce, the same
sentence style was prevalent:

I said then [in 1942, when he became president], and I want to
repeat it:

"You cannot take a whiff of 'free enterprise' or a stretch
of 'a way of life' and start a factory with it. You have
to have money. You have to have capital."

And I remembered saying this too: "The word upon which to
fix the national mind at this time is simply, outrightly,
and frankly, capitalism."

That was true then. And it's true today.

It's more true today than it was then. It's going to have
to be more true next year, five years from now, if we intend
to keep 'the American way of life' in a 'free enterprise
system.'

We ought to be proud of the capitalistic system. Competitive
capitalism just got through winning the greatest war in all
history. Let's not be modest about it.

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77 "Post-War Construction Industry." Address, November 1, 1945, pp. 1 ff.

78 "A Decade of Decisions." Address, May 2, 1946, pp. 4 ff.
The foregoing public addresses bear no difference in sentence style from that noted in his forum technique: short, tightly packed sentences in a discussion and question-answer situation. The following representative paragraphs are from his Chicago Round Table discussion with Harold J. Laski:

Obviously not. We have learned a great deal during this depression (the 1929 depression previously referred to) and during the war. We have unlearned a lot, too. What we should do is to stimulate the individual to the fullest possible extent to make use of the advantages and talents which he may have. The individual must have opportunity as well as security. Security is necessary, but it is a dull thing. You can have security in a jail. Opportunity is the real hope and the real inspiration. In America I want to preserve the chance to take a chance.

And the stimulation of creative desire on the part of all our people. We have only begun to explore the frontiers of the mind. We have only begun to understand what we can do in the realms of science and of invention and of new products. We have only begun to raise the standard of living of the people of our country. We must divorce ourselves, once and for all, from the withering influence of bureaucrats who would keep our economy on a dead and dull level.79

In his convocation address at Lafayette College, Johnston typically employed the short sentence to carry the important, key word of his idea. The brevity of the sentence pointed it out. In the following excerpt he balanced two Russian and American differences against each other. To give final impetus to the contrast, he asked one short question, then

drove home the fundamental distinctions in his short answers:

In Russia there is only one employer, the State. In America there are millions of employers. In Russia, if the worker gets in dutch with his boss, he is out of luck. In America, if a worker gets in dutch with his boss, he goes around the comer and gets another job. Can you have real economic freedom in the American sense when there is only one employer? In Russia they said 'Yes.' I said 'No.'

Often the short sentence appeared in Johnston's conclusions. It carried the "punch" and life of his final paragraphs, and it added forcefulness as he built to a climax. The last two paragraphs of his final speech in the Chamber of Commerce illustrate that technique:

America created a new form of government. America created a new form of mass production. America can create a new capitalism.

Business has the key to unlock the door to this new capitalism. We can't duck this one. Ours is the responsibility. Ours is the opportunity. Ours is the decision.

In the second place, Johnston often expressed himself in the loose, rambling manner of casual, informal conversation. Some of these sentences doubtlessally offend the grammarians who demand polished style and the conventional sentence patterns. Although it could not be determined positively, the text from which the following quotation is cited is more than likely a stenographic transcription of the speech. This "sentence" would probably

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have been more concisely stated had it appeared in a formal manuscript. As it stands, it illustrates Fox's question, "Did the speech read well when reported?" This particular sentence does not, however, with the proper vocal inflection and with proper timing, it no doubt gave the sound of good structure, inoffensive to the ear and reason.

I find that people all over the world are rediscovering America, whether it is Vargas in Brazil or Lloyd George in England or Stalin in Russia, they, too, are rediscovering America; and the people in the United States, who said it couldn't be done, that we are a polyglot group of people of many creeds, races, and religions, and that we couldn't pull together in great stress and strain, they said it couldn't be done, but we have proven that they are wrong, because America today is out-producing all the rest of the world together.32

Later in the same speech, he gave detailed information in loose, complex sentences:

If we include workmen's compensation, unemployment compensation, and old age annuities, the present contribution of the typical employer toward social security, State and Federal, totals about 5½ per cent of his payroll, in addition to the cost of any voluntary plans he may have adopted. . . . This means that the employer pays 84 per cent of the total, as compared with only 16 per cent contributed by the workers. . . . I would like to point out that one plan under consideration proposes to increase the employer's tax rate from the present federal levy of 4 per cent (1 per cent for old-age annuities and 3 per cent for unemployment compensation) to a total of 6 per cent, an increase of 50 per cent, while the employee contribution would jump from the present 1 per cent to 6 per cent, a rise of 500 per cent.33

Moreover, Johnston frequently put his ideas in the fragmentary

32 "Social Security and a Dynamic Capitalism." Address, September 8, 1944, p. 765.

33 Ibid., p. 767.
sentence, or what some grammarians refer to as the incomplete sentence.

Again, the strict grammarian would object, declaring that involved ideas expressed in such a manner are "incoherent." But this type, like his loose, "run-on" sentences, is a mark of his conversational speaking. In the following paragraphs the elipses "There is" and "There are" are understood without any confusion:

Sin Five. Too many strikes. Strikes called arbitrarily by dictatorial business agents. Strikes called without warning, even to the mass of the members of the union, at a meeting attended by a few hotheads. Strikes called for reasons that the strike leaders will not even disclose to the employer. Strikes called against employers who have nothing at all to do with the dispute. Jurisdictional strikes.34

Similarly, on another occasion the introductory sentence to a paragraph carried the subject, verb, and direct object. The next four sentences were fragments in apposition to a modifier of the previous direct object:

We all have the solemn obligation to see to it this time that our children inherit the kind of America their fathers fought and died for. . . . An America suited for free men, not robots. An America which rejects the bogus equality enforced from above by some superstate; but cherishes the true equality that derives from equal opportunity. An America that seeks diligently to remove unfair handicaps and protects those who fall by the wayside. . . . An America that refuses to yield to the totalitarian contagions of this epoch. . . .35

34 "A Warning to Labor and to Management." Address, March 13, 1944, p. 205.

A final feature of Johnston's sentence structure is the series, or what many refer to as "parallel structure." Brigance defines this pattern as one "aligning thoughts in parallel series, one following the other." The range of items within his series varied from two to seven, although two, three, and four, most frequently constituted his lists. Often there are sentences which read like the following one, illustrating his preference for the three-member series. In it he makes an epigrammatic plea for tolerance:

I repeat: Intolerance is destructive. Prejudice produces no wealth. Discrimination is a fool's economy.

On the other hand, the final paragraph to a Baltimore speech in 1942 contained two sentences composed of two items. The effect was a preponderance of elaborative material.

Ours may be the tragic privilege of living in the greatest military crisis since Napoleon; the greatest economic crisis since Adam Smith; the greatest social crisis since the fall of the Roman Empire. But if ours is the tragic privilege, it is also the magnificent opportunity—the opportunity to mold and form and direct this society, which will lead to greater happiness, greater enjoyment of life—a society which can lead to a permanent peace.

In other sentences the series members were appositional modifiers.

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87 "Intolerance." Address, January 11, 1945, p. 7.

In the following quotation Johnston used a tabulation of four: "The American economy cannot reject responsibility for the employment and well-being of the men and women who take a part in it; those who supply the raw materials, those who do the manual labor, those who do the brain work, those who manage the enterprise. 89"

A statistical study of a speech selected at random gives further insight into Johnston's style. A detailed account of the speech, "The Road to Realism for American Business," reveals that in the total of 164 sentences, eight, or 4.9 per cent, were fragmentary. Furthermore, these incomplete sentences were among the shortest, averaging only five words per sentence. The longest sentences were compound-complex, averaging twenty-nine words per sentence. The complex structure appeared most often in this particular speech, exceeding the simple sentence by 12.2 per cent. The following tabulation shows the frequency, percentages, and words per sentence of the five types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Sentence</th>
<th>No. of Sentences</th>
<th>% of total</th>
<th>Av. words per sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compound</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complex</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compound-complex</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fragment</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALES</strong></td>
<td><strong>164</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

89 "America Unlimited." Address, April 27, 1943, p. 524.
On the basis of this very limited count, it would appear that Johnston's mean sentence length was shorter than that of speakers like Winston Churchill, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt. Gulley found the average length of Churchill's sentences to be twenty-six words. One short study of Roosevelt's sentences reveals that speaker's average sentence length to be 23.47 words. Runion found the average length of Woodrow Wilson's sentences to be 29.26 words.

Statistical averages may give only a limited insight into sentence style. However, if those statistics are valid, Johnston used shorter sentences than did other prominent speakers. The nature of Johnston's speech purposes did not necessitate a polished style of composition. His responsibility was to reach the masses of the American public, who

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had been convinced by government, labor, and agriculture that capitalism was the root of the economic ills of the nation. He needed to speak their language. Moreover, he was only "one fairly typical businessman."93 "Rightly or wrongly," he wrote, "I can assure myself that in speaking for Eric Johnston I am speaking for a great legion of Eric Johnstons. [My ideas and hopes] are fairly typical and certainly widespread."94 So was his manner of expression; he spoke the language of the people.

In summary, three stylistic devices characterize Johnston's sentence structure: (1) the short sentence, (2) the fragmentary sentence, and (3) the series. In the main, this speaker utilized the short, simple structure to express the ideas he wished to emphasize. They were frequently the "punch line" to a point and contained the key word or idea. His fragmentary sentences further gave his speech an informal, conversational flavor. Like the short kind, they served to strengthen the point they carried. Finally, Johnston had a preference for listing ideas, facts, and evidence in series order. The series members, usually two to four, appeared as a straight list of items or as appositional modifiers.

SUMMARY

This chapter has pointed out eight ways in which Johnston achieved

94 Ibid., p. 2.
clarity, vividness, and impressiveness through language style. His vocabulary compares favorably with those of Franklin Roosevelt and Abraham Lincoln, both of whom are generally accepted as having spoken the language of the masses. His plain style was also typified by his slang and folk expressions. Furthermore, he excelled at word picturization, imagery, as another device to give clarity and vividness to his ideas.

Johnston ordinarily preferred the concrete to the abstract word. He relied heavily upon his expression of real, tangible things from his own experiences and from those of his audience. Nevertheless, in certain introductions and conclusions to stimulative speeches this man did resort to abstractions, generalities, and exalted language. There is no indication, however, that the exalted style or general expression was excessive.

An additional technique was humor. He favored the pun and the clever play on words. The anecdote and joke do not appear frequently enough to be considered as characteristic of his humor.

Johnston also gave clarity and vividness to his ideas through his apt choice of figures of speech. Although he widely varied his choice of such figures, his preference lay with the figurative analogy, metaphor, simile, and epigram.

Johnston's favorite method of repetition was to restate a key word, phrase, or sentence. His total effect in these instances was not always in language alone; the result may have been a clearer explanation or an elaboration of an idea. An additional device was that of rewording; the
result was greater emphasis of idea and variety in style. This speaker also employed the mechanical device of "verbal comments," such as "Re-
member this" and "I repeat." By that method he further called attention to his main ideas and impressed their importance.

In addition, Johnston's loaded words gave impressiveness to his expression. Although he did resort to name calling, that characteristic was inoffensive. He reserved the technique for those persons and things his audience ordinarily associated with the undesirable. Johnston, who relied greatly upon emotional proof, put his emotionally tinted words to effective use.

Finally, this chapter revealed three characteristic features of Johnston's sentence structure. First, he had a predominance of short sentences, which, with a significant number of sentence fragments, strengthened many of his ideas. Furthermore, he frequently put his key word or catch phrase in those shorter sentence patterns, calling attention to them in their brevity. Finally, Johnston had a preference for the parallel listing of words, phrases, and clauses. This compositional device, appearing most often in series of two, three, and four members, added force to his elaboration and emphasis of an idea.
CHAPTER VIII

DELIVERY

This final chapter examines the manner in which Eric Johnston delivered his public addresses. The discussion is made in three parts: (1) the modes of delivery, i.e., manuscript, extemporaneous, and memorized; (2) gestures and physical factors; and (3) voice and diction. The problem here is to determine the extent to which each of those elements of delivery contributed to the speaker's overall effectiveness.

MODES OF DELIVERY

Manuscript.—Of the three modes of delivery, Johnston utilized least the manuscript. In fact, as he explained to this writer, he never read any speeches except those he prepared for radio presentation. Because he relied heavily upon the inspiration and the response of his immediate audience, he preferred not to be confined by the printed page. He wished to be free to elaborate, delete or otherwise change his presentation whenever the audience situation demanded.

Nevertheless, Johnston was an effective reader of his radio speeches, and it was difficult for this writer to note any of the characteristic

1Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.
vocal qualities of the usual manuscript address. Occasionally, he twisted or misread a word, as any person may do in extemporaneous speaking or in casual conversation. In such instances, he had to re-read the word, choose a new one, or even rephrase the sentence at the instant.

In order to determine the extent to which Johnston followed his radio manuscript, this writer chose for detailed examination one of the speaker's typical broadcast addresses, "Business Addresses Labor." The typed copy on file in the United States Chamber of Commerce is marked in ink, "Final Copy." No one in that office could say positively, however, that the file copy was the actual manuscript from which Johnston read for the broadcast. Because it was the only one available, that text was used for comparison with Johnston's actual presentation. From the National Broadcasting Company the writer obtained a pressing of the master disc, transcribed as Johnston read the speech.

The comparison showed that in this manuscript of 2087 words, Johnston made these changes as he spoke: deletions, 20; substitutions, 22; additions, 38. Thus, the words in the recorded speech represent a deviation of 3.8 per cent from the manuscript. For the most part, the additions to the text were such modifiers as the and a, as well as occasional conjunctions, and and but. The deletions were inconsequential.

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"More than ever before..." in the manuscript became simply "More than ever..." The text showed "...build the kind of a world tomorrow we dream of today." In that instance Johnston omitted tomorrow. The substitutions were more involved; most appear to be the speaker's adjustment to misreading. The following are representative of the substitutions he made:

**Manuscript**

"It is upon these two most imperative subjects of today that my comments will be based."

"...directs a talk especially to American workers."

"...channeling our immense power..."

**Recording**

"It is upon these two most important questions that today my comments are based."

"...talks directly to American."

"...challenging our immense power."

In the following excerpt, the standard type represents Johnston's words as taken from the recording. Words in CAPITALS are those shown in the manuscript. These in brackets [ ] were spoken by Johnston but did not appear in the manuscript.

And, now, I want to preview some of the prospects and problems of peace. Why all this effort—why [all] this sacrifice—why [all] this shelving of privileges for the duration?

I don't have to answer [the question] "why." You know what we are fighting for—[We are fighting]—for the right to raise our children as free Americans...
Ask any man formerly on WPA rolls, but now on the job in private industry, if he feels more self-reliant. ... The Germans had jobs, certainly they did. They also had concentration camps. ... The Japse had jobs, but they subsisted and lived on a diet of fish and rice.

FARMERS BUSINESSMEN AND
It means farmer. It means businessman. It means the general public. ...

In this speech Johnston garbled his words only twice. In one instance the text read enormous; the speaker began the word tremendous, realized his mistake in the middle of the word, then shifted to tremendous. At another place the text called for indebted; the speaker read the word as indeed, then combined part of the original word. The result, indeed debted, was quite acceptable.

Like any other radio speaker, Johnston was confined by the rigid radio time element. Evidently, his prepared manuscripts were approximately thirty seconds too long, for in three of the four transcriptions that were compared to the texts from which Johnston read, several sentences were cut from the conclusions. Thirty or fifteen seconds is relatively unimportant to the "live" audience, and only on the radio
would he ever be called upon to time himself so precisely. In the
three speeches referred to, however, he was compelled to delete several
sentences from his short, carefully worded conclusions, weakening his
final drive and appeal in order to conform to the radio control
operator's signal to close.3

Extemporaneous. — The extemporaneous mode of delivery did not offer
Johnston the restrictions on phraseology and timing that the manuscript
delivery did. In this type of presentation his word choice and sentence
structure came to him as he spoke, allowing complete freedom for adap-
tation of his ideas to any immediate audience situation. Even though
he did not write out these speeches, he did make specific preparation for
each such speech occasion. Depending upon the importance and degree
of formality of the occasion, he made careful outlines or sentence
notations or even spoke informally without notes.

The collection of Johnston's speeches filed in the United States
Chamber of Commerce contains almost altogether texts for which the
speaker prepared complete manuscripts to be read or memorized. The
speeches he delivered "informally from notes, or even without notes"4

3 The Chamber of Commerce text on Johnston's "Responsibilities of
the U.S. Chamber of Commerce," April 28, 1943, shows four sentences in
the conclusion which are not in the recording furnished this writer by
the National Broadcasting Company. The text to "Everybody's Business—
Victory!", April 16, 1943, includes four sentences in the conclusion
which Johnston did not read at the broadcast. The text on " Anglo-
American Peace Policy", September 24, 1943, shows two concluding
sentences omitted from the recording.

4 Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.
are seldom preserved in their entirety. For the most part, the only record of them exists in pertinent excerpts quoted by newspapers. Only eight of the 143 examined in this study are professional stenographic transcriptions. Five other typed texts in the collection bear the parenthetic comment: (Applause). It is likely that those texts were actual transcriptions.

Johnston occasionally spoke from notes or an outline. When he did, he had his address so well in mind that only a card of key words and phrases was sufficient for recall of his ideas. During the two speeches by Johnston that this writer attended, the speaker did employ some form of notes. At the first of these, the writer sat at one of the banquet tables, approximately fifty feet from the speaker's table. After Johnston had been introduced, he stepped to the stand, took from his pocket a note card and placed it in front of him. He made his first glance at his notes, as far as this writer could see, at a point midway in the speech. Only three subsequent times did he look down for an instant, each time the glance coming a full sentence or two before the new point he wished to pick up. Because he looked down no longer than would be necessary to read a word or perhaps a phrase, it is doubtful that he was using a sentence outline for this address. His organization was so clear, and each idea fitted so precisely with his main idea, brotherhood, that he had undoubtedly observed his policy of careful

5 "The Costly Folly of Bigotry." Address, Theatre Owners of America National Convention, Houston, Texas, November 2, 1950. Personally observed and noted by the writer.
outlining and thorough familiarization with his material.

At the second speech of Johnston's that this writer attended, the speaker again made his address extemporaneously with the aid of notes. During this fifteen-minute speech Johnston glanced at his note card five times—each instance being several sentences ahead of his new point. Having in mind his subsequent idea, he was thus able to conclude one and move smoothly to the next without a break.

Johnston used the extemporaneous delivery for speeches of lesser importance. The more important his speech, the fuller the outline.

Whereas the manuscript or the memorized speech had a fully prepared script, those to be presented extemporaneously were given only a rough, note form. He made no attempt to preserve such notes, Johnston said.

The one set of speaking notes that this writer had access to was a mixture of words, phrases, and sentences. These notations had been written in pencil on four pages of a small pad. The organization of the speech is not easily discernible from these personal notes, but they do indicate that the speaker had his material sufficiently well in mind to be able to recall both order and content from sentence fragments. In the following copy, Johnston's lineation and pagination are retained:

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7. The original of these notes was presented to the writer by Mr. Johnston, who could not recall the date of specific occasion of the speech. He did know, however, that he delivered it to a labor meeting in Detroit late in 1950.
-1-

Redefinition of aggression.

Soldiers crossing borders.

Berlin, Iran, etc.

In a Revolutionary age must take advantage of these forces

Tractor more revolutionary than Comm Manifesto

Entrepreneur spirit combined with govt. Power, roads, harbors, navigation.

-2-

Way business man works different than before--Previous/ly came in behind army & developed, Imperative.

Hawaii, 5 families went to Christianize & started in our way. Can't do now-- Our army has job to do--

British society on Ruhr. Clay largest degree of enterprise. Our army responded, Not to be prejudiced
We don't just 
extract their 
resources, we put 
back in increased 
production. Believe 
our military must 
have the same devotion to competitive capitalism as business, labor, etc.

One country where vast majority believe in system under which we live.

Business must criticize aanges instead of fast drive.

Partnership: Capitalism better today than ever before.
Emphasized.-- Johnston made extensive use of the third method of
delivery, that of memorization. It gave him the advantage of having
time to prepare his speech carefully beforehand, permitting him to
choose the exact word and phrase to express his idea. After memorizing
the completed text, he could devote himself entirely to delivery, with-
out concern for a manuscript or even an outline or notes.

To this writer's question as to the extent that he read, extempo-
rized, and memorized addresses, Johnston declared, "As to how much I
memorize, that depends on the audience and situation. If it is a very
important speech and I must follow a manuscript very closely, then I
may have ninety per cent of it memorized. As the situation varies, the
percentage of memorization comes down to nothing, and I speak informally
from notes. . . ."

Mr. Ben Lambe, manager of the Publicity Department of the United
States Chamber of Commerce, was closely associated with Eric Johnston
during the latter's presidency of the national office. Lambe believed
that Johnston memorized more than the "ninety percent." It was his
personal observation that Johnston committed the entire speech to memo-
ry, permitting only enough leeway to insert appropriate local names and
recognition of speakers and introduction. "Mr. Johnston has a remarka-
ble faculty," said Lambe, "that of rapid memorization of his speeches
with the art of so delivering them that no one would know they were
memorized. I once watched a script of a speech of his as he delivered
it, and he did not vary from the script more than fifteen words. . . .

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6 Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.
Although he may have a manuscript on the stand before him during the speech, he seldom looks at it. 9

The two Houston, Texas, speeches which this writer attended were delivered some six hours apart and to widely different audiences and speech situations. They appear to have had identical introductions. No manuscripts were available for studied comparison, but as far as this writer could observe, there was no noticeable change. The introduction in each was a rapid-fire, five-minute humorous story in Irish dialect, and Johnston related it as a personal experience occurring on his recent trip through Ireland. There was every indication of the "illusion of first time." Each sentence came as easily and fluently as any listener would expect to hear in an extemporaneous speech. Without any trace of the mechanical, memorized presentation, Johnston spoke with an animation and enthusiasm which comes only with skill and practice.

Johnston's frequent use of the memorized speech put him in a unique position in regard to the advance press releases of his remarks. At the interview with him, the writer asked how near his speeches were to the newspaper copies of them prepared by his office. "As near as it is humanly possible for a man to memorize a speech and deliver it," he replied. 10 In fact, this speaker's press copies were the actual manuscripts of the speeches. His aptitude at memorizing his text permitted the published account of the address to be as faithful to the speaker's

9 Statement by Ben Lembe, personal interview, January 4, 1951.

10 Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.
words as those of another speaker who read his manuscript. Even the best reader may stumble in a sentence and have to rephrase and re-word extemporaneously; he may throw in asides to further clarify or illustrate a point. Such changes are no more serious to the account of the manuscript speech than those Johnston would make in an occasional word substitution in a memorized speech.

Illustrative of the confidence with which his office could make releases on his speeches prior to their delivery on the platform is a telegram, five typed pages in length, which was sent to Detroit the day before Johnston spoke there to the National Association of Life Underwriters.11 Entire blocks of the speech had been lifted out for the telegram, which began, "Following may be used as direct quotes from Eric Johnston speech tomorrow before Life Convention."12 A speaker less adroit than Johnston in his memorization might well find himself embarrassingly misquoted.

This method of delivery also proved to be a time-conserving technique. By varying his opening paragraph, in which he often acknowledged the man who introduced him, established some bond of common ground with his listeners, and made a play for their good will, Johnston could reuse a memorized speech on such general subject as labor relations, unemployment, or post-war problems. Except for a few tactful references to the immediate audience, placed strategically throughout the speech, the

11Johnston [Salesmen for America.] Address, National Association of Life Underwriters, Detroit, Michigan, September 14, 1944. Carbon copy of text on file in U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

12Telegram, September 13, 1944, from Ben Lambe to W.E. Jones, Detroit, Michigan. Deposited in the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.
discussion could be presented on many occasions.

The paragraphs quoted below will illustrate the near-verbatim wording of the same speech delivered on different occasions. The introductions, which do indicate the elasticity of his memorized speeches, are not given in these quotations; they are not comparable in that their contents are adapted to each particular audience. Words in CAPITALS are those of a San Francisco speech\(^\text{13}\) which are different from those of a Kansas City speech,\(^\text{14}\) an excerpt from which is shown in customary type.

\text{THROUGHOUT SHOWN}

\text{"My journeys around America have convinced me that from ocean}

\text{THE AMERICAN}

\text{to ocean war people are stirred by two deep emotions.}

\text{TO OBTAIN COMPLETE VICTORY}

\text{The first is a desire to end the war at the earliest}

\text{POSSIBLE OPPORTUNITY SO THAT LOVED ONES MAY BE RETURNED TO THE FAMILY}

\text{FIRESIDE; SO THAT WE MAY HAVE A}

\text{so that there may be a cessation of mass killings and}

\text{DESTRUCTION AT THE EARLIEST PRACTICAL OPPORTUNITY}

\text{devastation; so that we may terminate as soon as possible}

\text{WHICH}

\text{the restrictions and regulations that have dammed the normal flow of}

\text{American life.}

\text{A NEW}

\text{But with the thought of victory, another emotion is aroused. You}

\text{REMEMBER MASS UNEMPLOYMENT? BORN}

\text{remember mass unemployment. That ghost-like specter/ of the depression}

\text{\textsuperscript{13}"America Unlimited." Address, December 16, 1943.}

\text{\textsuperscript{14}"The Four Pillars of Unity." Address, November 19, 1943.}
MANY AMERICANS thirties is again haunting the minds of the American people. They trans-
THEIR EXPERIENCES. "WHAT AFTER THE late it into a personal symbol — what kind of job am I going to have? WARY? What continuity of employment will it mean?" What will be THE MASS COMPLICATED my weekly pay check? The kaleidoscopic maze of / post-war problems / BACKDROP FOR CHARACTER serve only as a backstage drop to the animated actor upon whom all eyes are focused—employment.

Mass unemployment is the most insidious, the most corroding, the most devastating malady of our generation. We have not solved it. The INDICATE guide-posts of history reveal that when a civilization struggles **OMITTED** indefinitely with a problem which it is unable to solve, that civilization EVENTUALLY / disappears. The glory that was Greece was extinguished by AN PROBLEM OF ADEQUATE FOOD SUPPLY FOR HER the inability to solve the food PEOPLE LEGIONS SUPPORT THAT WHEN IT problem. Not even the Roman phalanxes could maintain a country that BECAME was rotten with unemployment and slave labor. The Spanish Armada DID NOT didn't sink Spain, but her inability to translate her vast colonial empire INTO AN EFFECTIVE COLONIAL EMPIRE DID. did.
On two other occasions Johnston delivered the basic speech as that cited above, making similar changes: once in Wilmington, Delaware,\textsuperscript{15} and again in New Haven, Connecticut.\textsuperscript{16} Because in all four instances his audiences were widely separated in both time and space, there was little likelihood that anyone would hear the same address twice.

Johnston had a number of other "favorite" speeches, all of them memorized and varied only enough for adaptation to different auditor groups. Furthermore, when he did not see fit to re-deliver an entire speech, he would frequently lift whole blocks from several previous speeches, fitting them together in a "new" memorized delivery. For example, in a Harrisburg address he gave an especially effective analogy between the architect's blueprint of a house and the American's post-war plans.\textsuperscript{17} He repeated the same figures in later speeches in Easton, Pennsylvania,\textsuperscript{18} and Rye, New York.\textsuperscript{19}

Thus, the memorized method of delivery was easy for this speaker to prepare, it left him freer for direct contact with his auditors, and it

\textsuperscript{15}Industrial Problems. Address, January 27, 1944.

\textsuperscript{16}America Unlimited. Address, March 21, 1944.

\textsuperscript{17}America Unlimited. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, April 6, 1944, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{18}A Free Post-War America. Address, Easton, Pennsylvania, October 27, 1944, p. 4.

served to shorten his time in preparation. Through his memorization of a speech of general interest, or through his excerpting and combining parts of older speeches, he could reach a far greater number of audiences than if he were compelled to construct a totally different speech for each separate occasion. Furthermore, his ease in memorization and his sincerity and spontaneity in presentation made this type an effective mode of delivery for him.

BODILY ACTIVITY

The second factor in Eric Johnston's delivery is his bodily activity. This discussion considers the speaker's facility and variety of movement both on and off the platform, his facial expressions, and his general physical appearance.

Johnston himself did not realize the full use he made of bodily activity. For that reason, perhaps, his were natural, unstudied, spontaneous gestures. "If you've seen me speak," he said, "you know I make very few gestures." Nevertheless, the point to be made here is the contrary to Johnston's own idea. Even in explaining that he did not gesture and in deriding those who make their actions in a planned, mechanical way, he put on a delightfully vivid demonstration. "As they read through the speech they shoot up an arm, shake a fist, or something," he declared, broadly dramatizing each action as he named it. During the

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20 Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.

21 Ibid.
During the same interview, Mr. Johnston referred to a recent speech he had heard Dean Acheson make. On that occasion, he said, Acheson's introduction was extemporaneous, delivered with warmth and vitality—and the audience was interested and sat up "... like this, or even leaned forward in their seats like this..." But when the speaker began reading his prepared speech, "... the audience just wilted—they actually wilted," and again Johnston put his words into action, slumping far down in his chair. Throughout the interview he watched this writer for response, and when his "audience" smiled, laughed, or showed real interest, Johnston became even more enthusiastic in his dramatization of his incident or character.

That showmanship was especially vivid in the addresses this writer personally observed. In two speeches, his introductions were identical—five minute anecdotes, in Irish dialect, about an experience during his recent trip to Ireland. Both audiences were highly responsive. In the speech "The Business Man's Role in Education," there were three periods of laughter and one of applause during the introduction. Such response spurred the speaker to full characterization as he momentarily played the parts of the President of Ireland, the Prime Minister, and the Manager of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer in Ireland.

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But Johnston's natural, easy bodily movement went farther than his deliberate "acting." Such an apparently minute detail as his smile went far in carrying his audience with him. As one writer put it, "Johnston wouldn't violently break a precedent. He melts them with his warmth and a frank, honest smile." His masculine face, his perfect teeth, his intensely expressive eyes make his smile sincere; they encourage a reciprocal warmth and pleasantness in his listeners. At his pleasure and to suit the needs of the moment, his face and eyes can portray anger, disgust, and chagrin as effectively as a smile.

Furthermore, Mr. Johnston's erect posture and stance on the platform, the complete ease, yet dignity, with which he stands behind the rostrum, the masculine grace of all his movements are effective essentials of his total gestures. The physical factors of his appearance--his build, his well-chosen suits and ties--contribute to the effectiveness of his delivery and very likely figure in the audience's judgment of the man and what he says.

When Johnston said that he employed few "gestures," he no doubt had in mind the limited concept of movement of the head, limbs, and body. If so, he was correct. At the Houston T.O.A. speech, although he relied almost entirely upon vocal inflection

23Newsweek, May 10, 1943, p. 54.

24"The Costly Folly of Bigotry." Address, November 2, 1950.
for emphasis and interpretation, he did employ a number of effective
gestures. As he did in the Business-Industry-Education Day address,
he stood immediately behind the rostrum throughout the speech.
Even though such a limited position might have been necessitated by
the microphones for the public address system at the B-I-E speech
(he spoke from home plate to a grandstand of five thousand people)
it would not have been required when he addressed one-fifth of that
number at the Shamrock Hotel in the T-0-A-meeting. Nevertheless,
in both instances he held his left hand constantly on the speaker's
stand or in his coat pocket. In his infrequent hand-arm gestures
he used his right hand and arm almost exclusively.

Each time Johnston did see fit to employ a hand or arm ges-
ture, the movement was meaningful. There had been no previous,
half-hearted gesture to detract from the full value he wished to
place on his strongly emphasised word or idea. Moreover, his
apparently memorized Irish dialect story in both the afternoon and
evening addresses gave this observer the opportunity to note the
adaptation of gestures to the moderate and to the large audience.
A pointed index finger gesture for the smaller group became an
extended arm and finger in the evening. A casual, two-handed
gesture at the one became a full two-arm gesture at the other.

In spite of Johnston's holding to the speaker's stand, his
body was by no means stiff. At the B-I-E Day occasion this ob-
server saw the speaker in full-front, profile, and three-quarter
positions as Johnston pivoted easily on his ankles to include the entire audience, right and left, in the grandstand which curved from first base around to third. In the Shamrock Hotel his audience was entirely in front of him, and he thus had no difficult audience contact problem.

Johnston's newsreel speeches offer a different situation. In each of the three that this writer has seen, Johnston's speech was addressed to the theatre audience, not the "live" audience that he preferred. Here he was restricted by set motion picture lights and cameras—which may or may not account for his almost complete immobility. His only bodily gestures were an occasional upward toss of the head or a shrug of the shoulders to give his words additional emphasis. As on the platform, however, his face and expressive eyes plus his vocal emphasis and inflection more than adequately compensated for his paucity of body gestures.

Because Johnston knew that much of his strength lay in his appearance and facial expression, and because he enjoyed and depended upon the audience's immediate response, he believed the radio speaker was at a disadvantage to the platform speaker.

"Television," he added, however, "is going to change the situation. . . . On the radio the speaker can't use such things as

25 "The Power behind the Nation," Warner Brothers Short Subjects Release, No. 4101, copyright 1947. (Johnston furnished the introduction.)


his appearance, gestures, personality. On television, he can. 26

Thus, while Johnston maintained that he had few gestures, the 
facts are that he had a broad variety of gestures and that he used 
them spontaneously. His facial expressions and his eyes were most 
effective. He frequently lent force to what he had to say by a 
toss of his head or his shoulders. He employed the arm and hand 
gestures only for special emphasis. His confident, dignified 
stance, his well-groomed appearance, and his physical build like-
wise served to aid his moving or guiding his listeners to his pur-
pose. Johnston had ideas to give his audience, but his effectiveness 
derived not only from what he said, but also from what he looked 
like when he said it.

VOICE

Erie Johnston's voice noticeably served him in three ways: 
it gave variety to his presentation, beauty and pleasantness to 
his words, and emphasis to his ideas. This examination considers 
vocal pitch, time, loudness, and quality as factors which con-
tributed to his effectiveness.

Johnston's habitual voice is high baritone. He has a wide 
shift from high to low, giving him a pleasant and variable vocal 
range. In spite of his ability at dramatizing a point or inci-
dent, there was no indication of his manipulating his voice to the 
extent that it was unnatural or forced to ranges beyond his abili-

26 Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.
ties. His inflectional changes to bring out shades of meanings in his words and sentences or to move his audience with him from pride to pleasure to disgust, or to contempt—those changes were as precise and clear-cut as only a highly skilled and practiced speaker can make them. That expressiveness, plus the pleasing pitch, was observed by Frank Colby in his syndicated column, "Take My Word for It." Colby described Johnston's voice as "... excellently placed; it is vibrant, expressive and pleasant to listen to. It is unusually well suited to radio."27 Such oral characteristics cannot be adequately shown in print, but it is possible to depict rather broadly something of this speaker's inflection and pitch range. The following excerpt is chosen as representative of the five recorded speeches available in this study. It does not show his greatest range, as contained in some of his "purple passages;" it does not contain illustration of some of his most effective combinations of word, force, time, and pitch; rather, it is a comfortable medium of his usual, conversational, pleasant pitch in an introduction. Furthermore, by use of underscoring, an attempt is made here to indicate the words that he emphasized noticeably. The diagonal bar \[ / \] marks the short and longer pauses he employed. There follow the opening sentences of one of

Johnston's radio addresses early in 1943:

Uppermost in the minds of all patriotic Americans is the

uppermost question: "What can I do to help shorten the war?"

But there are two other questions: "What will be the shape of things after we have the war?"

What are the prospects for me and for the ones I love?

---

my family?// It is upon these two most important questions that it is upon these two most important questions

The foregoing quotation cannot indicate adequately Johnston's well-controlled rate or his pause as oral punctuation. It does illustrate, however, his typical timing pattern in the series and the appositional modifiers. After each series member which he wished to emphasize, he paused slightly. Conversely, if his series was intended to show strength in numbers, there was no pause; he delivered the items rapidly without any hesitation whatever.

This speaker's over-all timing cannot be generalized upon to the extent of declaring it to be slow, rapid, or even moderate. Depending entirely upon the content, the introductions and conclusions were slow or fast, thus affecting the word-per-minute rate of the total speech. The introduction of the radio address just cited, for example, was delivered at 159 words per minute, the conclusion at 156, but the total speech at 165. Each of those figures does, however, fall comfortably within Fairbanks' classification of 140 words per minute as "too slow"
and 185 words per minute as "too fast." Building this introduction as he did of rhetorical questions and generalities on the current trend in cooperation between labor and management, Johnston set his initial pace slow, making certain that his listeners understood him as he led them into this serious and important subject. Once he had established himself, he livened the pace, giving his evidence, examples, and anecdotes in the body a faster rate. But at the conclusion of this inspirational talk he made a noticeable drop in his time, putting in his closing sentences his strong and emphatic appeal for understanding and action. Almost every word he weighted deliberately, and his pauses were more pronounced. Johnston himself stated succinctly his approach to condensation, repetition, and timing in the conclusion: "Say something condensed. Then hesitate—then repeat it—then hesitate, rather than explain in too much detail. People like to interpret what you've said, give it their own shades of meaning."  


Tully declared that Franklin Roosevelt, who was not considered a "slow" speaker, "delivered about 100 words per minute." Grace Tully, F.D.R. My Boss (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), p. 98.


30 Statement by Johnston, personal interview, January 5, 1951.
To determine specifically Johnston's rate, the writer timed with a stop watch the introductions and conclusions of four National Broadcasting Company recordings of the speaker's addresses. The following table indicates the extent to which Johnston varied his rate in the four speeches.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPEECH</th>
<th>INTRO</th>
<th>CONCL</th>
<th>OVER-ALL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/16/4331</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/16/4332</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>1/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/22/4333</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/24/4334</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The introduction to the September speech illustrates the same relation between content and time as did the January speech: made up of a one-paragraph anecdote and a statement of the purposes of the Chamber of Commerce, it moves at a somewhat faster rate (155 words per minute) than the body (150 words per minute). The conclusion, however, very likely saw Johnston harassed by the radio control operator's signal to

31 "Business Addresses Labor."

32 "Everybody's Business—Victory!" Because of a mechanical difficulty this introduction was not recorded by the National Broadcasting Company.

33 "Responsibilities of U.S. Chamber of Commerce."

34 "Anglo-American Peace Policy."
"speed it up," for at the end of 6-1/2 minutes (eleven paragraphs before the end of the speech) he deleted four full paragraphs, cut two sentences from the last paragraph, and finished in ten and one-half minutes. Thus, where Johnston ordinarily depends heavily on the pause and the drop in rate in the conclusion, this speech sees his cutting the body and increasing his concluding tempo slightly over that of the body in order to conform to the external requirement of a specified time.

The greatest variation between the rate of introduction and conclusion appears on the Houston Buffalo Stadium speech. 35 As already noted, this five-minute introduction, after the usual courtesies and acknowledgments, was occupied almost entirely by the Irish-dialect story, and its time ran 174 words per minute. Although Fairbanks' scale would mark such a rate as "too fast," the story was easily understood and the speed was quite in keeping with the lively content. The speaker's initial brisk rate, the tale he told, and the vigor and enthusiasm with which he told it gained much in capturing the attention of his five thousand listeners. The conclusion, on the other hand, was the essence of the entire speech—a plea for increased production as the weapon against the enemies of the United States, for "the productive capacity of America... is the only thing that stands between a free world and a slave world." In this strongly worded sum-

35 "The Business Man's Role in Education." Address, November 2, 1950.
Mary and appeal he slowed his rate to 111 words per minute; the words were slow and deliberate, and the pauses between sentences were longer. In all, here was a highly skillful use of time for emphasis, governed entirely by the content of the idea. His employment of rate and pause was as effective as any bodily gesture he might have used.36

Because practically all of Johnston’s audiences were large enough to necessitate public address systems, the matter of loudness as a voice quality has little basic evidence in his speeches. It is certain, however, that this speaker’s volume was properly suited to the audience situation, whether as the result of his own efforts or that of the public address operator. Whatever the reason, the fact remains that in the speeches this writer personally observed, there was no blaring or weak, inaudible spots. His range of loudness and intensity was wide, and there was no difficulty in hearing him as he varied his loudness to adjust to whatever mood or degree of emphasis his immediate subject matter called for. He had no so-called loudness pattern, such as too loud, too flexible, weak, or monotonous, unless a moderate, situation-adapted degree can be referred to as a "pattern." The same extent of

36 The Ehrenberger study to determine the most effective of certain means of emphasis concluded, among other things, that the retarded rate of articulation increases the retention of a statement and that there is little difference between the effectiveness of a pause and a gesture. Cf. Ray Ehrenberger, "An Experimental Study of the Relative Effectiveness of Certain Forms of Emphasis in Public Speaking," Speech Monographs, XII (1945), 94-111.
ease and control was obvious, likewise, during this writer's personal interview with him. Always Johnston's speech was clearly audible, pleasant to listen to, and appropriate to polite conversation.

Johnston's voice quality is best characterized by the absence of such defective qualities as nasality, breathiness, harshness, and hoarseness. His clear, resonant, masculine quality make for favorable empathetic response on the part of his listeners. When Eric Johnston—a man in a prominent position, a man of good reputation and attractive physical appearance—began any of his public speeches, his clear, rich vocal quality undoubtedly added weight to those other factors which grounded the favorable impression he wished to create. His normal quality was rich and full, and its pleasantness gave his audiences a favorable impression of his personality.37

Although voice quality may have little to do with the logical meaning of ideas,38 it did aid Johnston greatly in creating a mood or attitude for his audience. The actor that he was, he could skillfully portray his own feeling of disgust, contempt, pleasure, or indifference through his changes in voice quality, thus passing to his listeners something of the same feeling.

37For a careful study of the relationship between voice and personality, see Melba Hurd Duncan, "An Experimental Study of Some of the Relationships between Voice and Personality among Students of Speech," Speech Monographs, XXII (1945), 47-60.

Johnston's skill in combining the factors of pitch, time, loudness, and quality gave the total effect of his voice a prominent place in the reflection of his good will, his courtesy, and his respect for others. His voice was an indication, as he intended it to be, of his sincerity of purpose and his honesty. Furthermore, Johnston orally brought to a close each of his points and speech divisions. The final sentence or two for each saw his volume increase, the pitch rise slightly, and the time decrease. Through such a combination he could build to a climax vocally. Thus Eric Johnston's voice served him well, for his careful organization, or his precise choice of word, or even his well-intended cause would certainly have been lacking in total effectiveness had he not had the proper voice to effectuate those other media through which an audience is moved.

DICTION

Although Johnston was born in Washington, D.C., he spent most of his life prior to his presidency of the United States Chamber of Commerce in the state of Washington. As is to be expected, his standard pronunciation is the general American dialect. On his informal speech occasions, wherein he employed semi-slang and his simplest vocabulary, he never lapsed from his careful and precise diction and enunciation. Likewise, his most serious and formal speeches receive only the same careful attention, without any affectations whatever. Regardless of the occasion or the audience, he maintained a careful precision of word
formation and utterance which insured ease in audibility and comprehension. Frank Colby, in reporting one of Johnston's radio speeches, gave the speaker "warm commendation for the genuineness of his American manner of speech," adding that "not once . . . did he voice a single pettiness or depart from his own natural and unaffected way of speaking." 39

The following phonetic transcription, taken from a National Broadcasting Company disc recording of one of Johnston's radio addresses, 40 is typical of his pronunciation. It illustrates a number of his mispronunciations as well as some of his omitted or slighted sounds.

\[\text{mai felou emerekenz. apemoust in de maindz ev ol} \]
\[\text{peirriatik pipel — in de maindz en harts ev wekz, farmz,} \]
\[\text{biznis men, gavement efjelz — or tu emenal} \]
\[\text{vairl kwastjenz. epon di aens tu dir kwastjenz hindriz de firt ev} \]
\[\text{sewelzerfzen, de desteni ev menkaind.} \]
\[\text{ce ects an akfenz e gaidid fes bai de kwastjen,} \]
\[\text{hwat kp ar du te heep fortp de wor, tu heep seiv de} \]
\[\text{laif ev mai san, hasbend, brads or frand on e farewir betl} \]
\[\text{frant?}\]
\[\text{en den de akent kwastjen,}\]

39 op. cit.

40 "Business Addresses Labor." Radio address, January 16, 1943, disc transcription. Punctuation and paragraphing are taken from the file copy deposited in U.S. Chamber of Commerce.
No claim can be made for Johnston for perfection in pronunciation or diction, as the foregoing excerpt reveals. In those few introductory sentences stand examples of this speaker's most serious errors; although others of his difficulties are not represented, there is a sufficient number and variety to mark the passage as typical. It cannot be generalized that Johnston slighted certain sounds or positions, for although he may unvoice the final consonant in second [ˈseknəd] in one speech, he may not in another. Frequently, but not consistently, he dropped sounds altogether: cheapest may become [ˈtʃiːpiə]; directly, [ˈdɪrɪkli]; increased, [ˈɪŋkris].
The most consistent of his errors appears in his dropping certain medial, unaccented vowels: \[\text{\textipa{viktr\text{}}}\] for \textit{victory}; \[\text{\textipa{f\text{}}}k\text{\textipa{t}\text{}}}\], \textit{factory}; \[\text{\textipa{k\text{}}}\text{\textipa{m\text{}}}\text{\textipa{n\text{}}}\\text{\textipa{r}}\] company. Metathesis, the exchange of the position of sounds,\(^1\) makes its appearance in such words as \[\text{\textipa{ps\text{}}}\text{\textipa{r\text{}}}\text{\textipa{z\text{}}}\text{\textipa{en}}\] for \textit{precision}, \[\text{\textipa{pr\text{}}}\text{\textipa{t\text{}}}\text{\textipa{nd}}\] for \textit{pretend}, and \[\text{\textipa{p\text{}}}\text{\textipa{d\text{}}}\text{\textipa{us}}\] for \textit{produce}. Usually the words \textit{government} and particularly \textit{become} \[\text{\textipa{g\text{}}}\text{\textipa{v\text{}}}\text{\textipa{m\text{}}}\text{\textipa{\text{e\text{}}}\text{\textipa{m\text{}}}\text{\textipa{\text{e\text{}}}\text{\textipa{nt}}}}\] and \[\text{\textipa{p\text{}}}\text{\textipa{r\text{}}}\text{\textipa{t\text{}}}\text{\textipa{i\text{}}}\text{\textipa{k\text{}}}\text{\textipa{\text{l}}}\]. Only one instance of restressing is noted with any degree of regularity: \textit{what} becomes \[\text{\textipa{hw\text{}}}\text{\textipa{t}}\\].

The speech to which Colby referred is unknown to this writer, but that columnist's observation takes no notice of any of Johnston's mispronunciations: "Pronunciation, accurate to a very high degree." Indeed, during the broadcast checked (Town Meeting) I was unable to detect a single mispronounced word, and most of his speaking was extem­porary.\(^2\)

Of course, it is possible that Colby's statement was based on an exceptional speech, but the recorded evidence available here substantiates no such finding. As that writer did say, however, Johnston was "accurate to a very high degree," and a majority of his listeners probably did not hear the man's mispronunciations or did not find them offensive. The casual listener, in the audience to hear what Johnston had to say, would be by no means as severe as the speech critic, who

\(^1\)\text{\textipa{Gray} and \textit{Wise}, p. 495.}

\(^2\)\text{\textit{Op. cit.}}
is armed with recorded speeches to be played repeatedly and scrutinized minutely for formation and combination of sounds.

In all fairness, it must be said that Johnston's habitually careful, exact, and correct diction and pronunciation far outweighed the possible ill effects of a comparatively few mispronounced words. Paradoxically, his over-all speech was effective because of his diction and pronunciation, and in spite of it.

SUMMARY

No one single factor can be said to be the primary source of the effectiveness of Eric Johnston's delivery. Instead, it was his skillful synthesis of method, gestures and physical characteristics, and his voice and diction which made his over-all delivery a vital tool in his persuasiveness. As A. Craig Baird put it, Johnston "has vocal force, strong personality, pleasing voice, sense of humor, and other traits that make him unusually persuasive."43

Johnston's style and technique of delivery were always dependent upon the occasion and the purpose of his speech. Whether he read from manuscript (as he did only his radio addresses), spoke with or without notes, or delivered a wholly or partially memorized speech was determined by the importance of his subject and the speech occasion. A favorite method, and one he employed frequently in the speeches covered

43 Representative American Speeches: 1945-46, p. 201.
in this study, was the memorized. On the occasion of such speeches Johnston displayed one of his unique facilities: extremely rapid memorization plus a natural, casual presentation which lacked any indication of the mechanical or memorized delivery. As the speech situation varied in importance from the formal to the informal, he spoke extemporaneously from carefully prepared outlines, fragmentary notes, or no notes whatever. The comment of Mr. Marvin Hurley, Assistant General Manager of the Houston Chamber of Commerce, concerning Johnston's effectiveness in a 1950 speech at the National Institute is typical:

I remember it best for the effect of the entire speech, as well as his delivery. Without reference to a note, he spoke for thirty minutes, never hesitating for a word or a thought, but with his presentation so completely organized, so well phrased, and so effectively delivered, that one could almost repeat the address from hearing it that one time.44

Johnston least preferred the manuscript speech, and he made use of that method only when compelled to do so in a formal radio address. Although he did not read a speech as well as he delivered memorized or extemporaneous ones, such delivery was nevertheless of high quality, and it displayed enough of his other skills to outweigh a few mis-read words.

Johnston's gestures, voice, and diction were among the causes of his effectiveness in speaking. Hand and arm gestures, as such, he

44Letter to the writer, January 17, 1951.
used sparingly, employing them only for the strongest emphasis or interpretation. He had no meaningless wave of the hand or arm, no pointless movement of the whole body to detract from the force of an intended gesture when he used it. His facial expressions, the smile or frown in his eyes, the toss or nod of his head were put to far more extensive use as agents of expression than his arms and hands.

Finally, this evaluation places considerable weight on this man's physical factors. His handsome, masculine features, his erect posture and stance, his immaculate and conservative attire were a force in determining audience respect and good will—and consequently a factor contributing belief and conviction.

Although Johnston varied his pitch, time, loudness, and quality to fit the immediate circumstances during the speech, the total effect was a well-mannered genuineness and sincerity in conversational delivery. When a point required it, however, he expertly dramatized a character or emotion. Both the factors of pitch and time he made wide and effective use of for emphasis and for transitions between points or divisions of a speech. Although his voice was rich, pleasant, and full-bodied, it was unique in that the speaker could so manipulate it as to give fine shades of meaning and climax to his words and ideas without any quality of insincerity or over-dramatization. His resonant voice and his controlled rate and volume assured that his listeners heard and understood.

Finally, Johnston's diction is characterized by his blend between
the precise, carefully formulated syllables and the casual, conversational flow of words in breath groups. By proper timing and precision of utterance he made use of a strong device for emphasis, without the quality of over- pronunciation. Johnston's standard pronunciation was the general American dialect, unadorned by any affectations or mannerisms. Detailed and repeated plays of the recorded speeches in this research disclosed that Johnston had a number of sub-standard pronunciations. Without any intention of apologizing for those errors, it is contended here that in the actual speech situation they are hardly detectable. Johnston's personality, his ideas, and his delivery so carry the man's auditors along with him that slips of the tongue and sub-standardisms are relatively ineffective on the total result.

As were Eric Johnston's ideas, his delivery was middle-of-the-road, characterized by his distinctive, conversational, semi-formal manner. In all, his delivery was clear, intelligible, and pleasing.
CONCLUSIONS

This study aims at a rhetorical criticism of the public speaking of Eric A. Johnston. Through a critical analysis it seeks to determine some of the factors which gave rise to Johnston’s reputation as the foremost business spokesman from 1942 to 1946. In detail the study encompasses an analysis of his national audience and the occasion for his speaking, his basic ideas and their source, his forms of support, his methods of speech preparation and audience adaptation, his speech arrangement, his use of language, and his delivery.

The Attitude of Johnston’s Audience

Johnston, frequently referred to as the “Spokesman for business,” assumed the presidency of the United States Chamber of Commerce in 1942. Although he had been active in the Chamber of Commerce affairs for twenty years, he took over his newest responsibility at a time when business most needed a change in leadership. Since the 1929 depression and the New Deal which followed it, American business had been relegated to a less important role. The New Deal had conducted effective legislative campaigns against big business and monopoly. Advocates of different ideologies had preached socialism, government planning, and communism. Labor, with the help of government, had become more powerful in its demands and its bargaining
with industry. In the courts and in their business practices, the
leaders of business, as represented by the national Chamber of Com-
merce, had fought the New Deal. Their aim had been a return to abso-
lute freedom for private enterprise. The years of outright antagonism
between big business interests on the one hand and government, labor,
and agriculture on the other had resulted in the public's complete
loss of confidence in capitalism, the "bloated capitalists" and their
"swollen profits." When the United States entered World War II, it
became imperative for all groups of the economy to pool their efforts,
increase production, and defeat the enemy. There had to be a compro-
mise.

Eric Johnston represented that compromise. His job as the new
president of the Chamber of Commerce was to re-establish public confi-
dence in capitalism and gain for American industry the cooperation and
good will of the other economic groups. In order to protect itself
from being overrun by "government planning" or socialism, business
needed to revise its philosophy toward a more compatible point of view
with the changes already established in government and labor. If capi-
talism was to survive, Johnston maintained, "we in business must liber-
alize or face the threat of economic liquidation. The law of life applies:
adapt or die."\(^1\) His "middle way" program offered the adaptation.

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\(^1\) Johnston, "A Decade of Decisions." Address, Chamber of Commerce
annual convention, Atlantic City, New Jersey, May 2, 1946. Pamphlet
Sources of His Ideas

From his childhood through his college career, this man knew the need for hard work. In his Horatio Alger background of newsboy to owner of several successful business concerns lay the origins of his middle-of-the-road philosophy on such highly controversial problems as labor-management relations, government-industry relations, big versus little business. Furthermore, his travels during his tour of duty with the Marine Corps in World War I, his subsequent visits to South America, Europe, and Russia, and his many trips across the United States all gave him a deeper insight into foreign and domestic business affairs. Finally, he received some of his ideas from the Chamber of Commerce, in that the national office arrived at its expressed policies through a system of referendum of all local memberships.

The Speaker's Ideas

Johnston's entire approach to the ills besetting the national economy was through what he popularized as the "New Capitalism." His ideas were as revolutionary in business as the New Deal had been in government. Nevertheless, his program was sufficiently popular that he was able to over-rule the "Old Guard" business leaders whose laissez-faire philosophy had failed to progress with the times. The new capitalism, as Johnston presented it to the wary nation, opposed special privileges, private monopolies, cartels, state grants, divided markets, restricted production, wage ceilings, and price fixing. On the other
hand, his compromise plan combatted all forms of super-government, planned economy, or regimentation imposed by any minority, whether it be by government, industry, labor, or agriculture. Cooperation by the four economic groups was the keynote to Johnston's approach.

By the time Johnston had been in Washington only a few months, he had made some marked progress in gaining a more favorable place for business in the war economy. *Time* said, "Alert, informal, friendly, Johnston differs from other executives in having a keener sense of public relations, a clearer realization that business cannot talk its way back into public confidence, that the best kind of propaganda is the right kind of action." He had obtained interested and hopeful hearings from both government and labor. His numerous appearances on the public platform, his hours of conferences with all competing factions, his articles and interviews in newspapers and periodicals all put the man and his name before the public as a leader who was determined to get things done. At the end of his first year in office, this man of action declared,

> The machinery of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has been streamlined. It has become increasingly a service organization, as well as a policy institution. Our purpose and obligation is to adopt constructive policies on national affairs, and translate those policies into action—always with the thought that what is beneficial to business as a whole is beneficial to labor, agriculture, and the nation as a whole.

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2 *Time*, XXXIX (June 29, 1942), 61.

Furthermore, great numbers of the Chamber of Commerce membership rallied to his program. As Johnston approached the end of his first year in office, Newsweek observed, "Today most members of the chamber are in agreement that his Johnston's forthright manner and conviction that business needs explanation, not defense, has paid dividends."4

Broadly speaking, Johnston had only one subject in his entire campaign: capitalism. However, to achieve his ultimate end—a nationwide acceptance of the new capitalism—he spoke from seven basic premises, each closely adapted to the pertinent economic problems of the day. Briefly, they were:

1. The individual must be free to develop his personal abilities.

2. Big and little business, without monopolies and special privileges, can exist side by side.

3. Cooperation between industry, government, labor, and agriculture is essential to the survival of each group and the preservation of the democratic form of government.

4. The program of American foreign relations must recognize differences between all national ideologies and must promote understanding and cooperation toward freer international trade.

5. Such post-war matters as decontrol, employment, and American international leadership must have immediate consideration.

6. All economic groups must conceive an adequate and just social security program.

7. The existing tax structure must be revised downward.

4Newsweek, XXI (May 10, 1943), 54.
Forms of Support

Johnston, in presenting his cause to the American public, served capitalism as a super-salesman. The nature of his task, to reestablish confidence in capitalism, demanded that he be a messenger of good will. Therefore, he relied most heavily upon his ethical and emotional proofs. One editorial observed of him: "Eric A. Johnston has in three years become a national figure. With persuasive words and a contagious smile, he helped restore the popularity of business with the government, the public, and labor."\(^5\) Through his attractive appearance and his warm, pleasant manner he made friends with his listeners. His impressive reputation of successfully conducted personal businesses and his long list of civic and national board memberships commanded respect for him and his words. Furthermore, for his displays of leadership he received numerous awards, citations, honorary degrees—all of which further attested to his abilities. President Roosevelt commended him: "Members of the United States Chamber of Commerce may well be proud of the contribution they have made under your able leadership. I have had opportunity to know of and to appreciate that leadership."\(^6\) Through his service as a public leader, through his knowledge of pertinent questions of the day, his personal successes in private business, and his frank and tactful approach in speaking, Johnston deliberately exhibited his wisdom. He

\(^5\) Newsweek, XXVII (January 14, 1946) 65.

established himself as a man of character and good will, and he put to best use those factors in persuading his listeners toward a favorable response.

Likewise, he found great effectiveness in his emotional proof. Serving as the war-time president of the Chamber of Commerce, he recognized his strongest emotional appeal to be that to patriotism. He made numerous inspirational addresses in which the appeal to emotional stimuli was imperative. Yet, he was also adept at giving his informative and convincing speeches the same persuasive technique. In defending and promoting American capitalism, Johnston argued, the people were also defending and promoting democracy. Moreover, capitalism, like democracy, stood for those things the audience recognized as "good" in a political or economic system. To Johnston, capitalism and democracy were synonymous, and he made the most of emotional appeals for the preservation of both. "Do I sound like a salesman for American capitalism?" he asked. "Let me assure you I'm not. It needs no selling. The United States is a success."  

Finally, this study reveals that Johnston made least use of logical proof. Although he did have occasions to cite examples, statistics, and authorities, these elements as proof were not as complete or as fully developed as might have been for greatest effectiveness. Similarly, his

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arguments from specific instance were marked by their broad, general presentation. Nevertheless, Johnston chose his proofs well: the nature of his task as "good will ambassador" for business required the speaker to employ the ethical and emotional proofs as his most effective means of persuasion.

Speech Methods

The present study discloses that much of Johnston's ability as an effective speaker lay in the care with which he prepared his speeches and adapted them to his specific audiences. Although he had a competent staff to assist him in the discussion and research phases of preparation for major addresses, the evidence available does not indicate that Johnston had ghost writers. The final speeches were his own. Johnston spent considerable time in revising his manuscripts for the final draft, and after concentrated study he committed the speech to memory or so familiarized himself with it that he could speak with few or no notes. In most of his inspirational addresses he had no real problem of audience adaptation other than routine remarks in his introductions. In his non-partisan audiences, however, he devoted time to the establishment of good will through humor, common bonds, straightforward language, and a strong plea for his cause through appeals to patriotism. In the partisan audience he maintained attention and interest through humor, apt phraseology, and his lively desire to communicate. "No matter what his subject," Ben Lamber told this writer, "Mr. Johnston never said anything uninteresting."

8Statement by Ben Lamber, personal interview, January 4, 1951.
That ability was not accidental. Without his intense interest in his subject and in properly presenting it to his audience, no such claim could be made for his effectiveness.

Speech Arrangement

Johnston's overall speech plans directly reflect his analysis of his audience and his conscious effort to arrange his material in the manner best suited for his listeners and most advantageous for his subject. His introductions appear to have been long or short depending upon the time necessary to establish good will, introduce his topic, or establish his thesis. Not always did Johnston state his proposition concisely, particularly in his inspirational addresses which gave broad, general treatments of such abstract ideas as freedom, individualism, and "the American way of life."

For the discussion section of his speeches, Johnston preferred the deductive arrangement, ordering his material as support to his original statement of the proposition. For development within the discussion, he most frequently used the topical and problem solution plans, developing his points with two to four substantiating ideas. He achieved an orderly progression of ideas by numerous "sign posts" and transitions.

Johnston's conclusions bear one outstanding trait; they predominantly offer the audience a challenge, usually through an emotional appeal, for choice between good and bad, success and failure, freedom and subjugation. On the whole, the conclusions are short, averaging only 5.5 per cent of the total speech. Those which employ the summary
technique are shorter than those which make the challenge.

Use of Language

Johnston's style of language was also instrumental in his reaching his goal of public favor for his cause. A self-made success in business, he spoke as one businessman to another, as one citizen to another, maintaining the unaffected language of the people. The outstanding characteristics of his plain style were his simple vocabulary and his easy, semi-slangy phraseology in the common idiom. This study reveals that, in a single speech selected at random, 96.6 per cent of Johnston's vocabulary appears in the Thorndike list of 10,000 most frequently used words. That figure compares favorably with selected speeches of Roosevelt (97.0 per cent) and Lincoln (99.3 per cent), both of whom are said to have been masters of the vernacular. Generally, Johnston preferred the concrete to the abstract word, although certain introductions and conclusions did reveal abstractions and exalted language.

In addition to the plain and concrete language, this study discloses other factors which contribute to the clarity, vividness, and impressiveness of his style. Principal among them are his humor—the pun and play on words—and such figures of speech as figurative analogy, metaphor, simile, and epigram. He emphasized his important points through repetition of key words and phrases and by such verbal comments as "Remember this" and "I repeat." The high emotional content of many of his addresses bore the trait of "loaded language."
Such a characteristic expectedly accompanied many of the speaker's inspirational talks in which he offered praise or blame for the subjects the audience thought of as good or bad. That stylistic trait, employed with good taste, strengthened the speaker's point and further evidenced his reliance upon emotional proof. Finally, Johnston's sentence structure is characterized by the predominance of short sentences and sentence fragments. Both are patterns he utilized to emphasize a key word or point. An additional element of his sentence structure was his preference for the parallel series of two to four. He made the series a strong elaborative and emphatic device.

Delivery

Finally, Johnston combined a number of factors to achieve effectiveness in delivery. Whether he read from a manuscript, spoke with or without notes, or delivered a wholly or partially memorized speech was determined entirely by the importance of the subject and the occasion. When the speech situation was important enough for him to prepare a full speech manuscript, it was important enough for him to memorize the speech, he said. His rapid memorization, plus his natural, conversational presentation, were the unique features of this style of delivery.

From the fully memorized speech, he varied his method to speak from carefully prepared outlines, fragmentary notes, or no notes at all. He least preferred to read a speech, and, he declared, he read only for broadcast. The radio speech necessitated his complete atten-
tion to a manuscript, limited him to rigid time requirements, and deprived him of the audience reaction upon which he was dependent for much of his effectiveness.

Johnston made little use of full arm and body gestures, calling them to his aid only when he wished greatest stress. That fact alone, however, gave additional force when he did employ them. He had no half-hearted, meaningless interim movements to weaken the full effect of the purposeful gesture. His face and eyes were especially expressive, and he placed appropriate and skillful emphasis on his ideas with a movement of his head or shoulders. Overall, his erect, comfortable, confident posture and his masculine features and dress aided him in obtaining audience respect and good will.

Johnston's skillful manipulation of a wide range in vocal pitch, tone, and loudness also served as a forceful element in his public speaking. His natural voice quality was fully masculine. The total result was a genuine pleasantness. He often achieved a forcefulness and meaningful interpretation more effectively through his voice than through his gesture. Without any over-dramatization, he gave fine shades of meaning and climax to his words.

Mr. Johnston's diction is a natural, unaffected blend of the precise and conversational. His standard pronunciation is the general American dialect, and it reveals no affectations or mannerisms. A detailed study of his recorded speeches discloses a number of consistent mispronunciations, but the casual, one-time auditor would more than likely fail to observe them.
This speaker's total delivery must be given a prominent place in the list of factors contributing to his ability as an effective speaker.

Findings

In conclusion, the evidence available in this study points to at least six specific attributes which characterize Mr. Johnston's speaking and appear to account in part for his position as spokesman for American business. They are:

1. A "middle-way" concept of cooperative relations between industry and all other groups of the economy.

2. A broad familiarity with the vital issues of the day, strengthened by his own successful background in business.

3. A dominant emphasis upon ethical and emotional appeals to move his war-time audiences.

4. An ability to memorize a manuscript or so familiarize himself with it that his speeches appear to be extemporaneous.

5. A preference for the plain style of language, expressed in the short, fragmentary, and loose sentences of informal conversation.

6. Dependence for emphasis upon his well-modulated, pleasant, expressive voice, rather than upon bodily gestures.

The ultimate part that Eric Johnston and his public speaking played in the formulation of the national attitude toward business is a matter of judgment beyond final, definitive evaluation. The facts do disclose, however, that he received national acclaim for his contributions as a leader, organizer, and conciliator. He was in great demand as a speaker, and his speeches and articles were widely reprinted. One writer declared that even in 1944 Johnston
had "fulfilled his destiny, which was to rescue a class—the class comprising the American business community—from despair and even from possible suicide." His election in 1942 and his annual re-election for the next three years was an indication of his "victory . . . over some conservatives who have resented his policy of open collaboration with organized labor and his outspoken condemnation of business elements fostering anti-competitive practices." His numerous citations and honors in recognition of his contributions to cooperation, good will, and public leadership likewise indicate appreciation of his accomplishments.

At the moment, Johnston was an effective speaker. In the long stream of history he may never be cited as a great orator along with the Websters, Calhouns, Lincolns, and Roosevelts. Within a democracy there are all manner of speakers to meet all manner of needs, and "greatness" in subject and occasion alone do not determine effectiveness of the orator. As one writer declares, "American oratory belongs to the American people. . . . the true course of American political speaking runs too deep and wide to be confined to artificially narrow limits bounded by the oratory of greatness. . . ."

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Johnston's place in contemporary American oratory is that he was the foremost spokesman for business. It can hardly be doubted that in his own way, as a businessman talking to other businessmen, he achieved a measure of distinction and recognition, if not greatness. When he resigned from the national office, one writer declared:

In his four years at its head, Johnston had given the Chamber a patina of liberalism it had never had before. As its spokesman, he had probably made the most eloquent and effective exposition of the new social consciousness of many businessmen.  

As the war-time president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Eric Johnston served well his cause—American business.

12 *Time*, XLVII (May 13, 1946), 85.
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Newspapers


The Manchester Guardian Weekly. XLIX (August 20, 1943), 103.

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APPENDIX
CALENDAR OF SPEECHES, 1942-1946

This list of speeches was assembled from various sources, including the files of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Vital Speeches, Representative American Speeches, the Congressional Record, and the New York Times.


7/15/42: "To Business Men Abroad," over MBS, station WGN, Chicago, Ill.

9/22/42: "We Understand War," over CBS, Washington, D.C.


10/8/42: "Victory and You!" over MBS, station WOR, New York City, N.Y.


10/24/42: "Relationship of Free Enterprise and Free Education," a group of southern educators, Nashville, Tenn.

10/29/42: "Victory and You!" over MBS, Washington, D.C.

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1 No date or place of delivery shown on manuscript.
11/5/42: "Victory and You!" over MBS, Washington, D.C.
11/12/42: "Victory and You!" over MBS, station WOR, Washington, D.C.
12/2/42: "Action on the Home Front," a transcribed broadcast sent to 150 local chambers of commerce for rebroadcast on local stations.
1/14/43: Employment Problems National Retail Dry Goods Association, New York, N.Y.
1/14/43: "Eight Ways to Speed Victory," over MBS, Washington, D.C.
1/21/43: "Frontiers of the Future," over MBS, Washington, D.C.
3/24/43: "The Road to Realism," Columbia University, Institute of Arts and Sciences, New York, N.Y.
4/1/43: "Opportunity in South America," Economic Club of New York, New York, N.Y.

2 No place of delivery shown on manuscript.
3 All speech titles in brackets have been supplied by this writer for manuscripts without titles.
4/28/43: "Responsibilities of the United States Chamber of Commerce," over NBC, New York, N. Y.

5/9/43: "Is the Good Neighbor Policy Here to Stay? Round Table Discussion over NBC, Chicago, Ill.

5/19/43: "Post-War Industry," Bond Club of New York, New York N.Y.


5/21/43: "Creative Capitalism," Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, Brooklyn, N. Y.

6/14/43: "The Crisis in Morals," University of Virginia graduating class, Charlottesville, Va.


6/26/43: "Peace Through World Trade," over NBC, station WEAF, New York, N.Y.

7/24/43: "Message to Invasion Fronts," short wave over CBS, Washington, D.C.


8/26/43: "Warning to Spain," shortwave over NBC, Washington, D.C.

9/19/43: "Frontiers of the Future," Rhode Island State College graduating class, Kingston, R. I.


11/19/43: "The Four Pillars of Unity," Kansas City Chamber of Commerce, Kansas City, Mo.


1/ 1/44: "Our Duty to the Fighting Fronts," over MBS, Spokane, Wash.

1/ 6/44: "Victory F. O. B.," over CBS.

1/ 9/44: "Labor... for Victory!" Panel Discussion over NBC, station, WRC, Washington, D.C.


1/17/44: "Post-War Business," Mexican officials and American Businessmen, Mexico City, Mexico.


2/ 1/44: "Post-War America," Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, Atlanta, Ga.

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4 No place of delivery shown on manuscript.
2/14/44: "Are We Worthy?" over WBS, Washington, D.C.

2/24/44: "Post-War America," Allied Stores Corporation, New York, N.Y.


3/28/44: "Economists and the Economy," meeting of business economists called by the Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D.C.


5/9/44: Inter-American Cooperation, Conference of Commissions of Inter-American Development, New York, N.Y.
5/11/44: "Russia and the United States Need One Another," over NBC, New York, N.Y.


10/12/44: "The Rediscovery of America," 60th Annual Celebration of founding of Ingersoll Steel and Disc Division of Borg-Warner Corporation, Chicago, Ill.

10/17/44: "War Chest Talk," to War Chest Drive leaders, Kansas City, Mo.

10/18/44: "Victory," Chamber of Commerce, Omaha, Neb.

10/23/44: "Distribution—A Key to Prosperity," National Marketing Conference, Domestic District Department, New York, N.Y.


11/12/44: "America's Heritage," over NBC, New York, N.Y.

11/20/44: "The Farmer's Contribution," Meeting of the National Grange, Winston-Salem, N.C.

11/30/44: "World Trade," Town Hall of the Air, Washington, D.C.


12/13/44: "Post-War Agriculture," 26th Annual Meeting of the American Farm Federation, Chicago, Ill.


1/1/45: "Win the War First," over Blue Network, Washington, D.C.


5/2/46: "A Decade of Decisions," Chamber of Commerce Annual Convention, Atlantic City, N.J.
AUTOBIOGRAPHY

James Julius Stansell was born October 29, 1915, at Ardmore, Oklahoma. There he had his elementary training at Jefferson School and his secondary training at Ardmore High School. In 1937 he received the B.A. degree and in 1938 the M.A. degree from the University of Oklahoma.

During the school year 1938-1939 he taught English and speech at Wilson (Oklahoma) High School. From September, 1939, to October, 1942, he taught English and speech at Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russellville, Arkansas. He served in the Army of the United States from October, 1942 until June, 1946, three years of that time with the 9552 Technical Service Unit, Signal Corps, Newark, New Jersey. After his army tour of duty he was employed for one year as Chief of Recruitment and Placement at the Regional Office of the Veterans Administration, Newark, New Jersey. In June, 1947, he returned to Arkansas to teach English and speech for one year at the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville. Since June, 1948, he has served as a Graduate Assistant in Speech at Louisiana State University.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: James J. Stansell

Major Field: Speech

Title of Thesis: A Rhetorical Study of the Public Speaking of Eric A. Johnston during His Presidency of the United States Chamber of Commerce

Approved:

[Signatures]

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination: August 3, 1951