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ABSTRACT

THE RADIO RHETORIC OF JOHN L. LEWIS

by Ernest P. Weckesser, Jr.

It was the purpose of this study to analyze the radio speaking of John L. Lewis in terms of the rhetorical devices and appeals which he employed.

In a brief analysis of Lewis's childhood and adolescent environment, it was found that he received his impetus to champion the labor movement from three sources. The first of these was his father, whose attempts at collective bargaining on the local level had been thwarted; the second was his own experience as a miner and the third was his extended trip through the western states during which he worked in a variety of mines. A statistical and testimonial description of mining conditions from 1925 to 1945 was also included as background for his invention.

The complete texts of five of Lewis's radio addresses were analyzed by using substantive and rhetorical outlines. The first of these was his radio address of 1925 from Atlantic City, New Jersey, in which he employed the extended figurative analogy comparing miners who had been killed in mine disasters with a Main Street parade. The

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second was his 1936 "Future of Labor" network radio address, in which he forecasted the C.I.O.'s organizing campaign during the late 30's. The third speech, delivered in 1937, not only vilified Thomas Girdler, Mayor Kelly of Chicago, and Governor Davey of Ohio, but scolded Franklin Roosevelt for his impartial reprimand of labor and management during the steel organizing campaign of 1937. The fourth radio speech, delivered in 1939 for the B.B.C. and its affiliates was the only radio address Lewis ever made to a non-American audience. The fifth speech was his address of October 25th, 1940, in which he denounced President Roosevelt and endorsed Wendell Willkie for the presidency.

Lewis's logical appeals were often fallacious and permeated with metaphorical expressions and charged words. His primary weaknesses were overgeneralization, faulty cause to effect relationships, the use of hearsay statistics, and the employment of self-evident "truths." He used emotional appeals frequently, particularly appeals to equity, pity, loyalty, and patriotism. His ethical proof was usually integrated into the collective ethos of the group with which he identified himself, with the exception of the Willkie speech, in which he stated that he spoke only for himself.

Lewis's arrangement usually followed a multiple problem-solution pattern. He used a mixture of styles. In most instances his speaking was ornate and elevated

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with a classical and sometimes Shakespearean flavor. Occasionally, however, he provided contrast by using short, direct sentences. He had a deep, resonant and very somber voice which rarely carried into the upper register. Consequently, his point of emphasis was often made by the employment of a lower rather than a higher pitch.

Lewis was particularly effective as a radio spokesman for labor because he was able to articulate the feelings of labor in a dramatic and sincere manner while enhancing his image as a powerful man.

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THE RADIO RHETORIC OF JOHN L. LEWIS

By

Ernest Prosper Weckesser, Jr.

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Speech

1963

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express his deep appreciation to Dr. Kenneth G. Hance whose warm encouragement, scholarly objectivity, and helpful criticism guided and sustained the momentum of the author's work. Also, the author is indebted to numerous officials of the United Mine Workers of America and the United Mine Workers Journal whose time and cooperation provided primary source material which would have been otherwise unobtainable.

Finally, to his wife Mary whose patience and typing ability transformed poor penmanship into a readable manuscript, the author extends his sincere gratitude and the promise of temporary relief.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Significance of the Subject

I accept this check, Brother John L. Lewis, and I am deeply grateful for receiving check No. 1 from the pension fund. I am not thinking of myself so much as I am of others. I am thinking of the widows, the orphans, the older men and their families, the sick and the aged, the dependents of the Welfare Fund and the joy it will bring into their hearts. These people cannot be here today to thank our president, John L. Lewis. With the deepest humility, I offer this fervent prayer--God bless the day John L. Lewis was born.¹

With these words, a sixty-two year old miner named Horace Michael Ainscough reflected the feelings of thousands of coal miners and other laborers throughout the United States toward the man who had represented their interests for nearly thirty-five years.

In contrast to this statement, however, are the words of Roosevelt lieutenant and New Deal spokesman, Harry

¹Rex Lauck. (ed) John L. Lewis and the International Union United Mine Workers of America: The Story from 1917-1952. (Silver Springs, Maryland: The International Executive Board of the United Mine Workers, 1952), p. 236.

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Hopkins. Referring to Lewis's radio address of October 25th, 1940, Hopkins said,

That fearsome labor leader, John L. Lewis in one of the ugliest speeches on record proclaimed his Hymn of Hate.²

Hate and blessings have always been ingredients in Lewis's life. For over sixty years these words have been used to describe his personality, his actions, and the tenets of his speeches. Like many great men, Lewis inspired definite, if not extreme reaction. He was either liked or disliked; hated or blessed. There seemed to be few people who could listen to the somber Welshman and be unimpressed one way or another.

Lewis was not only controversial, he was powerful as well. He was President of the United Mine Workers of America for forty years. In the late thirties he was the self-proclaimed spokesman for nearly one quarter of the population of the United States.³

As a labor leader, he was so prominent that in 1937 the New York Times devoted 99,816 column inches or one twentieth of their news space, day in and day out, to John L. Lewis.⁴ His radio address of October 25th, 1940, was delivered simultaneously over three networks to an esti-

²Robert E. Sherwood. Roosevelt and Hopkins. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), p. 192.

³See page 200-201.

⁴Saul Alinsky. John L. Lewis: An Unauthorized Biography. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1949), p. 194.

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mated 25-30 million listeners.⁵

For this broadcast Lewis was afforded more facilities, stations, and, perhaps, listeners than was another labor leader before or since.

Following a brief recapitulation of historical events which indicated a direct relationship between a speaker and the times in which he spoke, Thonssen and Baird state,

Whether these men are remembered as orators only because their speeches dealt with matters of great human concern is an academic question. It is enough to recognize that the man and the issue met, and that the issue gave free rein to the man's vision and his skill in the use of the spoken word.⁶

So it was with Lewis. Prior to 1933, Lewis was titular head of the United Mine Workers of America but little more. Even before 1929, unemployment and district power struggles had decreased union strength and divided those who were left. Following the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act, labor was given an opportunity to bargain collectively with government sanction. Seizing this license, Lewis solidified the mine workers, started the C.I.O., and, in an intense and sometimes bloody conflict with myriad corporate interests, "organized the unorganized."

⁵New York Times, October 26th, 1940, p. 1.

⁶Lester Thonssen, and A. Craig Baird. Speech Criticism. (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 313.

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Purpose of the Study

During the course of this struggle, Lewis debated in the committee room, cajoled in the conference room, and rallied from the platform.

His largest audience, however, was his public audience to whom he spoke via radio. Through this adolescent media Lewis was able not only to speak to all of the miners in Kentucky, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio at the same time, but to admonish the operators, vilify the strike breakers, and, as time went by, to preserve and strengthen the cause of industrial unionization all at once. As a true public forum, radio had more potential than any other speaking situation. For this reason, John L. Lewis used it. Many, like Hopkins, felt that he misused it. Laborers who followed Lewis manifested their belief that he used it well. It is the purpose of this study to determine precisely how Lewis did use radio as a vehicle for his rhetoric.

Method of the Study

This study employs the historical method with special emphasis upon rhetorical criticism.

It is historical because it attempts to accumulate and interpret past events as they relate to the subject. It is critical in that it attempts to describe, analyze, and evaluate the rhetorical technique used by the subject. It is a combination of the historical method and the crit-

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ical method because the analysis of the rhetorical technique used by the subject is based upon the historical factors of social setting, climate of opinion, occasion, audience, and apparent effects of the speeches, as revealed by the accumulated data.

Criteria and Definition

Since it is becoming a generally accepted principle that the rhetorical critic, in order properly to evaluate a given speech, must deal not only with the verbal factors but with the non-verbal factors as well, it should be noted at the outset that the rhetorical criticism of a radio speech is by circumstance limited to the audible code alone. There are, of course, occasions where a speaker may be speaking to both a studio or platform audience and a radio audience as well. This was not the case, however, during most of Lewis's radio speeches. All of the speeches analyzed were delivered within confined studios or offices; and no one was present except a very few technicians, directors, and other studio personnel. This does not mean that the non-verbal factors of time, studio and network equipment, tone of voice, acoustics, and other conditions which would affect the production are not considered. Indeed, radio creates and/or magnifies intrinsic non-verbal considerations some of which may not be found in any other speaking situation. However, consideration is not given to such questions as the speaker's clothing, gestures, personal grooming, posture, and facial

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expression except when they have a direct effect upon the audible code.

Assuming that the audience would have had a "mind's eye" image of the speaker as they were listening, these factors would, of course, be significant whenever Lewis was being seen by the public.

It would seem both appropriate and necessary that some definition be given for various criteria which are used throughout this study, particularly the concepts of ethos, pathos, and logos. For the purposes of this study, the following definitions will apply.

1. Ethos or ethical appeal. Ethical appeal or ethical proof relates to the ostensible sagacity, character, and good will, of the speaker as perceived by his auditors. During several speeches, Lewis professed that he was an integral, indivisible and indissoluble part of the organization which he represented. Throughout the course of the speeches he identified himself so closely with the organization that his description of the collective sagacity, character, and good will of the organization became a description of himself. When this phenomenon occurs, it will be so noted.
2. Pathos or emotional appeal. Emotional appeal relates to the function of finding and utilizing the available means of persuasion within the audience. It includes, "all those materials and

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devices calculated to put the audience in a frame of mind suitable for the reception of the speaker's ideas," such as motive appeals, sentiments, and attitudes.⁷

3. Logos or logical appeals. Logical appeal relates to the grouping of accepted statements and accepted premises in relationships which will cause the audience to accept new conclusions.⁸

The final standard of judgment used during this study is the examination and analysis of the effects of the speech.

Organization of the Study

This study is organized chronologically. Although it is not intended as a biography of Lewis, the sequence of events contained within Chapters II through V trace his life and activities from his birth in 1880 until March of 1963 with, of course, particular emphasis placed upon his radio speaking.

Chapter I is designed to acquaint the reader with the significance of the subject and what has been written about him as well as to describe the methods, definitions, criteria, and organization used in the study.

⁷Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 358.

⁸This is a paraphrasing of the definition given by O'Neil and McBurney. James M. O'Neil and James H. McBurney, The Working Principles of Argument. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932), pp. 2-3.

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The second chapter describes the childhood and youth of the speaker and offers an analysis of the mining industry-- Lewis's frequent point of reference and primary source for supporting materials.

Questions regarding Lewis's heritage, his environment, and his early speech training and experience are answered in this chapter. Was Lewis overstating the case when he described conditions in the mines? With what, if any, inequities were the miners faced, and were the operators directly responsible? These questions were explored and some answers provided in the latter sections of this chapter. In total, the chapter represents an attempt to uncover behavioristic and environmental factors which influenced Lewis's radio speaking.

The third chapter deals with Lewis's radio speaking during the 1920's and early 1930's. Although radio was more of a novelty than a household staple during the early portion of this period, special attention was paid to Lewis's reaction to radio as revealed in the address which he delivered over WED in Atlantic City, on August 7th, 1925.

Primary emphasis is placed upon the rhetorical technique which Lewis used during the speech. This was done, as it was in the analysis of the other four speeches by comparing the full text, which is presented in the form of a substantive outline appearing on the left side of the page, with a rhetorical outline and running analysis which corresponds in spacing and organizational structure to the text,

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It may be argued that such detail is unnecessary because the text of the speech, having been closely scrutinized by the critic, may be quoted only when the critic feels that such quotations will serve to illustrate the point and basis for his criticism. Too often, however, the critic is tempted to present only those words, phrases, and paragraphs which make his judgments appear congruous and consistent. Lewis, unlike some speakers, was not consistent. This will become particularly evident in Chapter IV. Thus in order to give the reader every opportunity to examine the full and complete range of the speaker's rhetorical technique and especially the contrasts of style, argument, and appeal, the full text of each of the five speeches was included and each point of the speech analyzed in detail.

After the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the presidency and the subsequent passage of the Section 7a of the National Industrial Recovery Act, Lewis became "a new radio personality".⁹ Why did a man who had been a union president for over 15 years suddenly become a "personality." To what degree was radio, as opposed to other speaking situations, responsible for his emergence as a spokesman for labor? Has his radio rhetoric changed since his first efforts in this area in 1925 and, if so, how and why? These questions were analyzed in Chapter IV.

⁹Cecil Carnes. John L. Lewis, Leader of Labor. (New York: Robert Speller Company, 1936), p. 266.

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Three of Lewis's radio addresses delivered during this period were analyzed in detail. These include his "Future of Labor" Address delivered over the Columbia Radio Network on September 7th, 1936, the "Guests at Labor's Table" speech of September 3rd, 1937, delivered over the CBS radio network and his "British Empire" radio address delivered over the BBC network on March 21st, 1938.

A summary of several other radio addresses presented by Lewis during this period was also included for the purpose of comprehensive analysis.

Chapter V focuses attention upon Lewis's radio address, delivered over a three network hookup on October 25th, 1940. This speech and the issues surrounding the speech were analyzed in detail. The effects of this speech were also given close examination in an effort to determine why Lewis failed to achieve his announced purpose.

In Chapter VII the reader is provided with a summary of the important findings of the study. Following this a number of conclusions are stated based upon these findings.

The five speeches which are studied in detail were selected for two reasons. The first criterion for selecting the speeches was chronological comparison. How did Lewis change as a radio spokesman from 1925 until 1940? Did he become more sophisticated in the art of rhetoric as he rose to national prominence? How did fame and a reputation for almost divine leadership affect the radio speaking of such a man? It was in response to these questions that the speeches

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The second criterion was variety. One of the speeches was a non-network radio address delivered from a local station. Another was a labor speech delivered over one radio network. A third was broadcast to the people of the British Empire exclusively, and yet another was a political speech delivered over three networks. In short, a true cross section of Lewis's speaking was sought by using these criteria.

Since it would be difficult to evaluate accurately the arguments, appeals, and style of a radio speaker without knowing something of the background, issues, audience, and occasion for the speech, these factors were given considerable attention in the case of each speech selected for detailed analysis.

Survey of the Literature

Books.

There are two comprehensive and scholarly biographies of Lewis. The first of these is by Saul Alinsky, a personal friend of Lewis and especially of his daughter Kathryn. Alinsky, now a criminologist and social welfare organizer in Chicago, wrote and published his book before it was submitted to any member of the Lewis family or to any representative of labor, government, or management. This statement, of course, is based only upon Alinsky's statement. The book, however, does denounce as well as praise and appears to be

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a well-written analysis of the subject.¹⁰

Former war correspondent Cecil Carnes provided an excellent description of Lewis's activities up to 1937. Since Carnes wrote in an unusually factual and lucid manner, his book was particularly helpful in corroborating details found in Alinsky's biography.¹¹

Although it was published by an employee of the United Mine Workers of America, Rex Lauck's extensive John L. Lewis and the International Union United Mine Workers of America: The Story from 1917-1952 was valuable in that it contains a great many names and places as well as excerpts from Lewis's speeches which other biographies disregard.¹²

Cyrus Sulzberger's Sit Down with John L. Lewis provided both color and corroboration of detail although it was not intended to be a complete biography.¹³

Among those books which deal with the history of the period but not specifically with Lewis, Foster Rhea Dulles's Labor in America, was, perhaps the best reference work. Also Walter B. Emery's dissertation Samuel Gompers, Spokesman for Labor provides substantial insight into the similarities between the rhetoric of Gompers and his pupil for

¹⁰Alinsky, op. cit.

¹¹Carnes, op. cit.

¹²Lauck, op. cit.

¹³Cyrus L. Sulzberger. Sit Down with John L. Lewis. (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948).

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some years, John L. Lewis.¹⁴ Emery's exceptionally factual and detailed study entitled Broadcasting and Government was also helpful in analysis of radio's problems during the 20's and early 30's.¹⁵

Because of their ambivalent yet well known relationship, many of the books dealing with Roosevelt provided insight into Lewis's political and governmental activities as well as reporting Roosevelt's reaction to Lewis. The most useful among these were Frances Perkins' The Roosevelt I Knew,¹⁶ John Gunther's Roosevelt in Retrospect,¹⁷ and James McGregor Burns' The Lion and the Fox.¹⁸

One doctoral dissertation was discovered entitled The Public Speaking of John L. Lewis, by Richard M. Rothman.¹⁹

This dissertation appears to be a very good source of reference, but was used only in retrospect since it was not received until the bulk of research and writing had been accomplished. Although there is some overlap of effort

¹⁴Walter B. Emery. Samuel Gompers, Spokesman for Labor. An unpublished doctor's thesis, (University of Wisconsin, 1939).

¹⁵Walter B. Emery. Broadcasting and Government. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1961).

¹⁶Frances Perkins. The Roosevelt I Knew. (New York: The Viking Press, 1946).

¹⁷John Gunther. Roosevelt in Retrospect. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950).

¹⁸James McGregor Burns. Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox. (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1946).

¹⁹Richard M. Rothman. The Public Speaking of John L. Lewis. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, (Purdue University, 1952).

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involved, Rothman concentrates on Lewis's platform, conference, and committee speaking as well as providing some treatment of his radio speaking. Consequently, his analysis and conclusions differ significantly from those of this study, as do most of the speeches and speaking which he chose to analyze.

The writer has explored the annals of previous studies in speech which might relate to Lewis as well as the various listings of dissertation abstracts. The findings of this exploration indicate that this is the first study ever written which deals directly and exclusively with Lewis's radio speaking or which presents the full texts of any of Lewis's radio speeches for purposes of rhetorical analysis.

Magazines and Newspapers.

John L. Lewis was the subject of voluminous articles, news items, editorials, capsule biographies, and overall written comment. He was also the favorite of political cartoonists because his bushy eyebrows and graying mane were not only newsworthy, but easily caricatured.

Most of the newspaper references are taken from the New York Times because of its reputation for relatively accurate reporting and its infrequent use of heavily colored descriptions.

The United Mine Workers Journal was used to check factual details and speech texts. Justin McCarthy, editor of the journal, readily admitted that the editorial point

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of view of the newspaper was biased but insisted that the speech texts printed in the Journal were complete, unabridged, and accurate reproductions of exactly what was said. The truth of this statement was supported to some degree by comparing the texts with other sources such as newspapers and periodicals and in one instance with a tape recording. Primary Evidence and Testimony.

Most of the interviews relating to this study took place on April 11th and 12th, 1963, in Washington, D. C. The most helpful of these were the two with Lewis himself and several informal discussions held with Justin McCarthy, editor of the United Mine Workers Journal, and Rex Lauck, assistant editor and official Lewis biographer.

Elizabeth Covington, Lewis's long time executive secretary, was also helpful in providing insight into Lewis's speech preparation. Union secretary Gerald Griffiths and Harold Ward, now director of the U.M.W.A. Welfare Fund, supplied many supporting details of Lewis's activities.

The author is also appreciative of the efforts of N.B.C., for allowing him access to the tape recording of Lewis's 1940 radio address in support of Wendell Willkie.

Special thanks go to Mr. G. Robert Vincent, Curator of the National Voice Library, who was interviewed by the author and who generously supplied several other tape recordings of Lewis's speeches.

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CHAPTER II

ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES

This chapter traces the environmental influences which affected the life and speaking of John L. Lewis.

Family Background

For generations the coal miners have gouged the bowels of the earth. Almost as though it were retaliating against their intimacy, the earth has rewarded their labor with poverty, disease, filth, and misery. Nowhere has there been more evidence of such reciprocation than occurred in Wales during the late 19th Century. For this reason, many of the miners attempted to gain for themselves a happier, more prosperous life in the New World.

Immigration.

One of these was Thomas Lewis. He emigrated first to Australia and, realizing little of his dreams there, set out for the United States, arriving in San Francisco in 1875. Because mining was the only occupation he knew, he worked his way eastward until he came to the small mining community of Lucas, Iowa.

In 1878 he married Louisa Watkins; and two years later, on February 12, 1880, John Lewellyn Lewis was born.

Of his family, Lewis has said:

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My background was one of contrast. On my father's side, my family were fighters. They roved a great deal. They were very much interested in the world about them. They were tough people. My mother's side of the family was the quiet kind. They were scholars, teachers, sort of retiring and shy.¹

Based upon his interviews with Lewis, Carnes reports:

He was an ordinary child, extremely masculine in all his habits and possessing a very decided tendency to have things his own way.²

Family Migration.

From the outset of his life, John was faced with the struggle between the miner and the mine operator. Several months after he was born, his father was blacklisted by the White Breast Fuel Company as a "radical unionist,"³ because he had been instrumental in organizing a local unit of the Knights of Labor. In spite of the operators' efforts to discourage and destroy it, the Union had strengthened itself sufficiently to precipitate a strike. In 1882, when the strike failed to bring about the desired results, Lewis was blacklisted. He then moved his family, which was now increased by another son, Thomas Jr., to the mining town of Colfax, Iowa. Fortunately for the Lewises, the blacklist did not get to Colfax for several months. When it did, the elder Lewis was again forced out of the mines.⁴ He worked

¹Saul Alinsky, John L. Lewis: An Unauthorized Biography. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1949), p. 15.

²Cecil Carnes, John L. Lewis, Leader of Labor. (New York: Robert Speller Company, 1936), p. 3.

³Ibid., p. 5.

⁴Alinsky, op. cit., p. 16.

for a while as a night watchman but, again, his desire to organize the miners apparently caused him to move to another nearby mining village.

Once again the "Lucas Blacklist" caught up with Thomas; and this time the family moved to Des Moines, capital of the state, where he was eventually appointed custodian of the city jail.⁵ During their stay in Des Moines, Thomas and Louisa had three more children, two sons, Danny and Howard, and a daughter Hattie. The Lewis family was eventually to consist of two more sons and another daughter, bringing the total progeny to six sons and two daughters.

There is some evidence that the Lewis family was not only very "close" but that their father was often the impetus for the fighting spirit of the Lewis boys. Sulzberger noted several incidents when John's father, "Fighting Tom," displayed his pugilistic ability in front of young John by brawling with and beating his opponents publicly.⁶

Although it may have been somewhat apocrophyl, the saying in his hometown was reported to have been, "Those Lewises; if you lick one of them, you have to lick 'em all."⁷

⁵Ibid.

⁶James A. Wecksler, Labor Baron, A Portrait of John L. Lewis. (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1944), p. 14.

⁷Cyrus L. Sulzberger, Sit Down With John L. Lewis. (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 15.

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Boyhood

Like his father, John was a fighter even during his childhood. This subject was explored in some detail by most of his biographers and was corroborated during an interview with the author.

Des Moines.

Carnes offered the following description of Lewis as a child in Des Moines.

"He had a leonine head, as impressive as it was massive."

". . . he knew he must rely on more than his nearly six foot of body. . . ."

"He was a fighter and an actor."⁸

Alinsky tended to be more specific in his observations.

"As a child, he thirsted for action and was eager to settle arguments with his fists."⁹

"Seeing his father in physical fights made it seem quite natural to the son."¹⁰

Sulzberger reported that as a young man he gave serious consideration to professional prize fighting with the hope of becoming heavyweight champion.¹¹ This desire was also confirmed during a personal interview with the author.¹²

⁸Carnes, op. cit., pp. 6-8 ⁹Alinsky, loc. cit.

¹⁰Ibid. p. 17.

¹¹Sulzberger, op. cit., p. 5.

¹²Statement by John L. Lewis, Personal Interview.

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It was also during his childhood that Lewis developed a sincere sympathy for the unfortunate. His father would expound nightly upon the deplorable conditions under which the miners were working. The early migrations of his family from one small mining town to the next probably tended to reinforce this feeling. Carnes states that "he rarely smiled. . . . There was too much wrong with the world, but he could not talk about it. He must prepare himself."¹³

What seems apparent--the evidence which seems to characterize him as a "tough kid" with the proverbial "chip on his shoulder"--must be tempered with his own reaction to this period. Although Lewis was a realist, he has indicated his deep affection for his family and a number of his friends during this period.¹⁴ It was Lewis's extreme distaste for the coal operators and the "nobility," as he called them, which caused the prominent and seemingly permanent frown which Lewis displayed.¹⁵

Lucas.

The Lewis family left Des Moines in 1897 to return to their home town of Lucas. The blacklists had been destroyed and "Fighting Tom" was now free to return to mining.

John had never liked school. He was dissatisfied with the formality of the class room and the curriculum.

¹³Carnes, op. cit., p. 6.

¹⁴Statements by John L. Lewis, personal interview.

¹⁵Ibid.

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As he put it,

I never went to high school. I got along all right in school, but I was just more interested in outside things than I was in classroom work.¹⁶

For this reason Lewis quit school at the end of the seventh grade and went to work in the mines with his father and younger brother, Tom, Jr. He also sold newspapers and even played baseball for a brief period. In short, he was not only a dedicated young man, but an extremely active and ambitious one as well.

The following description provided by Alinsky gives some indication of Lewis's environment in Lucas.

Here they were at home among their own folk, Welsh miners who were hardy rugged people. They were a unique breed, dramatic both in speech and gesture, a strange paradox of sentimental romanticism and hard realism. They could be tender and yet ruthless. They sang their old Welsh folk songs and quoted Shakespeare in their daily conversations. To understand them was to understand much of what went into the makeup of John L. Lewis.¹⁷

Like the male lead in Emelyn Williams' moving description of a coal mining town in Wales entitled, The Corn is Green, Lewis, too, was a paradox. It was said that the most prominent thing in Lucas was "John's big jaw."¹⁸ On the other hand, Sulzberger, Carnes, and Lewis, himself, indicate that he had an insatiable love of poetry, classi-

¹⁶Alinsky, loc. cit.

¹⁷Alinsky, op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 16.

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cal English prose, especially of Shakespeare and the Bible.^{19 20 21} The Lewis home was described by John as "a pious household where the family Bible and the strap were both handy." Although Lewis was later to become an agnostic, the fact that he did a good deal of Bible reading during his childhood is often apparent during his radio speeches.²³

In spite of John's ambition, the Lewis family continued to be a closely knit unit even during his teens. In 1942, when Lewis was speaking before the U.M.W. Convention on the subject of district autonomy, he recalled this story of his childhood.

When one of us boys would come home and tell the others that some sons had more autonomy in their homes than in the Lewis home and we should hold a caucus on it, we used to get along fine until mother intervened and made the decision.²⁴

Early Speech Training and Experience.

John L. Lewis has never had any formal speech training, yet several people who knew him as a boy foresaw his abilities as a public speaker. Sulzberger notes the comment made by his 5th grade teacher. "That boy should study

¹⁹Carnes, op. cit., p. 7.

²⁰Sulzberger, op. cit., p. 22.

²¹Statement by John L. Lewis, personal interview.

²²Ibid.

²³See Chapters IV and V.

²⁴ Dale Kramer, "Follow the Leader," The New Republic, CXVI (April 14, 1947), p. 25.

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law" she said. "He is a remarkable public speaker!"²⁵

Apparently Lewis knew this. Shortly after returning to Lucas, he formed and thereafter managed a debating team exclusive of any school affiliation.²⁶

Lewis reported that his early debating experiences were not very successful. The only debate that he could remember dealt with the question, "Which is more beautiful; art or nature?" Lewis concluded his speech in support of "nature" with an ornate description of Yellowstone Park which he visited during a trip through the West. Since the judge had not seen the park, he decided against Lewis because his flowery description had been one of an artist rather than an observer of nature.²⁷

These are Lewis's only recollections of any early speech training or experience. Lewis could not recall any other early experiences although he did state that he enjoyed his association with the debating society.²⁸

Early Manhood

Myrta Bell.

Through several parties and the debating society, Lewis renewed his childhood friendship with Myrta Bell, the eldest daughter of an Ohio doctor. According to Lewis it

²⁵Sulzberger, op. cit., p. 23.

²⁶Statement by John L. Lewis, personal interview.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid.

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was Miss Bell whose scholarly background and interest caused him to devote more and more of his time to reading and study. He has described her at that time as being both "gentle" and a woman "with an iron will."²⁹ According to Alinsky, she organized his reading habits and introduced him to Dickens, Homer, and other classics. Lewis readily acknowledges her help and ascribes to Miss Bell (later to become Mrs. John L. Lewis) the distinction of being the most important single force in his life.³¹

The Theaters.

It is also notable that during this period Lewis was taking an active interest in theatrical productions. His first interest in this subject is brought to light by Sulzberger. Lewis and a friend discovered that the local motion picture house was willing to sell out for \$90. The property consisted of a "bare little hall packed with rented chairs." Lewis was to put up the cash, and his friend agreed to run the projector. Lewis agreed, but stipulated that \$90 was too much money. He would bid only \$75. The bid was made, but another man had put up the full price, got the house, and eventually prospered as the motion picture business became a nationwide success.³²

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Alinsky, op. cit., pp. 17-18

³¹Ibid.

³²Sulzberger, op. cit., p. 3-4

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Several years later, Lewis rented an old opera house and began sponsoring everything from trained seals to low-grade Shakespearean actors. In spite of the ludicrous nature of some of the acts, Myrta encouraged his efforts in this field and "applauded when he sponsored shows at the Opera House."³³

Alinsky suggests that there may be a significant relationship between his association with these traveling shows and the "dramatic flourishes" which are evident during his radio speeches.

Trip through the West.

In 1901 Lewis left for a five year odyssey which covered almost all of the Western states. His reasons for leaving may have been the reasons that any young man in his position might have for such a journey. His life thus far had been one of poverty and insularity. His extensive reading and curiosity caused a restlessness which had been building within him for a number of years before.

This trip is significant for two basic reasons. First, according to Lewis it was the first time that he became confident that his feelings and concern for the laboring man were not limited to Lucas and Des Moines. His experiences on the trip supported his contention that the plight of the worker and the miner in particular was unjust, cruel, and extremely hazardous. In 1905, for example, he witnessed

³³Carnes, op. cit., p. 18.

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a cave-in in Hannah, Wyoming. Lewis worked continually for several days bringing dead miners out of the shaft, the total running to over two hundred and thirty miners. Although the carnage of this tragedy added fuel to the fire of Lewis's convictions, Alinsky suggests that it was "the numb, mute faces of the wives, now suddenly widows" which matured and embittered him the most.

The second basic reason for the significance of this trip stems from the somewhat incredible tales involving Lewis. His physical power and courage increased his prestige with local miners, not only in Lucas, but in other communities that he was to visit later.

Whether or not these stories are apocryphal is not the real issue. The point is that they were accepted and believed by those who listened to him in the years that followed, and thus they became a part of his ethical appeal.

Perhaps the most famous and most incredible of these tales is one related by Carnes. It involves a man-killing mine mule named Spanish Pete. The mule had backed Lewis up against a wall of the mine and was trying to kill him. Lewis wheeled and punched the animal so hard that it fell to the ground. Lewis then grabbed a piece of timber and as the mule charged again he "drove the club with pile-driving force through its brains."

Since mule killing was not an acceptable practice for miners under any circumstances, Lewis stuffed Spanish Pete's wounds with clay and told the foreman that the mule

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had apparently died of heart attack.³⁴

Lewis returned to Lucas, Iowa in 1906. Wecksler states that Lewis's trip inspired him not only to "organize the unorganized but to battle for mine safety legislation as well."³⁵

Alinsky suggests that even at the age of 27 Lewis's personality "awed" his listeners.

He knew their worries and fears, for the shadows that hung over the lives of the coal miners in Lucas were the same that hung over the gold miners of Arizona, the silver miners of Utah, the copper miners of Montana. . . .³⁶

"John L. Lewis" said Alinsky, "was not only their kind but he could articulate what was in their hearts."³⁷

The Young Labor Leader.

It was in 1907 that Lewis began his career both as a husband and a labor organizer. He was elected as the Lucas delegate to the national convention of the United Mine Workers of America, and on June 5th of that year he married Myrta Bell. It was also in 1907 that John L. Lewis, now filled with political ambition, ran for the office of mayor of Lucas. His father-in-law, fearing that city politics might become an end in itself, campaigned against Lewis so effectively that the otherwise popular Lewis lost the elec-

³⁴Carnes, op. cit., p. 9.

³⁵Wecksler, loc. cit.

³⁶Alinsky, op. cit., p. 19.

³⁷Ibid., p. 20.

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tion. Dr. Bell insisted that in his own way he was trying to help Lewis continue his progress in labor and not thwart him in any way.³⁸

Lewis's popular appeal as a leader was very pertinent to his success at this time. Sulzberger relates stories of his gambling experiences. Although he promised "Mother", as he called his wife, that he would not gamble, every so often he broke his pledge.

One Sunday he went to the mine to pick up some papers. As usual, the men were playing poker. Since he had ten dollars in his wallet, he agreed to enter the game "for a little while." Within two hours he had won over \$250, which he was forced to sneak into the house and hide in the coal scuttle lest "Mother" find the money.³⁹

Lewis also liked dancing. When an obese bully called "Tubby" began to interfere with the social activities at a dance the miners were holding, Lewis organized a gang. They took "Tubby" into the woods, tied him to a tree, and left him there until the dance was over.

Lewis's eventual assent to leadership in organized labor was by no means accidental or unplanned. In 1909, he moved to Panama, Illinois, in the heart of the rich Montgomery coal fields. There were several reasons for this choice. First, it was close enough to Lucas that Lewis could bring

³⁸Alinsky, op. cit., p. 20.

³⁹Sulzberger, op. cit., p. 28.

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his five brothers with him thus providing some political support. Second, Lewis always enjoyed a "strong identification with Abraham Lincoln because of their common birthdays."⁴⁰ It was not long after this that Lewis was elected president of the U.M.W. local in Panama and was also elected to the U.M.W.'s legislative lobby for mine safety in Springfield.

There is some disagreement as to his political tactics at this time. One of his biographers describes his campaign as having been made up primarily of threats and physical coercion. According to Sulzberger, a group of "rebels" tried to upset his efforts at union leadership. With his brothers at his side, John L. "waded in--and licked the wadding out of them."⁴¹

Carnes suggests that his success stemmed from pressure exerted by higher officials who recognized Lewis's ability. They described him as a "comer."⁴²

Alinsky attributes Lewis's leadership at this time to his wife and his speaking ability. Lewis's wife, who had become a school teacher, coached Lewis in the art of speechmaking. Alinsky says that many of his gestures, mannerisms, vocal inflections, and phrases "were practiced in the privacy of his home and on an audience of one--Myrta

⁴⁰Alinsky, op. cit., p. 21.

⁴¹Sulzberger, op. cit., p. 23.

⁴²Carnes, op. cit., p. 11.

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Lewis.⁴³ Mrs. Lewis then modified and polished his delivery, but, using good judgment, always made John feel as though it was his own finished delivery.

National Recognition.

In 1911, Lewis was in Indianapolis attending the United Mine Workers Convention. The miners were told that for the tenth straight year they had been promised an industrial charter from the A.F.L., and for the tenth time this promise had been broken. The convention exploded; and a wire was sent to A.F.L. president, Samuel Gompers demanding the charter. If the charter were not granted, said the miners, the U.M.W. would form its own labor movement. A wire arrived the next morning. Gompers had granted the charter. This Lewis remembered because, for the first time, he saw that naked strength, even at the national level, was an effective and expedient means of gaining both power and results.⁴⁴

The significance of this event, however, went beyond this lesson. Gompers had heard of the "young Lewis of Illinois" several years prior to the convention. A. F. of L.

representatives, impressed with Lewis, and even more impressed by his silence during the rebellion, suggested to Gompers that Lewis be appointed field representative and legislative agent for the A. F. of L. Gompers, remembering

⁴³Alinsky, loc. cit.

⁴⁴Alinsky, op. cit., p. 22.

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the reputation of the young Welshman, agreed.⁴⁵

Leader of the Miners.

Between 1916 and 1922, a rapid succession of promotions took Lewis out of the A. F. of L. and up through the ranks of the U.M.W.A. In 1916, he served as a member of the Interstate Scale Commission. During this time he was gaining substantial personal backing in the U.M.W. Also in 1916, he was appointed to serve as president pro tem of the U.M.W. Convention.

On July 15th, 1917, he was appointed business manager of the U.M.W. Journal. John P. White retired as president of the U.M.W.A. on October 25th, 1917. Frank J. Hayes, the new president told the membership that John L. Lewis, "a man of marked abilities," had been appointed vice-president.⁴⁶

In his inaugural address, Lewis proclaimed,

I shall vigorously prosecute the work of extending the organization into the non-union coal-producing fields of America, where freedom and justice are now denied the miners and where the essentials of democracy are denied expression.⁴⁷

This was not an empty statement. During 1917, Lauck reports that he assisted in organizing at least six non-union coal fields, attending interstate wage conferences, and talking with government officials.⁴⁸

⁴⁵Rex Lauck, (ed). John L. Lewis and The International Union United Mine Workers of America: The Story from 1917 to 1952. (Silver Springs, Maryland: The International Executive Board of the United Mine Workers, 1952), p. 9.

⁴⁶Lauck, op. cit., p. 11. ⁴⁸Lauck, loc. cit.

⁴⁷United Mine Workers Journal, October 30th, 1917. p.3.

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The two years following his appointment as vice-president are shrouded with controversy. Even Alinsky, a man who was a personal friend of the Lewis family, is non-committal as to certain events.

The allegation is that Lewis, realizing that Frank Hayes was an alcoholic of sorts, assigned one of his trusted aides to see that Hayes was kept "permanently drunk." This rumor was apparently started in 1922 by the Communist party.⁴⁹ The idea, of course, was that by rendering Hayes incapable of holding the office, Lewis would be his successor within a short period of time.

Alinsky states that the accusations are "without evidence" but goes on to point out,

While Lewis was not aiding and abetting Frank Hayes' excessive drinking, he certainly did not discourage it.⁵⁰

Carnes describes Hayes as being either "drunk or ill" from the time he took over the presidency of the U.M.W.A. in 1917 until his final resignation in 1920. Sulzberger says nothing with regard to the matter, nor does Lauck in the official history of the U.M.W.A.⁵¹

On February 17th, 1920, Lewis became the president of the U.M.W.A. Alinsky and Carnes agree that he had been running the organization for the past two years anyway.^{52 53}

⁴⁹Alinsky, op. cit., p. 27. ⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Carnes, op. cit., p. 16. ⁵²Alinsky, loc. cit.

⁵³Carnes, op. cit., p. 17.

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Lewis and GompersPersonal Relationship.

There appears to be some correlation between the speaking characteristics of Gompers and Lewis in view of the fact that the men had such a close relationship, especially during Lewis's formative years in organized labor. Alinsky states,

A curious relationship bloomed between Gompers and Lewis. The cold, crafty, compromising old master was attracted to the bellicose fiery fighting bull from the Middle West. They became intimate friends. Gompers trusted Lewis implicitly and it is reliably reported that whenever Gompers would go out on a carouse he would trust Lewis to stand guard against any unfavorable repercussions. .55

Alinsky goes on to point out that Lewis "questioned Gompers and learned," and that the greatest basic education in labor that Lewis received was at the hands of "the old master."⁵⁶

Lewis was picked by Gompers to defend and support craft unionism in face of criticism from combined industrial labor organizations. Although a man of Lewis's ambition and ability may have succeeded to high office anyway, it was Gompers who first put Lewis in a national labor organization. Eventually, as history reveals, it was the same Lewis who successfully split the A. F. of L. by forming the C.I.O.--an organization based on the very threat

⁵⁵Alinsky, op. cit., p. 23.

⁵⁶Ibid.

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that Gompers had feared and used as a basis for hiring Lewis. In spite of this fact, Lewis still reveres Gompers and acknowledges his respect for Gompers' early abilities as a labor organizer.⁵⁷

Speaking Similarities.

Emery's dissertation provides evidence not only that a strong relationship existed between the two men, but that Lewis may have patterned some of his speaking habits after the Gompers' style. Emery states that Gompers tended to use strong motive appeals in his speaking. Although there is no cause to effect relationship which can be shown, this same tendency is true of Lewis.⁵⁸

Likewise, Gompers preferred to contemplate the speech situation and what he wanted to say rather than prepare an outline or a manuscript.⁵⁹ This is apparently true of Lewis platform speaking although many of his radio speeches had to be submitted in manuscript form twenty-four hours prior to his broadcast before C.B.S. would permit him to go on the air.

Emery also characterizes the speaking of Gompers by such words as "direct question. . . positive suggestion. . . short sentences" all of which are descriptive of Lewis's

⁵⁷Statement by John L. Lewis, personal interview.

⁵⁸Walter B. Emery. "Samuel Gompers, Spokesman for Labor." Unpublished Doctors thesis, The University of Wisconsin, 1939, pp. 214-278.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 298.

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Mining as an Occupation

This section is not intended as a history of coal mining in the United States. Such an undertaking would be well beyond the scope of this study. However, since the study deals specifically with the radio speaking of Mr. Lewis, it does seem appropriate to provide a limited analysis of the occupation which so guided the subject's life. More important perhaps is the fact that the mines, the miners, and the operators, were not only a part of Lewis, they were, often, the subject of his discourse.

Mining Conditions.

In 1936, John L. Lewis met with Assistant Secretary of Labor, Edward McGrady, and several coal operators in the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D. C. The dispute revolved around a wage increase for the coal miners. Because the threat of a nationwide coal strike was present, the public, the stockholders, and the government were all concerned. As Sulzberger recounts the situation, Lewis stood up, stuck a cigar in his mouth, and then proceeded to pace up and down, his hands folded behind him. "Gentlemen," he said speaking in a slow modulated tone.

Gentlemen, I speak to you for my people.
I speak to you for the miners' families in
the broad Ohio Valley, the Pennsylvania moun-
tains, and the black West Virginia hills.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 213-378.

There, the shanties lean over as if intoxicated by the smoke fumes of the mine dumps. But the more pretentious ones boast a porch, with the banisters broken here and there, presenting the aspect of a snaggly toothed child. Some of the windows are wide open to the flies, which can feast nearby on the garbage and answer the dinner call in double quick time!

But there is no dinner call. The little children are gathered around a bare table without anything to eat. Their mothers are saying, "We want bread." They are not asking for a one-hundred thousand dollar yacht like yours, Mr. - - - (suddenly pointing his threatening cigar) or for a Rolls Royce limousine like yours, Mr. - - --only a slim crust of bread.⁶¹

While the emotional proof employed by Lewis will be studied in a later chapter, there appears to be considerable accuracy behind the labor Leader's description. Of course, any description of the conditions which exist in the "typical" mining town is subject to a number of fallacies. At best it is always a subjective study. To a visiting union organizer from South Africa, conditions in American mines may be quite good in comparison to his own. To a member of an affluent society they may seem deplorable--de gustibus non disputandum. For this reason, the author will present descriptions by reporters, scholars, and, of course, the miners themselves, thus hoping to include various shades of opinion and reaction.

Fortune Magazine, a publication apparently intended for the businessman and the industrialist, carried an article by John Chamberlain entitled, "The Special Case of

⁶¹Sulzberger, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

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John L. Lewis: His Philosophy of Expedience Has Immediate and Long Term Dangers." While the article itself appeared to be an extremely lucid and colorful admonition directed at the U.M.W., Chamberlain attempted to describe the miner and his community from a particular point of view.

The first thing to realize about the coal miner is that he likes mining. Sentimentalists have wept for (the miner). . . but the miner does not weep for himself.⁶²

Chamberlain continues with a description of the "pleasant" conditions under which the miner labors. He elaborates on the contention that in many of the mechanized mines, a good deal of the mine tending is "simply intelligent machine tending" by pointing out in detail the type and even brand name of some of the equipment. Turning to conditions outside the mine he asserts that,

There's a lot of stuff written about the company store, the "pluck me" store and the company owned shacks, but in a psychological sense, the miner owns his little valley.⁶³

Almost in belated rebuttal to Lewis's remarks in the 1936 hearing, Chamberlain alludes to Lewis's ostentation.

"Big John" so he (the miner) feels, is in there pitching for him all the time even though he may own a fine house in Alexandria, Virginia and ride around in a big limousine.⁶⁴

⁶²John Chamberlain, "The Special Case of John L. Lewis," Fortune, XXVIII (September, 1943) p. 236.

⁶³Ibid., p. 238.

⁶⁴Ibid.

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p. 168.

Although Lewis wrote The Miners Fight for American Standards in 1925, he had often reiterated that the conditions described then, still exist.

In typical Lewisian prose he described the mining towns between Steubenville, Ohio, and Altoona, Pennsylvania.

Observe in contrast to the brave front of factories and mills eloquent of wealth in the making, or the long lines of gondolas piled with the black glossy chunks which move the wheels and fire the forges of the world's greatest industrial nation, the squalid, begrimed and dreary homes of the workers-- placed here and there as if slinking into any corner of God's earth not taken up by others.

Here they are steeped up one above the other on mountain sides, perched on posts that remind one of the long rickety legs of ill-nourished slum children. Here they cluster higgely-piggely in some gulch, along the banks of a polluted little stream, or squat on a pile of slate.⁶⁵

With respect to the issue of the miner's "psychologically owning his own little valley" Lewis has written "added to all of this squalor elsewhere, is the loneliness and sense of helplessness, subjection to the great corporate powers which have fastened their grip on these little valleys and gorges. . . ." ⁶⁶

Reports from the United States Coal Commission tend to support Mr. Lewis's observations of 1925. The Commission studied seven hundred thirteen company-owned communities in seven states. A summary of their findings reveals the

⁶⁵John L. Lewis. The Miners Fight for American Standards. (Indianapolis: Bell Publishing Company, 1925), p. 168.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 170-1.

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following facts.

1. More than two thirds of all of the houses were finished outside with weather board nailed directly to the frame.
2. 2.4% had bath tubs or showers.
3. 3.0% had inside toilets.
4. 13.8% had any running water inside the house.
5. 1.3% had any foundation other than posts.⁶⁷

The following description was a part of the official study by the commission submitted to the government in 1925.

In the worst of the company-controlled communities the state of disrepair at times runs beyond the power of verbal description or even photographic illustration since neither words nor pictures can portray the atmosphere of abandoned dejection or reproduce the smells. Old unpainted board and batten houses. . . roofs broken, porches staggering a riot of rubbish.⁶⁸

Nine years after the Commission report in 1934, Dr. Joseph Willits, Dean of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce of the University of Pennsylvania, collaborated with Dr. Homer Morris of Fisk University in a study of conditions in the bituminous coal mining areas. Their findings tended to confirm the fact that by 1934 little had been done to alleviate the conditions described by the Commission nine years before.⁶⁹

⁶⁷Report of the United States Coal Commission, 1925, Part III, Table 2, p. 1420.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 1431.

⁶⁹Homer L. Morris and Joseph H. Willits. The Flight of the Bituminous Coal Miner. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934), pp. 85-98.

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Perhaps the most objective and comprehensive study relating to mining communities was completed in 1958 by Dr. Herman Lantz at Southern Illinois University. It is a depth study of one particular community chosen on the basis of its typicality. While Lantz supports the findings of Willitts, he notes a definite improvement in living conditions after 1945.⁷⁰

Prices and Wages.

As most working people know, the difference between gross wages and net earnings is often staggering. This was particularly true for the miner because he was forced to supply all of his own tools, supplies, and equipment. Each of his pay checks was subject to the "check off"; a list of deductions made by the coal company. The list included the following items: (1) House rent; (2) Premium for Insurance and Beneficial Funds; (3) House coal; (4) Taxes; (5) Company store accounts; (6) Air drills and Jack hammers; (7) Hospital charges; (8) Compressed air; (9) Medicine and surgical supplies; (10) Carbide; (11) Cotton; (12) Fuses; (13) Oil; (14) Squibbs; (15) Detonators; (16) Black powder; (17) Dynamite; (18) Oilskins and rubber clothes; (19) Rental of electric lights; (20) Tools and repairs; (21) Pay to check weighman; (22) Steel for rock work; (23) Bonds; (24) Red Cross contributions; (25) Con-

⁷⁰Herman R. Lantz. People of Coal Town. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 211.

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Since 93 per cent of the miners in 1934 lived in rural areas and did not own automobiles, Item #5 on the "check off" was in most cases the biggest deduction.⁷³ While it may be said that the purchase of food is a necessity whether taken out of the pay check or left to the individual, Willits indicates that by controlling the source of food, the operators, through the company stores, were able to sell at much higher prices and thus realize higher profits which were returned to the coal company as general profit.

The following table provides some indication of the profit margin involved.

⁷¹Lewis, op. cit., p. 156

⁷²It must be noted that, as the miners became organized and the unions began to develop, local, district, and national union dues were added to a separate but binding "check off" list.

⁷³Willits, op. cit., p. 87.

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TABLE I

 Prices in Kanawha County, West Virginia

 June 1, 1932
 (Same Grade or Brand of Goods)

	Company Store Price	Chain Store Price
Side Meat	18-20¢ lb.	6-7¢ lb.
Bacon (Sliced)	40¢ lb.	20¢ lb.
Beef Roast	18-25¢ lb.	12½-20¢ lb.
Pork Chops	23¢ lb.	11¢ lb.
Oranges	60¢ doz.	30¢ doz.
Potatoes	48¢ peck	20¢ peck
Lard	15¢ lb.	5¢ lb.
Butter	60¢ lb.	20-28¢ lb.
Bread	10¢ (1 lb. loaf)	5¢ (1 lb. loaf) ⁷⁴

Comparable prices were listed for several other counties in West Virginia and Pennsylvania. The check-off rate for food purchased through the company store, therefore, was often not in accord with what the mining family would ordinarily pay for food if it were available through the nearest chain store. Although there was no written agreement that the miner must purchase his supplies at the Company Store, Willits states that "the high prices were usually accompanied by the unwritten law that the employees trade at the company store."⁷⁵

Gross wages for anthracite and bituminous coal miners while averaging \$19.58 per week in 1936 rose to \$70.35 by 1950.⁷⁶

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 166.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 165.

⁷⁶Bureau of Labor Statistics Handbook, 1950, Tbl. 1, C-1, p. 56.

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Summary.

There is every indication that the economic status of the miner has improved considerably between 1925 and 1950 either in spite of or because of John L. Lewis. Any correlation between these two factors would be impossible to support due to the numerous variables created by the war, the national economy, and the general rise of labor and living costs.

The conditions in the mining communities, while improving to some extent after 1945, are still subject to criticism. In spite of the fact that many of the communities are "owned" by the coal operators, there is no conclusive evidence that privately owned mining communities are aesthetically, structurally, or socially, superior.

The findings of Lantz, Willits, Morris, and the United States Coal Commission do, however, indicate that living conditions, together with the wage-price ratio in many communities were substandard.

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CHAPTER III

THE BATTLE BEGINS: 1925-1936

Events Leading Up to 1925

During the pre-Lewis years, the presidency of the United Mine Workers of America was a very insecure position. John Rue, P. R. Penna, M. D. Ratchford, and John McBride each lasted only one year. From 1890-1920 only John Mitchell lasted more than five, and even he was voted out of office as a persona non grata because of his determination that labor should attempt to coexist with management. According to McCarthy, "This organization is built on personal loyalty. The coal miner is the kind of guy who feels everyone is out to gyp him and consequently he trusts no one. There were very few people during the early 1900's who could gain. . . and retain. . . the confidence of the miners."¹ Apparently, Lewis was one of the "few" who could because his term of office lasted almost forty years.

Early Obstacles.

Lewis, however, did not begin as the Messiah of labor. The immense popularity he was to enjoy among the miners during the thirties did not begin until 1932 and did not reach its high point until 1934 following the passage

¹Statement by Justin McCarthy, personal interview.

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In 1919, while Lewis was still acting president of the U.M.W.A., the miners proposed a sixty per cent increase in pay and the adoption of a thirty hour work week to offset unemployment resulting from the falling off of the wartime need for fuel. A strike was called for November 1st, which was to involve 425,000 miners. With winter setting in and wartime strike restrictions still in force, the government was granted an injunction prohibiting the strike. In face of this, Lewis backed down and called off the strike saying, "We are Americans. We cannot fight the government."²

But the miners refused to follow Lewis and by staying away from the pits gained a 14% wage increase.

In 1920, when Lewis officially took over his duties as president, he apparently knew that the only way to maintain his position was to solidify the heretofore autonomous "districts" and actually gain control of the union. This would not be an easy task. Alinsky describes the internal strife and revolution within the union in the following manner.

In the union were individual leaders who nominally acknowledged the authority of the national union officers but in practice carried on the affairs of their own districts as though they were not responsible to any union

²Foster Rhea Dulles. Labor in America. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1949), p. 237.

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authority. There was a rank and file feeling of revolt against the current leadership, but this feeling was no different than it had always been.³

The year 1921 brought with it another setback for Lewis. At the A. F. of L. convention in Denver, Colorado, Lewis campaigned against Samuel Gompers for the presidency of the organization. Lewis told Alinsky,

I ran against Gompers. . . because a number of unions were sickened by Gompers' depending upon the federal administration.⁴

Carnes indicates that Lewis was not only opposed by four district heads, but "only two organizations stood solidly for Lewis and his own organization was badly split. . . The most impartial observers could see the background of recent strikes emerge with greater meaning."⁵

As Harold Ward stated in regard to this period, "Lewis was sitting on the proverbial powder keg."⁶

Nineteen hundred and twenty-two brought with it even more strife; and Lewis's prestige and power was dwindling.

Dulles states that Lewis managed to retain control of the Union but that it was "still badly split and in no position to maintain the influence it had formerly exercised in the mine fields."⁷

³Saul Alinsky. John L. Lewis: An Unauthorized Biography. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1949), pp. 37-8.

⁴Ibid., p. 42.

⁵Cecil Carnes. John L. Lewis, Leader of Labor. (New York: Robert Speller Company, 1936), pp. 72-3.

⁶Statement by Harold Ward, personal interview.

⁷Dulles, op. cit., p. 248.

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The years that followed seemed no better for Lewis and the miners. In fact, things seemed to be getting worse. In 1922 the United Mine Workers had a total membership of over 600,000 workers which had reduced to only 200,000 by 1927.⁸ McCarthy states that the principal reason for Lewis's waning popularity was his refusal to advocate nationalization of the coal industry, a solution advocated by a number of other union officials and district leaders.⁹

In spite of his tenuous position, Lewis continued to pursue his goal of union solidarity. Referring to the early '20's, John Hutchinson states "He dominated, as much by forensics as force, the successive conventions of the UMWA, once the most boisterous of American trade union gatherings."¹⁰

In spite of the opposition, Lewis made his ambition felt far beyond the convention floor. Andrew Mellon, a large coal operator and at the time Secretary of the Treasury, suggested to President Coolidge that Lewis be given a cabinet post as Secretary of Labor--probably because Mellon wanted Lewis out of the way. Coolidge agreed; but when the position was offered, Lewis turned it down.¹¹

Coolidge was not the only president to experience

⁸Justin McCarthy. A Brief History of the United Mine Workers of America. (Washington: United Mine Workers Journal, 1962), p. 11.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰John Hutchinson. "Captain of a Mighty Host," Yale Review. Vol. I. (Autumn, 1960), p. 42-43.

¹¹Cyrus L. Sulzberger. Sit Down With John L. Lewis. (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 34-5.

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Lewis's determination to continue his efforts on behalf of the miners. In 1921, when President Harding had suggested that the miners accept a wage cut in order to help the troubled economy, Lewis rebuked him publicly and said,

In the comfort of the conference room it is easy to forget that the unemployed are not merely a problem to be solved by debate and discussion but are a living army of human beings who a few months or weeks ago had jobs and are now jobless and, for the most part, penniless.¹²

The Mingo Wars.

In 1925, Lewis entitled a book he had written, The Miners' Fight for American Standards and, indeed, a fight it had been. In 1920, violence had erupted in the southwestern coal fields of West Virginia. Lewis had ordered that the area be organized, but the coal operators retaliated by firing any worker suspected of having union sympathies and evicted him from their company-owned house. Alinsky stated that thousands of homeless miners were wandering over the countryside and that "cities of tents mushroomed in the fields as wives and their children huddled sick and starving in their rudimentary shelter."¹³

On August 24th, at Madison, West Virginia, a "citizens army" of 6,000 miners and sympathizers declared open war on over 2,000 strike breakers and "imported thugs."¹⁴

¹²Rex Lauck (ed). John L. Lewis and the International Union United Mine Workers of America: The Story from 1917-1952. (Silver Springs, Maryland: The International Executive Board of the United Mine Workers, 1952), p. 26.

¹³Alinsky, op. cit., p. 38. ¹⁴Ibid., p. 41.

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Three days later, after a great deal of bloodshed, the U. S. Army was called in and the Mingo County miners surrendered. The union presented no more threat to coal operators of West Virginia. The "Mingo" wars were over, but there was no union left.¹⁵

On January 17th, 1922, Lewis told the anthracite Tri District Wage Scale Convention meeting in Shamokin, Pennsylvania,

When I say we will take no backward step, I say it in appreciation of what that policy means, and if it requires an industrial conflict to avoid taking a backward step, then the industrial conflict may come.¹⁶

Indeed the conflict came. On April 22, 1922, both the bituminous and anthracite mines shut down. After five and a half months of having all of their mines shut down, the operators surrendered and the union won its demands. Numerous local strikes followed, one of which resulted in the death of twenty strike breakers and guards at Herrin, Illinois. In spite of this tragedy, which Lewis declared was not supported by the union, the U.M.W.A. continued their "no backward step" policy through 1924. Late that year Samuel Gompers died and there was a move to name Lewis as the new president of the A.F.L. but the President of the U. M. W. A. remained in office.

¹⁵United Mine Workers Journal, April 2nd, 1920, p. 1.

¹⁶Lauck, op. cit., p. 24.

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Radio Address of August 7th, 1925Speaking Situation.

General Background. Lewis's "no backward step" policy continued through 1925. The miners had won several significant victories. In a West Virginia legal battle, the West Virginia--Pittsburgh Coal Company brought suit against the U.M.W. for attempting to organize the company mines. Their action was based upon a 1913 injunction prohibiting certain methods of organization. Following an appeal by the U.M.W., Federal Judge W. W. Baker ruled that "peaceful persuasion was not in violation of the old injunction."¹⁷

This victory was short lived, however, for on May 19th, Judge Baker issued an order restraining the miners from using "peaceful persuasion" as a method of organizing. The apparent reversal aroused not only the miners but former Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes, who dubbed the restraining order as "enslavement of the human mind."¹⁸

On May 11th, The National Retail Coal Merchants Association meeting in Atlantic City heard Walter G. Merritt, counsel for the operators, condemn the labor movement as being all one sided. According to Merritt, the operators "must be plaintiffs and not defendents."¹⁹ Merritt's admonition was directed at those who would attend the Operators Wage Scale Committee meeting to be held in Atlantic

¹⁷Carnes, op. cit., p. 141.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 142.

¹⁹Ibid.

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City on August 16th. This meeting of operators and union representatives was to be less than a week after Lewis would address the people in this area by radio.

It was also during 1925 that Lewis wrote and published his only book, entitled The Miners' Fight for American Standards, in which he stated his basic belief that (1) the purchasing power of the masses is the pivot upon which the economic system turns and (2) that maintenance of wage standards in coal in the long run increases industrial efficiency.²⁰

Special Issues. As was noted in Chapter II, the ostensibly cold-blooded, hard-hearted Lewis had one "Achilles heel"--the wives and children of the miners he represented. Writing in an unusually metaphorical style, Alinsky recounts Lewis's reaction to the Union Pacific Mine Disaster of 1905.

The descent into the mine that had become a charnel house was, for Lewis, a descent into hell. . . but what ripped his emotions to shreds was the sight of the numb, mute faces of the wives now suddenly widows of the men they loved. It was at Hannah, Wyoming, that John L. Lewis was baptized in his own tears.²¹

At this time Lewis had little hope of improving the safety conditions of the mines in order to prevent such tragedies. He believed in one thing at a time, and his present fight was for wages, not safety. Safety would have

²⁰John L. Lewis. The Miners' Fight for American Standards. (Indianapolis: Bell Publishing Company, 1925), pp. 40-52.

²¹Alinsky, op. cit., p. 19.

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to wait. He asserted, however, that the intrinsic element of danger in mining was a basis for a higher wage. He had emphasized this argument in his book; and since the anthracite operators were arming themselves with statistical data on wage and price ratios, cost of living index and other economic problems, Lewis looked to the sentimental side of the questions for arguments which they could neither answer nor deny.

A second special issue related to wages was the matter of arbitration. It started in Atlantic City while Lewis and the U.M.W. were conferring with anthracite coal operators regarding a new wage contract. On August 4th, three days before the speech, Samuel D. Warringer, president of the Lehigh Coal Company, spokesman for the operators and a bitter foe of Lewis, left Atlantic City and refused to come back to the conference unless the U.M.W. would subject itself to arbitration. Lewis refused to arbitrate the wage issue, stating that "anthracite operators have a well-known policy of keeping close to an arbitrator."²²

Lewis opposed arbitration not only because he felt that the arbitrators could be "bought" but also because there was, according to Lewis, no way that human lives could be arbitrated.

Audience. Lewis delivered this radio address on August 7th, 1925 over radio station WED in Atlantic City,

²²Ibid., p. 20.

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New Jersey. Although network broadcasting had reached a fairly advanced stage by 1925,²³ WED was not affiliated with any of them. It would indeed be difficult to determine just how many people were able to hear Lewis's speech. Since transmitter power and frequency regulations were virtually nonexistent in 1925, the effective radiated power of the WED transmitter that day may have been determined by the whims of the owner or the engineer on duty. There is also the possibility that competing stations--and there were over 500 of them in 1925--may have attempted to "jam" WED.

Referring to the chaotic conditions of this period, Emery states:

Some stations stepped up their power, jumped frequencies and changed hours of operation at will in a frenzied effort to enlarge their coverage areas and audiences and achieve competitive advantage.²⁴

Occasion. The occasion for this speech was a recess in the meetings between the scale committee of the Tri District Convention, United Mine Workers of America, and the anthracite operators. The negotiating sessions had started on July 9th, 1925, but by August 5th, it appeared that a strike was imminent since neither side could agree on either a new wage scale or even a method of arriving at one. President Coolidge had "let it be known on high authority,"

²³ Walter B. Emery. Broadcasting and Government. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1961), p. 14.

²⁴Ibid.

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that he would do nothing until a strike occurred, but the nation was still uneasy because the bulk of American homes during the '20's were still heated by coal. This speech, then, was Lewis's answer to the charges by operators that the miners were being unreasonable and had refused to arbitrate the matter.

Substantive and Rhetorical Outline.²⁵

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| <p>I. I trust that my invisible audience this evening will do me the honor of paying close attention to what I shall say. I trust also that this great audience will give serious thought and consideration to the message which I shall present dealing as it does with</p> | <p>I. Introduction and attention arresting statements. Attempts at good will are evident when Lewis refers to "this great audience." A logical appeal for attention is present in the second sentence. Lewis beseeches his "great" audience to listen because his mes-</p> |
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²⁵The substantive outline, in this case, is a reproduction of the text of the entire speech in outline form. There are no interpolations or omissions, except, of course, the digits and letters used to show structural relationship. The rhetorical outline is a systematic annotation of rhetorical techniques based upon the author's analysis of the text of the speech. It does not include a notation or judgment concerning all of the elements of Invention, Arrangement, and Style, but only those which appear most significant to the speaker, the audience, and the occasion. Because of the infinite number of variables which could be attached to the latter considerations, the criteria defined in Chapter I (Ethos, Pathos, and Logos) will serve to further circumscribe the notations and judgments included in the rhetorical outline.

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and industry that is vital in its importance to the American People.

II. Without fuel, the very life blood of the nation would run cold and stagnant. And the public must have fuel in a never-ending, steady, stream or inconvenience must be the result.

A. Hard and soft coal constitute the basic fuel supply of the nation.

1. So-called substitutes may come and go, but, after all,
2. the people of this great land, must, and they do, de-

sage deals with that which is vital to them.

II. Metaphorical self-evident "truth" comparing "fuel" with "blood." It should be noted at this point that all of section II is an attempt at deductive reasoning. The first two sentences are to a degree, motive appeals to subsistence and security.

A. Continuation of the deductive process. As Lewis moves from the general reference to "fuel" contained in II to the more specific word "coal."

1. Qualifying statement used to support and clarify IIA.
2. General self-evident truth used in support of IIA

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pend upon coal as their prime and reliable fuel.

- B. Coal supplies the energy and power that keeps the wheels of industry in motion.
- C. It drives our transportation system.
- D. It cooks our food and makes it fit for human consumption.
- E. It pumps and transports water.
- F. It produces heat and light.
- G. It is the very essence of human and public welfare.

and as an attempt at good will through praise of his audience.

- B. Specific example and motive appeal to subsistence for those listeners associated with industry.
- C. Specific example and motive appeal to subsistence for those listeners employed by, associated with, or using "our transportation system."
- D. Specific example and motive appeal to subsistence for housewives.
- E. and F. Specific example in support of IIB.
- G. Generalization and conclusion of the deductive reasoning evident in paragraph II.

III. No

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A.

III. No one more fully realizes the tremendous importance of coal to the well-being of the nation than does the coal miner himself.

A. That is the reason why the coal miner applies himself so diligently to the task of producing this necessary fuel.

1. Because he owes a duty to the public, the coal miner goes into the dark and dangerous recesses and caverns of the earth, amid all the terrors and hazards of those underground places, risking his life, day after day, that,

III. Generalization used in introducing a new line of argument. Emotional appeal stressing the sincerity and acumen of the "coal miner."

A. Generalization and erroneous conclusion. Lewis provides the listener with two generalizations and on this basis attempts to show a cause to effect relationship.

1. Generalization incorporating strong emotional appeals in an attempt to sanctify and create pity for the coal miner. Also present is the use of specific description or verbal picture in order to heighten the effect of Lewis's

- argument. Appeals to good will between the miner and those who,
- a. the people may have warm, comfortable homes;
 - b. that they may have wholesome cooked food;
 - c. that they may have light;
 - d. that industry may continue to operate;
 - e. that railroads, streetcars, and steamships may transport freight and passengers from place to place;
 - f. that trade and commerce may be carried on.
- a. want warm, comfortable homes,
 - b. desire cooked food,
 - c. need light,
 - d. want industry to operate,
 - e. have good transportation facilities, and
 - f. adequate trade and commerce.
- These appeals are in direct answer to the needs Lewis established in II B through II F.

2.

B. Bu
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1.

2.

C. T
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2. He is a soldier in the army of public welfare.

B. But let me remind you that,

1. while the coal miner owes a duty to the public in these matters,

2. the public must not forget that it, likewise, owes a duty to the coal miner who assumes these risks and hazards and performs this great service to humanity.

C. The people must see to it that every proper and possible precaution

2. Figurative analogy designed to show the militancy of the miner for his task.

B. Attention arresting device indicating the beginning of a comparison and antithesis argument.

1. Restatement of III.

2. Emotional appeal to equity. Argument for the reciprocal nature of duty and responsibility through the use of such vague phrases and colorful expressions as "assumes these risks and hazards," and "great service to humanity."

C. A purposeful statement, a generalization, and a motive appeal to equity

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h
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IV. This
Mine
is a
from
comp
and

is taken to protect him in life and limb.

1. His conditions of employment must be such as to make it safe for him to perform his labor, and

2. He must receive such measures of compensation as shall be fair for his service.

IV. This is what the United Mine Workers of America is asking at this time from the anthracite coal companies--nothing more and nothing less.

and reciprocal responsibility.

1. An example used as a purposeful statement in support of C.

2. A second example within the same sentence used as an appeal to equity.

IV. Conclusion of the general deductive process which began in the second paragraph, (II) of the speech. Up to this point, Lewis has, for the most part, argued deductively through general, but nonetheless obvious, cause to effect reasoning that the public have an obligation to the miner because the miner serves them well. If his audience agreed with him

A. F. C. O. H. O. H. U. H. t
B. F. C. H. v. t. F. B. t. w.

A. The coal miner is underpaid, and the United Mine Workers of America is asking that his rate of compensation be revised and placed upon a level of fair and even justice.

B. The anthracite coal companies are refusing to make such revision of wages although we happen to know that they could grant the demands of the anthracite mine workers and pay an

in principle during parts II and III, he now attempts to win their support specifying the antagonists and the protagonists of his pathetic drama.

A. An assertion of apparent fact without evidence. Lewis also appeals specifically to equity and justice. His specific reference to the United Mine Workers as upholders of what is fair and just serves to create good will for the U.M.W. and ethical appeal for Lewis, their spokesman.

B. Allegation of unfair practices against the anthracite coal companies. Parts A and B of this section of the speech clearly establish the specific organizations which act for and against equity

increased rate of wages without adding a single penny to the cost of coal to the consumer.

1. Their profits are so large they could grant this increase in wages and still make a profit that would compare more than favorably with profits earned in other lines of business.

and justice. This argument is supported by Lewis's assertion that such increases would not affect retail coal prices thus eliminating the mental rebuttal by the listener, that increased wages might come out of the "consumer's" pocket.

1. Further vilification of the mine operators as economic gluttons who surpass "other" lines of business in their greed. It is possible that Lewis was attempting to keep the favor of these "other lines of business" by singling out only the coal operators as the only ones working

2. But when we state the case of the coal miner to the anthracite mine operators, we are met not only with a blunt refusal that they will grant any increase but a demand for a reduction in the present pitifully low wage rates.

B. There is another very striking reason why the anthracite mine worker is entitled to fair consideration, and that is the extremely

on an unfair profit margin.

2. An antithesis argument approaching reductio ad absurdum since Lewis has heretofore argued that present rates are too low and completed his vilification of the operators by suggesting that they want to lower wages even more. The argument is probably inserted at this point in order to "clinch" the argument through strong appeals to equity and pity.

B. Logical appeal relating rate of hazard to rate of pay as well as a supporting argument for IV A.

hazardous character
of his occupation.

1. The anthracite industry exacts a terrible toll of human life from those brave men who produce the coal.
 - a. More than 500 anthracite mine workers are killed each year by accidents in and around the mines, and
 - b. more than 25,000 are seriously injured.
2. Analyze in your own minds if you can the meaning of these appalling figures.

1. Emotional appeal to pity and self-preservation. Words and phrases such as "terrible toll," "human life" and "brave men" are used to increase the strength of the appeals.
 - a. Logical proof through statistical evidence.
 - b. Logical proof through statistical evidence.
2. Direct personal appeal from Lewis to his listeners to engage in a suggested thought

- a. Picture to yourself the size of the army of industrial soldiers who lay down their lives for the comfort and well-being of their fellow man.
- b. Marshal these 500 victims of the anthracite industry in line and let them parade in your mind down Main Street 500 strong.
- c. At the head of this parade let there be a band playing a funeral dirge because these 500 able-bodied men are

process.

- a. b. c. and d.

An excellent example of commiseration. This part of Lewis's address is different from his usual metaphors. It is a highly dramatic use of statistics designed to arouse pity. It is an imaginary visual aid creating empathy for the cause of the coal miner. It was apparently designed to serve the dual purpose of arousing strong feelings of compassion in the audience and in so doing, to revile and shame

marching to
certain
death, and,

- d. Behind these men place the more than 2,000 wives, children, dependents, who are to be left helpless through the death of their breadwinners.

3. What a sorrowful depressing scene this is. And, yet, it is just what ~~the~~ whole thing means. And this is not all.

- a. In this same parade there will be 25,000 maimed and crippled and disfigured in varying degree,

the coal operators.

3. Direct emotional appeal and transitional statement returning the audience to "the parade."

- a. and b. Continuation of Lewis's word picture. It includes direct appeals not only to pity but to the home, mother-

and,
 b. 100,000 of
 their depend-
 ents, suffer-
 ers from ac-
 cidents in
 the anthra-
 cite industry.

hood, fatherhood,
 and various other
 emotional con-
 cepts.

V. As you look upon that
 parade with all its mis-
 ery and woe we ask you
 to decide for yourselves
 whether the industry,
 the coal operator, and
 the public should do all
 that can be done to save
 and protect the miner
 and his family.

A. We insist that the
 miner shall have a
 wage rate that will

V. A rhetorical question
 which is "loaded" beyond
 description. Lewis is
 asking his audience to
 reason with the verbal
 drama he has implanted in
 each of their minds.
 Since such concepts as
 pity, equity, mother-
 hood, the home, and so on
 bring out individual res-
 ponses depending upon the
 environment and person-
 ality of the listener, it
 is hard to tell which of
 these ideas will predom-
 inate.

A. In this sentence Lewis
 begins to withdraw the
 listener from the com-

enable him,

1. to lay aside something against the day when he shall fall victim to the harvest of death, or,
2. when he shall find himself maimed and helpless for the remainder of his life.

B. Anthracite operators ask the miners to arbitrate the questions involved in the negotiation of a wage and working agreement.

miseration and present him with the equitable alternative. His use of the first person plural rather than singular allows him to identify himself more closely with the cause he advocates.

1. Metaphorical cause for A. Charged language is also evident.
2. Extreme appeal to pity through the loaded phrase "maimed and helpless for the remainder of his life."

B. General statement of fact regarding his opponent.

1. Arbitrate what?

- a. Is it possible that we are asked to arbitrate the matter of life or death?
- b. Are we to arbitrate the question of whether the miner shall be permitted to earn a decent American living for himself and his family?
- c. Are we to arbitrate the earning capacity of the miner?
- d. Are we to arbitrate the amount which he may spend for food, for clothing, for shelter, or education of his

1. Semi-rhetorical question.

a. b. c. and d.

Answers to B 1.
indicating the
apparent absurd-
ity of B.

children and
his status as
a citizen?

2. Such questions are not subject to arbitration, and the United Mine Workers of America will never agree that such personal and family matters are to be determined by outsiders.

3. Why, may I ask, should the miners be criticized when they refuse to agree to arbitration when the operators refuse to agree to complete and searching arbitration of their profits?

VI. The United Mine Workers of America believe in the fairmindedness of the American public.

2. Purposeful statement in direct answer to B 1.

3. Rhetorical question charging the operators with a violation of equity.

VI. VI A, and VI B. A rather banal generalization employing vague, highly emotional euphemisms

A. We believe the American public stands for justice and right, and,

B. That the square deal is the natural impulse of the good American Citizen.

C. And surely when the American public learns all of the facts in regard to the anthracite industry, and the problems of the coal miners,

such as, "the fairmindedness of the American public. . . stands for justice and right. . . square deal. . . good American citizen. These sentences begin the dramatic peroration to Lewis's speech. He has included motive appeals to equity, justice, and--in keeping with Lewis's word choice--the "American way." Apparently, Lewis's basic purpose in this section is to gain the good will and support of his audience although the inherent emotional generalities may seem ludicrous to some.

C. Self-evident truth intimating that the miners injustice should be obvious. The implication, of course, is that there is in reality only one side to the controversy.

1. it will insist that there shall be granted to him what measure of consideration that will bring a little more happiness and sunshine into his home and his life, and,

2. Comfort him with the thought that in this great land of ours there is a native understanding of justice and of determination on the part of the public to see to it that every man shall receive a square deal.

Subsequent Events.

On September 1st, 1925, only three weeks after Lewis's speech, the U.M.W. struck all anthracite coal mines.

1. Another somewhat banal emotional appeal to pity and equity. Here again the use of such phrases as "a little happiness and sunshine," may strike many listeners as too sentimental and unctuous and thus cost Lewis the respect of many of his listeners.

2. Highly emotional conclusion with emphasis on emotional appeals to pity and equity.

Carnes estimates that over 150,000 miners left the pits. As he had stated in the speech, Lewis refused to arbitrate. Warringer and the other operators argued not only that they would refuse a wage increase but that wage reductions would have to be made in certain areas. A few days after the strike started Pennsylvania's Governor Gifford Pinchot called in Lewis and W. W. Inglis, who was representing the operators. Again they attempted to settle the strike but to no avail. In the meantime, independent coal companies were boosting prices, a practice which Lewis had called "rank ruthless profiteering."²⁶

A few weeks later, the New York Times in an editorial entitled "Enemies Within Labor's Household," charged that Lewis's leadership had not been "the sort to encourage those who favor collective bargaining in large industry." Said the Times,

Each nominal success which President Lewis has won for the United Mine Workers has been a real damage to thousands of his own followers, and has led to a marked diminution of the coal mined by union labor. . . . This sort of blunder in tactics cannot be indefinitely repeated without bringing the whole march forward of organized labor to a halt.²⁷

The anthracite strike lasted for over five months. During the U.M.W. convention in 1927, Lewis summarized the results of this strike in a speech to the delegates.

²⁶Carnes, op. cit., p. 170.

²⁷New York Times, September 4, 1925.

This strike continued for 170 days through the coldest months of the winter of 1925 and 1926. It is estimated that the operators spent a sum approximating \$35,000,000 aside from their lost profits in their efforts to crush the United Mine Workers of America in the anthracite region. . . the strike was finally ended and the men returned to the mines February 18th, 1926.²⁸

In a sense the strike ended in an economic stalemate. The union gained no wage increases, and the operators gained no reduction of wages. At least, the miners had "held the line."

Other Radio Speaking: 1925-1935

Although Lewis did a great deal of speaking before committees, conventions, and labor meetings of all kinds during this period, very little of it was done on the radio. There is, of course, the possibility that some of his speeches were "picked up" by local stations. However, since Lewis was speaking primarily for his non-radio audience, these speeches will not be included within the purview of this study.

Radio Address of September 11th, 1932.

Although Lewis was still opposed to the nationalization of mining, by 1932, he had come to the conclusion that the entire industry needed some form of government regulation. The depression had found its way into the coal fields. Thousands of miners were unemployed and held little hope of being called back to their jobs. In short, things

²⁸Lauck, op. cit., p. 35.

appeared to be worsening, and the U.M.W.A. had to adopt new and radical methods in order to relieve the problem.

On the evening of September 11th, 1932, Lewis spoke over the N.B.C. radio network.²⁹ His purpose was to outline the threefold aims of labor and to dispel the idea that prosperity was "just around the corner." As Lewis put it that evening, "There is only one way to bring back prosperity, and that is to buy it back!"³⁰

The three relief measures that Lewis outlined in his speech were, (1) a shorter working day and week, (2) the creation of a national economic council, and, (3) the enactment of a national industrial code.³¹

Although Lewis, in typical fashion, charges that employers are trying to "pauperize wage rates," the bulk of the speech is characterized by positive suggestion and logical appeal rather than the emotional invective which appeared so frequently in his 1925 speech. His style is, for the most part, non-metaphorical and his arrangement follows a problem to solution pattern. On a national scale, the effects of this speech are vastly overshadowed by the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt to the Presidency, and the emergence of relief legislation in all areas through the famous "first hundred days."

One of the possible immediate effects of the speech,

²⁹United Mine Workers Journal, September 16th, 1932, p. 1.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Carnes, op. cit., p. 238.

however, is that Lewis was re-elected President of the U.M.W.A. only three months later.³²

Summary.

The period between 1925 and 1935 is best described by Lewis's own phrase. Although wages had not increased to any significant extent, they had not been reduced either. Thus they had taken "no backward step."

Although it would be gratifying to say that Lewis's radio speaking during this period played a substantial part in maintaining the union's strength and solidarity, it was his platform and conference speaking that seem to deserve the most credit. As was indicated before, Lewis was very mobile during this period. He travelled a great deal, not only around Washington, but to New York, Atlantic City, and to the coal producing areas of Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. Everywhere he went, he talked with people.

Carnes, whose book was published in 1936, summarizes Lewis's speaking during this period. He describes "Labor's Moses" as having "the swagger and dash of a Teddy Roosevelt." As Carnes states, "Wherever he went he was always good theater."

People said that he never restricted conversations to unionism and they found him well versed on nearly every subject. . . he would sit on a wash basin on a crowded pullman train and extemporize for hours on his views.³³

³²Lauck, op. cit., p. 48.

³³Carnes, op. cit., pp. 209-210.

Although Lewis had time for only a few hobbies, one of them was interesting. Carnes reports that during the early thirties he enjoyed attending lectures given by reactionaries. He would try to obtain a seat as close to the speaker as possible; and just as the lecture began, Lewis would "tilt his massive head and scowl at their feet . . . it was very disconcerting to the defender of the old order of things."³⁴

Lewis's radio speaking during this period was in a sense experimental just as radio itself was during the '20's. His 1925 reference to "the invisible audience" and the statement that they should listen carefully to what he was going to say, reveal an uncertainty on Lewis's part as to the effectiveness of radio as a public forum.

Since there are only two actual speeches during this period, and since they were diametrically different in terms of style and the use of various appeals, there are few general statements or similarities that can be found.

Perhaps the only observation that can be made is that while Lewis mistrusted the medium in 1925, the fact that by 1935 there were over seventeen million radio receivers in the United States gave him added impetus to use radio in order to reach the millions of workers scattered across the United States.

³⁴Carnes, op. cit., p. 300.

CHAPTER IV

LEWIS'S RADIO SPEAKING : 1936-1939

This chapter includes the "Future of Labor" speech of September 7th, 1936, in which Lewis secures support for the C.I.O. and the principle of collective bargaining, the "Guests at Labor's Table" speech of September 3rd, 1937, in which he rebukes Roosevelt and others for failing to support labor, and his radio speech of March 21st, 1938, to the British Empire in which he describes Labor's plight in the United States to the people of Great Britain and other parts of the Commonwealth.

"Future of Labor" Radio Address of September 7th, 1936

The Speaking Situation.

General Background. Nineteen hundred and thirty-six was a presidential election year. Since the speech was delivered slightly one month before the voters were to go to the polls, it would almost certainly have political implications in spite of the fact that Lewis refrains from mentioning either of the candidates.

Roosevelt's first term of office had been one of the most controversial in the history of the nation. Statistically, at least, he could point to myriad accomplishments. Unemployment had dropped by about four million

since early 1933. At least six million new jobs had been created. Payrolls in manufacturing industries had doubled since 1932. Stock prices had more than doubled.¹ In spite of Republican allegations that Roosevelt was committing national, economic, and social suicide, the complete chaos of 1933 seemed to be easing up.

Roosevelt was running against the man that Edward R. Murrow and, perhaps, many others were calling a "Kansas Coolidge."² "Alf" Landon characterized himself as being "a liberal but not a spendthrift."³

Shortly after Roosevelt took office, the National Industrial Recovery Act was made law. Section 72 of that act was characterized by Lauck as "the child of the U.M.W.A."⁴ It was devised by Lewis and several associates originally as a part of Coal Stabilization Bill which the U.M.W.A. had unsuccessfully tried to push through Congress in 1928 and 1930. In 1933, however, Lewis convinced Roosevelt that the inclusion of this section was a necessity for American labor and hence for the New Deal.

Section 7a was labor's "Magna Charta." Essentially,

¹James McGregor Burns. Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox. (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1956), pp. 266-7.

²Edward R. Murrow. "I Can Hear It Now." Side 1, Band 6.

³Ibid.

⁴Rex Lauck. (ed) John L. Lewis and The International Union United Mine Workers of America: The Story from 1917 to 1952. (Silver Springs, Maryland: The International Executive Board of the United Mine Workers, 1952), p. 45.

it legalized collective bargaining and opened the door to industry-wide unionization. It stated, in part,

. . . employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the interference, restraint or coercion of employers or their agents. . ."⁵

Ironically, Lewis's "rock-ribbed" Republicanism had led him to support Hoover in 1932 but the N.I.R.A. as well as Roosevelt himself, had given Lewis sufficient cause to change his mind.⁶ The recruiting posters of the mineworkers following the passage of the N.I.R.A. announced, "Even the President (Roosevelt) wants you to join the United Mine Workers."⁷ Lauck reports that Lewis "spoke from train observation platforms, in public halls and over the radio, telling the people to vote for Roosevelt."^{8 9}

Special Issues. Lewis admits that his desire to see Roosevelt re-elected was not based solely upon the President's support of labor during his first term of office.¹⁰ It was at this same time that Lewis with the help of Sidney Hillman of the Clothing Workers and David

⁵Ibid.

⁶Frances Perkins. The Roosevelt I Knew. (New York: The Viking Press, 1946), p. 67.

⁷Ibid., p. 231.

⁸Lauck, op. cit., p. 81.

⁹Ibid., p. 82. Lauck also notes that the U.M.W.A. donated half a million dollars to Roosevelt's campaign fund in 1936 and went on to organize a nationwide labor campaign at the "grass roots level." Frances Perkins, then Secretary of Labor, states that the U.M.W.A. contributed only \$156,000 and that it was on a "loan" basis. See Perkins, p. 159.

¹⁰Statement by John L. Lewis, personal interview.

Dubinsky of the Ladies Garment Workers together with five other union leaders were forming the Committee for Industrial Organization. "Organize the unorganized" was Lewis's militant call.¹¹ The A. F. of L., although enjoying the benefits of the New Deal, was reluctant to accept the idea of industry-wide unionization. Under the basic concept of craft unionism as espoused by Gompers, Green, and others there was no room for Lewis's sweeping plans for mass organization.

In October, 1935, Lewis addressed the A. F. of L. Convention in Atlantic City. He cited past attempts to organize mass industry workers on a craft union basis and said in conclusion,

For twenty-five years or more, the American Federation of Labor has been following this precise policy, and surely in the absence of any other understanding of the question, a record of twenty-five years of constant unbroken failure should be convincing to those who actually have a desire to increase the prestige of our great labor movement by expanding its membership to permit it to occupy its natural place in the sun. . . . The organization I represent has an interest in this question. . . . Organize the unorganized!¹²

In spite of the fact that the A. F. of L. turned down Lewis's pleas for industry-wide organization, he met with Dubinsky, Hillman, and others and formed the Committee that evening.

This historic event is so often overshadowed by the

¹¹United Mine Workers Journal, October 23, 1935.

¹²Ibid.

violence which occurred on the convention floor the following day. While this incident has been described by many writers, Alinsky's version is based on the testimony of many observers. According to Alinsky, the fight started on the assembly floor when "Big Bill" Hutcheson, the 6' 3", 300 pound leader of the Carpenters Union began to heckle a delegate who was speaking in behalf of industrial unionization.

Lewis walked up the aisle and approached Hutcheson. As usual the convention became quiet. Lewis in a low voice said something to Hutcheson that caused the leader of the Carpenters Union to reply profanely. First the word "bastard" was heard, then the crack of Lewis's fist on Hutcheson's face. The strained peace within the A. F. of L. had collapsed with the crash of chairs under Hutcheson and Lewis as they went down.¹³

Alinsky goes on to describe Lewis's punch as the "shot that was heard 'round the world."¹⁴

In January, 1936, Lewis resigned as Vice-President of the A. F. of L. to devote all of his efforts to the U.M.W.A. and especially to the infant C.I.O.

During the months which followed, Lewis and the other members of the committee were still working within the framework of the A. F. of L. They had successfully organized the amalgamated glass workers in Toledo, Ohio, as well as the Amalgamated Association of Steel, Iron, and Tin Workers. But the A. F. of L. Executive Council,

¹³Saul Alinsky, John L. Lewis: An Unauthorized Biography. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1949), p. 76.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 78.

after issuing numerous orders that the C.I.O. disband, called for a "trial" of the C.I.O. unions. In August the C.I.O. was ejected from the A. F. of L. for refusing to "cease and desist" in its activities. Carnes provides some insight into the spirit of mass-industrial labor in the days immediately preceding Lewis's speech.

In the mass industries the workers had taken the C.I.O. as their economic religion and John Lewelyn Lewis as its prophet. The time was now; and with his organizers giving rebel yells of "Organize the Unorganized" John Lewis gave the order, "Attack!"¹⁵

Audience and Occasion. This speech was delivered by Lewis as an occasional speech, celebrating Labor Day, 1936. It originated in the studios of WJSV in Washington and was picked up there by a remote unit of the Columbia Broadcasting System and broadcast nationwide from 10:45 to 11:00 p.m. EST.

Since the occasion for the speech was Labor Day, Lewis found himself competing with persons equally, if not more, famous as speakers. N.B.C. was carrying a speech by William Green from 10:30 to 11:00 p.m. Moreover, Green could hope to pick up a legacy of listeners, particularly those interested in the issue of organized labor, from Earl Browder, who had immediately preceded Mr. Green on N.B.C. Lewis had been preceded by one half hour of music.¹⁶

¹⁵Cecil Carnes. John L. Lewis, Leader of Labor. (New York: Robert Speller Company, 1936), p. 85.

¹⁶New York Times, September 7th, 1936. p. 26.

Since rating organizations had not yet begun to check the evening long listening trends, there are no statistics available which would indicate the size of Lewis's audience and, in view of the present controversy surrounding the methods of the rating organizations, such evidence would probably not be conclusive even if it were available.

Purpose. Lewis's general purpose in this speech was to convince his audience that only through the process of unionization and collective bargaining could the American worker realize the just fruits of his labor.

The specific purpose of the speech is twofold. Firstly, Lewis is attempting to impress his audience with the need for collective bargaining; to point up the fact that a very small percentage of the present labor force is organized and therefore capable of such bargaining. Secondly, Lewis is attempting to vilify those industrialists who would impede the progress of labor organizers. He seeks to characterize such industrialists as saboteurs of democratic principles.

Substantive and Rhetorical Outline.

I. With the complexities of modern life and in the sharp struggle for existence, men are compelled to organize for the protection of their common interests.

A. The very freedom that glorifies our democracy seems to reserve its rewards for those who organize to obtain them.

1. Especially is this true in the economic field.
2. The struggle of the individual

I. A general statement providing the listener with an immediate indication as to the subject of the speech. The statement may contain at least two logical fallacies in that (1) the statement is a generalization and (2) it presupposes a cause to effect relationship which has not been supported by fact.

A. An appeal ad populum as well as over-generalization. Lewis presupposes that "organization" is prerequisite to the enjoyment of "The freedom that glorifies our democracy."

1. Lewis narrows the scope of the generalization.
2. Repetition of IA but in different

or the aspirations of a disorganized group are too often futile and tragic when they confront the power that comes from associated effort.

words.

B. Everywhere you look, you see acceptance of the principle of cooperative association.

1. in the professions
2. in finance
3. in manufacture
4. in commerce
5. in industrial management.

C. Outside of homes and farms, practically all of our invested wealth is in the hands of corporations.

1. Farm monopolies and mortgages, as well

B. Examples used in support of IA.

C. Further supporting examples with overtones of negative association directed at "corporations" through such words as "monopolies" and "mortgages."

as home mortgages, are, in substantial measure, under corporate control.

2. And the corporation is the finished product of this tendency to association.

D. It has been frequently stated that 200 non-banking companies of this country have assets in excess of 80 billion dollars. How closely interwoven these and other corporations are in actual direction, has been pointed out time and again.

1. I do not speak of the financial set-up

D. The negative association found in IC becomes more apparent, and is supported by "hearsay" testimony: Such phrases as "It has been repeatedly stated that" and "has been pointed out time and again" have no specific referants yet are used to substantiate suppositions. Lewis apparently feels that his listeners will accept these statements as self-evident.

1. Argument ad hominem.
While attempting to

that refers the great body of commercial and industrial capital to the control of the Morgan or the Rockefeller groups.

2. I refer rather to the associations which these incorporated employers have formed for the promotion of their own commercial and industrial advantages.

E. In mining, textiles, automobile-manufacturing, rubber, utility, iron and steel, everywhere you find employers' associations designed to effectively deal with labor.

clarify the issue, Lewis associates the names of two people with "the great body of commercial and industrial capital."

2. Completion of the ad hominem which links Rockefeller and Morgan with "associations" which promote "their own commercial and industrial advantages."

E. Supporting examples.

F. And over all you see the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Manufacturers' Association, organized not only to promote their commercial interests, but constantly advocating policies intended to control the labor market.

II. Now turn to our industrial workers, thirty million of them, and consider that less than four million of these are affiliated in an organization for their mutual protection and welfare as workers. Why should not they respond to impulse towards cooperation that vibrates throughout the nation?

F. Example of two specific organizations. The phrase "to control the labor market" is, to a degree, charged in that it does not indicate the nature of the "control."

II. Reasoning by comparison. Lewis is also implying that a black and white relationship exists. Throughout section II the organization of capital interests has been maximized and such organizational efforts were characterized by such words as "control" and "advantage." After minimizing the extent to which labor has been organized, Lewis refers to such organiza-

A. These are the men into whose hands our democracy must be entrusted, who compose our armies when the nation is at war, and upon whose shoulders rests primarily our whole industrial structure.

B. According to a recent report of the Brookings Institute, based on the high tide of industrial activity in 1929.

1. Nearly six million families, or more than twenty-one per cent of the total, had annual incomes less than \$1,000.

tion as "cooperation."

This reasoning culminates in rhetorical question.

"Why should not they respond . . . etc."

A. Lewis is using an emotional appeal intended to maximize the importance and patriotism of the worker. Also present is the implication that no one but "industrial workers" compose our armies.

B. Reasoning from statistics. Although it would be difficult to test the accuracy of the statistics, a number of questions concerning their application to his argument may be raised. How many of these families belonged to unions? What were the comparative incomes of non-

2. About twelve million families, or more than forty-two per cent, had \$1,500.

3. Nearly twenty million families, or 71 per cent of all, had incomes less than \$2,500.

C. These men and women have common economic interests that have common objectives.

1. in living wages,
2. in working conditions,
3. in legislation,
4. in securing better homes,
5. in the more abundant lives they may lead,
6. and in the heritage of economic opportunity they may leave their children.

D. They have the right to sell their labor collectively, free from

union families? How many of the families were, in fact, industrial workers? In short, do these statistics clearly indicate a direct relationship between unionization and income as Lewis is implying.

C. Positive suggestion appealing to justice and equality. Lewis is superficially appealing to the subsistence motives of those in his radio audience who are in a position to benefit from industrial unionization.

D. Appeals to justice.

the company-controlled agencies set up by their employers.

E. They have the right to negotiate their conditions of employment on equal terms with the centralized management that confronts them.

F. They have a right to have the machine gun and the gas bomb and the brutal guards and the snooping spy banished forever from the industrial life of America.

G. These men and women have the right to feel that management displeasure and arbitrary discharge will not be the pen-

E. Appeal to equality.

F. Appeal to security and peace. Also notable in this sentence is the use of highly charged and colored words such as "brutal guards" and "snooping spy." The sentence also seems to be hinting at a comparison between industrial working conditions and prison life although no clear analogy is made.

G. Appeals to equity subsistence, and freedom of action and association.

alty of free association.

H. They have the right to share in the satisfactions of modern life and to enjoy the dignity of modern democracy.

III. Does any one doubt that the workers in our great industries would organize but for the determined opposition of corporate management?

A. Why do they resort to company-controlled unions and employee representation agencies and the studied practice of discharging

H. Appeals to equality and dignity. It is noteworthy that from Section IIC through IIH Lewis has employed almost every motive appeal listed by Brembeck and Howell except sex.¹⁷

III. The first portion of this section is made up of five charged rhetorical questions including parts A, B, C, D, and E. The questions are worded so as to indict management for the lack of industrial organization. The questions are "loaded" in that, being rhetorical questions, they contain answers, implications, indictments, and opinions within themselves. This fact, together with

¹⁷Winston L. Brembeck and William S. Howell. Persuasion. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1952).

those advocating
labor unions?

- B. Why should the Iron
and Steel Institute
blazon its adver-
tised warning that
all of its resour-
ces would be used to
defeat the free or-
ganization of its
employees?
- C. Why does its manage-
ment challenge the
laws, defy the com-
mittee of the United
States Senate, and
man its plants with
armed thugs and
slinking spies?
- D. Why send their emis-
saries into the homes
to terrorize the
wives and break the
manhood of the
husbands?
- E. Why all this sinister
resistance to the
free organization of

colorful style in which
they are worded, tends
to indicate that Lewis
was using logical argu-
ment as a cover for his
emotional appeals.

their employees except to exploit the hours and wages of their labor?

F. The economic power exercised by these corporate employers in the field of labor relations, demands some fair counterpoise in the collective power of the workers.

1. After all, the labor unions are rooted in the institutions of our country.
2. They are grounded on the rights of private property.
3. They exist in response to the wage

F. Appeal to equality and argument tu quoque.

Lewis is saying in effect "if you can do this, we can, too."

1. Statement of history without reference to any of the "institutions" he mentions.
2. Generalization. No specific relationship between industrial organization and the existence of private property has been shown.
3. Glittering statement. Under a cap-

system.

4. Their claim to negotiate collectively with employers is the assertion of that freedom of contract which is the basis of economic freedom.

IV. The significant fact today is that American industry, because it has been controlled and directed by a ruthless and incompetent banking and financial dictatorship, has been recreant to humanity and democracy. The house of industry has been built upon the shifting sands of immediate profits,

italistic economy, virtually any grievance on the part of the worker can in some way relate to "the wage system."

4. Emotional appeal. Lewis compares collective bargaining with such positive and glowing terms as "freedom of contract" and "economic freedom."

IV. The first sentence is an emotional appeal filled with charged words and unsupported allegations. This sentence includes two examples of name calling and at least three unsupported conclusions. It is also a shocking statement which would arouse audience interest and tend to force listeners who may have been "neutral" to this point in

and it has fallen. It must be rebuilt on the eternal rocks of industrial democracy and human justice.

the speech to take one side or the other--either to despise him or to welcome his words as the manifestation of their own feelings. In this sense, it marks a turning point in the speech.

The name calling is evident in the words "ruthless," "incompetent," "dictatorship," and "recreant to humanity and democracy."

The unsupported conclusions are, (1) that what he is saying is "fact," (2) that there is a post hoc ergo propter hoc relationship showing banking and financial interests have no allegiance to humanity and democracy, and (3) that such interests are "ruthless and incompetent."

The two sentences which follow are primar-

ily metaphorical and serve to support in a simple illustrative and colorful manner the previous statement.

A. The problem of the American labor movement today, therefore, is one of organization and of constructive economic and political statesmanship for the future.

B. Upon the established principles and safeguards of our political democracy as a foundation, we must erect a sound superstructure of industrial democracy.

V. American political democracy has carried with it no tradition of class restrictions.

A. Its basic assurances

A. Glittering statement which links labor and "constructive statesmanship" in a cause to effect relationship.

B. Carrying through with the metaphor in Section IV, Lewis identifies labor with such phrases as (1) we must, (2) established principles, (3) safeguards, and (4) sound superstructure.

V. A statement of goodwill and, certainly, a generalization.

A. Further statements con-

B.

C.

have been,

1. "equality in opportunity" to all men, and
2. complete freedom from any political or economic discriminations.

B. These fundamental assumptions, however, in practice during recent decades are too often recognized as only academic theories rudely brushed aside in the harsh struggle for financial and economic advantage in the clash of our competitive enterprises.

C. Our corporate dictatorship has preferred immediate profits on a restricted output as a basis for,

1. new security issues,

or

tributing to Lewis's ethos together with emotional appeals to equality and freedom.

B. Lewis begins to identify corporate interests as those which have neglected equality and freedom.

C. Name calling and vilification of the "corporate dictatorship" as seeking too much internal power and wealth.

D.

E.

2. enhanced security
values

D. rather than,

1. increased employment
2. higher wage standards for industrial workers, or
3. more profitable markets for the farmer.

E. This corporate control has made a mockery of our vaunted American democracy by,

1. reducing the industrial workers to a condition of involuntary economic servitude,
2. by denying them the fundamental rights of self-organization and collective bar-

D. Comparison and identification of the "good" with labor's interests and enumerating in general terms the "good" and "fair" rights of labor.

E. Based upon the foregoing points (C and D) Lewis exaggerates the case by generalizing--viz. "A condition of involuntary economic servitude," and thus, draws the conclusion that "corporate control" has mocked democracy. Again, emotional appeals and charged words are evident.

gaining.

VI. Able economists have already shown that the entire scope of American life--social, economic, physical, and spiritual--may be vastly improved.

A. Under proper planning and regulation, American industry, after generous returns have been distributed to invested capital, could easily pay a minimum income to unskilled labor of at least \$2,500 a year.

VI. A statement so obvious and self-evident that upon careful examination it becomes almost ludicrous in and of itself. The sentence, therefore, may have been intended to guide the listener quickly into an agreeable frame of mind for what would follow.

A. A cleverly worded statement employing statistics. Also, Lewis has given the listener no clear cut distinction between his own opinions and those of the anonymous economists he mentioned in the sentence preceding this one, thus, an ad vericundiam fallacy is also present. The ad vericundiam together

with the rapid enumeration of suppositions in B, C, D, E, and F are all based upon the assumption that the unqualified and unexplained figures in A are correct. Lewis admits that if supposition A is correct--that the minimum wage could be raised to \$2,500 per year--it could be accomplished only "under proper planning." Thus, the entire argument is based upon an interpretation of the term "proper." Lewis admits, then, that "proper" would be "planning": that "could easily pay \$2,500 per year;" but in order to get this income, "proper" planning must exist, and around goes the

argument. In short, Lewis is guilty of circulus in probando-- his conclusion is used as the argument for drawing the conclusion.

B. Above this minimum could be added differentials in accordance with productive ability for

1. skilled craftsmen,
2. technical,
3. professional, and
4. executive classifications.

C. Such wages and salary standards could also carry with them a shortened work-week approximating thirty hours.

D. Sufficient leisure would thus be afforded to all groups of our people

1. to develop cultural inclinations,

B. B, C, D, E, and F.

Glittering generalities laden with motive appeals to security, subsistence, freedom, and equality, all based upon part A.

2. to perform human and social service, and
3. to take an intelligent and active part in determining the policies of our self-governing republic.

E. What is of especial importance in this connection also is the fact that under such enlightened industrial conditions, young people would not have to enter industry at an early age in order to supplement family income.

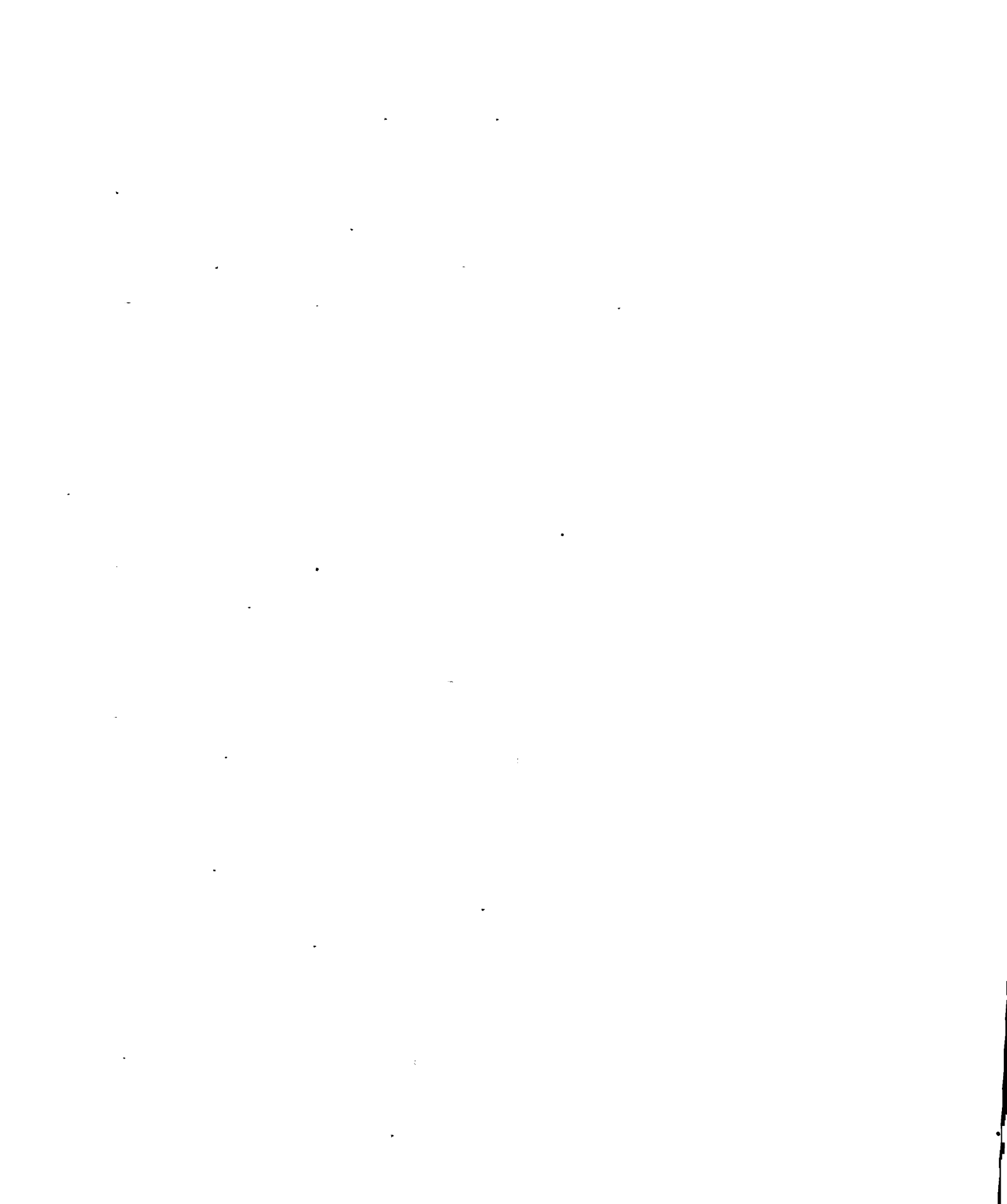
F. Additional educational opportunities would thus be created, and the nation itself in its manifold enterprises would thus be the beneficiary of the augmented intelligence of a population.

VII. Let labor organize.

- A. Let labor organize for its own protection.
1. Let it ask itself how individual units may expect fair considerations in the labor market.
 2. Let it consider the elaborate associations of capital, the centralized power of management, and brush aside the hypocritical plaudits of labor's individualism.
 3. Let the worker decide that his job shall be the basis of his independence, and not the condition of his servility.

VII. Positive general suggestion and the beginning of the preoration.

- A. Positive specific suggestion.
1. Rhetorical question implying that labor organization will create the "expectation" of "fair considerations."
 2. A tu quoque argument. "Right or wrong, if capital can do it, so can we" is the implication. Charged words and generalized phrases are present.
 3. Highly emotional appeal combined with black and white reasoning.



4. Let him organize that the workers of our nation may attain civic dignity and economic freedom;

a. that the industrial spy may no longer terrorize the factory, mine, or mill;

b. that the awful dread of management shall no longer shadow the home;

c. that there may be fairer distribution of the national income;

d. that the millions of our toilers may be more clearly heard in the councils of our nation.

B. Let the proponents of reaction take heed.

4. Highly emotional appeal using cause to effect reasoning.

a. emotional appeal

b. extreme emotional appeal

c. logical appeal but based on shaky cause to effect reasoning.

d. emotional appeal accentuated by a "grand" language.

B. and C. Purposeful statements emphasize-

C. Let the leaders of finance and corporate industry prepare to concede the rightful privileges of a free people. In our nation they,

1. cannot forever dam the impulse of workers to free association, or
2. barricade the road against the onward march of organized labor.

D. Let the workers organize

1. Let the toilers assemble.
2. Let their crystallized voice proclaim their injustices and demand their privileges.
3. Let all thoughtful citizens sustain them, for the future of America.

ing purpose and strength by threat, admonition and warning. Extensive use of emotionally charged words, emotional appeals, and short sentences.

D. Conclusion: This is a

series of emotionally charged, highly purposeful statements appealing to motives of justice, equity, and freedom. The short sentences would be easier to remember and thus "sloganize" the main points. Repetition of the phrases "let us"

and "let the workers" tends to plant the idea in the listener's mind that the workers are oppressed and should be released from some form of bondage and servility.

Subsequent Events.

As was mentioned before, Secretary Hull had spoken earlier in the evening, William Green was speaking on another network at the same time, and Green had been preceded by Earl Browder. William Borah had also spoken that evening, as had Norman Thomas and George L. Berry, President of Labor's Non-Partisan League. In short, it had been a typical Labor Day, filled with speeches both in praise of labor and admonishing labor.

The number of persons speaking to a nationwide radio audience on the same general subject area which Lewis had chosen is pertinent to an analysis of the events following Lewis's speech. The problem is to determine in any way the specific effects of a specific speech when the listening audience has been exposed to so many other speeches and speakers, some of whom advocated the same sympathy and support for organized labor. A cause to effect relationship between this speech and the reactions of a mass radio audi-

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ence is, therefore, difficult to determine.

Of all the speeches delivered that evening, the one most publicized by the Times was Secretary Hull's. The complete text of it occupied the second page, while Mr. Lewis's speech was given approximately six inches of one column on page twelve. If news space in one of the nation's leading newspapers is any criterion for determining the immediate significance of a speech, Lewis ranked below Hull, Green, Borah, and Thomas in that order but above Browder and Berry.¹⁹

The six inches devoted to Lewis's address included no comment. They were devoted solely to a concise review of the important points he had made. No editorial comment followed, nor did any reported reaction from others.

Not only was Lewis one of many speakers on Labor Day eve saying the same basic thing to the same general audience, he was speaking to a national radio audience that had recently heard many of his other speeches. It would not be difficult to suppose that Lewis's address of September 7th, even though he did not mention the President, may have helped Roosevelt in his bid for re-election. But this supposition is subject to the qualifying fact that only

¹⁹This list was determined by measuring the amount of column space given to news of the speech. Where the space was about the same, precedence was given to the column closest to or on page 1. Certainly, this survey is not intended to manifest conclusive proof of anything. It is included only as an indication of the relative importance of the speeches according to one newspaper.

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forty days after his Labor Day speech, Lewis openly supported Roosevelt. On October 17th, he told the people, "In a blinding white light of publicity and a microscopic examination of his every official act, he stands forth clear and undefiled. The common people have proclaimed him a good and faithful servant and they stand as his protector." . An American concerned with the future will vote for the re-election of Roosevelt."²⁰

If Roosevelt won with Lewis's support, would it not be more probable that his N.B.C. address of October 17th had done more toward this end than his address of September 5th.

Moreover, the general subject of the speech did not lend itself to repercussion or heated reaction. To be sure, Lewis was critical of his foes and emotionally appealing in his rhetoric. But unlike his radio addresses of September 3rd, 1937, and October 25th, 1940, Lewis included few ad hominem arguments or direct allegations. As stated in part B, his appeals were primarily to pity, justice, and equality.

Thus, the events which followed would be difficult to relate to this particular radio address.

Radio Address of September 3rd, 1937

The Speaking Situation.

General Background. The year 1937 had been both fruitful and bloody for the newly formed C.I.O. Lewis was

²⁰New York Times, October 18th, 1936, p. 1.

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being opposed by the A. F. of L., and the Roosevelt Administration was not supporting Lewis as he felt it should.

The C.I.O.'s 1937 battle plan started with the auto-producing cities of Detroit and Flint and Cleveland. On December 28th, 1936, the General Motors workers at Cleveland "sat down." On December 30th, four more plants followed suit.²¹ On January 1st, 1937 the New York Times headlines read,

35,000 MEN ARE MADE IDLE

SIT DOWN STRIKE CLOSES

7 GENERAL MOTORS PLANTS²²

Michigan began to feel the effects of the strikes from all sides. The Reverend Charles E. Coughlin bitterly attacked Lewis and the C.I.O.²³ Catholic Bishop Michael J. Gallagher of Detroit called the sit down strikes "illegal and communistic."²⁴

The greatest test of strength that the C.I.O. had yet encountered was now underway. The sit downs quickly spread to other G. M. plants in Toledo, Ohio, and Janesville, Wisconsin.

One of the basic issues was the type of strike that was being held--the "sit down." Heretofore workers had left the plant and premises and gone to their homes. On

²¹New York Times, December 30th, 1936, p. 1.

²²Ibid., January 1, 1937, p. 1.

²³Alinsky, op. cit., p. 113.

²⁴New York Times, January 12th, 1937, p. 12.

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this occasion they were staying in the plant and on the sidewalks in the plant area. Although this method of striking had been tried before, Lewis looks upon it as his own idea, and supports his contention with an episode during his boyhood journey through the West. According to Lewis, he was standing in a bar one evening where a large unruly man was trying to argue with a policeman. The policeman was insisting that the man leave. Instead of fighting back or leaving with the officer, the portly gentleman simply sat down on the floor. The perplexed officer argued with the man, tried to budge him, and finally walked out in disgust. "I never forgot that incident," Lewis said.²⁵

The strike was won by the C.I.O.; and G. M. signed the new contract on February 11th, 1937.

The G. M. dispute had several repercussions, however, that are reflected in this speech and will be discussed in detail in the next section entitled "special issues."

As the months went by, industry after industry became organized under the C.I.O. Goodyear Rubber, Goodrich Rubber, Jones and Laughlin Steel, Libby Owens Ford Glass, and many others settled with only mild disputes. U. S. Steel agreed to the C.I.O.'s demands without any dispute whatsoever. Chrysler Corporation made a final effort to avert a C.I.O. contract by forcing another strike but capitulated within several weeks. All during 1937, the C.I.O.

²⁵Statement by John L. Lewis, personal interview.

had forged ahead. But like any great force which directly affects the political, social, and economic structure of the nation, it created a wake of issues and controversy.

Special Issues. One of the major allegations waged against the C.I.O. during this period was that it was "run by Communists." This would be a difficult allegation for anyone to prove or disprove. Firstly, there is the semantic impact of the word "communist." Almost every author who dealt with this particular issue admitted that the Communists were supporting the C.I.O. in the same way that the Russians supported U. S. efforts during World War II. It was a case of a war-time alliance of necessity, and it would be difficult to say that the C.I.O. was not "at war" in an all out effort to organize mass industry. When names, dates, or places were cited, however, most authorities failed to use the word communist and chose to substitute more innocuous labels such as "left-winger" and "liberal" instead.

Alinsky notes that "the communists" had been supporting organized labor since the 20's; but when he names Wyndam Mortimer and Robert Travis of the United Auto Workers, he calls them "left wingers."²⁶ The same is true of his description of Lee Fressman, formerly counsel for Roosevelt's administrative assistant, Rexford Tugwell, and at the time general counsel for the U.M.W.A.²⁷ Dulles uses the terms

²⁶Alinsky, op. cit., p. 152.

²⁷Ibid., p. 153.

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"liberal," "leftist" and "communist" in the same paragraph but fails to make any distinction between the three terms.²⁸ In short, it is very difficult to ascertain just how much influence, if any, the communist party, per se, had in determining C.I.O. policy.

Sulzberger notes several cases where strikers were killed not by virtue of their labor aspirations but because they were considered to be Communists.²⁹ The Roman Catholic Bishop of Detroit said "The Communists advocated these strikes as a smoke screen for revolutions and civil war."³⁰ Shortly after the Chrysler contract was signed, Walter Chrysler turned to Lewis and said, "Mr. Lewis, I don't mind dealing with you, but it's the communists in these unions that worry me a great deal."³¹ The Communist scare of the late thirties began to focus its attention on the C.I.O., and Lewis could not ignore the issue. Lewis admits that there were card-carrying communists in the C.I.O.; but, realizing they were the best organizers he had, he let them stay. As he put it,

In those days we couldn't afford to turn a man upside down and shake him just to see what kind of cards fell out of his pocket.³²

²⁸Foster Rhea Dulles, Labor in America. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1949), p. 318.

²⁹Cyrus L. Sulzberger. Sit Down with John L. Lewis. (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), pp. 114-115.

³⁰New York Times. January 12th, 1937. p. 12.

³¹Alinsky, op. cit., p. 152.

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Justin McCarthy, editor of the United Mine Workers Journal, admits that several local unions were actually run by the communists--especially the meat packers union. He failed to indicate, however, whether they still control the unions.³³

As was indicated before, it is difficult to assess accurately the extent of communist influence in the C.I.O. One thing appears certain, however, and that is that there were communists present at all levels of the C.I.O. All of those interviewed admitted that this was probably true. But everyone, including Lewis, was quick to point out that to the members of the C.I.O. it was a case of "the end's justifying the means." The communists were the most loyal and effective organizers that the C.I.O. could find. "They knew how to sign 'em up" as Harold Ward put it.³⁴

Lewis, however, would never accept a worker knowing he was a communist. An instance is cited when a new C.I.O. official approached Lewis and opened the conversation saying, "You know I am a member of the Communist Party." Lewis replied, "I did not know. You are dismissed. I will not have a communist work for us."³⁵

In spite of his dislike for the Communists, Lewis respected their abilities as organizers. As long as he

³³Justin McCarthy, personal interview.

³⁴Statement by Harold Ward, personal interview.

³⁵Alinsky, op. cit., p. 154.



didn't know exactly who they were, he allowed their presence to continue. But, in the process, he would be forced to answer for that presence.

After Lewis's successful negotiations with the large steel companies, there followed the task of organizing the smaller independent companies such as Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, Bethlehem Steel Company, Inland Steel Company, Weirton Steel Company, and the Republic Steel Company. Collectively these companies were known as "Little Steel."

Thomas Girdler of Republic Steel was chosen to lead the fight against the C.I.O. Girdler claimed that while the steel industry legally must allow collective bargaining, verbal agreements were sufficient to satisfy the law. He contended that no written contracts need be written nor signed.

On Memorial Day, 1937, at 3:00 p.m. between one thousand and fifteen hundred striking workers, friends, wives, and children, gathered in a union hall in Chicago. The meeting was adjourned following a motion that all present parade to the gates of the Republic Steel Company and establish a picket line. The group then proceeded to their destination, where they were met by 260 Chicago policemen. First the police opened fire with tear gas bombs; and then as the strikers began to flee, the police began firing bullets. The Senate investigation of this incident, from which the foregoing details are taken, indicates that the Chicago police shot down thirty people, women and children

included. It was also revealed that all of them had been shot in the back.³⁶

Less than three weeks later in Youngstown, Ohio, a similar incident occurred in which women and children were shot. Governor Davey of Ohio ordered the National Guard to the scene to maintain the status quo; but, "they ended their martial law by strike breaking."³⁷ Dulles notes that motion pictures in both cases "clearly revealed that they (the strikers) had not precipitated the attack."³⁸

It is difficult to establish just when the break between Roosevelt and Lewis began. John Gunther feels it may have started late in 1936 when a White House secretary forgot to put Lewis's name on the invitation list to an important White House luncheon but included it for the reception which was to follow. To make amends, the President invited him to a private tea but several hours before this was to be held, Roosevelt was called away to an important meeting. "Mr. Lewis's intricate Welsh brain somehow construed this to be a deliberate insult," says Gunther, "and he never forgave the fancied affront."³⁹

The Secretary of Labor during this period was Frances

³⁶Report of the United States Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Report No. 46, p. 13.

³⁷Alinsky, op. cit., p. 156.

³⁸Dulles, op. cit., pp. 301-2.

³⁹John Gunther. Roosevelt in Retrospect. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 43.

Perkins. She invited Lewis to her office in January, 1937 to discuss legislation which was pending. Instead, Lewis began to interrogate her as to why the President hadn't called for his advice.

"It's two months since the election and he has not sent for John L. Lewis," he said. He proceeded to berate the President soundly, calling him all sorts of names, saying he had eaten labor's bread and now failed to stand by labor. It was a long, melodramatic tirade. He walked up and down the floor of my office making a public address to me.⁴⁰

In a later passage of her somewhat lengthy description of this encounter, she states, "His language was picturesque and was almost identical with the statement he made in a prepared address on Labor Day, 1937. It was as though he had given me a dress rehearsal."

If Miss Perkins' testimony is correct, it would tend to weaken the theory that the ad hominem directed at Roosevelt in the peroration of the speech was a direct result of Roosevelt's famous Shakespearean statement, "A plague on both your houses."

A third theory of the split comes from Alinsky, who says it did not really begin until February 3rd, 1937. During the course of the General Motors negotiations, Lewis left Washington for Detroit armed with the private statement of President Roosevelt that "the strike can continue

⁴⁰Frances Perkins. The Roosevelt I Knew. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 43.

as far as I'm concerned." In discussing the issue with Governor Murphy of Michigan, Lewis was told that the President had told Murphy that the strike was to be ended. In a quandary, Murphy suggested that he call the President and inform Roosevelt of their problem. Murphy suggested that Lewis listen in on an extension phone. When Murphy told the President of Lewis's side of it, Roosevelt replied, "Disregard whatever Mr. Lewis tells you."⁴¹

The most famous warrant for Lewis's remarks about the President came on June 20th, 1937, when in reaction to the crippling "Little Steel" dispute, Roosevelt said in reference to both Lewis and Girdler, "a plague on both your houses." Although the explanations previous to this one may well be true, there is some indication that Lewis was still supporting Roosevelt in spite of their personal feud, especially in Pennsylvania where he had been campaigning for the President.⁴²

This open support ceased following the Roosevelt statement of June 30th, 1937, but the reasons for Lewis's hostility toward the President may have dated back at least ten months.

Audience and Occasion. This speech was delivered from the C.B.S. studios in Washington, D. C., between 10:30 and 11:00 p.m., September 3, 1937, three days before Labor

⁴¹Alinsky, op. cit., p. 130.

⁴²New York Times, June 23rd, 1937. The Times refers to it as a "third term boom."

Day to a nationwide audience over the C.B.S. radio network.

Purposes.

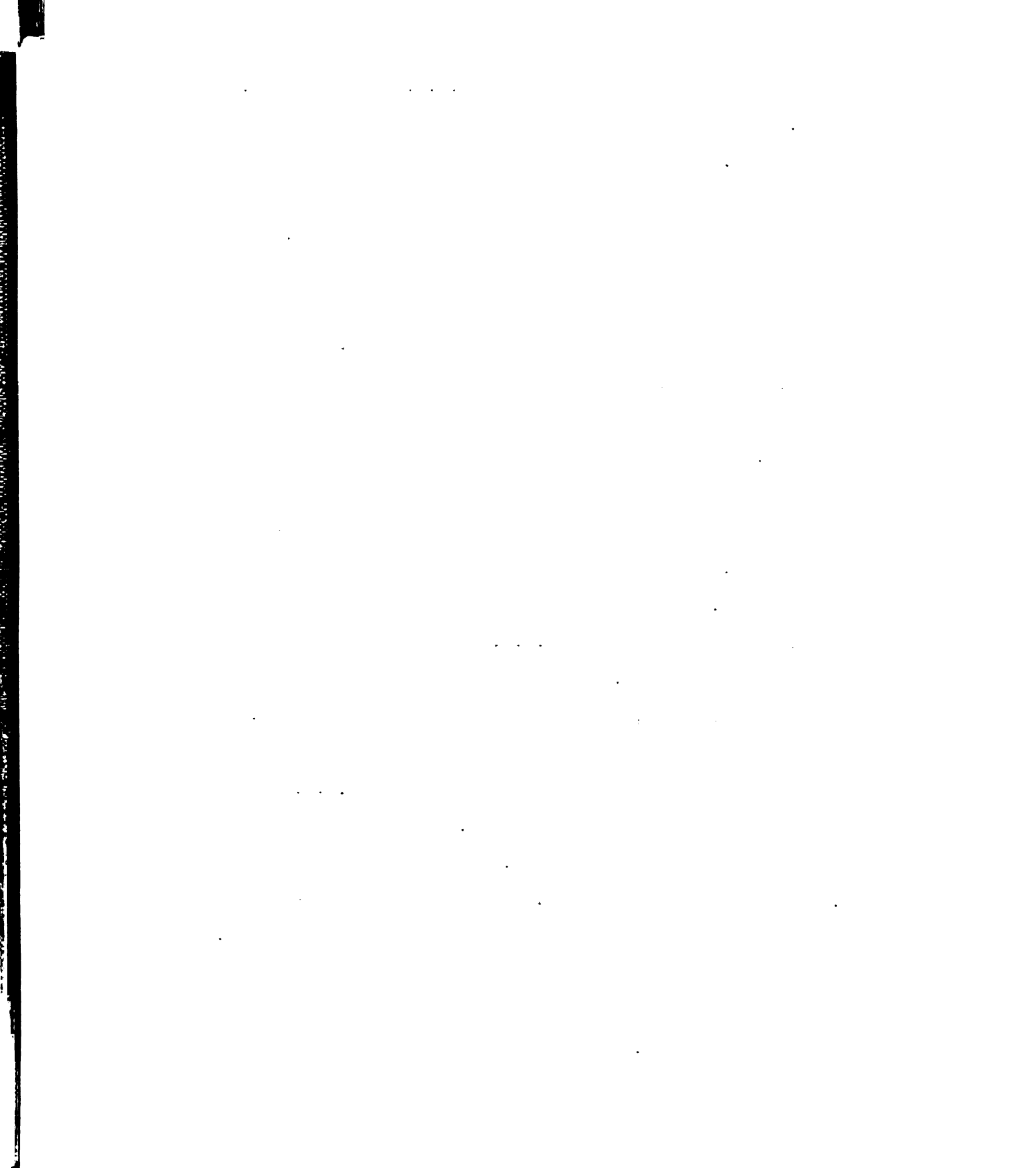
General. The "Memorial Day Massacre" in Chicago and its counterpart in Youngstown provided the nation with a graphic conception of the dangers inherent in striking. Lewis realized that these events might shake the confidence and determination of many workers throughout the nation-- workers who were themselves preparing to organize. It was necessary, therefore, that Lewis bolster the confidence of those within his ranks as well as those who were preparing to join him. The general purpose of this speech thus became one of inspiring the workers to continue their efforts in supporting the existing unions and in organizing non-union industry.

Specific. In spite of its giant stride forward during 1937, Lewis felt that the C.I.O. had been a victim of "kiss and tell" politics. His specific references are made against Girdler, Kelly, Davey, and, of course, Roosevelt. It was Lewis's purpose to rebuke those who had not supported the "onward march of labor," and to cleanse the C.I.O.'s reputation of being "run by communists."

Substantive and Rhetorical Outline.

I. Out of the agony and travail of economic America the Committee for Industrial Organization was born.

I. A colorful attention-arresting device employing a metaphor.



A. To millions of Americans, exploited without stint by corporate industry and socially debased beyond the understanding of the fortunate, its coming was as welcome as the dawn to the night watcher.

B. To a lesser group of Americans, infinitely more fortunately situated, blessed with larger quantities of the world's goods and insolent in their assumption of privileges, its coming was heralded as a harbinger of ill, sinister of purpose, of unclean methods and non-virtuous objectives.

II. But the Committee for Industrial Organization is here. It is now and

A. Allegorical appeal to the workers comparing the dawn or sunrise to the rise of the C.I.O.

B. An attack upon the opponents of the C.I.O. Charged language is also present, viz., "insolent in their assumption of privilege."

These two statements (A and B) would tend to divide immediately members of the listening audience into separate groups.

II. Purposeful statement underlining the strength and perseverance of the C.I.O.

henceforth a definite instrumentality, destined greatly to influence the lives of our people and the internal and external course of the Republic.

A. This is true only because the purpose and objectives of the Committee for Industrial Organization find economic, social, political and moral justification in the hearts of the millions who are its members and the millions more who support it.

1. The organization and constant onward sweep of this movement exemplifies the resentment of the many toward the selfishness, greed and the neglect

At the time, even the opponents of the C.I.O. would probably consider it a statement of fact since the speech was given shortly after a rapid succession of C.I.O. victories.

A. Appeal for support and a statement of praise for all union supporters.

1. Further praise. It is also an attempt to characterize those in opposition to the C.I.O. as selfish, greedy, neglectors of labor.

of the few.

2. The workers of the nation were tired of waiting for corporate industry to right their economic wrongs, to alleviate their social agony and to grant them their political rights. Despairing of fair treatment, they resolved to do something for themselves.

3. They, therefore, have organized a new labor movement, conceived within the principles of the national bill of rights and committed to the proposition that the workers are free to assemble in their own forums, voice their own grievances, declare their own hopes, and contract on even

2. Praise and highly purposeful statement.

3. Effect to cause reasoning. Also notable is the similarity of this passage in both style and structure to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. Some authorities report that Lewis was a great admirer of Lincoln. This fact may account for the obvious similarity. Sulzberger

terms with modern industry for the sale of their only material possession--their labor.

reports that while in Springfield, Illinois, Lewis even joined the Abraham Lincoln Society.⁴³

III. The Committee for Industrial Organization has a numerical enrollment of three million seven hundred eighteen thousand members.

A. It has thirty-two affiliated national and international unions.

1. Of this number eleven unions account for two million seven hundred sixty-five thousand members. This group is organized in the textile, auto, garment, lumber, rubber, electrical manufacturing, power, steel,

A. This entire paragraph is devoted to statistics. Several patterns of argument are present. Firstly, realizing that he was speaking to a vast radio audience, Lewis may have been attempting to mention specific industries in the hope that

⁴³Sulzberger, op. cit., p. 21.

coal and transport industries.

3. Some two hundred thousand workers are organized into five hundred seven chartered local units not yet attached to a national industrial union.

B. This record bespeaks progress. It is a development without precedent in our own country.

1. Some of this work was accomplished with the enlightened cooperation or the acquiescence of employers who

such acknowledgment would tend to solidify the union and allow each industrial area to identify themselves with the now enormous size of the C.I.O.

In any case, the detailed statistics served to summarize and underline the growth which had been taking place in the organizing of industrial labor.

B. General statement of fact. The second sentence, however, would probably strike some listeners as exaggeration of the facts.

1. "Bandwagon" technique. Lewis is attempting to win support by suggesting that those industries which have accepted

recognized that a new labor movement was being forced and who were not disposed, in any event, to flout the law of the land.

2. On the other hand, much of this progress was made in the face of violent and deadly opposition which reached its climax in the slaughter of workers paralleling the massacres of Ludlow and Homestead.

the C.I.O. are "enlightened," "tolerant," and law abiding.

2. A general indictment of those industries where strife occurred during attempts at unionization. A general reference to G.M., Chrysler, and "Little Steel." The implication is that, contrasted with IIBL, these industries are not "tolerant," "enlightened," and law abiding.

IV. In the steel industry the corporations generally have accepted collective bargaining and negotiated wage agreements with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

IV. Specific praise to win support. The statistics tend to emphasize the "bandwagon" technique. Lewis is attempting to hold the support of as many listeners as possible who may

- A. Eighty-five per cent of the industry is thus under contract and a peaceful relationship exists between the management and the workers.
- B. Written wage contracts have been negotiated with three hundred ninety-nine steel companies covering five hundred ten thousand men.
- C. One thousand thirty-one local lodges in seven hundred communities have been organized.
- V. Five of the corporations in the steel industry elected to resist collective bargaining and undertook to destroy the steel-workers' union. These companies filled their plants with indus-
- be sympathetic to the steel industry in general by separating and alienating Little Steel from the "cooperative" companies he is referring to in this paragraph.
- V. Specific vilification of Little Steel as well as a general reference to Governor Davey of Ohio and Mayor Kelly of Chicago. The barrage of charged words and colorful, descriptive passages indi-

trial spies, assembled depots of guns and gas bombs, established barricades, controlled their communities with armed thugs, leased the police power of cities, and mobilized the military power of a state to guard them against the intrusion of collective bargaining within their plants.

A. During this strike eighteen steel workers were either shot to death or had their brains clubbed out by police or armed thugs in the pay of the steel companies.

1. In Chicago, Mayor Kelly's police force was successful in killing ten strikers before they could escape the fury of the police, shooting eight of them in the back. One hundred

cates an attempt at heavy emotional appeal.

A. Once again the colorful description tends to underline the plight of the strikers. Examples of this are such phrases as "shot to death," "had their brains clubbed out," and "armed thugs."

1. Ad hominem leveled against Mayor Kelly implying that he was personally responsible for the incident. Also of note is the word "successful" implying that the incident had been

sixty strikers were maimed and injured by police clubs, riot guns and gas bombs and were hospitalized. Hundreds of strikers were arrested, jailed, treated with brutality while incarcerated and harassed by succeeding litigation. None but strikers were murdered, gassed, injured, jailed or maltreated. No one had to die except the workers who were standing for the right guaranteed them by the Congress and written law.

2. The infamous Governor Davey, of Ohio, successful in the last election because of his reiterated promises of fair treatment to labor, used

premeditated without actually making the allegation. Vivid, colorful, descriptive phrases with emotional overtones in the two sentences which follow serve to appeal to motives of justice, equity, and decency.

2. Ad hominem leveled against Governor Davey of Ohio; also innuendoes of Federal support of anti-labor interests.

the military power of the Commonwealth on the side of the Republic Steel Company and the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company.

Nearly half of the staggering military expenditure incident to the crushing of this strike in Ohio was borne by the Federal government through the allocation of financial aid to the military establishment of the state.

B. The steel workers have now buried their dead, while the widows weep and watch their orphaned children become objects of charity.

1. The murder of these unarmed men has never been publicly rebuked by any authoritative

B. Highly emotional appeals involving death, motherhood, orphaned children, and poverty.

1. Lewis's allegations against the Federal Government become more specific. Emo-

officer of the State or Federal government.

2. Some of them, in extenuation, plead lack of jurisdiction, but murder as a crime against the moral code can always be rebuked without regard to the niceties of legalistic jurisdiction, by those who profess to be the keepers of the public conscience.
3. Girdler, of Republic Steel, in the quiet of his bed chamber doubtless shrills his psychopathic cackles as he files notches on his corporate gun and views in retrospect the ruthless work of his mercenary killers.

tion laden words such as "murder," and "Unarmed men" are also evident.

2. Sarcasm and invective leveled against an unspecified group-- "some of them."
3. Ad hominem against Girdler with strong emphasis upon loaded words, allegations, and insults. Lewis's metaphorical style tends to heighten the sharpness of his invective.

4. Shortly after Kelly's police force in Chicago had indulged in their bloody orgy, Kelly came to Washington looking for political patronage. That patronage was forthcoming, and Kelly must believe that the killing of the strikers is no liability in partisan politics.

4. Ad hominem with reference to Kelly. The colorful language again underlines Lewis's invective, through such words as "bloody orgy," "political patronage," and "killing." It is interesting to note that Lewis manifests his personal vendetta against Kelly by verbally placing him in the front ranks of the police force rather than attacking the precinct captain, the police chief, the police commissioner, or anyone who might have been closer to the decision to open fire on the strikers. This is not to say that Kelly was or wasn't responsible

to some degree for the episode, only to note the clever manner in which Lewis leads the listener into feeling that Kelly alone should bear the burden of responsibility.

5. Meanwhile, the steel-puppet Davey is still Governor of Ohio, but not for long I think--not for long. The people of Ohio may be relied upon to mete out political justice to one who has betrayed his state, outraged the public conscience, and besmirched the public honor.

5. Ad hominem directed against Davey. Again Lewis links Davey and the Youngstown killing so closely that the listener might believe that Davey himself was the first to open fire.

Also apparent is his appeal--underlined by the repetition device--to the people of Ohio, many of whom were laborers, to vote Davey out of office.

C. While the men of the Steel industry were going through blood and gas in defense of their rights and their homes and their families, elsewhere on the far-flung C.I.O. front the hosts of labor were advancing and intelligent and permanent progress was being made.

1. In scores of industries plant after plant and company after company were negotiating sensible working agreements.
2. The men in the steel industry who sacrificed their all were not merely aiding their fellows at home but were adding strength to the cause of their comrades in all industry.
3. Labor was marching toward the goal of

C. Extreme emotional proof as evidenced by references to "going through blood and gas," "homes," "families," "hosts." Metaphorical style suggesting the C.I.O. to be an army on the "front."

1. Positive suggestion.
2. Praise.
3. Emotional positive suggestion carrying

industrial democracy
and contributing
constructively toward
a more rational ar-
rangement of our
domestic economy.

on the metaphor
indicated in V c.

VI. Labor does not seek indus-
trial strife. It wants
peace, but a peace with
justice.

A. In the long struggle
for labor's rights it
has been patient and
forebearing.

1. Sabotage and des-
tructive syndical-
ism have had no
part in the Amer-
ican institutions.

2. Most of the con-
flicts which have
occurred have been
when labor's right
to live has been
challenged and
denied.

B. If there is to be peace

VI. Statement of extreme
contrast. Ethical proof
in that labor and Lewis
are peaceful and justice-
loving--totally opposed
to hostility. Since the
C.I.O. had been charac-
terized by its opponents
as violent, this was
Lewis's reply. It should
be noted however, that
prior to this paragraph,
Lewis likened labor to
an army. Now he would
have his listeners be-
lieve that when they are
given "the right to
live," they possess the
disposition of tranquil
lambs.

Although Lewis's

in our industrial life let the employer recognize his obligation to his employees--at least to the degree set forth in existing statutes. Ordinary problems affecting wages, hours and working conditions, in most instances, will quickly respond to negotiation in the council room.

delivery will be discussed in a later chapter, one technique bears mentioning. Prior to the time that Lewis began this paragraph his voice had been much higher, louder, and bombastic, and particularly during those passages in which he was assailing Girdler, Kelly, and Davey. Just as he came to the sentence "Labor does not seek industrial strife," he paused, lowered his voice and took on a much more intimate and personal tone. This vocal effect or "technique" complemented and underlined the contrast apparent in the text at this point. It would also support the possibility that Lewis was using a problem-solution form of arrangement.

VII. The United States

Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and similar groups representing industry and financial interests, are rendering a disservice to the American people in their attempts to frustrate the organization of labor and in their refusal to accept collective bargaining as one of our economic institutions.

A. These groups are encouraging a systematic organization of vigilante groups to fight unionization under the sham pretext of local interests.

VII. Specific indictment

linking the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers with "disservice," "refusal," and "attempts to frustrate." In this paragraph, as in the previous paragraph, there are numerous appeals to patriotism. Lewis demonstrates this by referring to the "groups" he is vilifying as being opposed to the American people, the American labor movement, and not keeping faith in American institutions.

A. Specific allegations.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. These vigilantes
with tin hats,
wooden clubs,
gas masks and
lethal weapons
train in the arts
of brutality and
oppression.</p> <p>2. They bring in snoops,
finks, hatchet gangs,
and Chowderhead Cohens
to infest their plants
and disturb the
communities.</p> <p>3. Fascist organizations
have been launched
and financed under the
shabby pretext that
the C.I.O. movement is
communistic.</p> | <p>1. Emotionally charged
description.</p> <p>2. Name calling.</p> <p>3. Specific accusation
that fascist activ-
ities are being spon-
sored by anti-labor
factions. This is
also a <u>Tu quo que</u>
fallacy in that
Lewis is attempting
to shift suspicion
of Un-American activ-
ity from the C.I.O.
to management.</p> |
| <p>B. The real breeders of
discontent and alien</p> | <p>B. Highly purposeful state-
ment with an abundance</p> |

doctrines of government and philosophies subsersive of good citizenship are such as these who take the law into their own hands. No tin hat brigade of goose-stepping vigilantes or bibble-babbling mob of blackguarding and corporation-paid scoundrels will prevent the onward march of labor, or divert its purpose to play its natural and rational part in the development of the economic, political and social life of our nation.

VIII. Unionization, as opposed to communism, presupposes the rela-

of name calling, viz. "tin hat brigade," "goose-stepping vigilantes," "bibble-babbling mob," "blackguarding," "corporation-paid scoundrels." Apparent also, is the technique of guilt by association, in that Lewis makes obvious reference to fascist organizations ("goose-stepping vigilantes") in the same sentence and in reference to "the corporation-paid scoundrels." The motive appeals of patriotism and positive suggestion are also clearly evident.

VIII. Outwardly this paragraph appears to include a great deal of logical

tion of employment. It is based upon the wage system and it recognizes fully and unreservedly the institution of private property and the right to investment profit.

- A. It is upon,
1. the fuller development of collective bargaining,
 2. the wider expansion of

proof. This is particularly true of the first sentence. It is however, worded in such general terms that it is difficult to find any specific reasoning. Terms such as "unionization," "relation of employment," and "wage system," are all subject to a wide variety of definitions. This is of special importance because this statement together with the previous Tu quo que (VII A) regarding the "corporation-paid fascists," is Lewis's only rebuttal to those who are calling the C.I.O. "communistic."

- A. and B. Technique of "turning the table." Lewis is suggesting that by supporting the C.I.O., the communists will be driven out of the country.

the labor movement,

3. the increased influence of labor in our national councils, that the perpetuity of our democratic institutions must largely depend.

B. The organized workers of America, free in their industrial life, conscious partners in production, secure in their homes, and enjoying a decent standard of living, will prove the finest bulwark against the intrusion of alien doctrines of government.

1. Do those who have hatched this foolish cry of communism in the C.I.O. fear the increased influence of labor in our democracy?
2. Do they fear its influence will be cast on the side

Again, however, he does not deny or attempt to disprove that they are present in the C.I.O.

- a. of shorter hours,
- b. a better system
of distributed
employment,
- c. better homes for
the underprivi-
leged,
- d. social security
for the aged,
- e. a fairer distri-
bution of the
national income?

- C. Certainly the workers that are being organized want a voice in the determination of these objectives of social justice.
- 1. Certainly labor wants a fairer share in the national income.
 - 2. Assuredly labor wants a larger participation in increased productive efficiency.
 - 3. Obviously the population is entitled to participate in the

- C. Glittering generality with appeals to purposefulness and justice, viz. "Objectives of social justice." Rhetorical questions.
- 1, 2, 3, and 4,
appeals to equity.

fruits of the genius
of our men of achieve-
ment in the field of
the material sciences

4. Labor has suffered
just as our farm pop-
ulation has suffered
from a viciously un-
equal distribution of
the national income.

D. In the exploitation of
both classes of workers
has been the source of
panic and depression,
and upon the economic
welfare of both rests
the best assurance of
a sound and permanent
prosperity.

IX. In this connection let
me call attention to
the propaganda which
some of our industri-
alists are carrying on
among the farmers.

A. By pamphlets in the
milk cans or at-
tached to machinery

D. Generalization. The
sentence is also
quite involved and
to some extent
awkward.

IX. Attention arresting device
by specific reference to
the "attention" of the
listener.

A. Statement of his op-
ponents' argument.

and in countless other ways of direct and indirect approach, the farmers of the nation are being told that the increased price of farm machinery and farm supplies is due to the rising wage level brought about by the Committee for Industrial Organization.

- B. And yet it is the industrial millions of this country who constitute the substantial market for all agricultural products.
- C. The interests of the two groups are mutually dependent.
1. It is when the payroll goes down that the farmer's realization is diminished,

B. Refutation of "A."

- C. Attempt to show good will toward the farmer and create common ground between the two groups.
1. Use of examples in support of "C"--logical proof.

so that his loans become overdue at the bank and the arrival of the tax collector is awaited with fear.

2. On the other hand it is the prosperity of the farmer that quickens the tempo of manufacturing activities and brings buying power to the millions of urban and industrial workers.

D. As we view the years that have passed, this has always been true; and it becomes increasingly imperative that the farm population and the millions of workers in industry learn to combine the strength for the attainment of

2. More examples in support of "C"--- logical proof.

D. Logical and emotional appeals designed to create good will and common ground between the farmer and the C.I.O. In effect Lewis is asserting that the farmer would benefit greatly from joining the C.I.O.

mutual and desirable objectives and at the same time learn to guard themselves against the sinister propaganda of those who would divide and exploit them.

X. Under the banner of the Committee for Industrial Organization, American labor is on the march.

A. Its objectives today are those it had in the beginning:

1. to strive for the unionization of our unorganized millions of workers, and
2. for the acceptance of collective bargaining as a recognized American Institution.

B. It seeks peace with the industrial world.

X. Highly purposeful statement. The symbolism of such words as "banner" and "march" recall an earlier metaphor.

A. Appeal to determination and constancy of purpose.

B. Appeals to peace.

- | | |
|--|---|
| C. It seeks cooperation and mutuality of effort with the agricultural population. | C. Appeal to cooperation and concord as well as to the unorganized farmers. |
| D. It would avoid strikes. | D. Appeal to peace and cooperation. |
| E. It would have its rights determined under the law by the peaceful negotiations and contract relationships that are supposed to characterize American commercial life. | E. Appeal to justice and fairness. |
| F. Until an aroused public opinion demands that employers accept that rule, labor has no recourse but to surrender its rights or struggle for their realization with its own economic power. | F. Lewis poses the plight of the C.I.O. as a dilemma--"surrender. . . or struggle. . ." |
| XI. The objectives of this movement are not political in a partisan sense. | XI. Statement of policy. |
| A. Yet it is true that a political party which | A. Appeal to equity. |

seeks the support of labor and makes pledges of good faith to labor must, in equity and good conscience, keep that faith and redeem those pledges.

B. The spectacle of august and dignified members of Congress, servants of the people and agents of the Republic, skulking in hallways and closets, hiding their faces in a party-caucus to prevent a quorum from acting upon a labor measure, is one that emphasizes the perfidy of politicians.

XII. Labor next year cannot avoid the necessity of a political assay of the work and deeds of its so-called friends and its political beneficiaries.

B. Colorful description. Generalized vilification of anti-labor forces in the Federal government. Charged language is again apparent.

XII. This passage begins the peroration of Lewis's address. It also manifests his anger at what he felt was Roosevelt's lack of support during the steel strike. This is apparent from Lewis's



- A. It must determine who are its friends in the arena of politics as elsewhere.
- B. It feels that its cause is just that, that its friends should not view its struggle with neutral detachment or intone constant criticism of its activities.
- C. Those who chant their praises of democracy but who lose no chance to drive their knives into labor's defenseless back must feel the weight of labor's woe even as its open adversaries must ever feel the thrust of labor's power.
- D. Labor, like Israel, has many sorrows.

1. Its women weep for

choice of words, e.i.
"so-called friends."

A. Warning.

B. "Neutral detachment" is probably in reference to Roosevelt's "a plague on both your houses."

C. Emotional and highly charged warning.

D. Simile, liking Labor to the chosen people of God.

1. Appeals to pity,

their fallen and,

love, and

family.

2. they lament for the
future of the
children of the race.

2. Appeals to pity
and justice.

E. It ill behooves one who
has supped at labor's
table and who has been
sheltered in labor's
house to curse with
equal fervor and fine
impartiality both labor
and its adversaries
when they become locked
in deadly embrace.

E. A metaphor specifi-
cally refuting and
chastizing Roosevelt.

XIII. I repeat that,

XIII. Summary and Conclusion.

A. labor seeks peace,
and

A. Appeal to peace and
harmony.

B. guarantees its own
loyalty,

B. Appeal to loyalty.

C. But the voice of
labor, insistent
upon its rights,
should,

C. Appeal to justice
and equity.

1. not be annoying
to the ears of
justice, or

2. offensive to the



conscience of the
American people.

Subsequent Events. Although Lewis touched on many controversial issues during his address, one of the most talked about issues became the question of whether or not farmers should become affiliated with organized labor.

On September 5th, the New York Times interviewed several members of Congress regarding Lewis's speech. Representative Fulmer, a Democrat from South Carolina, stated that he agreed with Lewis's plea for cooperation between farm and industrial labor but added that he wouldn't advocate such a move "under the banner of John L. Lewis."⁴⁴ Representative Mitchell of Illinois, the only Negro Congressman at the time, was far more blunt. He charged Lewis with dictatorial ambitions which could eventually control the president and said "He is bitter because he can't control the President."⁴⁵

Another congressional reaction came from Senator Burke, Democrat of Nebraska, who said, "If Lewis tries to organize the farmers he will have the biggest disappointment of his life. Opposition of Lewis is the best thing a candidate can have in the farm regions. Lewis tried to get the farmers behind him and failed."⁴⁶

With respect to other issues, Mayor Kelly of Chicago

⁴⁴New York Times, September 5th, 1937, p. 4.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid.

refused to enter into the controversy. The only comment he would make was as follows. "Chicago's industrial labor situation is now normal. . . the coroner's verdict is the answer to all the criticism in the matter. . ." The Times, however, stated that Kelly had been found "not guilty;" the verdict had been "justifiable homicide."⁴⁷

Roosevelt did not comment for several weeks but when Max Lerner asked him about the incident, he replied,

You know, Max, this is really a great country. The framework of democracy is so strong that it can get along and absorb a Huey Long and a John L. Lewis.⁴⁸

It is interesting to note that when Lewis was told of this remark, he retorted, "The statement is incomplete. It should also include 'and a Franklin Delano Roosevelt.'"⁴⁹

In spite of their verbal break, Roosevelt was not in a position, politically, to divorce himself completely from a man of Lewis's popularity. Shortly after Lewis's speech, Roosevelt began to encounter determined senatorial opposition to some of his legislation; and he became angered by this opposition. Although James Farley and other party chiefs attempted to dissuade him, he attempted to purge the opposition, some of whom were democrats. But, to do this he needed money. In desperation, he turned to Lewis for funds and the funds were forthcoming. The final irony,

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Burns, op. cit., p. 352.

⁴⁹Alinsky, op. cit., p. 165.

however, was to come some years later. Because Roosevelt needed professional assistance in his battle against Congress, he "employed" Representative Allen E. Goldsborough of Maryland to help him defeat the opposition, using Lewis's money to underwrite his efforts. When the fight was won, Roosevelt rewarded Goldsborough with an appointment as Federal Jurist. It was this same Representative Goldsborough who, some years later, became Judge Goldsborough, the man who fined Lewis and the U.M.W.A. three and a half million dollars.

Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins described the immediate effect of Lewis's castigation of Roosevelt as follows:

. . . it was not news to us, although the country and even Lewis's opponents were shocked. Until that time, Lewis, who is a man of ability, had been increasingly well spoken of by the press, by government officials, even by employers. But this intemperate attack made many people turn against Lewis, not Roosevelt.⁵⁰

It would be a difficult task to determine just how much good or harm Lewis's remarks may have done him. Dulles reports that a Gallup poll conducted prior to the speech showed over 70 per cent of those interviewed were opposed to collective bargaining and felt that the unions should be "curbed." If this evidence is correct, Lewis may have spoken to a largely hostile audience, and if so, Madame Perkins' suspicion that Lewis's comments created

⁵⁰Perkins, op. cit., p. 161.

more hostility than agreement may have been true. The New York Times summarized its feeling toward the speech in an editorial on September 5th.

. . . his account of the essential prerogatives of labor in a free society would have been more complete if, along with recognition of the right to organize and the right to strike, he had included the right to work.⁵¹

Did Lewis accomplish his task of bolstering the confidence of the workers both organized and unorganized? Apparently he had. The C.I.O. increased its organizing efforts for the next several months; and by the end of 1937 it had, (1) organized over 3,800,000 workers; (2) established thirty-two national and international unions, and: (3) had established "hundreds of directly affiliated local industrial unions!"⁵²

Although a direct cause-to-effect relationship may not exist, Governor Davey was not renominated for the governorship of Ohio.

The peroration of the speech seems to be one of the most widely quoted of any Lewis has made.⁵³ Moreover, Lauck, McCarthy, Ward, and Williams all cited this speech and the speech in support of Willkie as the two most "significant radio addresses" that Lewis ever made.

⁵¹New York Times, September 5th, 1937, p. 8E.

⁵²Lauck, op. cit., p. 90.

⁵³It is quoted by Alinsky, Coleman, Burns, and was chosen by Edward R. Murrow as the representative radio utterance of John L. Lewis.



Radio Address of March 21st, 1939Speaking Situation.

General Background. By 1938, the voice of John L. Lewis had become familiar to millions of American radio listeners. The number of radio addresses he had made prior to this time was between twenty and twenty-five, although some of these were not nationwide. This speech, however, is the first to be delivered for an audience outside North America.

The idea of having Lewis speak to the British Commonwealth came from B.B.C. representatives in the United States and Great Britain.⁵⁴ It was their feeling that, in spite of military threat to Germany, the people of the Commonwealth were interested in the industrial capacity of America if for no other reason than that it might serve them well if, indeed, war was imminent.

The address was relayed in a most unusual way. Lewis delivered the address from Washington, D. C., from where it was sent to the B.B.C. in London. The B.B.C. then relayed the transmission from their own studios to B.B.C. affiliated stations throughout the world, who in turn relayed the speech to their listeners.⁵⁵

Special Issues. During the early part of 1938, the Roosevelt-Lewis "feud" eased off. One of the reasons for

⁵⁴United Mine Workers Journal, V. 49, #7, p. 3.

⁵⁵United Mine Workers Journal, April 2, 1938. p. 4.

this was Roosevelt's congressional opposition and his acceptance of United Mine Workers financial support. Since several of the bills that he was trying to push through the Senate would benefit the miners, Lewis provided such support, but, at best, it was an alliance of necessity.

It was also at this time that former Vice-President Alben Barkley was encountering heavy opposition to his re-election as Senator from Kentucky. Roosevelt stepped in, supporting Barkley with a personal endorsement and the widely publicized "My Dear Alben" letter. Since Barkley had been a political ally of the miners in Kentucky, Lewis agreed to make another substantial contribution to Barkley's campaign fund, but he agreed to do so only at the personal request of the President. The President phoned him from Albuquerque, New Mexico; and Lewis in turn supplied the funds. As Alinsky has stated,

Lewis expected to achieve two objectives: gratitude from the President and political cooperation from Senator Barkley.⁵⁶

Since Barkley was the Democratic whip and after his re-election was to become majority leader in the Senate, the "cooperation" that Alinsky mentions could have been extremely helpful.

As far as money to Roosevelt was concerned, Lewis was still hoping that Roosevelt would repay his obligation

⁵⁶Alinsky, op. cit., p. 169.

by approving the organization of the W.P.A. under the C.I.O. Again, Alinsky cites Lewis's expectation of support from Roosevelt as the only reason for his contributions to the President.

In spite of Lewis's strong feelings against the President he still hadn't abandoned hope that Roosevelt might yet deliver the kind of help that Lewis 'expected' of him.⁵⁷

Burns reports that Lewis was also becoming angered by Roosevelt's recruitment of several top C.I.O. officials for government posts, among them, Sidney Hillman.⁵⁸ Creel confirms this report.

As the feud became an established fact the President set to work, shrewdly and deliberately, to detach Sidney Hillman and Phillip Murray from their allegiance to John L. Lewis.⁵⁹

According to Burns, Lewis felt Roosevelt was "weak, tricky, and lacking in conviction."⁶⁰

It would be inaccurate to say that at this time Lewis was still ambivalent toward Roosevelt. There is no evidence that his personal dislike and mistrust of the President stemming from the "Little Steel" crisis had changed in any way. It would probably be more accurate to suggest that Lewis was frustrated. Despite his mistrust

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 170.

⁵⁸Burns, op. cit., p. 351.

⁵⁹George Creel. Rebel at Large. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1947), p. 303.

⁶⁰Burns, op. cit., p. 351.

of Roosevelt, there was still the chance that the President might repay some favors and thus increase the power and prestige of the C.I.O. It was a gamble, and to Lewis it seemed to be worth taking. But his dislike of the President was still obvious to those who knew him, and Lewis would not overlook an opportunity to manifest his resentment of Roosevelt's lack of cooperation. Frances Perkins even reports that Lewis was "beginning to have ambitions of his own."⁶¹

In January, 1938, Roosevelt decided to sound out England regarding an international conference. Prime Minister Chamberlain's reply was, according to Burns, "like a douche of ice water."⁶²

A rift ensued between the governments of England and the United States which would last for several months. The time was certainly ripe for Lewis to go to the British people with a radio address designed to inform them of the failure of America's leaders and the Congress in helping "the millions of Americans who are now looking to labor to give them leadership and hope for the future." If Lewis's case for the C.I.O. was going to be made in Great Britain, it would best be made during a time when Lewis could charge the administration with "failures" and have his charges fall upon the ears predisposed to agree with him.

⁶¹Perkins, op. cit., p. 321.

⁶²Burns, op. cit., p. 353.

There has always been some disagreement as to the difference between a recession and a depression. There is some evidence that it is a "recession" to the party in power and a "depression" to the party out of power. Although there seems to be a problem of semantic interpretation present, suffice it to say, the nation suffered an economic setback beginning in 1937 which continued in varying degrees until 1939; and if there was a distinguishable "bottom" to it, it was in the early months of 1938.

This issue, therefore, became an excellent one to focus upon during Lewis's speech, for it would serve to show cause for the C.I.O. and, at the same time, give Lewis an opportunity to prophesy America's economic doom at the hands of our "cavilling and confused statesmen."

Audience and Occasion. This radio address was apparently never carried by any standard AM or FM station in the United States, nor was the complete text of it reprinted in this country except by the United Mine Workers Journal. It is, of course, possible that it may have been received by an undetermined number of listeners in the United States who had access to radio equipped for short-wave reception.

It is a difficult problem to estimate the size of any radio audience, but in the case of this address it would be impossible. As was mentioned before, the broadcast was sent to all parts of Great Britain and many parts of Australia, Canada, Africa, and India. No evidence was obtainable as to whether or not the broadcast was received

clearly in some of these areas. Since the broadcast was transmitted on the short wave band, there is, of course, the possibility of static, interference due to adverse weather, and interference caused by the intentional or unintentional jamming of the B.B.C.'s frequency by other transmitters.

Purposes.

General. It was Lewis's general purpose to inform the radio listeners throughout the British Empire of the progress of organized labor in the United States and to impress them with the efforts of labor to organize themselves and thereby increase their economic and social stature. In a broad sense he was attempting to gain sympathy for the entire cause of organized labor.

Specific. Lewis's specific purpose appears to be twofold. He was first of all, attempting, through a problem-solution method of arrangement, to convince his listeners that the future of organized labor would determine the future of the United States. Lewis's second specific purpose was to impress his listeners with the inept manner in which United States industrial and governmental leaders were attempting to deal with the economic ills of the nation.

Substantive and Rhetorical Outline.

I. I address you in the name of the Committee for Industrial Organization and the mil-

I. A statement intended to link Lewis and the C.I.O. directly with "millions of Americans. . . leader-

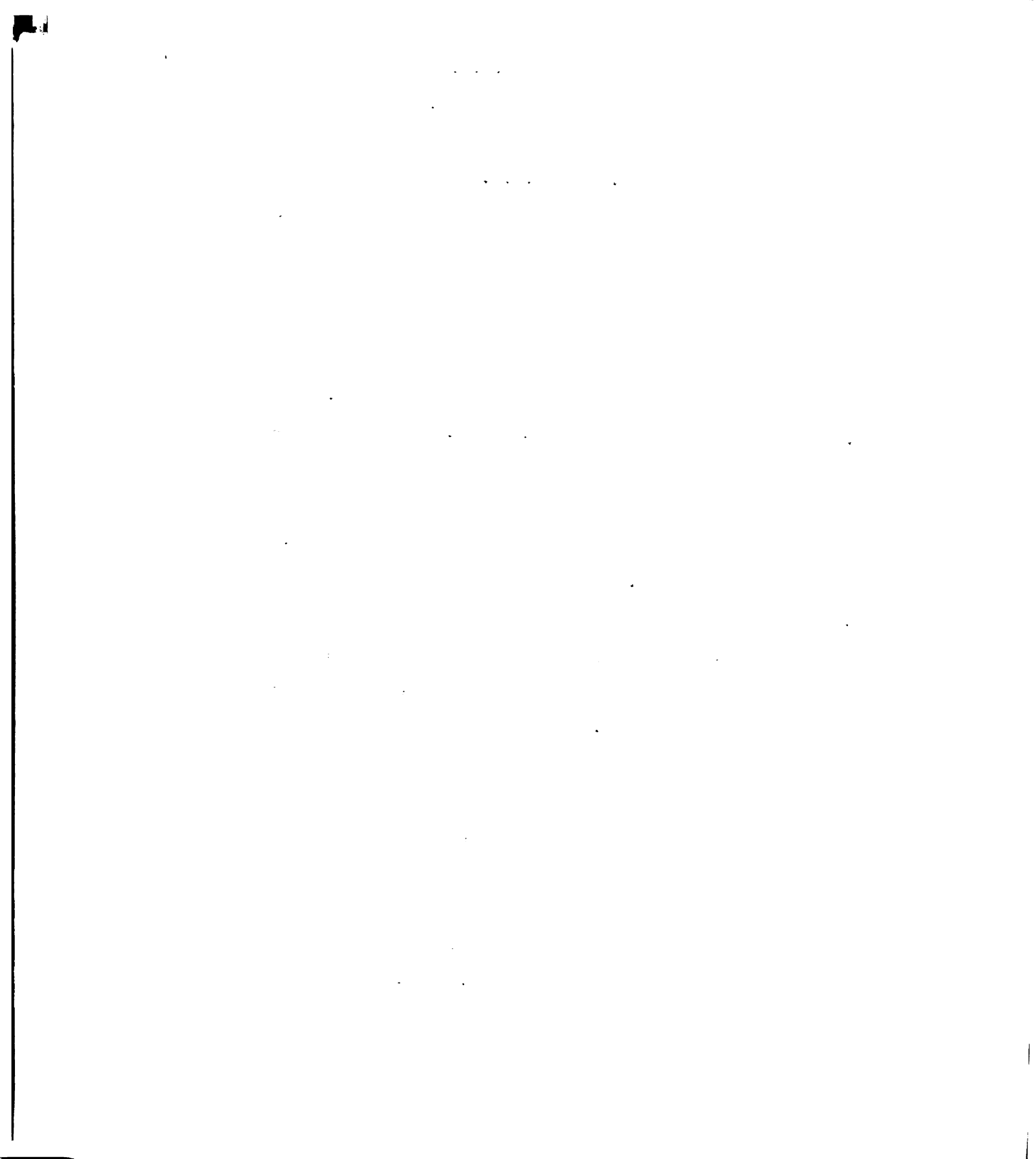
lions of Americans who are looking to labor to give them leadership and hope for the future.

- A. Almost three fourths of the people of America are represented by workers gainfully employed.
- B. The future of organized labor, therefore, is in a broad sense the future of America.

ship. . . and hope for the future. By assimilating both himself and the C.I.O. with the emotion laden terms which follow, Lewis has attempted to contribute to his own ethos as well as the "goodness" of the organization which he represents.

A. and B. This is an enthymeme, "A" being the minor premise and "B" being the conclusion. The unstated major premise would, according to Lewis's logic, probably read, "The majority of people in a country will determine the future of the country," so that the complete syllogism might be constructed as follows:

Maj. Prem.: The majority of people in a country will determine



the future of the country.

Min. Prem.: Almost 3/4's of the people of America are represented by workers gainfully employed.

Concl.: The future of organized labor is. . . the future of America.

There are several flaws in this syllogism,

but the most obvious and most destructive is the faulty deduction that the "workers

gainfully employed"

(minor premise) are

the same, or equivalent

to "organized labor"

(conclusion). Thus

Lewis begins his address with moderate

emotional and ethical appeals coupled with

a fallacious attempt

at deductive reasoning.

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| <p>II. American labor is today in the throes of the greatest struggle in the history of the United States.</p> <p>A. The workers of America are becoming articulate.</p> <p>B. They are demanding their just share in the government of their nation.</p> <p>C. They desire to benefit not only themselves, but all other citizens of this country by the establishment and preservation of a true democracy in their own country.</p> <p>D. The final determination of our endeavors lies</p> | <p>II. Positive and purposeful assertion.</p> <p>A. and B. Emotional proof. These statements are generalities designed to show determination, perseverance, and justice. In support of II.</p> <p>C. Highly emotional appeal emphasizing the magnanimity and sense of fair play that "they" possess. Extreme emotional appeals to patriotism and justice through frequent use of such words and phrases as . . . all citizens. . . this country. . . true democracy. . . their own country.</p> <p>D. Two specific appeals are apparent. Lewis is</p> |
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many years in the future, but it is our firm belief that upon our success and our failure will depend not only the future of this nation, but in some degree the future of endangered civilization.

making strong appeals to strength, purposefulness, and perseverance as he emphasizes the assertion that the goals of labor lie "many years in the future." Second, he is making a distinct bid to establish both common ground and good will in stating that his purposes are for "the future of endangered civilization." Both appeals would probably tend to strengthen his own ethos as well.

III. The fabric of culture which has been built up by mankind through enduring centuries of painful toil and sacrifice is menaced today as never before.

III. Metaphorical statement emphasizing common ground ("civilization" and "centuries" rather than "Americans" or "years") Again, Lewis's style is charged with

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| <p>A. America is one of the group of three remaining democracies.</p> | <p>highly emotional terms such as "enduring centuries", "painful toil. . . sacrifice. . . menaced."</p> |
| <p>B. If the citizens of the United States can pass on to their children the ideal and the practice of human freedom, we shall</p> | <p>A. Statement of fact emphasizing common ground and good will.</p> |
| <p>1. not only be fulfilling our duty as inheritors of the hard-won traditions of ages, but</p> | <p>B. Appeals to patience, childhood, and democratic patriotism.</p> |
| <p>2. we shall be accomplishing our responsibilities to the future of our race.</p> | <p>1. emotional proof.</p> |
| <p>C. If the democracy of the United States is to survive and if its government is to be a true expression of the ideas</p> | <p>2. emotional proof.</p> |
| | <p>C. Purposeful statement and suggestion of injustice and inequity.</p> |

of its citizens,
there are abuses
which must be
corrected.

1. Hundreds of thousands of the people of this nation have for years on years been exploited, oppressed, and denied the exercise of these rights guaranteed to them under our constitution.
2. They have lived at the mercy of economic vicissitudes.
3. They have been little more than industrial serfs.
4. They have been unable to raise their wages to ameliorate their working conditions to assure themselves of economic security.
5. Millions have suffered the ills that

1. Generalization employing emotional proof.
2. Appeals to pity and justice.
3. Appeals to pity and justice.
4. Appeals to pity and justice.
5. Extreme appeals to pity and equity.

accompany partial starvation in America, and the children of these men have been unable to improve their lot.

D. It is not the purpose of the workers of the United States that these things should continue.

1. We do not intend that our people shall trudge aimlessly from street to street seeking only that which they will never find because our economic leaders

Throughout III C, 2, 3, 4, and 5, Lewis has generalized and, through words and phrases with strong semantic implications employed highly emotional proof in support of his contentions.

D. Purposeful statement opposing inequity and injustice. Ethical proof is also present in that Lewis is emphasizing his opposition to injustice and inequity.

1. Negative statement. Extremely emotional appeal to pity and generality, vilifying the "economic leaders" who, as yet, remain anonymous.

have neglected to
provide it for
them.

2. We do not intend that
our children shall
starve in the midst
of plenty.

3. We do intend to take
an active part in
the government of
our nation so as to
insure to the aver-
age citizen an im-
proved participation
in its economical
and political
bounties.

2. Negative statement.
An extreme general-
ization employing
appeals to child-
hood, injustice to
the innocent, and,
above all, pity.

3. Positive statement
appealing to pur-
posefulness, deter-
mination, equity,
and justice. Again,
this statement
would tend to en-
hance Lewis's
ethos.

IV. A Committee for Industrial
Organization was formed
by the heads of eight na-
tional and international
unions in November, 1935.
The membership of the
Committee for Industrial
Organization now closely

IV. Thus far in the address
Lewis has been emphasiz-
ing the problems of
American labor. It is
at this point that he
begins to present a
solution--the C.I.C.

approximates four million.

A. It is not my desire to dwell upon the division in the ranks of American labor.

1. The members of the Committee for Industrial Organization at its inception desired only to work within the framework of the existing federation for the benefit of the unorganized workers in the United States.

2. They were not permitted to do so.

3. Our organization was suspended from membership.

4. After this action we determined to extend our educational activities by independent organization of the workers in the name of the Committee for

A. A statement of purpose regarding the rift between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O.

1. 2. 3. and 4. These statements are explanatory in nature and serve to describe the break with the A. F. of L. as being one-sided.

Industrial Organiza-
tion.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>B. The results of our efforts are apparent. In two years we have attained a membership of four million.</p> | <p>B. Logical proof. Lewis is employing statistics in order to impress his auditors with the strength and determination of the C.I.O.</p> |
| <p>V. Thirteen million Americans are now unemployed.</p> | <p>V. Statement of fact utilizing statistical evidence.</p> |
| <p>A. Their numbers are steadily increasing, as the nation drifts with terrifying and deadly sureness to the never-never realm of financial bankruptcy, economic collapse, and human tragedy.</p> | <p>A. Motive appeals to danger and self-preservation. Although his listeners are not U. S. workers, the world situation binds their own welfare with that of the U. S. The emotional, colorful, and metaphorical language employed paints a verbal picture of sheer doom through such phrases as "terrifying . . . deadly. . . never-never realm. . . bankruptcy. . . economic collapse. . . human</p> |

B. This is appallingly true despite the fact that the government has dipped into the public purse to make possible the granting of huge subsidies to industry, agriculture, banking, and finance.

1. Since 1933 approximately seven billions of dollars of government money have been paid to the unemployed in the form of direct or work relief.

2. Most of this vast sum has trickled through the tills of the nation's shopkeepers and thus has become a subsidy to our merchants and

tragedy."

B. A metaphor characterizing the government as having spent the public's money in a gross and haphazard manner.

1. Reasoning from statistics and a specific example.

2. Allegation charging the government with spending the public's money unwisely.

professional men.

C. America is moving in economic reverse.

1. Our consumer goods industries began to slow down in June, 1937, and by October of the same year our heavy industries began to feel the icy hand of the depression.
2. Since that time the drifts have been constant--shut downs in industry being the order of the day, while the number of human beings being thrown out of employment has augmented day by day.

D. In the months that have ensued neither industry nor government has come forth with constructive proposals designed to meet the problems of

C. Positive statement.

1. Reasoning from specific example. Appeals to property and self-preservation.
2. General example supported by C-1. Logical proof with emotional overtones.

D. General allegation.

Once again Lewis asserts that industry and government have failed.

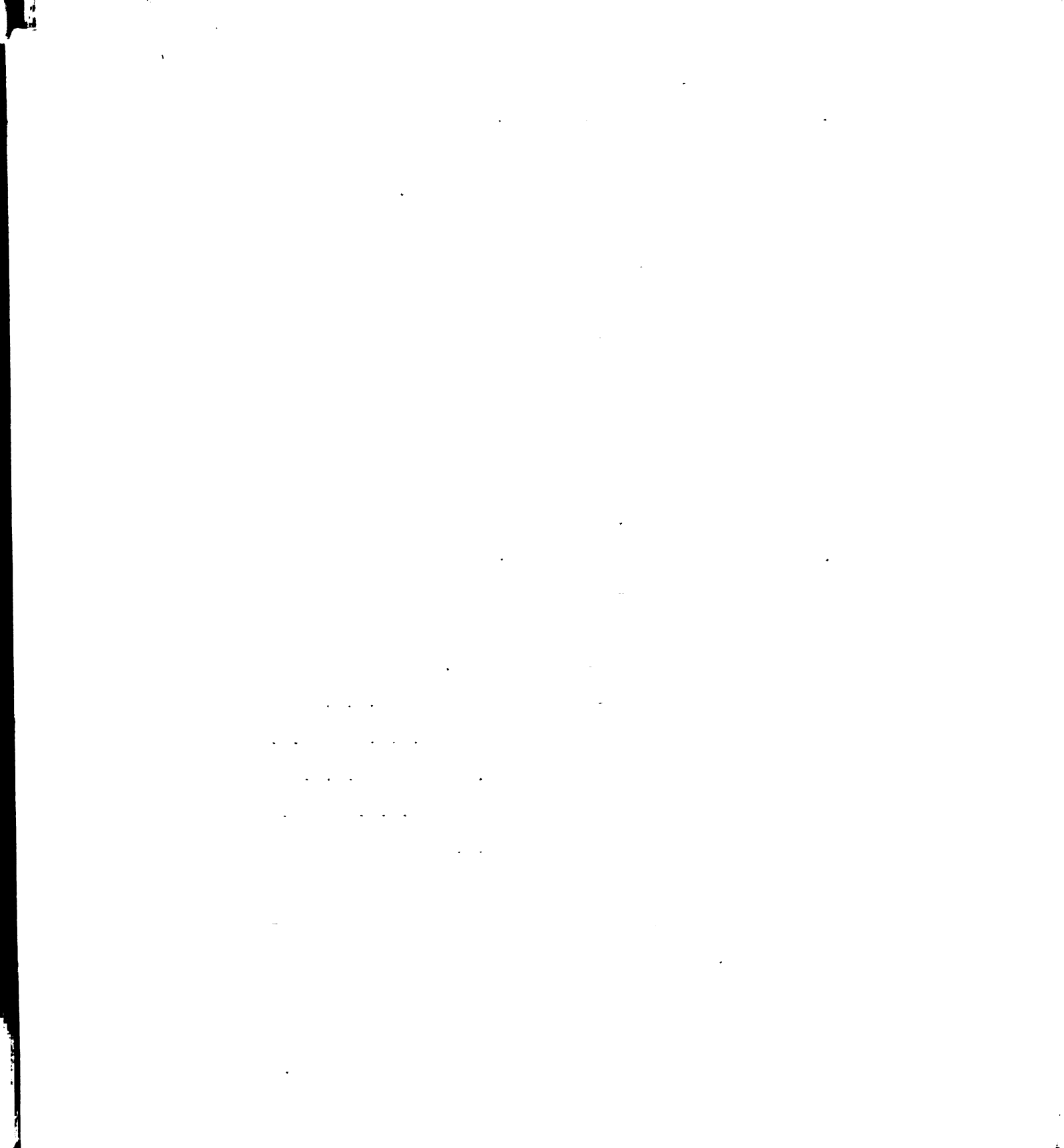
the depression.

1. The federal Congress, lacking adequate or competent leadership in continuous session for months past, has failed to devise or enact a single statute that would cause a glimmer of hope to penetrate the minds of millions of despairing Americans.

2. Meantime, cavilling and confusion prevail; and our statesmen, and those carrying the responsibilities of the nation's manifold enterprises are reviling each other with an anger and bitterness which defiles, scars, and destroys.

1. Specific allegation and name calling.

2. General allegations directed against government and industry. Terms such as "cavilling. . . confusion. . . anger. . . bitterness. . . defiles. . . scars. . . destroys" reveal that, as usual, Lewis is supporting his original allegation (d) with a substantial amount of emotional proof.



3. Meantime, the population suffers, and the creeping paralysis progressively impairs its functions.

VI. What is to be done?

A. Reason calls for a change.

B. More rational policies are indicated.

1. America is menaced not by a foreign foe that would storm its battlements but by the more fearful enemy of domestic strife and savagery.

3. Emotional argument embodying appeals to pity and inequity.

VI. Specific question used as a transition to Lewis's solution step and the peroration of his speech

A. Logical proof utilizing the technique of "self-evident truths."

B. Another "self-evident" truth used as a transitional statement.

1. Comparison and contrast of British and American enemies designed to point up the possible consequences of a depression. Emotionally charged words color Lewis's description of the consequences.

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|--|---|
| <p>2. It is time for Americans to cooperate.</p> | <p>2. Appeals to cooperation and harmony.</p> |
| <p>3. It is the time for Americans to recognize each other's rights of individual existence.</p> | <p>3. Appeal to rights and equity.</p> |
| <p>4. It is time for capital to recognize labor's rights to live and participate in the increased efficiency of industry and the bounties of our national resources.</p> | <p>4. Appeals to peace, harmony, cooperation and equity.</p> |
| <p>5. It is time for labor to recognize the right of capital to have a reasonable return upon its investment.</p> | <p>5. This statement almost seems out of place. In the context of what is being said it is one of the few statements devoted <u>exclusively</u> to enhancing the ethical appeal of the speaker and the institution (organized labor) for which he is speaking. By saying, in effect, "We've all made mis-</p> |

takes, now let's cooperate," Lewis characterizes himself as being extremely fair and cooperative.

6. It is time for statesmen to recognize their nation's peril and to decide to,

- a. cooperate with labor and industry,
- b. to rationalize the nation's purposes, and,
- c. alleviate a nation's distress.

C. Labor is willing to cooperate,

- 1. now let the leaders of the nation's business step forward,
- 2. let the statesmen of the nation do the same,

6. Appeals to danger and self-preservation.

- a. b. and c. supporting emotional appeals.

C. Ethical and logical proof combined in a short positive and purposeful statement.

- 1. Purposeful metaphor appealing to cooperation and patriotism.
- 2. Repetition of words and sentence structure in a purposeful metaphor.

3. let the counsel of reason and mutual toleration be convened. American leadership can accomplish this task, and, in so doing, will preserve its governmental structure and its democratic institution.

3. Colorful, emotional, metaphor designed to appeal to harmony, good will, and unity of purpose.

VII. My compliments and good wishes to the people of the British Empire.

Good-night.

VII. Complimentary conclusion.

Subsequent Events.

Neither the London Times nor the Manchester Guardian carried any review or comment concerning Lewis's speech although both papers listed it in columns containing the evening's broadcasting schedule. No mention was made of the speech in the New York Times.

Several days after the speech, Lewis addressed the House Appropriations Committee in an effort to gain legislation which would reduce the unemployment problem which he stressed in his radio address to Great Britain. He repeated this same theme before the 1938 U.M.W.A. Convention

a short time later.

Although Lewis failed to convince Congress to enact the unemployment legislation which he had requested, the C.I.O. succeeded in, (1) maintaining wage levels and (2) organizing the General Electric Corporation and Radio Corporation of America.⁶³

Other Radio Speaking: 1936-1939

In 1936, two years before his speech to the British Empire, Lewis gained considerable popularity as a radio speaker. Even Fortune, a magazine intended for management circulation, dubbed Lewis "the best rough and tumble debater in America today."⁶⁴

In his biography of Lewis, Carnes has entitled one of the chapters, "The New Radio Personality." It deals with Mr. Lewis's activities and radio addresses during 1936. Referring to the period, he observed,

Telephones were being brought into use in thousands of homes throughout the nation as those who had their dials set told friends about the golden voice of the labor leader. Some of them, possibly, listened mainly for the enjoyment of the tones Mr. Lewis sent over the waves. But they listened and America had a new radio personality.⁶⁵

Lewis was getting his message across too. The annual Fortune Survey of 1936 asked if "some, if not all, wage earners should belong to a union." Fifty-eight per cent of those responding agreed that they should. As Carnes

⁶³Lauck, op. cit., p. 108.

⁶⁴"Eloquent Welshman," Fortune, XIV (October 14, 1936)

⁶⁵Carnes, op. cit., p. 268.

put it, "the heads of America's five billion dollar steel industry were afraid of Lewis."⁶⁶

Radio Address of July 6th, 1936.

Speaking over N.B.C. on the evening of July 6th, 1936, Lewis opened the C.I.O.'s campaign to organize the steel industry.⁶⁷ He began by declaring himself to be the "servant" of "the hosts of labor who listen," and proceeded to cite statistics which indicated the growth of industrial union membership. He assailed the American Iron and Steel institute as "contraveners of the law" because they had declared their open opposition to unionization.

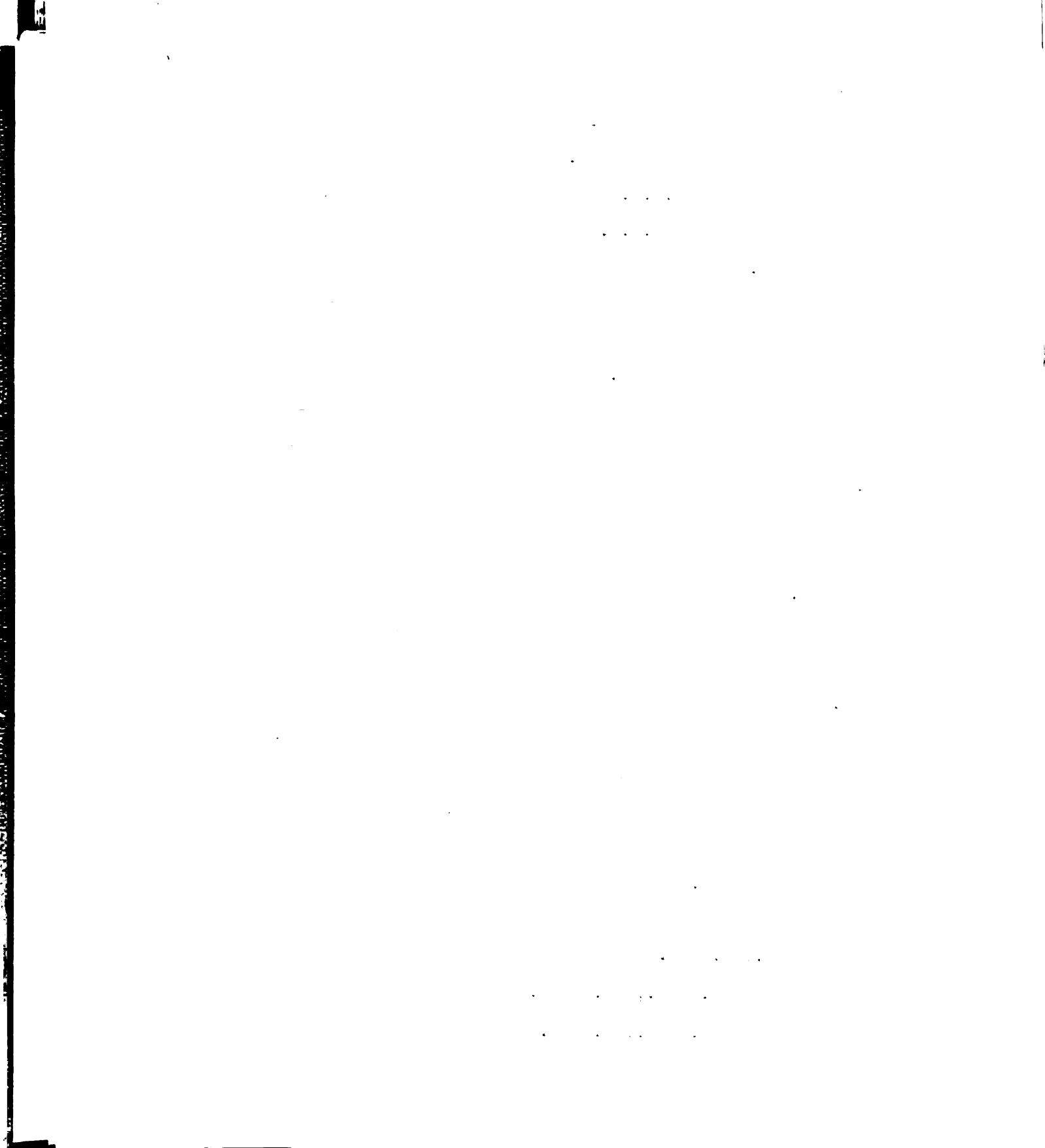
Lewis used more evidence in support of his arguments during his speech than he had done before and has possibly done since. Although his invective is almost as strong as it was during his speech of September 7th, 1936, his use of strong emotional proof was limited to only several sentences. Carnes called the speech "one of the greatest speeches ever made for the consideration of American labor."⁶⁸

This appraisal must, of course, be qualified by the fact that Carnes's book was written in 1936, and obviously would not include any references to Lewis's speaking from 1937 to the present.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 266.

⁶⁷Lauck, op. cit., pp. 77-8.

⁶⁸Carnes, op. cit., p. 267.



Radio Address of October 17th, 1936.

If indeed 1936 was the year in which Lewis's popularity rose to its greatest height, it was not because Roosevelt and the N.R.A. had not helped him.

During 1936, Lewis reciprocated this support at every turn. He believed that political favors deserved to be returned in the fullest possible measure--an attitude which eventually caused him to break with the President.

On October 17th, 1936, the eve of the Presidential election, Lewis delivered a national radio address in support of Roosevelt. The address can be clearly divided into three parts, (1) a lengthy introduction explaining the conditions in America, (2) a denunciation of Alfred Landon, and, (3) a colorful and emotion-packed peroration in support of Roosevelt.

Lewis's description of Landon was not only unfavorable, it was the essence of derogatory description and name calling.

Regarding Landon, Lewis said,

You have listened to his diurnal and nocturnal babblements as with quibble and quirk he seeks to cozen the American people . . . Surrounded by his scribes, a group of political sorcerers he seeks by complaining, bewailing, lamenting, and whining, to chisel an entrance into the White House of the people.⁶⁹

Appraising the first term of incumbent Democratic President, Lewis continued, "He has succeeded so well. . .

⁶⁹United Mine Workers Journal, November 2, 1936, p. 2.

that the industrialists and financiers have recovered sufficiently to fight him with malice and venom, defamation and prevarication."⁷⁰

Lewis concluded with the statement which he would sorely regret within one year. "An American concerned with the future will vote for the re-election of Roosevelt."⁷¹

Carnes describes Lewis's speaking on this occasion as a "powerful voice down the air lanes."⁷²

Radio Address of December 31, 1936.

The Democrats, having swept the national election, were now firmly entrenched in Washington. The success of Roosevelt's first term had been acknowledged by the people. Even the ousted U.M.W.A. President, Frank Hayes, had been elected Lieutenant Governor of Colorado. As Lauck states, "C.I.O. organizers. . . were freed from their political duties and could buckle down to their arduous task of organizing. . ."⁷³

Steel was the primary target of the C.I.O. during this period. "Big Steel" owners had proposed a 10% wage increase to be tied on to a "cost of living index" which would serve to determine the rise or fall of future wages. Lewis and Roosevelt both urged the "company" union to turn

⁷⁰United Mine Workers Journal, November 2, 1936, p. 2.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 2.

⁷²Carnes, op. cit., p. 294.

⁷³Lauck, op. cit., p. 268.

down the offer. Meanwhile, the infant U.A.W. achieved little progress in its struggle to negotiate with General Motors. On December 30th, four General Motors plants shut down. The following day Lewis went to the N.B.C. studios in Washington and, in a nationwide broadcast, announced the C.I.O.'s plans for the New Year.

Beginning with his usual list of C.I.O. accomplishments, Lewis went on to state:

Employers who tyrannize over employees, with the aid of labor spies, company guards, and the threat of discharge, need not be surprised if their production lines are suddenly halted.

Lewis's conclusion left little doubt that the C.I.O. had only begun its battle to "organize the unorganized" and that it fully expected the help of the new administration.

The time has passed in America when the workers can be clubbed, gassed, or shot down with impunity. I solemnly warn the leaders of industry that labor will not tolerate such policies or tactics. Labor will expect the protection of the agencies of the federal government in the pursuit of its lawful objectives.⁷⁴

Alinsky calls this occasion the "D-Day of the C.I.O."⁷⁵

Radio Address of September 4th, 1939.

By 1939, the Roosevelt-Lewis break was no longer just a rumor. According to Lauck there were three major issues which now openly divided the two.

The first of these was, of course, the assertion by

⁷⁴United Mine Workers Journal, January 3, 1937, p. 1.

⁷⁵Alinsky, op. cit., p. 97

Lewis that Roosevelt had broken his promises to labor. Secondly, the unemployment problem of 1938 and 1939 caused Lewis to rebuke the President for failing to put the labor force back to work. The third issue was that by 1939, the international threats to America's security were displacing many domestic issues as front-page news. The America First movement was proposing an isolationistic foreign policy while Roosevelt was listening to Churchill's plea for arms and assistance.

McCarthy reports that Lewis's daughter, Kathryn, always a close associate of the labor leader, was now an active member of the America First group.⁷⁶ While Lewis himself did not join the organization, he was sympathetic to its tenets and so began to charge Roosevelt with still a third abuse--war mongering.

Over N.B.C. that Labor Day evening, Lewis told a nationwide audience, "War has always been the device of the politically despairing and intellectually sterile statesman."

After arguing that war provides employment in the "gun factories" but kills the men who might one day question "the financial and political exploitation of the race," Lewis states:

Labor in America wants no war nor any part of war. Labor wants the right to work and live, not the privilege of dying by gunshot or poison gas to sustain the mental errors of current statesmen.

⁷⁶Statement by Justin McCarthy, personal interview.

In spite of these words, Lewis was not oblivious to the prospect of war. According to Lauck, Lewis recognized the clear and present danger of Hitler and Mussolini.⁷⁷ Several days later in a non-radio address to the C.I.O. Convention, Lewis stated,

When this mad, bloodthirsty, wolf of the German government inflicts its will on the defenseless people of Germany, of Austria, and of Czechoslovakia. . . then it is possible that we will have to meet the German dictator as he tries to extend his domain into the realm of the Western Hemisphere.⁷⁸

Summary of Chapter IV

Ethical Proof.

It may be said that Lewis was more than just a spokesman for labor. During his radio speech of September 7th, 1937, in which he likened labor to Israel, there is little doubt that most people would have metaphorically cast him in the role of Moses. Alinsky, suggesting a different analogy, compares Lewis with a great knight in shining armor "who was leading them out of the economic jungle to the promised land. . . Lewis is their economic God."⁷⁹

In spite of the assertion that to several million laborers, Lewis was the Messiah incarnate, there remains the question of his ethical appeal to the other millions

⁷⁷Lauck, op. cit., p. 127.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Alinsky, op. cit., p. 172.

who were listening.

If, as Thonssen and Baird suggest, there is a correlation between the ethos of the speaker and the ethos of the group or cause he represents, it would probably exist in proportion to the listener's identification of the speaker with the group.⁸⁰

It is in this way that Lewis demonstrates ethical proof. He associates himself so closely with the miner, the C.I.O., and the labor movement in general that their qualities, probity, and, if you will, collective character become his own.

Added to this close identification are the speaking situation, and audience. Radio, unlike face to face speaking, television, or film, forces the listener to form a "mind's eye" impression of the speaker, and to vest him with whatever clothes, features, and expression, the listener mentally perceives him as having at the moment. Because of this, it is not only the speaker's voice, but his "radio voice" which becomes all important as a means to judging the speaker's character as related to physical factors of appearance and taste. But by limiting the visible code to such an extent, the listener is forced to place even more emphasis upon what the speaker is saying. In this way the identification of the speaker with the group he represents, as revealed by the speech itself, becomes an even stronger determinant in the establishment

⁸⁰Lester Thonssen, and A. Craig Baird. Speech Criticism. (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 387.

of his ethos.

Aristotle divided the constituents of ethical proof into three parts--character, sagacity, and good will. The foregoing problem of speaker to group identification probably concerns itself most closely with the first of Aristotle's subdivisions--character. This is evident during the period under consideration, especially in the radio address delivered on July 6th, 1936, over N.B.C. His identification with the group was quite obvious during his introduction and served to confirm for his listeners that his voice was, in fact, the voice of labor.

I salute the hosts of labor who listen. To them, whose servant I am, I express my pride in their courage and loyalty. . . from their collective sentiment and crystallized power I derive my strength.

Not only does this statement exude humility and sincerity, it provides the listener with the speaker's pronounced intention that he should be identified with labor.

Lewis attempts to display sagacity during almost all of his speeches. He manifests this through frequent use of the "self-evident" truth.⁸¹ Several instances of this technique may be found in his radio address of October 17th, 1936, in which he supports Roosevelt for a second term. Following is a list of expressions taken from that speech:

1. "You all know what President Roosevelt has done."

⁸¹This phrase, for lack of a better one, is borrowed from Stuart Chase's book, Guides to Straight Thinking. pp. 122-9.

2. "His actions speak for themselves."
3. "We have only to look at the desperate tottering nations of Europe."
4. "The candidate of the Republican party is known to you all."
5. "An American concerned with the future will vote for the re-election of Roosevelt."

More evidence of this "common knowledge--common sense" approach is found in his speech of September 7th, 1937.

1. "Certainly labor wants a fairer share in the national income."
2. "Assuredly, labor wants a larger participation in increased productive efficiency."
3. "Obviously, the population is entitled to participate. . . ."

This technique is often clothed in the form of rhetorical questions as apparent during Lewis's Labor Day speech of 1939.

1. "Who is going to send its young men to military ranks to engage in war? Labor! Labor!"
2. "Who is going to protest the institutions of this country? Labor!"
3. "Who is going to protect the titles to prosperity and great wealth down through the generations? Labor!"

To many listeners, Lewis must have seemed the

antithesis of the third constituent of ethical proof-- good will.

Included in their exploratory criteria for the establishment of good will, Thonssen and Baird cite the speaker's attempts to offer necessary rebukes with tact and consideration.⁸² There is little doubt that when Lewis rebukes Davey, Girdler, Landon, Roosevelt, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, and the National Association of Manufacturers, it was without tact or consideration. On the other hand, Lewis consistently sought to identify himself with his hearers and establish common ground.

Emotional Proof.

Motive Appeals. Throughout this period, Lewis employs motive appeals to equity, justice, and pity more than any other type. During his speech on July 6th, 1936, he referred to the inequity of American Iron and Steel Institute saying, "It contravenes the law! . . . The Institute . . . does not intend to grant them the free liberty of organization."

Lewis went on to say, "Why shouldn't organized labor throw its influence into this unequal situation?"

These same appeals to equity and pity were apparent when Lewis told an N.B.C. radio audience on December 31st, 1936,

The time has passed in America when the workers can be clubbed, gassed, or shot down

⁸²Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 387.

with impunity. . . labor will not tolerate such policies or tactics.

In March, 1938, he told the British people,

Hundreds of thousands of the people have for years on years been exploited, oppressed, and denied the exercise of these rights guaranteed to them under our constitution.

These appeals to equity, justice, and pity tend to become more profuse as Lewis's struggle becomes more intense. While the citation of emotional appeals is of necessity a subjective analysis, there appear to be at least thirty to forty separate appeals to equity, justice, and pity which are recognizable as such in Lewis's Labor Day speech of 1937.

Also notable are Lewis's motive appeals to patriotism through his frequent use of the adjective "American" in modification of nouns referring to labor, the mines, and the C.I.O.

Style and Emotional Proof. Lewis's use of charged words, metaphors, and unusual words in conjunction with emotional proof suggests that some consideration of style is in order at this point.

During this period Lewis frequently uses the metaphor and simile to strengthen the semantic punch of his emotional appeals. The most obvious example of this is his famous simile comparing labor and Israel during his speech of September 3rd, 1937. Not only does the substance of the paragraph tend to arouse pity, but it is heightened by the simile in which the "women weep for their fallen and lament

for the future of the children of the race."

In short, the metaphor and the simile became Lewis's vehicle to grand style and strong emotion sometimes avoiding a manifestation of ludicrous sensationalism.

It is difficult to describe or summarize Lewis's style because it was very inconsistent. At times he employed short sentences and repetition. At other times his sentences tend to ramble through long involved phrases and clauses. Lewis would employ grand, almost poetic words and phrases at one point and, within the same sentence, deliver an admonition more appropriate to a street fighter than a union president. But whether he is employing the elevated or the plain style, it is usually filled with words and phrases having a great deal of emotional implication as evidenced by the following metaphorical sentence from his radio address of September 7th, 1936.

In our nation they cannot forever dam
the impulse of workers to free association,
or barricade the road against the onward
march of labor.

Logical Proof.

Lewis frequently attempts to use logical appeals. However, they are sometimes weak or fallacious. Several instances of faulty inductive and deductive reasoning are noted in the rhetorical outlines of his speeches contained in this chapter.

Of the various common fallacies, Lewis employs the ad hominem and the over-generalization with greater frequency than any of the others.

His use of sound logical proof is most noticeable in his radio address of July 6th, 1936, while his address of October 15th, in support of Roosevelt seems to contain fewer logical appeals than any of the others.

Because Lewis's employment of logical proof tends to remain consistent throughout the three periods in which he spoke, a more detailed analysis of this aspect of his speaking will be found in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER V.

THE ROOSEVELT--WILLKIE DILEMMA

In this chapter, Lewis's radio speech of October 25th, 1940, in which he supported Wendell Willkie for the Presidency, is analyzed in detail. It was the last major radio address that Lewis gave. In view of subsequent events, it may also be the most significant speech Lewis ever delivered. For purposes of perspective, a brief account of Lewis's activities following this speech is included in a final portion of the chapter.

I. Radio Address of October 25th, 1940

Speaking Situation.

General Background. By 1939 Lewis was openly proposing that Labor's Non Partisan League become the nucleus organization for the creation of a third party.

Referring to Lewis, Alinsky makes the following statement.

He was becoming increasingly interested in the establishment of a third political party. He now fully recognized the sterility of the kind of thinking that would segregate trade unions from direct political participation.¹

The fact that Lewis had not transformed the Demo-

¹Saul Alinsky. John L. Lewis: An Unauthorized Biography. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1949), p. 170.

cratic party into a labor party was, according to Dulles, the impetus for Lewis's new political strategy.² "Lewis was playing a dangerous game," Dulles said.

His course appeared to suggest. . . he had formed the idea that Labor's Non Partisan League might develop into a third party which could provide the necessary vehicle for his own political preferment in 1944.³

Lewis's relationship with Roosevelt was still very strained. If there was any good feeling between the two men, it was not apparent at this time.

The primary reason for the rift was, as it had been for several years, the question of political quid pro quo. Lewis wanted positive assurance from Roosevelt that C.I.C. support would be returned in equal quantity. When Lewis felt that Roosevelt had not delivered his full support to the labor movement, he felt he had been double crossed. As Lewis told Alinsky during a personal interview several months before this speech was given,

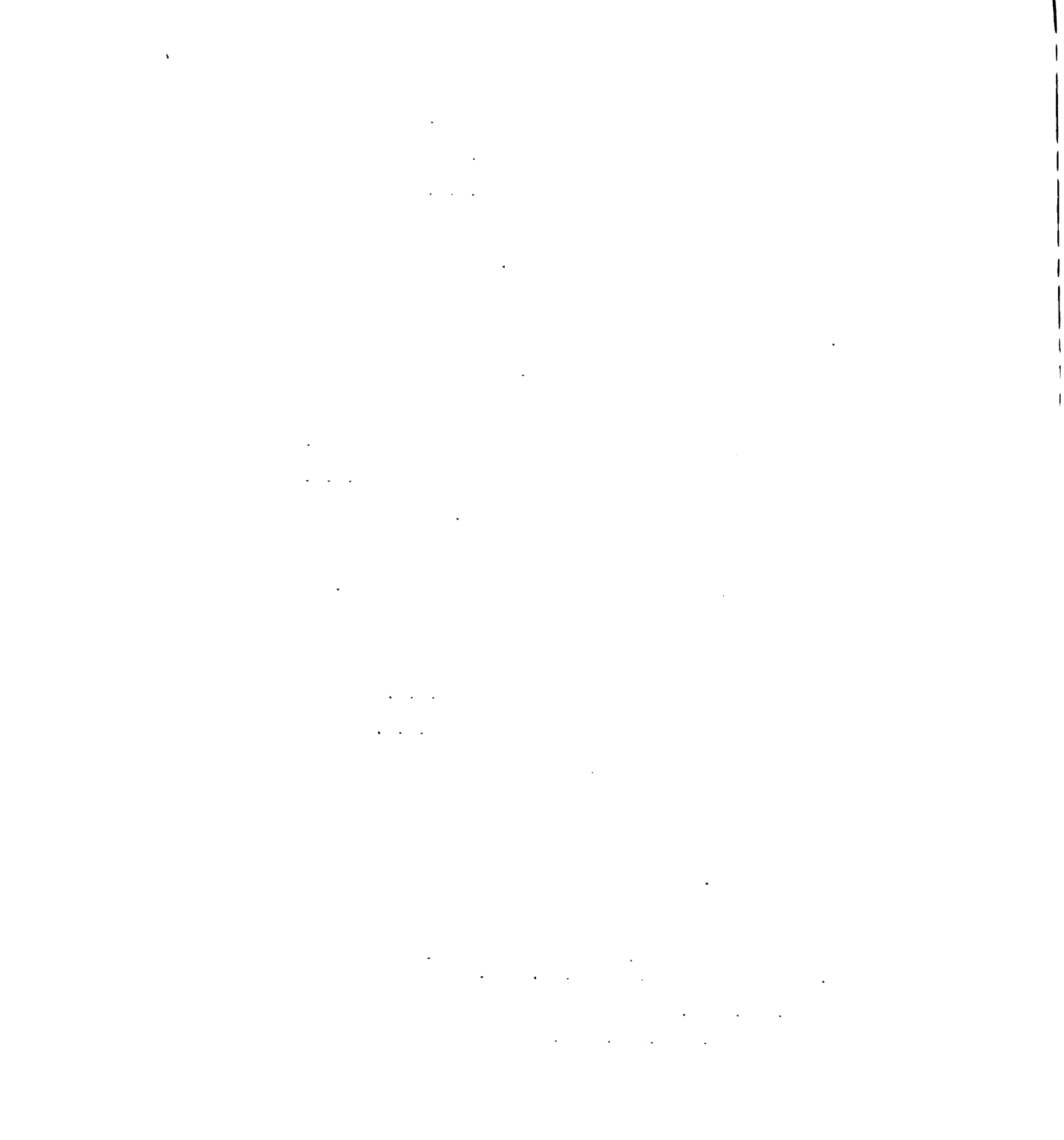
The United Mine Workers and the C.I.C. have paid cash on the barrel head for every piece of legislation that we have gotten. . .⁴

Following this statement, Lewis proceeded to list the various contributions labor had made to the President's campaigns including the re-election of Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky.

²Foster Rhea Dulles. Labor in America. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1949), p. 321.

³Ibid., p. 322.

⁴Alinsky, op. cit., p. 179.



Lewis pointed out that his dislike for the President was not an overnight occurrence. Representative Howard Smith, "a labor baiting, crackpot fool," according to Lewis, had been invited to the White House for lunch-- a singular distinction for a freshman congressman.

Infuriated by the President's apparent courting of anti-labor representatives, Lewis went to see the President the same afternoon. Roosevelt told Lewis that he had invited the young man only to scold him for his narrow-mindedness. But as Lewis put it,

He expected me to believe that! Would he expect anyone to believe that? Even a precinct captain would have sufficient political savvy to recognize the consequences of that kind of an action, and with Franklin D. Roosevelt's political sagacity, to give that kind of an answer to me was not audacity, it was a bare-faced lie that only a damn fool would believe.⁵

Frances Perkins states that she and Daniel Tobin of the Teamsters Union talked with Roosevelt about Lewis's alleged ambition to become the 1940 Vice-Presidential candidate on the Roosevelt ticket. From what Frances Perkins says, Tobin was pleading with a reluctant President to run for a third term. After Roosevelt still insisted that he didn't want to run again, Tobin declared "Labor will stand behind you." At that the President began to laugh. According to Roosevelt, Lewis had come to him and suggested that he, Lewis, be given the Vice-

⁵Alinsky, op. cit., p. 180.

Presidential candidacy in order to assure the labor vote.

According to Frances Perkins, when Roosevelt told her of this, he laughed and said, "Can you beat that!"⁶ Perkins states that she is "sure now that this is why John L. Lewis came out against Roosevelt when the campaign was at its height."⁷

Dulles offers a similar and perhaps apocryphal account of the incident in which Lewis is alleged to have said to Roosevelt,

We're the two most prominent men in the nation. We'll make an invincible ticket.

Supposedly, the President replied, "Yes, but which place will you take, John?"⁸

Whether or not this incident actually caused Lewis to oppose Roosevelt is not known, nor is there positive evidence that the situation actually occurred since Perkins's testimony is based only upon what Roosevelt told her. According to Alinsky, Lewis didn't think Roosevelt would run again.

Harold Ickes, in his book entitled The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes, asserts that Lewis was supporting Burton K. Wheeler for the nomination. According to Ickes, the plans were laid for Lewis to support Wheeler

⁶Frances Perkins. The Roosevelt I Knew. (New York: The Viking Press, 1946), pp. 126-7.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Dulles, op. cit., p. 321.

while the labor leader was vacationing at Wheeler's Rocky Mountain lodge for two weeks, late in 1939.⁹

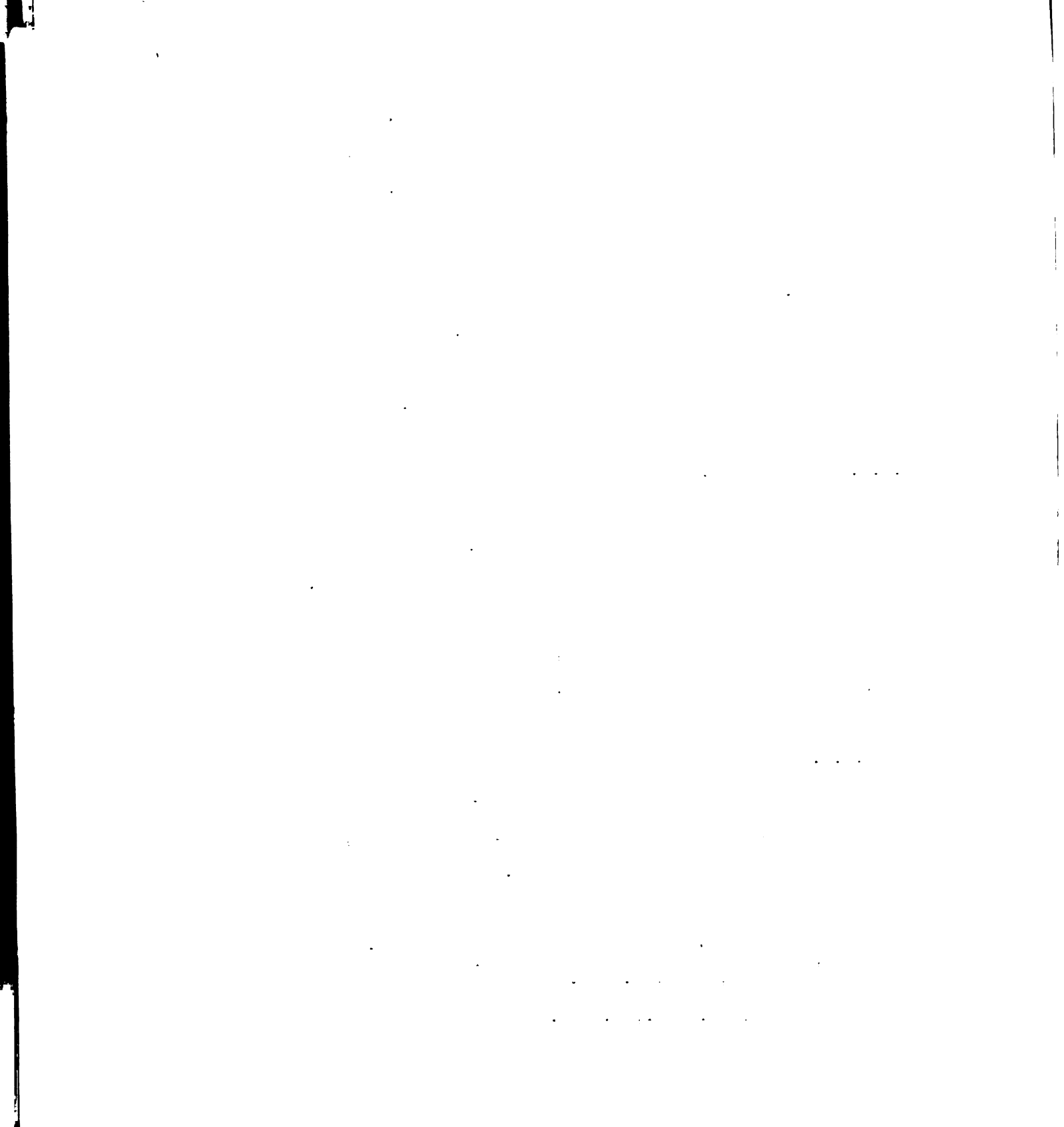
With only sixty days left before the election, Saul Alinsky and Roman Catholic Bishop Bernard J. Sheil of Chicago, a trusted friend of Lewis's, attempted to reconcile the feud through a series of Roosevelt-Lewis conferences.

The first of these was unsuccessful. Roosevelt began the conversation by telling Lewis of a plan he had developed for a coordinated production schedule. Lewis in turn offered his own ideas on a similar plan that the C.I.O. was creating. According to Alinsky, there were no harsh words exchanged, but each was annoyed by the other's lack of interest in what he was proposing.¹⁰

Several other meetings were held, but to no avail. Finally, on Thursday morning, October 17th, only seven days before Lewis's radio address, Roosevelt, ill with a cold, called Lewis to his bedside. When Lewis insisted that Roosevelt was not being "friendly" to labor because the F.B.I. had been "tapping" his phones, Roosevelt is reported to have said, "That's a damn lie!" Lewis stood up and replied, "Nobody can call John L. Lewis a liar, least of all Franklin Delano Roosevelt!" Lewis then

⁹Harold Ickes. The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes, II, The Inside Struggle, 1936-1939. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), p. 698.

¹⁰Alinsky, op. cit., p. 181.



walked out of the President's bedroom.¹¹

Despite Alinsky's attempts to reunite Roosevelt and Lewis, there is some evidence not only that the split was irreconcilable but that as early as January of 1940, Lewis would not have supported Roosevelt's bid for a third term. Speaking before the U.M.W.A. Convention in Columbus, Ohio, Lewis said in part,

I am one who believes that President Roosevelt will not be a candidate for re-election. Conceding that the Democratic National Convention could be coerced or dragooned into renominating him, I am convinced that, with conditions now confronting the nation and dissatisfaction now permeating the minds of the people, his candidacy would result in ignominious defeat.¹²

The title of this chapter refers to a dilemma. The reason for this is that by the fall of 1940, Lewis faced three possible alternatives as to his part in the election, all of which appeared to offer ill-fated results.

First, Lewis might have chosen to support Roosevelt, but this would have been an admission of defeat and servility. Added to this would be the problem of contradiction and the question of Lewis's own prestige and integrity because he had openly criticized the Roosevelt Administration on many occasions. Second, he could remain neutral

¹¹Ibid., p. 187.

¹²United Mine Workers Journal, January 15th, 1940, p. 2. and Lauck, (ed) John L. Lewis and the International Union United Mine Workers of America: The Story from 1917 to 1952. (Silver Springs, Maryland: The International Executive Board of the United Mine Workers, 1952), p. 124.

and not endorse either candidate. But this course of action, too, could have serious consequences. As Burns points out, the once passive communists were now calling the President "a power-mad, militarist, bent on plunging his country into an imperialistic war."¹³ Since the label of "communist" had been applied to the C.I.O. from many quarters and especially since Lewis had openly proclaimed an isolationistic philosophy regarding the wars in Europe, any silence on his part may well have been construed as endorsement of the communist party line. Certainly the communists would have liked nothing better.

The point is that while Lewis was not forced into supporting Willkie, certainly his alternatives left him little choice. Perhaps the crux of the problem and his biggest mistake was his assumption that the President would not seek a third term.

Audience and Occasion. Unlike many of Lewis's other speeches, this one was given on no specific holiday or anniversary. Moreover, the date of the speech was announced by Lewis only four days before the speech was to be given.¹⁴

The facilities for the address were, according to the New York Times, "the most extensive radio hook up ever

¹³James McGregor Burns. Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox. (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1956), p. 417.

¹⁴Alinsky, op. cit., p. 187.

given a labor speaker."¹⁵ Lewis's speech was simultaneously carried over three networks, N.B.C., C.B.S., and Mutual, to 322 radio stations. The Times estimated that the speech reached between twenty-five and thirty million people at a cost of over \$60,000. This money was paid by an organization called the National Committee of Democrats for Wendell Willkie.¹⁶

Purpose.

Lewis's only ostensible purpose during this speech was to induce his audience to vote for the Republican candidate for President, Wendell L. Willkie, in the coming election.

While his methods of doing this sometimes appear digressive, these digressions consistently lead back to this basic thesis.

Substantive and Rhetorical Outline.

I. I address all Americans. I. Statement of salutation.

Lewis's reference to all Americans may be an attempt to soothe some verbal wounds he inflicted during several of his labor addresses.

¹⁵New York Times, October 25th, 1946. p. 1.

¹⁶Ibid.

A. Our country is at one of the crossroads of its political destiny.

1. The issues run deep and will inevitably affect the well-being and lives of every American.
2. They will also affect the population of every other civilized country, and may well determine the stability or instability of all free institutions of our present-day culture.

B. I am conscious of the degree of responsibility which attaches to my words.

1. I am a qualified representative of

A. Metaphorical expression emphasizing the significance and importance of the occasion.

1. and 2. General statements pertaining to I A. Here Lewis attempts to develop the gravity of the issues involved in the election by using a generalized extension of their consequences.

B. A general and somewhat obvious attempt to develop ethical appeal by advocating and manifestly accepting "responsibility."

1. An open attempt to impress the audi-

many organizations of labor and other groups of citizens.

2. It is not necessary to enumerate them since my listeners are familiar with their identity.
- a. Suffice it to say that the direct and affiliated membership of these organizations amounts to substantially 10,000,000 men and women.
- b. Adding to this number in numerical strength of their dependent families, there is achieved a sum total of human beings amounting to approximately one fourth of the

ence with the position and "qualifications" of the speaker.

- 2., 2a and 2b. This section of Lewis's address is unusual in that it seems to be an attempt to impress the audience with Lewis the man. Heretofore, Lewis has always referred to labor or to the specific organization he was representing, but rarely to himself. While the facts may be true, the section seems not only to lack humility, but to be boastful and egotistic. It appears to be a bold, and obvious attempt at ethical proof which may well have

total population
of our nation.

backfired in the
minds of many
listeners.

C. Abandoning my right
to speak officially
for this great segment
of our population, I
chose to speak tonight
only in the role of a
citizen and an
American.

C. Further attempts to
develop ethical appeal
through self-
proclaimed modesty.

1. I do so on all the
pride of my heri-
tage and with a
desire to protect
that heritage and
likewise the heri-
tage of my peers.
2. Accordingly, tonight,
 - a. I do not speak for
labor but on the
contrary,
 - b. I speak to labor,
and,
 - c. to all my country-
men.

1. Emotional appeal
employing the vague
phrases such as
"the pride of my
heritage." Also a
continuation of the
ethical proof con-
tained in B and C.
2. a, b, and c. A
statement clarify-
ing the specific
position of the
speaker in rela-
tion to his audi-
ence and the
groups which he

"represented" in former radio addresses.

3. I do not control the vote of any man or woman.
4. I have no power, no influence, except insofar as those who believe in me may accept my recommendation.

3. and 4. Obvious appeals to modesty and humility. Again Lewis seems determined to picture himself as the humble man, but the belabored and severe nature of his appeal may destroy any empathy he has established thus far.

II. On September 4th, 1939, in a public radio address, I said, "The nation cannot forever continue its appalling drift. Thoughtless and sadly executed experimentation will not always suffice to beguile the suffering people."

II. Quotation used as a form of logical and, in this case, ethical proof. The quotation contains metaphorical emotional appeals to purposefulness and pity.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>A. The internal national debt has already reached such proportions that it may never be liquidated by orthodox methods.</p> | <p>A. Logical proof in support of II employing vague phrases such as "orthodox methods."</p> |
| <p>B. In the face of the economic debacle in America, many of our statesmen are more concerned and agitated over the political quarrels in Europe.</p> | <p>B. Emotional proof employing appeals to common sense and nationalism.</p> |
| <p>C. War has always been the political device of the politically despairing and intellectually sterile statesman.</p> | <p>C. A generalization employing charged words such as "intellectually sterile statesman."</p> |
| <p>1. It provides employment in the gun factories and begets enormous profits for those already rich.</p> | <p>1. A generalization in support of C.</p> |
| <p>2. It kills off the vigorous males who, if permitted to live, might question the financial exploita-</p> | <p>2. An attempt at cause to effect reasoning, weakened considerably by the words</p> |

tion of the race.

3. Above all, war perpetuates in imperishable letters on the scroll of fame and history, the names of its political creators and managers."

III. The foregoing statement constitutes the first basis of my personal opposition to the re-election of President Roosevelt for a third time as Chief Executive of the Republic.

- A. Those who hear these words and have studied the public address of the President from his Chicago "quarantine speech" to his Charlottesville "stab-in-the-back" address and thence to Dayton

"might" and "if."

3. A sarcastic, paradoxical metaphor employing some invective and many charged words.

III. Statement of personal belief. Naturally this sentence is assumed to have had a great deal of emotional impact in that it constitutes the first public announcement of the Lewis-Roosevelt "break."

- A. Logical proof incorporating an attempt at cause to effect reasoning and the technique of "self-evident truths." Lewis is insinuating that if one disagrees with him he hasn't "studied the public

and Philadelphia will understand his motivation and his objective.

1. It is war.

2. His every act leads one to this inescapable conclusion.

B. The President has said that he hates war and he will work for peace, but his actions do not match his words.

1. I am opposed to any involvement of our country in foreign wars.

address of the President" closely enough. In short, if one is intelligent and perceptive, he will agree; therefore, according to Lewis, if one does not agree he must not be intelligent and perceptive.

1. Assertion and, in view of II C, vilification of the President.

2. A continuation of the "self-evident truth" technique employed in III A.

B. General statement of assumption and accusation. Argument ad hominem.

1. Emotional appeals to peace and patriotism.

2. I believe that every thoughtful, normal citizen is similarly opposed.

3. They are willing, as I am willing, to contribute everything for any necessary defense of our geographical integrity, our families, our positions, and our liberties, and our lives.

C. The flaming horror of the current war now engulfs many nations.

1. Reason would seem to prompt a course of

2. A "black or white" argument insinuating that anyone favoring U. S. military intervention (or supporting the alleged policy of the President) is not thoughtful and, hence, abnormal.

3. General statement modifying III A and B. The purpose of this modification is to allow for the contingency of open attack on the U. S. and to assure his listeners that a policy of non-intervention is not a policy of weakness or non-patriotism.

C. General statement of fact employing colorful words for effect.

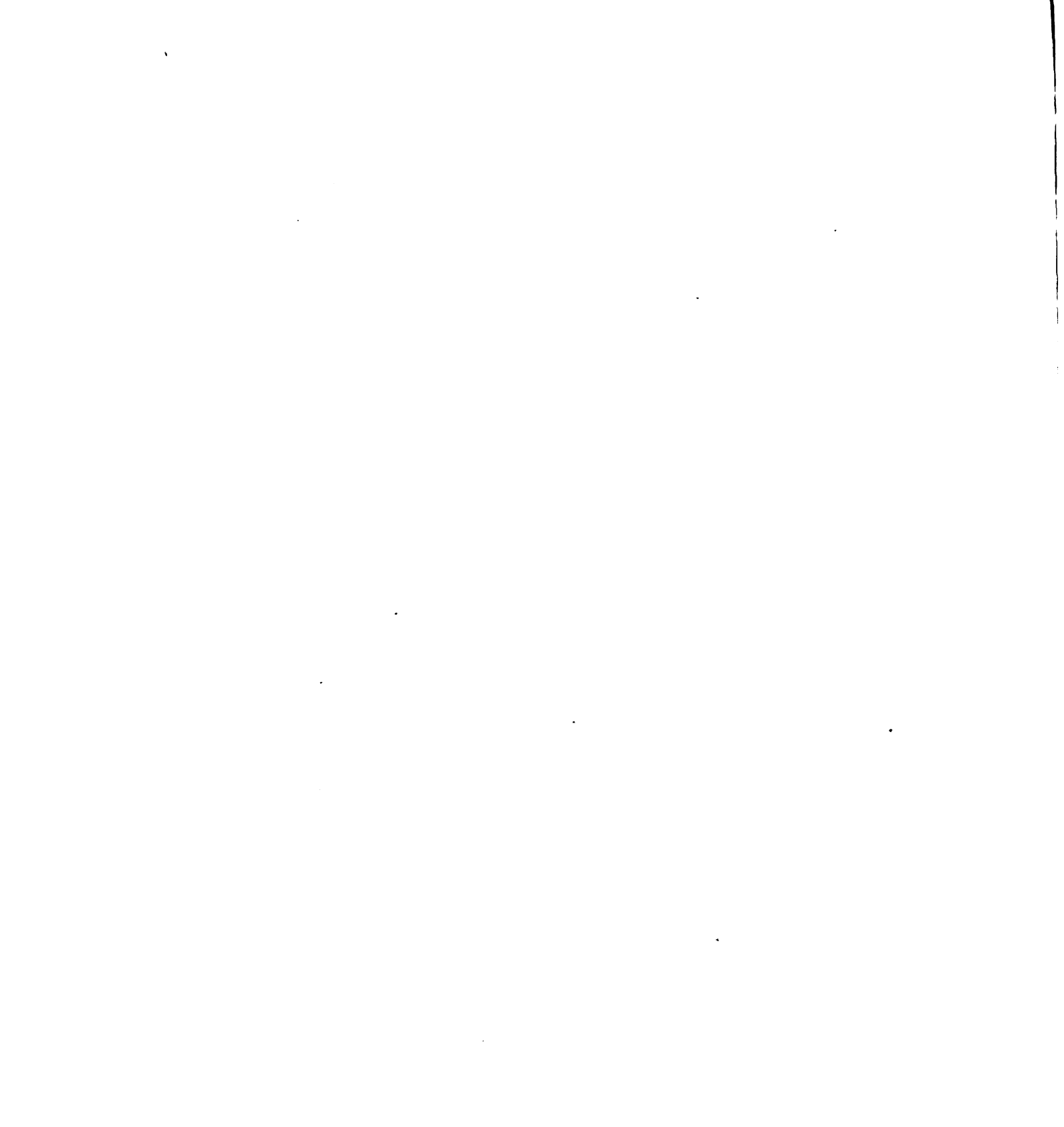
1. and 2. A logical appeal which may be

national action
 designed to restrict
 and abate the war
 rather than to,
 2. expand and intensify
 its scope and
 destruction.

equally as logical
 (and therefore
 equally as illog-
 ical) if the con-
 clusion is reversed.
 Lewis refers to
 "national action
 designed to restrict
 and abate the war"
 which could justify
 a course of inter-
 vention (thus
 shortening the
 conflict) reducing
 the total casual-
 ties, etc. as well
 as to a course of
 non-intervention.

IV. The present concentra-
 tion of power in the
 office of the President
 of the United States
 has never before been
 equaled in the history
 of our country.

IV. Although there may be
 some factual justifica-
 tion for the statement,
 it is still a generaliza-
 tion designed to alarm
 the audience in that
 Lewis does not specify
 his criteria for evalu-
 ating the relative term,
 "power."



- A. His powers and influence in this republic are so far reaching that they intimately and vitally affect the lives and fortunes of every citizen.
- B. In like measure they may affect the lives and fortunes of other nations and their populations.
- C. How startling, therefore, is the spectacle of a president who is disinclined to surrender that power in keeping
- A. A supporting generalization suggesting a cause to effect argument. He had "power and influence" therefore this will "effect" the "lives and fortunes. . ."
- B. A continued supporting generalization. It is interesting to note that although the grammatical construction of IV A and IV B is parallel, Lewis has inserted the word "may" in the latter, thus weakening the logical structure but making the argument more reasonable.
- C. Argument ad hominem. Lewis is picturing Roosevelt as having broken national tradition by the "usurpa-

with the traditions
of the republic.

1. The suggestion of
a third term under
these conditions
is less than whole-
some or healthy.

2. Personal craving
for power, the
overweening, ab-
normal, and self-
ish craving, for
increased power is
a thing to alarm
and dismay.

3. Eminent Americans have
analyzed this prin-
ciple in a manner
that should bring
conviction to the
heart of every
questioner.

tion of unprecedented
power."

1. Appeal to tradition
and patriotism.

2. Argument ad hominem.

In effect Lewis is
suggesting that Roose-
velt is personally a
selfish, power-craving,
abnormal man.

3. An attempt at logical
argument ad vericundium
supported by anonymous
testimony. ("Eminent
Americans. . .") The
statement is also ex-
tremely vague. Viz.
Analyzed--How? When?

Where?

Principle--Which one?

Manner--Which one?

Conviction--Which one?

moral? Political?

related to what?

4. No citizen with a proper regard for the system of orderly, temperate, and considerate government should lightly endow any politician or statesman with a brief of authority, that for all practical considerations runs in perpetuity.

D. Power for what?

1. Personal and official power to what end?

4. Argument by admonition and strong positive suggestion. Appeals to security and the American "tradition."

D. Attention arresting question also serving as a transition to D 2.

1. A more specific and, in this case, somewhat rhetorical question. Lewis also "loads" the question by implying that Roosevelt, in seeking a third term, is doing so only for "personal and official power." This is similar to the propaganda technique commonly

2. In all history, the unwarranted exercise of continuously vested authority has brought its train of political and social convulsions, for which humanity has paid an appalling price in loss of liberty, in disorder, tragedy, and debt.

V. America needs no superman.

A. It denies the philosophy that deifies the

called "stacking the deck."

2. This sentence appears to be a combination of the secundum quid fallacy of gross generalization and the thin entering wedge technique. If the people elect Roosevelt, is the "power" then unwarranted? Is four years together with the right of impeachment really "continuously vested power?" Were the unspecified referents of Lewis's phrase "In all history" elected every four years?

V. A sarcastic ad hominem in reference to Roosevelt.

A. Appeal to patriotism, democracy and the

state.

1. America wants no royal family.
2. Our forebears paid the price in blood, agony, privation, and sorrow, requisite for the building of this republic.
3. Are we now to cast away that priceless liberty which is our heritage?
4. Are we to yield to the appetite for power and the vault-

American tradition.

1. General comparison of a Roosevelt third term to a monarchy. Also a transition for the emotional appeal found in V A 2 and the logical appeal in V A 3.
2. Highly emotional appeal to patriotism.
3. Logical appeal by comparison and cause to effect reasoning. Lewis is implying that a Roosevelt third term will cause the casting away of that "priceless liberty."
4. Ad hominem rhetorical question.

ing ambitions of a man who plays with the lives of human beings for a pastime?

5. I say, NO! And whether I stand alone, or whether I am sustained, as I think I will be by the overwhelming number of American citizens, I should retain these convictions.

6. It is time for the manhood and womanhood of America to assert themselves.

5. Positive suggestion as an emotional answer to V A 4. The concluding portion of the sentence constitutes an attempt at ethical proof since Lewis is proclaiming his extreme sincerity and individualism. Once again, the obvious and sentimental nature of the appeal may connote manifest insincerity to some listeners.

6. Appeal ad populum. Lewis is attempting to rally his listeners on the proverbial bandwagon by

7. Tomorrow may be too late.
- B. If President Roosevelt is re-established in office in the forthcoming election,
1. he will answer to no man including the Congress for his executive acts.
 2. That may create a dictatorship in
- emotional appeals to "manhood" and patriotism.
7. Argument by admonition with emotional appeals to fear and security.
- B. Statement of supposition.
1. Unwarranted assumption. Although Roosevelt's first two terms in office were controversial, Lewis shows no reason that the constitutional check and balance of executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government would automatically cease to function.
 2. Logical fallacy based upon the

this land.

thin entering wedge concept. Lewis is reasoning by distorted sign that if Roosevelt is elected, he will act independent of Congress or the Supreme Court. This will give him unlimited power. Having unlimited power, he will become a dictator and as a dictator he will return us to the controlled elections of the "old world." All of this based on the one fact that a man is running for re-election. This fallacious extrapolation may arouse emotional appeals to fear, security, and tradition.

C. I ask my countrymen to pause briefly and think deeply before the die is cast on this grave issue.

C. Specific suggestion. Also present is the implication that thoughtful contemplation will necessarily lead to agreement with the speaker.

VI. On January 24th, 1940, at Columbus, Ohio, in a public address, I said in part as follows,

VI. Quotation used as logical proof.

A. 'As the current year opens, the Democratic party is in default to the American people.

A. General allegation of failure.

1. After seven years of power, it finds itself without solution for the major questions of unemployment, low national income, mounting internal debt, increasing direct and consumer taxation, and restricted foreign markets.'

1. Specific examples of the general allegation in VI A. It should be noted that the adjectives Lewis uses in describing the alleged failure are quite vague. Viz. "mounting. . . increasing. . . restricted. . ."

2. There still exists the same national unhappiness that it faced seven years ago.

B. The foregoing indictment has never been answered or refuted nor successfully denied by any single spokesman for the Democratic party or the Roosevelt Administration.

1. They cannot gainsay the cold stark facts of that record.

2. A fallacious logical appeal. Lewis asserts that his subjective appraisal of a general and highly relative sentiment (is any one ever completely happy?) is to be considered a fact.

B. Here Lewis poses a clever dilemma. Who is to determine what "successfully denied" means when applied to a relative sentiment. Although Lewis would have a difficult time proving himself right who could prove him wrong?

1. Supposition. Also an attempt at logical proof by overgeneralization. Lewis has never actually stated what facts he has

2. There is no spokesman in the Democratic party, or in the Roosevelt Administration, intellectually capable of this task.
- C. If this be true, what of the future?
1. President Roosevelt is asking the American people to contribute to him at least four more years out of their individual lives.
 2. What will he do with those lives and this nation in the next four years and how does he propose to do it?
- in mind.
2. A severe ad hominem, directed at the collective administration of the President. It is possible that the severity of this all-inclusive insult may have cost Lewis substantial support.
- C. A rhetorical question based on the premise that his previous logos has been sound.
1. A redundant metaphor implying that if Roosevelt is elected, the listeners must give him their "individual lives."
 2. Argument ad populum. Lewis is posing a question which cannot be answered by Lewis's opponents because they are not present.

3. He has not said, and,
4. he asks from the people a grant of discretionary power that would bind him to no course of action, except the unpredictable policies and adventures which he may later devise.

D. After all, Americans are not a nation of guinea pigs, constantly subject to the vicissitudes of the economic and political experiments of the amateur, ill-equipped, practioner in the realm of political science.

1. One of the commissioners of national defense recently called public attention to the fact that there were 45,000,000 hungry people in America.
2. In his subsequent press conference, the President rebuked the Commis-

3. Assertion.
4. Assertion employing loaded words and assumptions. Viz. "unpredictable. . . adventures. . . no course of action. . . devise."

D. An extreme ad hominem together with appeals to patriotism, common sense and fear. His lack of tact and consideration for Roosevelt may again have a detrimental effect upon Lewis's ethos.

1. Logical proof. Lewis cites statistics without revealing the exact source, nor does he define the term "hungry people."
2. Specific allegation through the use of an example.

sioner for the
statement and
asserted that the
Commissioner has no
relation to the
problem of national
defense.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>3. It is authoritatively stated that 20,000,000 people in the United States are able to spend only five cents per meal per person.</p> <p>4. Consider the astounding facts:</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">a. 45,000,000 people in this land suffering from insufficient food and undernourishment,</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">b. 20,000,000 of whom are required to live on an actual expenditure of fifteen cents a day.</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">c. This, in the land of plenty, with its</p> | <p>3. Logical proof. Again Lewis fails to cite a source for his statistics.</p> <p>4. a. and b. Emotional appeal to pity and security. Logical appeal by repetition of undocumented statistical evidence.</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">c. Argument by antithesis. By using</p> |
|---|--|

agricultural
granaries and
overflowing
with surplus
farm commodities
which the farmer
is unable to sell.

5. Where now are the
tears for the "ill-
housed, ill-clothed,
and ill-fed?"

E. The Roosevelt Admin-
istration is trying
to create prosperity

generalities as
extremes at op-
posite ends,
Lewis attempts
to picture his
adversary as
illogical and
inequitable.

5. A sarcastic rhetor-
ical question de-
signed to portray
a gross contradic-
tion of policy on
the part of the
President. The
phrase is misquoted,
but nevertheless is
a reference to
Roosevelt's Second
Inaugural Address
in which he stated,
"I see one third
of a nation ill-
housed, ill-clad,
ill-nourished."

E. Assertion of his op-
ponent's policy imply-
ing that Roosevelt is

by the making of guns and lethal weapons.

1. It points to the increased volume of productions.
2. It forgets to state that the productivity of the individual worker has vastly increased since 1929 and that increased volume does not correspondingly mean increased employment of workers.
3. It forgets to state that there are nine million one hundred and fifteen thousand men and women in America still unemployed.
4. The Administration spokesmen forget to say what will happen to economic America when 25,000,000 men, now under arms in

a warmonger.

1. Restatement of the opposition's argument.
2. In a situation not unlike the proverbial "pot calling the kettle black," Lewis challenges the validity of Roosevelt's statistics and seeks to refute them by logical analysis.
3. Logical proof utilizing statistics (source uncited) as refutation.
4. Logical proof utilizing statistics (source uncited) as refutation. Also notable is the repetition of the

foreign nations, and the 70,000,000 citizens who service these armies are returned to personal pursuits.

5. The manufacturer's of America and the workers of America will then have to compete in the remaining world markets with the quantitative production of foreign nations whose workmen will occupy the relative economic and social status as chattel slaves.

6. Where will our country then sell its goods?
- a. Surely not in the Baltic or Mediterranean areas.
 - b. Surely not in Africa or the Orient.

phrase, "It forgets to state. . . it forgets to state. . ."

5. Assumption and generalization. Lewis is assuming that the United States will adopt a policy of free trade. He "forgets to state" that normal tariff barriers would tend to decrease the influx of foreign goods into the American market and thus maintain the wage lead.
6. Question used as transition.
- a. b. c. Answers to V. E. 6. Again Lewis uses repetition for effect as he narrows the

c. Surely, it is obvious that South American markets will be penetrated by the cheap labor products of the world, commercial adversaries of the United States.

7. What is being done by the Roosevelt Administration to safeguard our population from such impending economic disaster?
8. What is being done to modernize the marketing methods of the United States and foreign trade territories so as to compete with the changed rules of international commerce?

list of alternative answers to his question.

7. A challenging question employed as a rhetorical device in that the opposition has no immediate chance to answer it.
8. A second challenging question similar in purpose and structure to V. E. 7.

F. As a literal fact, the record of the last seven years has proved sufficient that the Roosevelt Administration is incapable of meeting this situation and maintaining this nation's rightful share of world commerce, and yet,

G. this administration, in nonchalant and spritely fashion, bluntly asks the American people to grant it at least an additional four years of power so it can continue to toy with the lives of men and the destiny of nations.

F. A generalization based upon inductive reasoning which began with the specific allegations and questions contained in V. E. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, and resulted in the general conclusion contained in the first part of this sentence.

G. A general statement suggesting both contradiction and audacity on the part of the President. Motive appeals to common sense, charged words and phrases such as "nonchalant," "spritely fashion," "toy with the lives of men," also indicate an attempt at emotional proof.

VII. If not Roosevelt, whom do I recommend to do the job of making secure our nation and its people?

A. Why, of course, I recommend the election of Wendell L. Willkie as the next president of the United States.

1. He is a gallant American.
2. He has opened his heart to the American people.
3. He is not an aristocrat.
4. He has the common touch.

VII. A question used as a transition.

A. Statement of fact. Lewis also implies that his endorsement should be self evident through his use of the expression "of course" thus indicating that there can be no other choice.

1. Statement of praise. Appeal to patriotism.
2. Statement of praise. Appeals to love, sincerity, and magnanimity.
- 3., 4., 5., and 6. These are all statements of praise in favor

5. He was born in the briar and not to the purple.
6. He has worked with his hands and he has known the pangs of hunger.

of Willkie. Once again repetition of words and structure is used as a rhetorical device. All of these statements are apparently meant for Lewis's labor audience. Collectively, they constitute not only appeals to common ground with labor, but cleverly concealed insinuations that Willkie is not the typical Republican "boss" or "operator" or "manager" that Lewis had so often reviled in the past--that he is a true friend of labor because of his "briar" beginnings, and because he has "worked with his hands." These

statements may also have a secondary reference to Roosevelt's wealth during childhood. To some, in fact, this may have been the primary reference.

7. He has had experience in various fields of American enterprise, and he is an administrator and an executive.

B. Some sources have suggested that I should withhold my support of Mr. Willkie because Messers Grace, Girdler, and Weir were allegedly supporting him.

1. This is specious reasoning.

a. One could do as well to suggest that the commun-

B. Restatement of the opposing argument without specific reference.

1. General refutation.

a. Argument by analogy. The analogy appears

icants of a particular faith should leave their church because of the presence of a hypocrite in their midst.

b. Aside from this, these gentlemen must possess some virtue, because President Roosevelt has awarded them many fat and lucrative government contracts at the expense of the public purse.

c. I may also add in passing, that it is a reasonable

to be well chosen in that it compares the Republican party and their candidate with Church, which in turn, implies God, Heaven, and absolute goodness.

b. Argument tu quoque. Lewis is in effect implying that two wrongs make a right. He attempts to sidestep the argument by suggesting that "Grace, Girdler, and Weir" are as closely linked with the President as they are to Willkie.

c. Paradox. After comparing them to hypocrites

hope that these gentlemen, acting in their corporate capacities, will soon execute collective bargaining contracts for the C.I.O.

and noting their association with the man he has been belittling, Lewis now turns the tables and suggests that even these men are becoming responsive to the wishes of the C.I.O.

C. Wendell Willkie has said that he will

1. put the unemployed to work;
2. that he will abolish pauperism.
3. He has said that he will increase the national income by working to increase

C. Specific reference to Willkie's statements.

The implication in Lewis's remark is that he is not quoting but paraphrasing Willkie's ideas and statements.

1. Appeal to security and subsistence.
2. Appeal to subsistence.
3. Appeal to equity.

the wages and incomes
of those unemployed.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>4. He says that he will enlist the representative brains of the nation to do this job.</p> | <p>4. Appeals to purposefulness and probity.</p> |
| <p>5. He says that he will also take representatives of labor into his cabinet and into the policy-making agencies of government to assist and cooperate in the economic rehabilitation of America.</p> | <p>5. Specific appeals to listeners sympathetic to, or engaged in, the labor movement.</p> |
| <p>6. He has said that he will reduce the cost of operations of our government and thus reduce the taxes imposed upon individual citizens.</p> | <p>6. General appeal to subsistence, thrift, and economy.</p> |
| <p>7. He has said that he believes in and will enforce the right of labor to organize and</p> | <p>7. and 8. Again Lewis is attempting to convince labor that in spite of the</p> |

will promote collective bargaining between industry and labor.

8. He has said that he will preserve and maintain all social legislation previously enacted for the protection of labor and any other citizen.
9. Wendell L. Willkie has given his guarantee to the American people that, if elected President, he will not send the sons of American mothers and American fathers to fight in foreign wars.

fact that Willkie is a Republican, he is a friend of labor and of collective bargaining.

9. Highly emotional appeals to peace, security, country, motherhood, and fatherhood. Also many of the foregoing arguments--especially this one--are in direct and correlated refutation of the charges Lewis had previously levied against Roosevelt. With proper rhetorical and forensic strat-

egy, Lewis is making his "plan" fit the exact need which he established earlier.

a. He avers that he will not use the power and influence of this mammoth nation to promote or create war, but rather to

b. exercise that power and that influence to abate war and promote and maintain peace between nations.

D. This statement of objectives and principles entitles Mr. Willkie to the support of all thoughtful citizens.

a. General statement reiterating and supporting VII C. 9.

b. Antithesis and comparison used as support.

D. Basically, this is an attempt at logical proof by employing an enthymeme. If Lewis had included his major premise, the syllogism might read: Willkie's statement of

objectives is good. Thoughtful citizens should support that which is good. Willkie is entitled to the support of thoughtful citizens.

The syllogism, however, contains several fallacies. Firstly "this statement of Willkie's" is not Willkie's; it is Lewis's paraphrasing of what Lewis feels are Willkie's principles. Secondly, even if the statement of principles were the exact and sum total of Willkie's principles, the minor premise only asks that the thoughtful citizen should support that which is good, thus they need only support the statement and not necessarily Willkie, for the "statement," even according to Lewis's wording, is the

direct referent of both support and the interpolated word, "good," but not of "Willkie."

1. "Can he accomplish such a task?" many will ask.

2. It is my considered judgment that if Wendell Willkie is elected President, this task can and will be done.

1. Rhetorical question used as a transition.

2. Purposeful statement endorsing Willkie.

VIII. The words I utter tonight represent my mature conclusions and my sincere convictions.

A. They are expressed because I believe that the men and women of labor and all other Americans, are en-

VIII. A somewhat boastful statement apparently designed to elicit ethical proof.

A. Continuation of VII with emotional appeals to patriotism and honesty. Once again a statement such as "Americans

titled to know the truth as I see it.

B. I think the reelection of President Roosevelt for a third term would be a national evil of the first magnitude. He no longer hears the cries of

are entitled to know the truth as I see it," tends to be pontifical and somewhat egotistic. Lewis's use of the word "truth" is also interesting. If what Lewis has said is "truth," then it doesn't need the modifying phrase, "as I see it." If it is his own analysis of events, then it is opinion; and while many of the facts he states may be true, the application of the word "truth" is a misnomer.

B. and C. Statements of personal opinion supported by an allegation. The use of the term "cries" as a hyperbole tends to color and exaggerate the allegation. The

the people.

C. I think the election of Mr. Wendell Willkie is imperative in relation to the country's needs.

IX. I commend him to the men and women of labor and to the nation, as one worthy of their support and as one who will capably and zealously protect their rights, increase their privileges, and restore their happiness.

A. It is obvious that President Roosevelt will not

parallel structure of these four sentences emphasizes the contrast of the comparison.

IX. Statement of personal opinion employing the logical fallacy of generalization and emotional appeals to justice ("protect their rights"), subsistence ("increase their privileges"), and pleasure ("restore their happiness.") The entire paragraph is a generalization in that all of the reasoning is based, not upon specific reference, but upon categorical labels such as "evil. . . cries. . . first magnitude. . . rights. . . privileges. . . happiness."

A. General statement of opinion by the speaker

be re-elected to a third term unless he has the overwhelming support of the men and women of labor.

1. If he is, therefore, re-elected, it will mean that the members of the Congress of Industrial Organization have rejected my advice and recommendations.

2. I will accept the result as being the equivalent of a vote of no confidence and will retire as President of the C.I.O. at its convention in November.

stated as a "self-evident truth." Supposition.

1. Statement of logical consequence to IX A.

2. Specific threat being used as a rhetorical device. This statement could have many effects depending upon the listener's particular state of mind. To most everyone it is a shocking statement. To labor it constitutes a strong emotional appeal not only to,

but for loyalty, hence equity and fair play. To others, however, the statement may be an attempt at a rhetorical tour de force.

3. This action will save our great movement composed of millions of men and women from the embarrassment and handicap of my leadership during the ensuing reign of President Roosevelt.

B. To the leaders of the C.I.O., its executive staff, officers, and field representatives,

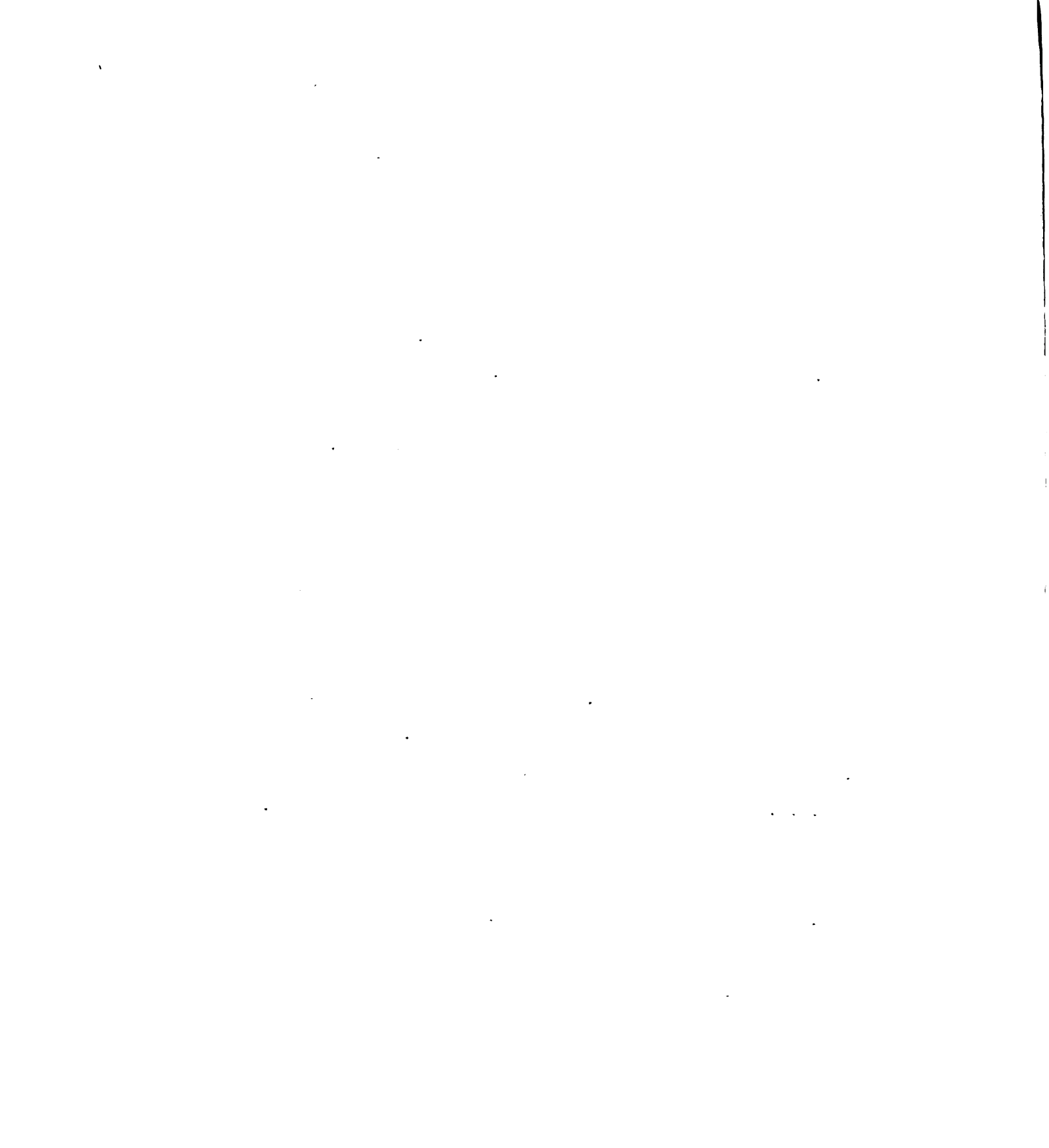
1. I know, and have worked with each of you.

3. Emotional appeals to loyalty and, in a sense, pity.

Lewis is making of himself a self-proclaimed martyr and thus attempting to appeal to all the emotions surrounding martyrdom.

B. Personal appeals to a special interest group.

1. An attempt to establish close common ground and to identify the speaker with the



2. Upon some of you, I have bestowed the honors which you now wear.
3. Through the years of struggle you have been content that I should be in for forefront of your battles.
4. I am still the same man.

group being addressed.

2. An emotional metaphor in support of IX A 1.
3. and 4. Metaphorical emotional appeals to loyalty and honor with overtones of syllogistic reasoning.

Maj. Prem: "You have been content with my leadership in the past."

Min. Prem: "I am the same man."

therefore

Unstated Concl.

"You should be content with my leadership now." Unless Lewis is suggesting that time, space, and matter are completely static, the conclusion is, of course, fallacious.

5. Sustain me now or repudiate me.
6. I will not chide you, and will even hope that you will not regret your action.
- C. To the mine workers of the nation, who know me best and who have always been the shock troops in the forward march of labor, I say it is best for you and for those you love to help oppose the creation of a political dictatorship in a free America.
- D. To the steel workers, the automobile workers,
5. A challenging statement containing an implied but, nonetheless, strong appeal to loyalty.
6. Ethical proof. An obvious attempt to display magnanimity and a sense of fair play.
- C. Specific appeal to a single organization employing strong metaphorical praise. Emotional appeals to security, family, and home, and to patriotism. The allegation that Roosevelt's third term would, of necessity be a "political dictatorship," is a generalization employing charged words and argument ad hominem.
- D. An extended salutation designed to create

and the shipbuilders,
 the maritime workers
 and the lumber workers
 in the far Northwest,
 the textile workers,
 the white collar
 workers, and the men
 and women of labor and
 the miscellaneous indus-
 tries, I say,

1. I have worked for you
 and have fought
 for you.
2. Believe me now, when
 I say that your in-
 terests and the inter-
 ests of the families
 you support lie in
 the acceptance of
 the truth and the
 words which I speak
 tonight.

E. To the farmers of the
 nation I say that I
 know something of your

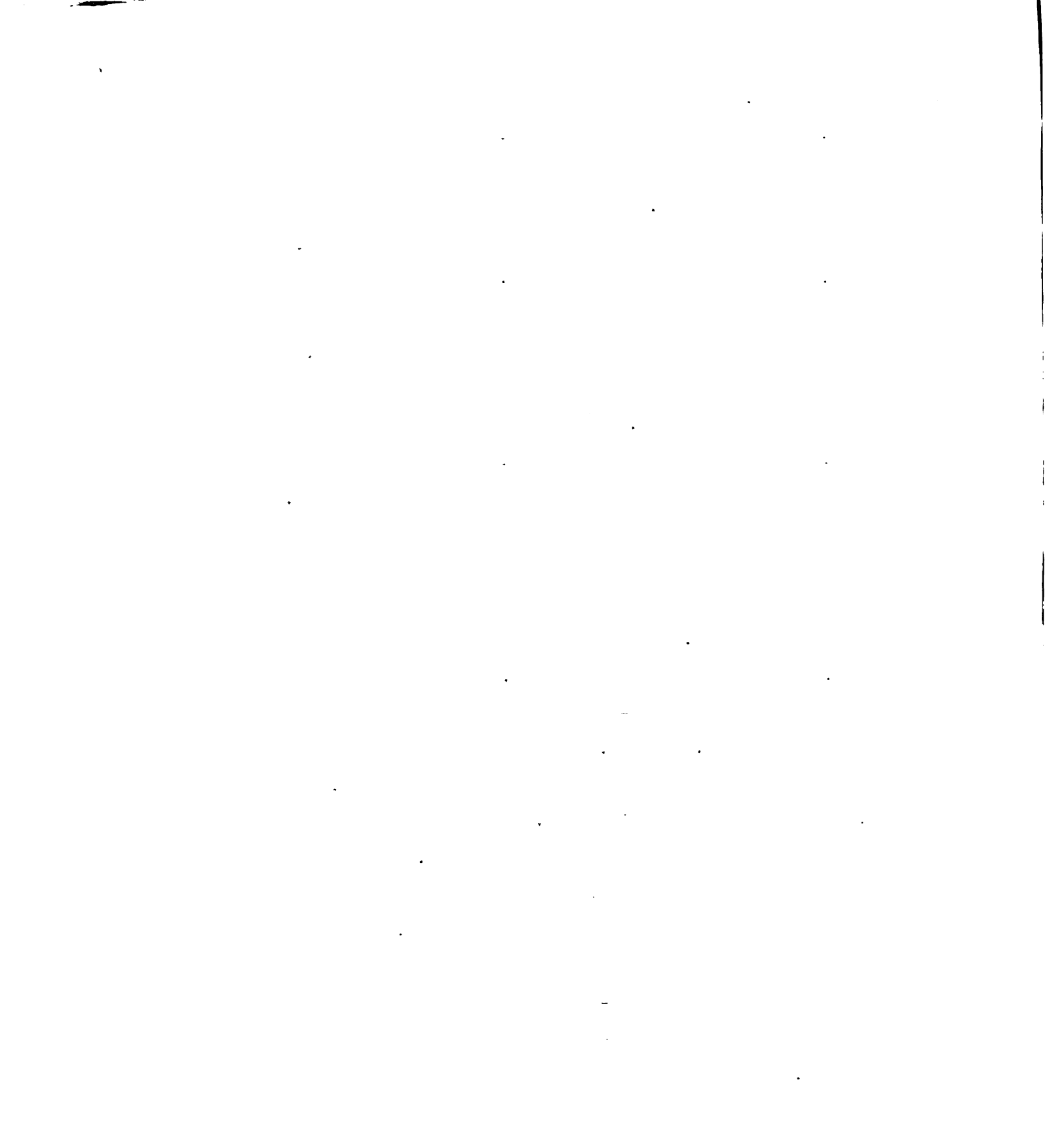
good will and common
 ground through spe-
 cific reference.

1. Emotional appeals
 to loyalty and
 ethical proof in
 the sense that Lewis
 is suggesting he is
 faithful and diligent.
2. Highly emotional
 and generalized ap-
 peal for support.
 Again, Lewis uses
 the term "truth" as
 a synonym for his
 own opinion.

E. Specific appeal to one
 interest group.

problems.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. I was born and reared in an agricultural state.</p> | <p>1. An attempt to establish common ground by reference to mutual experience.</p> |
| <p>2. You cannot be prosperous while the urban and industrial population is idle and debased.</p> | <p>2. Logical appeal using implied cause to effect reasoning.</p> |
| <p>3. The national income must be increased so that your crops will move to market at prices that will sustain you.</p> | <p>3. Positive suggestion and logical appeal.</p> |
| <p>4. Your interest lies in aggressive support of Mr. Willkie.</p> | <p>4. Positive suggestion used to stimulate and activate the interest group.</p> |
| <p>F. To the youth of America who will cast their first votes in November, I say that the road of opportunity for you lies in the election of Wendell Willkie for President.</p> | <p>F. Specific appeal to one age group. Motive appeals to power and subsistence.</p> |



1. Surely you wish to preserve the privilege for which your elders and your forebears fought.

2. Surely, you wish to widen the horizon of opportunity for yourselves and your contemporary citizens.

G. To the members of the Negro race in our northern states I say your incomes as a group are the lowest, your living conditions are the poorest. Your unemployment is the highest; discrimination against you is the worst.

1. Surely you have no cause to believe that President Roosevelt is an indispensable man;

1. Supporting statement containing emotional appeals to tradition.

2. Supporting statement containing motive appeals to power and opportunity. Also notable are the "grand style" and parallel structure used in this paragraph.

G. Specific appeal to one race in one geographic area employing motive appeals to subsistence in general and to property, work, and social approval in particular.

1. Indirect suggestion. The implication is that Roosevelt is responsible for not

2. but surely you believe that Wendell Willkie can and will do more for you than has been done in the last seven years.

3. As a proven friend of the Negro race, I urge you to vote for Willkie.

having alleviated these conditions altogether.

2. Direct suggestion. As was the case in IX F 1, Lewis is stating in parallel structure that his contentions are self evident. For this reason, anyone who disagrees with him must be blind to all reason.

3. Emotional appeals to loyalty. This sentence is either cleverly worded or poorly worded. Upon careful scrutiny the sentence suggests that the Negro should vote for Willkie, because Lewis, a friend of the Negro, is urging them to. However, the sentence

could be interpreted to mean that Willkie is a proven friend of the Negro race. The referrent of the phrase "As a proven friend of the Negro race" is by no means clear.

H. You millions of young men who have qualified for peacetime military draft, have you cause to rejoice?

1. You, who may be about to die in foreign wars, created at the whim of an international meddler, should you salute your Caesar?

H. and H-1. A rhetorical question directed at one age group but obviously designed to influence a much larger group of parents, relatives, friends, and all others sympathetic to the results of war.

In view of Lewis's admiration and study of Shakespeare, it is interesting to note the similarity of these two sentences to Act I of Julius Caesar in which Marullus says, "Wherefore rejoice? What conquests brings he home?" The compar-

ison of Roosevelt to Caesar may be not only a Shakespearean reference, but also an allusion to the Roman custom that each gladiator was compelled to stand before Caesar in the arena and before the mortal combat began, slap his breastplate and shout, "Hail Caesar! We who are about to die salute you!"

2. In cold common sense, I think you should vote for Willkie.

- I. You members of the Christian Church,
1. Why should you vote for and support the man who ignores home considerations and practices the modern sorcery of war mongering?

2. Direct motive appeal to common sense and probity.

- I. Direct appeal to one religion.
1. A rhetorical question "loaded" with charged words, name calling, and appeals to home and the Deity.

2. Labor and the
Christian Church
are the first vic-
tims of the social
and political con-
vulsions which
follow war and one-
man government.

J. To the women of our
race I say perhaps
you can do the great-
est part of all. May
I hope that on elec-
tion day, the mothers
of our sons will, with
the sacred ballot,
lead the revolt against
the candidate who plays
at a game that can make
cannon fodder of your
sons.

X. For myself, it matters
not.

2. Emotional generality.

J. Direct appeal to one
sex. In the first sen-
tence, Lewis attempts
to establish good will
through praise. The
second sentence is a
florid and histrionic
appeal to the protec-
tion of (1) democracy
--"the sacred ballot,"
(2) motherhood--"the
mothers of our sons,"
(3) childhood and
youth--"our sons. . .
your sons," and (4)
fear--"that can make
cannon fodder of your
sons."

X. Emotional appeal to self
sacrifice and ethical

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>A. I do not fear the bravos of the Roosevelt Administration.</p> | <p>appeal to humility and magnanimity.</p> <p>A. Ethical proof suggesting that the speaker is possessed of great courage. Also present is the indirect suggestion that the "bravos" or "hired assassins" of the Roosevelt Administration persecute those who oppose them in any way.</p> |
| <p>B. I fear only for the people, and for our country.</p> | <p>B. Obvious emotional appeals to fear and patriotism. Ethical appeals to courage and magnanimity.</p> |
| <p>C. I am joining with Mr. Willkie in trying to do my part.</p> | <p>C. Purposeful statement containing emotional appeals to patriotism.</p> |
| <p>D. I shall believe, my countrymen, that you will do likewise.</p> | <p>D. Direct suggestion with emotional appeals to patriotism.</p> |

Subsequent Events.

The headlines of the New York Times on October 26th,

1940, read:

LEWIS DECLARES FOR WILLKIE

SAYS ROOSEVELT MEANS WAR AND DICTATORSHIP¹⁷

On page twelve of the same issue, however, another headline is somewhat more revealing of the consequences of Lewis's address. It read:

MANY C.I.O. GROUPS DEFY LEWIS'S STAND¹⁸

The Times, whose columns became permeated with reaction to the Lewis speech during the next two days, quoted as many prominent labor leaders as they could contact.

R. J. Thomas, President of the United Auto Workers, seemed more confused than anything else. "There were many things said that I just couldn't understand," said Thomas.¹⁹

Richard T. Franksteen, one of Thomas's lieutenants, was more to the point. He stated, "In endorsing Willkie you don't express the sentiment of our unions."²⁰

Phillip Murray, Vice-President of the U.M.W.A. and one of the men Lewis accused of being "courted" by the President, found himself on a political tightrope.²¹ He temporarily maintained his balance by replying "no comment."

Some evidence of Murray's precarious position is

¹⁷New York Times, October 26th, 1940, p. 1.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹George Creel. Rebel at Large. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1947), p. 303.

provided by John Greer, C.I.O. official and President of the United Shipbuilders of America. "We would do well to oust Lewis now and put Murray in his place."²²

Sherman Dalrymple, President of the United Rubber Workers, and Daniel Tobin of the Teamsters both urged their constituents to support Roosevelt in spite of Lewis's speech. As Tobin put it, "He is trying to line us up with the very men that tried to crucify us--Girdler and Weir."²³

Even the mine workers district leaders who, according to Alinsky, had come to regard Lewis, Roosevelt, and the New Deal as "the Holy Trinity of labor,"²⁴ now opposed Lewis. One district boss, Jesse Aquino of West Virginia, told the Times, "West Virginia will go down the line 100% for Franklin Delano Roosevelt."²⁵

As would be expected, however, there were some who agreed with Lewis. One of the first to acknowledge his support was the Republican candidate whom Lewis had so heartily endorsed. "I am glad to have the support of Mr. Lewis," said Wendell Willkie. "He is a valiant defender of labor."²⁶

William Hutcheson, President of the A. F. of L.

²²New York Times, October 26th, 1940, p. 12.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Alinsky, op. cit., p. 172.

²⁵New York Times, October 26th, 1940, p. 12.

²⁶Ibid.

Carpenters Union, supported Lewis. Speaking over W.O.R. radio in New York City the same evening, he told his listeners that "Roosevelt has given Labor a most contemptuous snubbing."²⁷

On Sunday, October 27th, more comment was reviewed by the Times. Their headlines read,

BULK OF C.I.O. REBELS SWING TO WILLKIE

C.I.O. SPLIT INTO SEPARATE CAMPS²⁸

Secretary of State, Cordell Hull called the speech "baseless." Another article said that fifty local unions of the C.I.O. had signed a petition citing Lewis as the "Benedict Arnold of Labor."²⁹

The most significant effect of the speech was Lewis's resignation from the C.I.O., a promise which he had made during his radio address, in the event that Roosevelt were re-elected. Phillip Murray, whose "neutrality" had served him well, was named as Lewis's successor. Lauck reports that in spite of the C.I.O. split immediately following Lewis's speech, Lewis received a spontaneous standing ovation "which lasted forty minutes" as he stood on the platform preparing to address the convention. A photograph of the occasion shows one person visibly weeping as Lewis spoke.³⁰

²⁷Ibid., p. 13.

²⁸New York Times, October 27th, 1940, p. 1.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Lauck, op. cit., p. 132.

Although Roosevelt made no immediate reply to the speech, he developed an overall rebuttal strategy which hit Lewis where he was the most vulnerable and the most sensitive. In a speech in Brooklyn several weeks later, Roosevelt linked Lewis with the communists based upon their mutual love of labor and condemnation of the Democratic administration.

Roosevelt stated,

There is something very ominous in this combination that has been forming within the Republican party between the extreme reactionary and the extreme radical elements of this county. There is no common ground on which they can unite unless it be. . . their impatience to produce. . . the inconsistent dictatorial ends that they, each of them, seek."³¹

According to Harry Hopkins, Lewis's speech may have done more harm to Willkie than it did good. Hopkins stated:

It is my opinion that Roosevelt had not really been able to put his heart into the campaign against Willkie who presented so indistinct a target; but a battle to discredit John L. Lewis loomed as a real pleasure.³²

Attempting to show that even the Republicans were suspicious of Lewis's backing, Hopkins states that on the eve of Lewis's radio address Republican National Committeeman Harold Lasken was in Chicago attempting to raise more money for the Willkie campaign. After Lasken and the group of business men who were to contribute the funds listened to Lewis's "Hymn of Hate," Hopkins says there was a long

³¹Burns, op. cit., p. 449.

³²Robert E. Sherwood. Roosevelt and Hopkins. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), p. 192.

silence. Lasken then turned to the group and said, "Now gentlemen--having heard that speech in our support, you will understand why the need of the Republican Party is truly desperate."

According to Hopkins, Lasken received his campaign money.³³

According to Frances Perkins, Roosevelt was not surprised by Lewis's endorsement of Willkie. But, he was surprised when Lewis attempted to coerce the C.I.O. to follow him by threatening to resign if they did not. Madame Perkins states "Lewis's estimate of his own power and leadership even in his own union, in strictly political matters, had to be revised."³⁴

There is little doubt that this speech marked a major turning point in Lewis's career. As Dulles states,

For all the defiant independence and dramatic posturing that were to mark his later activities, and in spite of the excitement he was to cause as a war and post-war strike leader, he could not recapture the power and prestige of his days as President of the C.I.O.

Creel notes that both Sidney Hillman and Phillip Murray drew closer to the Roosevelt camp following the 1940 election. Murray became a presidential advisor as well as becoming President of the C.I.O., while Hillman was

³³Ibid., p. 193.

³⁴Perkins, op. cit., p. 312.

appointed Associate General Director of the Office of Production Management.

"Through all of it," states Creel, "John L. Lewis's picture was not only turned to the wall, it was nailed there."³⁵

There have been many post mortems written not only about the Lewis-Roosevelt break but about the 1940 election in general. Most of these accounts cite the extreme personal ambition of both men as the cause for an inevitable break. There is little doubt that the Lewis-Roosevelt portion of the election was in essence a power struggle. Alinsky, however, suggests that whatever the personal issues may have been, the total effect of the feud, as manifested in Lewis's radio address, had historical significance which transcends the individual power of either man.

The break between them broke the militant surge of the labor movement and broke much of the New Deal. Historians will describe it as the American Tragedy of the Labor Movement.

In spite of the fact that Lewis resigned as President of the C.I.O., he was by no means giving up his aspirations to "organize the unorganized." He was in a sense "retrenching" for the battle that would inevitably come. As Lewis put it,

I had some chores to perform for the organization that pays me, the United Mine Workers of America.³⁷

³⁵Creel, op. cit., p. 304.

³⁶Alinsky, op. cit., p. 212.

³⁷Lauck, op. cit., p. 133.

Lewis began earning his money without delay. In March of 1941, he and a district president pushed a new mine inspection law through Congress. A month later Lewis personally negotiated new wage agreements in both the bituminous and anthracite coal fields. After four months of local strikes and general bickering, Lewis won a national minimum wage, annual vacation benefits, a 10% wage increase, and a universal union shop contract.

Within one week of the signing of the new agreement, Lewis was in Washington appearing before the House Rivers and Harbors Committee in opposition to the proposed St. Lawrence Seaway bill because, as Lewis stated, ". . . the electricity generated by the project will displace coal."³⁸

Also during this same period Lewis authorized the "captive mines" strike against those mines owned by several major steel companies. These steel operators felt that their mines were not subject to the union shop clause which had been accepted by the operators several months before. On November 19th, President Roosevelt asked Lewis and the steel company representative, Benjamin F. Fairless, to agree to arbitration. Reversing his policy of the 1920's, Lewis agreed. On December 7th, 1941 the mine workers were awarded a union shop. But, as one might expect, the news of the strike settlement was, on that "infamous" Monday morning, buried under small headlines on

³⁸Lauck, op. cit., p. 137.

the back pages of America's newspapers.

All traces of Lewis's anti-war feelings were gone after the Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbor. In a non-radio speech several days after the attack, Lewis said,

When the nation is attacked, every American must rally to its defense. All other considerations become insignificant. Congress and administrative government must be supported, and every aid given to the men in the combat services of our country.³⁹

However, in that moment of intense national unity which most Americans experienced shortly after December 7th, Lewis had overstated the case. Indeed, his actions revealed that many "considerations" were far more "significant" than the war effort per se. During 1943, Lewis not only broke with the C.I.O. but authorized a multiplicity of coal strikes in areas where he and other mine workers officials felt the War Labor Board had been unfair in their arbitration of wage disputes and new contracts. When Lewis refused to recognize the board's authority, President Roosevelt ordered government seizure of the mines. This action was taken as a temporary measure, but negotiations between Lewis and Harold Ickes dragged on for months. According to Dulles,

At no time did Lewis show the slightest willingness to accept the authority of the board or to take into consideration the public interest.

Dulles goes on to point out that "Lewis was the

³⁹Lauck, op. cit., p. 139.

villain in the eyes of the public."⁴⁰

Although Lewis was without a doubt one of the most unpopular men living in the United States during World War II, he maintained his leadership of the U.M.W.A. When the war ended, Lewis set to work on a Welfare and Retirement Fund for the miners.

When the operators refused to contribute \$60,000,000 annually to the fund, Lewis initiated another strike similar to that of 1943; and again the operators consented to the demands but only after the steel industry had closed down to 50% production and the nation was faced with a three week coal supply.

This agreement lasted only six months. In November, Lewis placed new wage demands before the operators. Secretary of the Interior, Julius Krug, applied to Judge Alan T. Goldsborough, the man whom Lewis's money brought to prominence, for a federal injunction forcing the miners back to work. The injunction was granted, but Lewis refused to obey it. Goldsborough found Lewis and the U.M.W.A. in contempt of court, fined them both, and, after a series of appeals, the Supreme Court upheld the Goldsborough decision. Only then did Lewis order some of the miners back to work.

With the government still in control of the industry in 1947, one of the worse disasters in mining history

⁴⁰Dulles, op. cit., p. 340.

occurred at Centralia, Illinois, when a methane gas and coal dust explosion killed 111 men. This incident gave Lewis an opportunity to repudiate the government, and Secretary Krug in particular, for not enforcing what were supposed to be mandatory government safety inspections of the mines. Speaking before the House Labor Committee, Lewis said,

I have not said that J. A. Krug by an affirmative act killed these men. I say that J. A. Krug, by his action, has permitted them to die while he withheld from them the succor which it was within his power to give.⁴¹

When Krug subsequently closed 518 mines because they were unsafe, Lewis called the action "Krug's deathbed confession."⁴²

Lewis continued as President of the United Mine Workers of America until 1960. In spite of his retirement Lewis still maintains an office and secretarial staff in the Mine Workers Building in Washington. Since 1947, he has appeared with diminishing frequency before labor organizations and government committees in an effort to advance the cause of mining. Even at his present age of 83, he still makes occasional speeches in behalf of the U.M.W.A. His most recent speech before a newspaper guild was of sufficient significance to warrant film clip news coverage over at least one major network.

⁴¹Lauck, op. cit., p. 176.

⁴²Ibid., p. 178.

Shortly after Lewis's retirement in 1960, John Hutchinson, writing in the Yale Review, reflected upon Lewis's past.

If Lewis is in the shadows, it is after a lifetime of limelight such as few men have shared. If his failings are writ large, so are his talents. If he has confounded some expectations, he leaves behind him a legacy of rare achievements. And if he is alone, he can reflect in his solitude upon the respect he commands, not only from his own, but among those who have chosen another way. He may no longer be regarded as a savior, but he is surely remembered as a man.⁴³

Summary

During the 1940 presidential campaign, Lewis found himself faced with a trilemma. He could support Roosevelt and by so doing contradict statements made in several of his previous speeches. He could choose neutrality, but this course would not only weaken his chances for political favors. Regardless of which candidate won, it would be tantamount to the communist policy of belittling both candidates. Finally, he could support Wendell Willkie and attempt to swing the C.I.O. into the Republican camp. Lewis chose the latter course, and in the most extensive network radio speech ever made by a labor leader, attempted to persuade labor and its friends to vote for Willkie.

Logos.

During the speech, Lewis attempted to use a great deal of what would appear to be logical appeal. However,

⁴³Hutchinson, John. "Captain of a Mighty Host." Yale Review. Vol. I. (Autumn, 1960) pp. 27-32.

these appeals were often permeated with emotional references, loaded words, and various figures of speech, particularly metaphors.

At several points Lewis used statistics, but his references and sources were often vague and at times were non-existent. He used two long quotations, but in both cases, he was quoting himself. Lewis reasoned both inductively and deductively. When he attempted to use inductive reasoning, it often resulted in overgeneralization. His deductive reasoning often took the form of enthymemes with the major premise implied but never stated.

Ethos.

Throughout this address, Lewis attempted to picture himself as a humble martyr. He refers to himself, to his feelings, opinions, and ideas far more than he has done in the past. In this sense the speech is unique. It is the only one in which Lewis attempts to superficially separate himself from the labor movement.

He appears to be using negative psychology as he implies that labor need not follow him if they so choose, but he constantly bases his appeals upon his feelings for labor and the importance of loyalty. The fact that he employs so much sentiment and emotion during those portions of the speech in which he is referring to himself may have caused many listeners to doubt Lewis's sincerity and consequently disbelieve his basic thesis.

Pathos.

Although argument ad hominem is technically a logical fallacy, Lewis adorns his attacks upon Roosevelt as well as his praise for Willkie with so many emotional phrases and metaphors that they often fall more into the category of Pathos than Logos.

Lewis uses metaphorical expressions and figurative analogies with great frequency not only during his argument ad hominem but during his personal appeals to special interest groups.

Although Lewis attempted to convince his audience that he was presenting a logical analysis of the "truth," he employed more emotional appeals than any other type. In section VIII A, for example, Lewis states he will present the "truth" as he sees it but as support of this truth he offers very little evidence and spends the remainder of the speech making appeals to specific interest groups employing such phrases as "I say it is best for you and those you love to help oppose the creation of a political dictatorship."

Addressing the farmers, Lewis first states that he was "born and reared in an agricultural state." Using this statement as the sole basis for his ability to discuss farm problems, he concludes that the farmers' interest "lies in the aggressive support of Mr. Willkie." Again, no real comparison of the candidates respecting farm policies is included in the speech.

Further appeals to the Negroes, the draft-age youth, and to "members of the Christian Church," all reflect the same lack of evidence.

CHAPTER VI

LEWIS'S PREPARATION AND DELIVERY

Preparation

Lewis stated that he was required to submit a manuscript of each of his network radio speeches "at least twenty-four hours in advance." He also indicated that network officials had warned him that studio personnel were instructed to "hold a script" on him. According to Lewis, "they kept telling me how much trouble would be started if I extemporized."¹ He also indicated that network representatives from N.B.C. threatened to cut him off the air if he began to deviate from the approved script. For this reason, Lewis prepared a manuscript for each of his network radio speeches, submitted it at least twenty-four hours in advance, and read from the manuscript as he spoke.

Lewis noted that he at one time tried to memorize his speeches but that this method had not proved successful because in the "heat of the moment" he would forget the exact phrasing he had so carefully prepared.²

Even during the busiest periods of his career,

¹Statement by John L. Lewis, personal interview.

²Statement by John L. Lewis, personal interview.

Lewis wrote his own speeches. If he borrowed a phrase from anyone, it was usually from his own earlier speeches or from his book. Obviously, Shakespeare, Lincoln, and the Bible were also frequently paraphrased in Lewis's radio speeches.

Elizabeth Covington, Lewis's secretary, suggested that Kathryn Lewis, his daughter, may have helped him prepare several of his major speeches during the 30's.³ When Lewis was questioned on this point, he indicated that she had "provided some suggestions" but did not elaborate further.⁴ Since it was known that the now deceased Kathryn was very dear to Lewis, the question was abandoned at that point. With the exception of Mrs. Covington, this possibility was not mentioned by anyone of Lewis's other associates or biographers.

It is generally acknowledged by Lauck, McCarthy, Alinsky, Carnes, et. al., that Lewis's wife was especially helpful during his preparation for his early speeches. The major portion of this help, however, seems to have been in the form of coaching, especially with respect to delivery. It is doubtful whether Myrta Lewis did any more than contribute a few phrases to the actual manuscript of the speeches. According to Alinsky, she liked to make John feel as though he had done the work, composed the

³Statement by Elizabeth Covington, personal interview.

⁴Statement by John L. Lewis, personal interview.

wording and consequently prepared the speech.⁵ In the total analysis, Mrs. Lewis must be given a great deal of credit, since it was through her insistence that Lewis studied, read, and practiced for the speaking situations he was to encounter. She not only urged Lewis to make use of background materials such as books, plays, and lectures, but became his tutor and his foremost critic.

Lewis did mention that in several of his non-network radio speeches, he used neither manuscript nor notes.⁶

Delivery

One of the most noticeable features of Lewis's delivery was his voice. As was mentioned before, Carnes reported that many radio listeners were fascinated by his voice alone. It was unusually deep, rotund, and resonant. Seldom, even at the highest point of peroration, did Lewis allow his voice to carry into the upper register. Instead he used what might best be described as restrained force. Using what seemed to be a great deal of breath, Lewis would emphasize a point, bringing rolling and elongated vowel sounds up from the diaphragm and allowing the force to diminish slowly, thereby accentuating the depth of his voice.

As is evident in the text of his speeches, Lewis

⁵Saul Alinsky. John L. Lewis: An Unauthorized Biography. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1949), p. 21.

⁶Statement by John L. Lewis, personal interview.

As is evident in the text of his speeches, Lewis often used parallel construction and repetition as a rhetorical device. He complimented this technique by using similar inflection patterns to accentuate it. This pattern is also evident when Lewis used colorful words and especially long and unusual words. They ere, in a sense, words "fired for effect." When he used a word such as "imbroglio," he was undoubtedly aware that most of his listeners had no idea what it meant. Lewis, nevertheless, would draw out the "m," the "r," and the "o" sounds to the extent that the word became onomatopoeic and thus very noticeable. His stylistic tendency to use unusual words such as "harbinger," "bespeaks," "besmirched," "sindicalism," and "bibble-babbling," was therefore, enhanced by his careful, fully stressed pronunciation of each syllable.

As McCarthy said in a passing remark, "Lewis can say 'unemployment' like nobody else I've ever heard. It's enough to make you shudder."⁷

Lewis's inflection never gave the impression of levity even in his most sardonic remarks. Often the earlier passages of his speeches indicated a tendency toward a "ministerial cadence" type of inflection pattern characterized by a steadily rising pitch--although never too much--and a sudden drop in pitch for the last one or two words in the sentence.

⁷Statement by Justin McCarthy, personal interview.

G. Robert Vincent, Curator of the National Voice Library, commented that there is an apparent, though at times strained, similarity between Lewis's inflection and that of comedian W. C. Fields.⁸

Dulles states,

Over the radio, Lewis showed a flare for the dramatic that inevitably arrested public attention. He well knew his ability as an actor. 'My life is but a stage' he said upon one occasion. He would alternately cajole, denounce, threaten and pontificate with equal self assurance. His sense of importance was magnificent.⁹

Frances Perkins described his speaking as "dramatic" and called it "sensationalism."¹⁰

Carnes, who at times seems to portray the same traits as he describes in his subject, offers the following description of Lewis's delivery.

His vituperation is lavish and his eloquent outpourings. . . can be both stimulating and goading. He delights in exploding and rolling out his syllables. You will remember the phrases he coins although at times he waxes ungrammatical. . .¹¹

Time Magazine in an article entitled "The Great Actor," said,

⁸Statement by G. Robert Vincent, personal interview.

⁹Foster Rhea Dulles. Labor in America. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1949), pp. 291-2.

¹⁰Frances Perkins. The Roosevelt I Knew. (New York: The Viking Press, 1946), p. 160.

¹¹Cecil Carnes. John L. Lewis, Leader of Labor. (New York: Robert Speller Company, 1936), pp. 397-8.

He is Mephistopheles in a baggy black business suit. He is Daniel Webster, Billy Sunday, Bette Davis, or John Barrymore. . . whatever character is necessary, the great actor can handle it.¹²

Ruth McKenny's account of the Akron, Ohio, Rubber Workers entitled Industrial Valley provides insight into some of the effects and feelings of the laborer with respect to Lewis's "acting."

The Akron rubber workers admired and found deeply moving Lewis's rather florid style of speech. Simple men of simple speech themselves, they liked hearing their dreams, their problems, their suffering, cloaked in Biblical phrases. They felt proud that a worker's leader could use so many educated words with such obvious fluency, and they were pleased and a little flattered by hearing their own fate discussed in such rolling periods and such dramatic phrases.¹³

The number of comments regarding Lewis's delivery could continue for hundreds of pages because almost everyone who has ever mentioned Lewis's name seems to connect it with his eloquence, whether for the good or for the bad. To those who listened he was either a magnificent spokesman or an egocentric ham; the distinction being based upon the predispositions of the auditor.

Apparently, Lewis was not sure himself. In a rare moment of self appraisal, he once asked,

What makes me tick? Is it power I'm after or am I a Saint Francis in disguise or what?¹⁴

¹²"Great Actor," Time Magazine, XLVII, (April 1, 1946) p. 24.

¹³Ruth McKenny. Industrial Valley. (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1939), p. 250.

¹⁴Dulles, op. cit., p. 289.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

John L. Lewis was born in the coal mining community of Lucas, Iowa, on February 12th, 1880 into a family which would eventually consist of six sons and two daughters. His father's fighting spirit and interest in the labor movement tempered by his mother's spiritual and emotional stability provided him with an outspoken interest in the labor movement and a disciplined dedication to his home and his family.

When his father was "blacklisted" from the Lucas mines, Lewis received further impetus to champion the cause of organized labor. His trip through the western United States confirmed and crystallized this ambition and gave him the image of a fighter, strong man, and hero of the laboring man.

In 1907, Lewis married a woman whose combined belief in education and her husband's ability led her to coach, support, and criticize his efforts. He had also run a debating society and managed a local opera house during this period.

During the 20's Lewis maintained his position as president, but many of his decisions and activities were

unpopular among the miners. Not only was he defeated in his bid for the presidency of the A. F. of L. by the popular Samuel Gompers, but the membership of the U.M.W.A. dropped to only one third strength within a period of five years.

In 1925, Lewis delivered his first notable radio address over radio station WED in Atlantic City, New Jersey. The speech was designed to persuade and impress his "invisible audience" that the conditions and danger of the mining occupation warranted a wage increase.

Apparently Lewis was aware of the importance of establishing good will between the speaker and the audience. In spite of the fact that he had little idea as to who his listeners were, he inserted such phrases as "this great audience will do me the honor of paying close attention," and "people of this great land." By inserting flattery and eloquent respect at the beginning of the speech, he could thus hope to eliminate the possible stereotype of the labor leader as a crude, bitter, and disrespectful reprobate.

The rhetorical outline of this speech also reveals that Lewis made extensive use of strong motive appeals to (1) subsistence, (2) equity, (3) justice (or the threat of injustice), as well as including specific appeals aimed at specific interest groups such as those employed in industry, transportation, and housework. For example, after reminding his audience of the conditions under which the

miner labors, Lewis asserts that this is done "that the people may have warm comfortable homes. . . wholesome food. . . light. . . transportation," and "trade and commerce," thus attempting to emphasize the good will of his subject as well as to establish common ground.

An analysis of the substantive elements of the speech also reveals that the most evident use of logical appeal appears in the form of a figurative analogy in which Lewis compares the statistical data pertaining to deaths and injuries resulting from mining accidents with a "Main Street parade."

He also uses numerous rhetorical questions and at times is guilty of overgeneralization. Evidence of this latter shortcoming may be found in his statement that all miners belonging to the union "believe in the fairmindedness of the American people," or "because he owes a duty to the public, the coal miner goes into the dark and dangerous recesses of the earth. . ."

In the conclusion of the speech, Lewis foregoes all attempts at logical argument and relies entirely upon emotional appeals through such phrases as "a little happiness and sunshine," "this great land of ours," and "every man shall receive a square deal." There is a strong possibility that the extremely sentimental and unctuous nature of the peroration may have alienated many listeners who, knowing Lewis's reputation for cold and sober bargaining, would detect such sentiment as false and out of character

for the militantly aggressive union leader.

Subsequent to this speech, the miners did strike as Lewis had threatened they would and, following a five-month shutdown of the mines, the union won its demands.

In 1926, Lewis retrenched with his "no backward step" policy to guide him in all decisions. By 1935, he realized that the only hope of advancing the cause of mass labor was by mass industrial unionization. This meant crossing the boundaries of craft unions, which, in turn meant "crossing" the A. F. of L.

In 1935, Lewis addressed the A. F. of L. Convention proposing that the organization adopt industrial unionization as a supplement to craft unionization. The Committee for Industrial Organization, headed by Lewis, continued its recruiting campaign until the A. F. of L. suspended it.

During a Labor Day radio address in 1936, Lewis vilified those industrialists who would impede the progress of organized labor and extolled the place of collective bargaining in a free society. The speech was broadcast nationwide by the Columbia Broadcasting System.

The substantive and rhetorical outline revealed that throughout the speech Lewis used deductive reasoning to focus attention upon the importance and economic necessity of organization. He justified his reasoning by employing examples and stating, "everywhere you look you see the acceptance of the principles of cooperative association;" and by argument ad populum such as "The very freedom that

glorifies our democracy seems to reserve its rewards for those who organize to obtain them."

Lewis used statistics with more frequency than he had in the past, citing at least one source but giving no date as to when the research was done. As was evident in his 1925 radio speech, Lewis's weakest form of support was overgeneralization. In this speech, however, Lewis combined the fallacy of overgeneralization with ad hominem arguments and clothed them in metaphorical expressions thus producing such "charged" conclusions as "that the awful dread of management shall no longer shadow the home," and, "The leaders of corporate industry. . . cannot forever dam the impulse of workers to free association."

Once again he used strong emotional appeals not only to equality and justice, but also to security, peace and self-preservation. Another parallel between this speech and Lewis's speech in 1925 is his use of strong emotional appeals during the conclusion. Although he replaces some of his former sentiment with a degree of militancy, the repetition of the phrase "let the" through a long series of admonitions culminating in the emotional statement, "The future of labor is the future of America," offers substantial evidence that Lewis was trying hard to achieve his purpose in delivering the speech--to rally and to motivate workers for the cause of industrial unionization.

During 1937, the C.I.O. organized several of the

nation's largest industries including rubber, glass, and "big steel." The smaller steel companies, collectively known as "little steel" fought C.I.O. advances and several serious and tragic strikes occurred.

Speaking over the C.B.S. radio network on September 3rd, 1937, Lewis sought his revenge. The speech contained some of the most severe ad hominem arguments that Lewis had ever delivered.

Lewis apparently liked the ad hominem. He used it often, particularly in this address. Rather than vilifying the Chicago police force, Lewis chose Mayor Kelly. Rather than attacking the Ohio National Guard or "Little Steel," Lewis chose Governor Davey of Ohio and Thomas Girdler.

By using such phrases as ". . . Kelly's police force was successful in killing ten strikers," Lewis implied that the Mayor of Chicago had committed premeditated murder; but Lewis clothed the accusation in a detailed account of what had occurred in Chicago.

Not quite so clothed were his accusations that Thomas Girdler was a "psychopath" and the employer of "mercenary killers." At least one third of the entire speech was devoted to incisive ad hominems and general name calling.

Lewis continued his frequent use of metaphors and similies in this speech, the most notable being his simile comparing Labor to Israel.

From 1938 to 1940 the differences between Lewis and

Roosevelt became more apparent. This breach ended in a power struggle between the two which manifested itself in a national radio address made by Lewis in October of 1940 in which he attacked Roosevelt as a war monger and endorsed Wendell Willkie for the presidency. He promised that if F. D. R. were elected, he would resign as President of the C.I.O.

During the course of the speech, Lewis used a problem-solution method of arrangement. Roosevelt and his record were, of course, the problem, and Willkie was the solution. He also placed his own ethos before his audience with numerous references to himself, his raison de etre, his humility, and his loyalty. His emotional appeals were at times so obvious and maudlin that they may have alienated some of his listeners. His logical appeals were often based upon generalities and faulty cause to effect relationships.

Conclusions.

This portion of the chapter is divided into four parts in order to provide a lucid yet systematic set of conclusions regarding the radio speaking of John L. Lewis. The first three parts deal with Lewis's ethos, pathos, and logos. These terms are defined in Chapter I and utilized as criteria for the rhetorical outlines contained herein. By applying these same criteria to a comprehensive analysis of Lewis's speaking and analyzing the various rhetorical outlines collectively, it is hoped that an organized

profile of Lewis's radio rhetoric will emerge.

However, since radio is an unusual if not unique public forum, a fourth consideration--the question of Lewis's use of radio as a medium of persuasion--is also included in the hope that it will add further definition to the conclusions of this study.

Ethos.

With the exception of his radio address in support of Wendell Willkie, Lewis consistently identified himself with the cause of the miner and with organized labor in general. During the course of his radio speaking during the 1930's, he identified himself so closely with the labor movement that, at times, it is difficult to distinguish the ethos of the speaker from the ethical standards of the United Mine Workers of America or the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

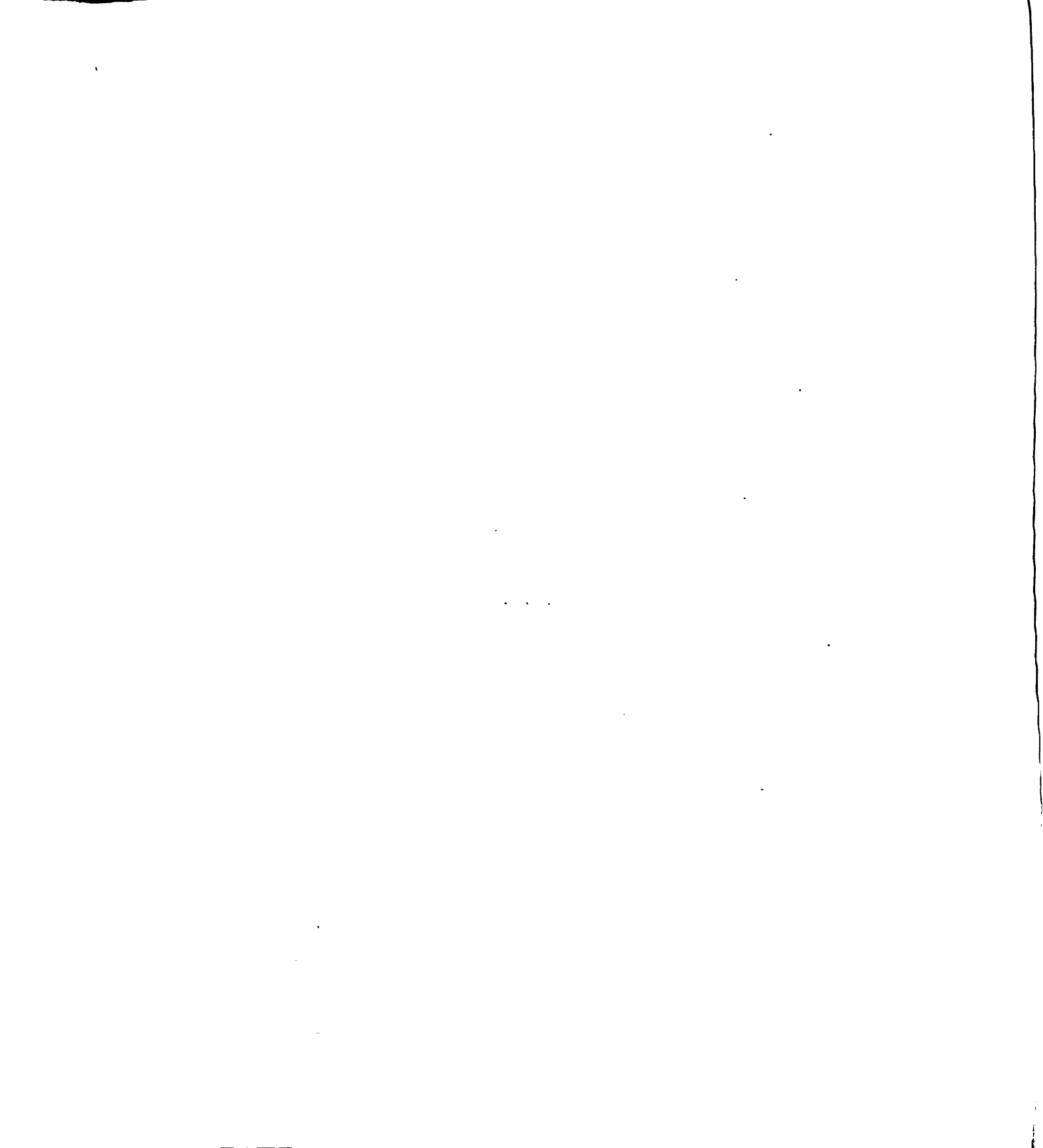
In his Atlantic City speech, for example, he first described the greatness of the miner as an individual, then as a member of the U.M.W.A. stating in conclusion, "The United Mine Workers of America believe in the fairmindedness of the American public." However, Lewis replaced the words "United Mine Workers of America" with the pronoun "we" in the next sentence thus implying that he, too, was a part of all that he has been describing as virtuous, just, and "fairminded." Even during that portion of the speech in which Lewis was describing the "parade," he prefaced his subsequent appeal for justice with the pronoun "we"

again suggesting the integral relationship between himself and the miners.

This same pattern of identification is true of Lewis's "Future of Labor" address delivered eleven years later, and of his famous "Guests at Labor's Table" speech delivered in 1937. It was abandoned however during Lewis's speech in support of Willkie because, as Lewis put it, "I chose to speak tonight only in the role of a citizen and an American."

Unlike his other addresses, Lewis used the first person singular profusely throughout the course of the "Willkie" speech. He used the terms "I" and "my" over fifteen times in the introduction alone. But he did so in an apparent attempt to manifest good will by stating that he spoke "with a desire to protect. . . the heritage of my peers." He also attempted to establish common ground by saying, "I speak to all my countrymen;" and to exude great humility by remarking, "I have no power or influence except insofar as those who believe in me may accept my recommendation."

Although Lewis's inconsistent approach to the use of the first person and his close identification with the organizations for which he spoke may be significant, they are by no means a sufficient index of his ethical proof. His frequent use of the ad hominem, his incisive and vilifying metaphors, his "charged" attacks against any group or institution standing in the way of labor's progress--



all of these elements, even though many of them technically fall under the headings of Pathos and Logos, had a direct and frequently negative effect upon Lewis's ethos. They may have evoked a feeling among some laborers that Lewis was a courageous advocate "Calling a spade a spade!" As Ruth McKenny indicated, he said things that labor leaders before him had been afraid to say. But when he broadened his sights to include Franklin Roosevelt, Thomas Girdler, and the New Deal, as well as the Republic Steel Company, Lewis should have realized that he was verbally crucifying some of labor's most venerated saints and not the Mephistopheles of management as in times past. Lewis thus detracted and in some cases destroyed his own ethos by destroying the good will which he attempted to establish in the introduction to the speech. Examples of such personal attacks abound throughout his speech in support of Willkie. Referring to Roosevelt's economic policy, Lewis calls it "an economic debacle." He states that Roosevelt's objective "is war," and that the President's "over weening, abnormal and selfish craving for power is a thing to alarm and dismay."

Lewis's ad hominems were not only incisive, they were often sarcastic, for example, "America needs no superman," and "wants no royal family." At times they were little more than simple name calling devices as was the case when Lewis referred to Roosevelt as "the amateur, ill-equipped, practitioner in the realm of political science."

To many of those who remembered Lewis's words of years past, these attacks upon the President were not only improper, but contradictory. It was the same John L. Lewis who, referring to Roosevelt only four years earlier, had told the voters, "In a blinding white light of publicity and a microscopic examination of his every official act, he stands forth clear and undefiled."

Thus, in spite of the fact that Lewis gained the somewhat admirable reputation as a "fighter" for labor during the '20's and early '30's, he destroyed much of his ethos and public image as a courageous, truthful, and consistent advocate of the cause of labor by contradicting himself regarding Roosevelt and the Democratic administration and by vilifying those persons, including Roosevelt, who had ostensibly helped the cause of labor as much, if not more, than he had.

Pathos.

From the time of Aristotle, the concept of emotional proof has always been allied to (if not, at times, synonymous with) the concept of audience adaptation and audience reaction. Face to face speaking, particularly when limited to homogeneous audiences, presents the speaker with a difficult but not impossible task. In most cases he knows some of the "do's" and "don'ts" which will guide him in preparing the speech. These considerations will often come from his understanding of the age level, educational level, politics, income level, religious beliefs, and

special interests of his audience. National radio speaking, however, provides a somewhat different challenge.

Since it would be impossible to **know** in advance exactly who might listen to a given broadcast, the radio rhetorician has no such advantage. Especially if he is speaking on a national level, he must ask himself questions relating to the common emotions of an extremely heterogeneous aggregation of listeners--questions which might lead to the use of such emotional common denominators as patriotism, love, fair play, justice, and, perhaps the most elusive of all terms, "the American way."

Emotional Appeals. In response to his search for the common denominators of emotional proof, Lewis provided his audience with frequent appeals to the aforementioned commonplaces of patriotism, love, fair play, justice, and "the American way." In 1925, he discussed the miners' wages in terms of justice and fair play when he asked that the miners' "rate of compensation be placed upon a level of fair and even justice."

During the same speech, he sought pity by stating ". . . at the head of this parade let there be a band playing a funeral dirge. . . what a sorrowful, depressing scene this is." His concluding remarks provide an excellent example of an emotional appeal to the "American way."

Comfort him with the thought that in this great land of ours there is a native understanding of justice and of determination on the part of the public to see to it that every man shall receive a square deal.

Lewis continued his frequent reliance upon emotional appeals through the 1930's. In his "Labor's Table" speech in 1937, he offered the following histrionics in an effort to appeal to pity, motherhood, death, orphaned children, and poverty.

The steel workers have now buried their dead while the widows weep and watch their orphaned children become objects of charity.

A list of highly emotional appeals delivered by Lewis could continue for many pages. The point is that he employed extensive emotional appeals in his radio speeches and that they were almost always phrased in an extremely strong, open, obvious, and almost passionate style.

Emotion and Style. Thus far the principle factor of emotion under consideration has been the overt appeal to particular common denominators of emotion. It is also evident that Lewis used highly emotional words and figures of speech in an apparent effort to color and "charge" his logical proof. Consider, for example, the extremely charged language and metaphorical expressions contained in the ad hominem which Lewis levied against Girdler in 1937.

Girdler, of Republic Steel, in the quiet of his bedchamber doubtless shrills his psychopathic cackles as he files notches on his corporate gun and views in retrospect the ruthless work of his mercenary killers.

This same type of language, although not always as vicious, is evident throughout most of Lewis's radio speeches.

While the technique of employing such strong emotional appeals together with highly charged and emotional words

and figures of speech may prove very effective in the mining camps of Kentucky, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania, there is some question as to their effectiveness on a national scale, particularly when such histrionics are addressed to small individual listening groups gathered in the privacy of their own homes or automobiles. By overloading his rhetoric with such strong and overt emotion, Lewis not only gained the reputation of "an actor," as indicated in Chapter VI, but diluted the importance of his message in crocodile tears. To be sure, such appeals appear to have proved effective with the miners and many of the workers who were listening, but, here again consideration must be given to the effect of these terms not upon a minority of listeners, particularly a minority already predisposed to accept the speaker's message, but to a mass heterogeneous audience whose taste for the grand style of florid oratory had been tempered by a depression, world crisis, and advancing technology. In this sense, Lewis's strong emphasis upon emotion was anachronous and thus, at times, his words were relegated in the minds of many listeners to mere entertainment. As Thonssen and Baird have observed,

. . . histrionics are accessories.
Exhibitionism in speech is not a congenial ally of responsibility of statement.

Logos.

Factual Accuracy. One of the critic's first questions relating to logos is whether or not the speaker dealt

"with an adequate and reliably established body of facts."¹ But this question immediately gives rise to another, e.i. what is a "fact"? This is a particularly trenchant question when applied to Lewis's use of logical proof. The problem of definition involved here will not preclude an analysis of Lewis's use of facts, but is inserted only so that the reader may be aware of the various possible meanings that could be attached to the word. For example, Webster refers to a fact as "truth. . . something that has happened." The critic thus becomes involved in a definition of truth, a problem which has puzzled philosophers from Filate to the present. From this point, the critic could go on into all phases of epistemology and metaphysics ad infinitum.

Since an arbitrary definition appears to be a necessity, the problem of distinguishing what is fact from what is not will rest upon the question: Does the speaker support his statements with evidence in all cases where the facts are not actually self-evident to the audience?

One of the most complex factual references made by Lewis is his frequent implication that his statements are "self-evident truths" when in reality this may not be so. In 1925, for example, Lewis stated, "So-called substitutes come and go. . . but. . . people must, and they do, depend upon coal as their prime and reliable fuel." Based upon

¹Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird. Speech Criticism. (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 349.

the available evidence, this statement may well have been true at the time Lewis delivered the speech, but it is nevertheless expressed as a self-evident statement with no supporting evidence. Lewis often used a series of such self-evident statements in rapid succession, and, as will be noted in a moment, reasoned inductively from them. Based upon the series of statements beginning with the one just quoted, Lewis arrived at the self-evident "fact" that ". . . the very essence of human and public welfare" was coal. The latter phrase, again unsupported by any documentation, has a much less reliable basis in evidence than did his original "self-evident truth." Obviously, there are many things which could fall into the category of the "essence of human and public welfare" depending upon how far one wished to stretch the imagination. It could be said that transportation, government, individualism, food, clothing, houses, etc. could be such an "essence" yet they cannot all be the essence unless a much broader and all-inclusive term is applied. Thus the statement that "coal" alone is the "essence" is not a fact, rather it is a glittering generality.

Other highly relative and unsupported "self-evident truths" and generalizations continue to permeate Lewis's logical proof. All of the following examples were used without any support in the form of statistics, testimony, or other documentation.

Atlantic City Speech 1925	". . . the coal miner is under- paid. . ."
Atlantic City Speech 1925	". . . coal companies. . . could. . . pay an increased rate of wages without adding a single penny to the cost of coal to the consumer."
"Future of Labor" Speech 1936	"After all, the labor unions are rooted in the institutions of our country."
"Future of Labor" Speech 1936	"American political democracy has carried with it no tradi- tion of class restriction."
"Guests at Labor's Table" 1937	". . . our farm population has suffered from a viciously un- equal distribution of the na- tional income."
Speech to the British Empire 1938	". . . the future of labor is . . . the future of America."
Willkie Speech 1940	"War has always been the polit- ical device of the. . . des- pairing and intellectually sterile statesman."
Willkie Speech 1940	"If. . . Roosevelt. . . is re-established in office he will answer to no man, includ- ing Congress. . ."
Willkie Speech 1940	"As a proven friend of the Negro race, I urge you to vote for Willkie."

While some of these statements may be true in part, they are not supported facts and, indeed, are weak foundations upon which to build reasoned discourse.

As is evident in the substantive outlines contained in Chapters III, IV, and V, Lewis did make occasional reference to statistics but cited a source for his figures only once when he mentioned that they were "recent" and provided by "the Brookings Institute."

In the only two major quotations Lewis provided for his auditors, the person being quoted was himself. Even though he was, without a doubt, an authority on the subject of labor, he was so strongly predisposed to one side of the question that the relative value of his own testimony is dubious.

Thus, in view of the foregoing evidence, it is concluded that Lewis weakened his logos considerably by basing many of his arguments upon undocumented statements, "self-evident truths," and generalities.

Validity of Argument. Heretofore consideration has been given to the validity of Lewis's supporting material. Although this section will deal with the validity of his argument there is a necessary overlapping of these two areas of investigation. As was mentioned before, when Lewis reasoned inductively that because coal was needed for cooking, heating, and lighting, it was the "essence of human and public welfare," the critic must be concerned with Lewis's reasoning in order to judge the intrinsic value of the statement as evidence. Or, in other words, does the list of specifics warrant the assumption that the statement has been sufficiently supported? Naturally this overlapping works in reverse as well. If the evidence used to support an argument is invalid, then there is a probability that the conclusion will be equally invalid. Thus the validity of evidence has a direct bearing upon the validity of the argument and vice versa. Since a substantial amount of Lewis's evidence was found to be weak and at times invalid,

it is difficult to analyze the soundness of his arguments without being drawn back to the question of factual accuracy.

Although Lewis's use of the argument ad hominem has been analyzed with regard to emotional and ethical appeals, it is categorically a logical appeal and quite often a logical fallacy. It is fallacious because the speaker shifts his attacks from the opponent's arguments to the opponent as a person. Thus, unless the essence of the issue revolves around the personal character of the opponent himself, the speaker employing the ad hominem is not only avoiding the issue but practicing an unethical form of argument as well.

During Lewis's "Guests at Labor's Table" speech in 1937, he attacked Mayor Kelly of Chicago on the grounds that Kelly had personally planned the death of the ten strikers. At this point it is difficult not to be drawn back to the fact that a Congressional investigation cleared Kelly of all responsibility for the offence and that it was not Kelly but a Captain James Mooney who led the police that day. In view of this and since Lewis offers no evidence to support his allegation, it appears that he not only missed the basic argument but relied upon what seems to be invalid evidence as well.

This same pattern of argument holds true of Lewis's attacks upon Thomas Girdler, Governor Davey of Ohio, and President Roosevelt. In Girdler's case, for example, Lewis offers no evidence to indicate that Girdler was any

more responsible for the steel companies' corporate action against unions than any of the other executives who hired him and directed his efforts. For this reason, the critic must assume that no such evidence was available to the speaker, otherwise he probably would have used it to support the ad hominem. And, once again, the personality of Thomas Girdler has little bearing upon the real issue at hand--the question of whether or not various industries should be unionized and to what extent.

Lewis also employed the tu quoque or "thou also" fallacy on several occasions. In 1937, for example, he refuted the charge that the C.I.O. was run by communists by suggesting that management was financing "fascist organizations," thus implying that in this case two wrongs make a rhetorical right. He continued this type of rebuttal by suggesting that such "goose-stepping vigilantes" were the "real . . . subversives of our good citizenship." Also in 1940 he fought back against those who said that by backing Willkie, Lewis placed himself in Girdler's camp by stating, "These gentlemen must possess some virtue because President Roosevelt has awarded them fat and lucrative government contracts. . ."

For the most part, Lewis's analogies were good. Again in 1940, still faced with the argument that he had "sold out" to the Willkie forces, Lewis replied with an analogy which likened the Republican party to a church in which some of the communicants were hypocrites. He then

pointed out that it would be "specious reasoning" to deny the faith because one or two adherents were morally bad.

His cause to effect reasoning was not quite as sound as his analogical arguments. In 1925, he stated,

No one more fully realizes the tremendous importance of coal to the well being of the nation than does the coal miner himself. That is why the coal miner applies himself so diligently to the task of producing this necessary fuel.

In this statement Lewis is suggesting that the miner's realization that coal is "important to the well being of the nation" (cause) has a singular causal relationship to the miner's diligent application of himself "to the task of producing this necessary fuel."

A general analysis of the mining industry as well as common sense would indicate that every miner is not in the mine simply because he realizes that coal is "important." Such considerations as money, family or social pressure, and the fact that many miners grew up and had family ties in the mining communities appear to be much more plausible explanations for their choice of employment. The point is not that one explanation is necessarily any better than another but that Lewis implies a specific singular causal relationship exists without actually establishing the relationship. This defect appears in even more dramatic form several paragraphs later when Lewis states,

Because he owes a duty to the public, the coal miner goes into the dark and dangerous recesses and caverns of the earth, amid

all the terrors and hazards of those underground places risking his life, day after day. . .

Here again the stated cause ("duty to the public"), modified to show causal relationship by the word "because," has not been shown to bring about the stated effect ("goes into the dark. . .").

Further examples of both cause to effect and effect to cause reasoning are found throughout Lewis's speeches. Many of these are weak; some because the evidence is inherently weak to begin with and others because, despite the evidence, Lewis fails to establish causation--the important element in either cause to effect or effect to cause reasoning.

One of the primary subdivisions of cause to effect reasoning is the scientific practice of extrapolation which is all too often misused by those who apply the practice to a situation or problem containing so many variables that accurate extrapolation is impossible. Under these circumstances, the practice is called secundum quid. Like extrapolation, it involves the prediction of coming events based upon a series of past events. If one finds A/A, B/A, C/A, in that sequence, it seems logical to predict that D/A and E/A etc. will follow--all other things being equal. Using this same general approach to the realm of politics, Lewis argues that Roosevelt asked for a first term and received it, (/A) thus receiving a certain amount of "power" (A/A). His success in gaining a second term

added to this power (B/A). Thus if he is re-elected, C/A will follow which in turn will be followed by D/A, E/A, F/A, and eventually the nation will be faced with complete dictatorship represented by, let us say, G/A. This practice seems quite plausible in a laboratory situation where the researcher feels he has controlled all of the variables; but in the area of politics, it is subject to a high degree of error. In 1940, however, when Lewis employed this type of reasoning, he used it as an extended basis for his appeal that Roosevelt be defeated. At the beginning of Section IV of his 1940 address he stated, "The present concentration of power in the office of . . . President. . . has never before been equaled." During Section IVC he went on to state, ". . . the selfish craving for power is a thing to alarm and dismay," and in Section IVD said, "In all history . . . continuously vested authority has brought with it. . . disorder, tragedy, and debt."

Based upon these arguments Lewis went on to "extrapolate" as follows,

If President Roosevelt is re-established in office he will answer to no man. . . that may create a dictatorship in this land. . . this election may be comparable to the controlled elections in plebecites of some of the nations of the old world.

Following this, Lewis continued his speech on the supposition that his secundum quid was accurate by referring to Roosevelt as, ". . . a dictator. . ." (IXC) ". . . Caesar. . ." (IXH) and ". . . a one man government. . ." (IXI)

Lewis also used frequent rhetorical questions to persuade and stimulate his audience. During his "Future of Labor" address in 1936, he employed six relatively lengthy rhetorical questions in a row (III A-E), and in 1940 provided his listeners with a sequence of three. Others were interspersed throughout his speeches.

Based upon the foregoing analysis and upon the rhetorical outlines of Lewis's speeches, the following conclusions are made with regard to his use of argument. First, Lewis used many arguments which were weak or unsound primarily because the evidence used to support them was unsound. Second, although many of his logical arguments were difficult to detect because they were submerged in pathos, they were often structurally weak. Specifically, (1) his argument ad hominem failed to relate to the real issues; (2) he sometimes used tu quo que arguments which did not refute his opponent's contentions but only accused them of committing comparable wrongs; (3) with one exception he consistently failed to cite any source or data for his statistical argument; (4) his use of direct testimony was limited only to himself; (5) he frequently failed to establish causation when he argued from cause to effect or effect to cause, and (6) on at least two occasions a substantial portion of his inductive reasoning was based upon improper extrapolation. His analogies, however, were often relatively sound and well chosen.

It is concluded, therefore, that even though Lewis

seems to have been persuasive on several occasions, a careful analysis of his arguments indicates that they were frequently unsound and irrelevant to the basic issues of his radio discourse.

The Radio Rhetorician.

In the committee room Lewis battled and debated, won and lost. Here he fought for wages, pensions, contracts, legislation, and mine safety. On the platform, he could rally workers and convention delegates to follow him or to follow their own leaders in whatever action he was proposing.

Radio, however, provided Lewis with an unusual challenge. The audience was physically removed. The question and answer, rough and tumble, of the committee room was missing. Lewis could not ignore radio as a new public forum any more than any man with something to say could ignore an audience of millions. Thus, in the 1920's a man whose speech training and experience had been based upon debate and platform speaking attempted to make the transition to radio. It was a speaking situation which neither his wife nor himself had anticipated during his formative years as a labor leader.

Lewis's first mistake in making the transition from platform to radio speaking was his conception of the mass audience. Based upon his arrangement, style, and delivery, Lewis saw his audience as one huge throng of people listening to his words much like the hundreds of rubber workers

or auto workers who crowded before him in Akron and Detroit. He neglected the fact that he was, in reality, talking with small intimate groups of one to ten people who felt that by his presence in their own living room, Lewis was speaking only to them. There were no mobs and masses with all of the crowd psychology, the contagion of emotion, and the susceptibility to charged and exciting phrases that Lewis was used to facing. Indeed, a radio audience is susceptible to emotional, logical, and ethical proof but such devices must be used in a more intimate and conversational manner suitable to a "living room" forum.

On radio, as elsewhere, Lewis was a showman. He knew this, and so did most of his listeners. But when his platform histrionics were pitted against the more intimate radio rhetoric which inevitably began with a well modulated "my friends," the labor leader may well have taken stock of the technique employed by the master of the "fireside chat." While radio listeners may have enjoyed his strong ad hominem and lofty emotional metaphors, they may have preferred simply to listen in fascination rather than actually to believe what Lewis was saying.

During the course of Lewis's radio speaking, he identified himself so closely with the labor movement that, at times, it is difficult to distinguish the ethos of the speaker from the ethical standards of labor. Lewis was a popular figure among the working class; and with the excep-

tion of his speech in support of Willkie, Lewis was a St. George of sorts slaying the dragons of management. He was controversial during the 30's championing a popular cause in terms and phrases which the working man liked to hear. In deep, resonant, and prophetic tones he was articulating the feelings of a large segment of the population. He put the laborers' thoughts into words, some of which they didn't understand. Nevertheless, they liked what they heard because it sounded good to hear a representative of labor speaking with such strength, sincerity and candor.

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