

A CASE STUDY  
OF THE GEORGE W. ROMNEY  
DOM POLSKI HALL SPEECH  
1962

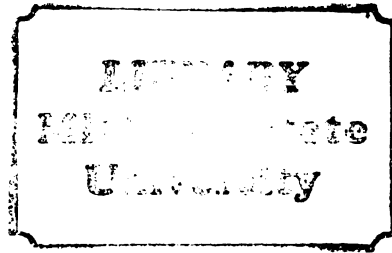
Thesis for the Degree of M. A.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
LOU A. MacGREADY  
1968

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ABSTRACT

A CASE STUDY  
OF THE GEORGE W. ROMNEY  
DOM POLSKI HALL SPEECH  
1962

by Lou A. MacGready

George Wilkins Romney was a political figure, being mentioned as a possible Republican candidate for President, before he was ever elected to public office, because of his leadership in Citizens for Michigan which led to a Constitutional Convention for the State of Michigan.

At the time this writer chose to do a study in depth of a speech by George Romney, there were no existing studies of the man and his public speaking ability. Therefore, this thesis was undertaken to discover methods used by Romney and personal qualities of the man that would persuade his listeners to act as he desired.

In order to make this study, a true copy of one of his speeches had to be made. The copy within this thesis was taken from a tape recording of Romney in an actual speech situation. The speech is an accurate reproduction of the one he gave in September, 1962, at Dom Polski Hall in Flint, Michigan. It includes all pauses and speaking errors.

The analysis of the speech was concerned with finding: (1) the reason for the speech, the type of

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audience that attended the speech, and the listener reaction to it; (2) the Materials of Development, Materials of Experience, and Materials of Personal Proof used in the speech, (3) the way in which the speech was arranged; and (4) the way in which the man delivered this particular speech.

Although no sweeping generalizations can be made concerning all of Romney's speaking, these conclusions can be stated concerning this particular speech.

1. Romney does have speaking ability which aids in helping him present his ideas to his listening public. In this particular speech, he relied upon materials of personal proof to convince his audience that he was the right man for the job.

2. Possibly Romney's greatest asset as a speaker is his voice. It has strength and clarity, and the man uses it to his advantage.

3. The man constructed this speech according to current practices; an introduction, body, and conclusion, and he adapted his material to this particular union group.

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A THESIS

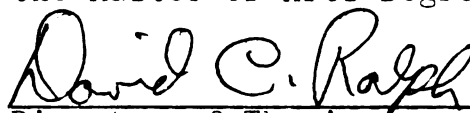
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the requirements for the Master of Arts Degree.

  
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Director of Thesis

TO  
JOHN,  
MURRAY, LOANNA, ARNETTE,  
DR. DAVID RALPH,  
DR. KENNETH HANCE,  
and DR. FREDERICK ALEXANDER  
THANK YOU



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## INTRODUCTION

George Wilkins Romney was a political figure before he was ever elected to public office. Before declaring himself a candidate for governor of Michigan in 1962, he was being mentioned as a possible Republican candidate for President in 1964. This talk of possible nomination was due to the man's obvious abilities in leading groups of people to achieve a common goal. One example is his organizing "Citizens for Michigan," the main force in securing a Constitutional Convention for Michigan.

At the present time, no studies have been made of Romney that deal with his public speaking ability. This writer feels it would be worthwhile to study his speaking as Romney was being mentioned for public office before 1962, when he was elected governor of Michigan, and because his position as governor has helped make him an important political figure.

Therefore, this thesis has been undertaken to discover some of the methods of speech preparation and presentation used by Romney and personal qualities of the man, himself, that would aid in securing the public's vote.

The text of this speech is complete. This writer was able to tape the speech during its delivery by George Romney at Dom Polski Hall, in Flint, Michigan, September, 1962. As accurately as possible, this writer has put in written form, in Chapter IV, the spoken words of the speaker.

Studying this one speech should give us insight into this man who has been selling products for many years and now was attempting to sell the voters of Michigan on the idea that he was a good product for the Governor's chair. At the age of fourteen he sold light globes; since then he has dealt in aluminum, automobiles, community projects, religion, and ideas.

His winning of the governorship in 1962 was his chief work in persuasion -- he convinced 1,420,000 voters in Michigan to vote for him. Romney must have been personally persuasive, as he was the only Republican on the administrative ticket to win. Running on the Republican ticket is not a guarantee of winning in Michigan, as politicians estimate that the Democrats in Michigan have about 200,000 more registered voters than the G.O.P. and that some 26% of the voters are independents.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, Romney had to convince the voters that he was the man for the job.

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<sup>1</sup>Relman Morin, The Flint Journal (December 12, 1962), p. 12.

In order to understand why George Romney felt it necessary to step into the political limelight and thus use persuasive speaking in running for governor, this thesis begins first with a biography of the man, how he developed as a speaker and what in his formative years may have influenced the ideas brought forth in his speeches; and secondly with a look back over the last fourteen years of Michigan political and economic life under Democratic governors.

With this background we shall be able to understand better the purposes and reasoning behind the particular speech we are studying.

Thus, the remainder of the thesis deals with analyses of the parts encompassing the entire speech. In other words: (1) The Audience, Occasion, and Responses; (2) A Rhetorical Analysis of the Materials of Speaking used in the speech, including materials of development, personal proof, and experience; (3) Arrangement of the Speech, and (4) Delivery of the Speech.

These subjects will be considered in the following chapters of the thesis:

Chapter I	Biography of the Man, George W. Romney
Chapter II	The Historical Setting Within Michigan, 1945-1962
Chapter III	The Occasion, Audience and Responses
Chapter IV	The Speech

Chapter V	A Rhetorical Analysis of The Materials of Speaking
Chapter VI	The Arrangement of the Speech
Chapter VII	The Delivery of the Speech
Chapter VIII	Summary and Conclusions

Speaking to the voters is a way for a candidate to persuade them to do as the speaker desires. With the analyses of the parts listed above, we can study the means by which Romney moved his listeners in this particular speech situation. A rhetorical appraisal, such as this, may aid in understanding how this man has attempted to handle people through speech.

## "CHAPTER I"

### BIOGRAPHY OF THE MAN

#### GEORGE W. ROMNEY

"Compact car with a 500 horsepower engine, the Governor of Michigan, George Romney." In this manner, George Romney was introduced at Time Magazine's fortieth anniversary party by the Editor-in-Chief, Henry R. Luce,<sup>1</sup> who in one short sentence summarized his feeling regarding the energies possessed by Romney.

Since the time when George Romney introduced the compact car while he was president of American Motors, he has been in the public eye. He has developed into a political phenomenon.

What makes Romney a truly remarkable political phenomenon is that even before he won the Governorship of Michigan, he was a leading candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1964. Jean Shorley, a staff writer for the Detroit Free Press has written: "They say George Romney is on the way. The Governorship, maybe the Presidency. These things may not come to pass . . . but meeting Romney, listening to him, you get to thinking

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<sup>1</sup>"Time's 40th. Anniversary Party," Time (May 17, 1963), p. 68.

he could handle them. He is relaxed, calm sure. He seems to like people."<sup>2</sup>

Romney has the unique talent of being able to take a simple idea and turning it into a doctrine and a crusade. For example, the doctrine of the "compact car" became the crusade against the "Gas-guzzling Dinosaurs." He makes simple ideas become new, glittering, and exciting.

George Romney has personal magnetism which has certainly helped in furthering his political ambitions. His personality reflects an almost overpowering impression of earnestness, conviction, sincerity, and just plain goodness. He is an intense man. He, himself, recognizes this. He once said, "My natural tendency is toward intensity. When we were first married, my wife, Lenore, kept telling me to calm down, but now she realizes that's just the way I am."<sup>3</sup> With this intensity he has the asset of physical good looks, including an athletic build.

With personal magnetism, Romney has been selling himself and/or a product for many years. His biggest sale came in November, 1962. He convinced 1,420,000 voters in Michigan that the state needed to "get rolling again," a favorite expression of his in his campaign for governor.

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<sup>2</sup>Jean Shorley, The Detroit Free Press (January 14, 1962), Sec. 2B.

<sup>3</sup>Stewart Alsop, "George Romney: The G.O.P.'s Fast Comer," Saturday Evening Post (May 26, 1962), p. 16.

It was obviously a personal, not a party (Republican) triumph, since Romney was the only Republican on the administrative ticket to win. The title "Republican" could not win for Romney: Democrats had held the Governor's chair for the previous fourteen years. "Politicians estimate that the Democrats in Michigan have a bulge of about 200,000 over the GOP in registration, and that some 26% of the voters are independents."<sup>4</sup> These figures show that Romney had to convince people that he was the man for the job.

Many significant events, which have helped to mold him into the man and the speaker he is today, have taken place in Romney's life. The Romney family was driven out of Mexico by Pancho Villa five years after George was born, July 8, 1907, in Colonia Dublan, Mexico. The study of Astrology says about persons born in July: "Those born in July are receptive to new ideas and adapted to catering to public needs. In addition they are fond of home and family; are industrious, frugal, grave, tenacious and have a sense of value and dislike waste."<sup>5</sup> And these traits certainly help in describing George Romney.

Experts on constitutional law believe his birth in Mexico is no bar to Romney's becoming a candidate for

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<sup>4</sup>John Thomas Mahoney, The Story of George Romney (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), p. 67.

<sup>5</sup>Carroll Righter, Astrology and You (New York: Permabooks, 1958), p. 46.



President regardless of the United States Constitution's clause: "No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible for the office of President." No court has interpreted this clause, but children born abroad or at sea have been considered "natural-born" citizens for passports and other privileges.

After leaving Mexico the Romney's moved to El Paso, Texas, then to Los Angeles, California, and finally to Utah, where George spent his boyhood. At the age of eleven, George earned his first money shocking wheat at a dollar a day and thinning sugar beets at the same rate per acre.

In 1921 George graduated from grammar school as valedictorian. He asked his parents what he should talk about at the exercises, but before they could answer he decided to make the decision entirely his own. "If you told me," he said, "then the speech wouldn't be mine, would it?"<sup>6</sup> He spoke to an audience of eleven hundred. This was not his first speech, however, as public speaking is part of a Mormon's education. The smallest children are required to give two-and-a-half minute talks as part of their Sunday School training.

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<sup>6</sup>Mahoney, op. cit., p. 6.

In the summer of 1921 the Romneys moved to Salt Lake City, where George attended Roosevelt Junior High School and the old Latter-day Saints University High School and Junior College.

An important element in the growth of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, to which five generations of Romneys have belonged, is the 6,000 missionaries which it sends forth each year. All the boys going on mission pay their own expenses. The usual tour is two years. Working at lathing or shingling, George earned \$630.00 towards mission expenses and went to the British mission in 1926.

George was a great preacher, recalled Clinton Mills, a fellow missionary, several years later. Besides our Church speaking assignments, we would have invitations to speak to various clubs and organizations. These always went to George because he could handle them better than any other man we had.

His voice could be heard ringing out a block away. He was fearless and spoke with such clarity that everyone could understand. The hecklers never disturbed him. With his sound reasoning and charm, he won the hearts of many people.<sup>7</sup>

George finished high school in Salt Lake City. Lenore Romney, his wife, has said, "He attended night classes at George Washington, spent a year at the University of Utah, and went to night school at the University of Southern California. A job, and then our marriage prevented him from attending Harvard Business School."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>8</sup>"An Interview With Lenore Romney," Good Housekeeping, Vol. 154, No. 6 (June, 1962), p. 174.

When he was attending George Washington University, he worked for Senator David I. Walsh (D. Massachusetts) during the day as a stenographer. Instead of doing stenography work, however, George worked on tariff matters for Walsh. Work on the floor of the United States Senate at twenty-two was a priceless education in the intricacies of government and the art of winning and keeping friends.

The Aluminum Company of America hired Romney in 1930. In 1939 he moved to Detroit, Michigan, as Detroit manager of the Auto Manufacturer's Association. From 1942 to 1948 he was general manager of the association, and from 1956 to 1958 he served as president.

Joining Nash-Kelvinator Corporation on April 1, 1948, he became assistant to the president. In 1950, he was elected a vice-president and in 1953, executive vice-president, a position he held when Nash-Kelvinator and Hudson Motor Car Co. merged on May 1, 1954 to form American Motors Corporation. Romney became chairman and president of the company on October 12, 1954.

While Romney was with the Auto Manufacturer's Association, he was named managing director of the Automotive Council for War Production, which directed the cooperative, co-ordinated efforts of all companies associated with the automotive industry in producing more than \$30 billion dollars worth of war material.

During this same war period, he called a small group of community leaders together to form the Detroit

Victory Council. Its purpose was to lend community wide support to housing, transportation, and other problems growing out of the war. Among the achievements of the Council was de-segregation of public war plant housing in metropolitan Detroit, which Romney supported vigorously with Victor Reuther and others.

As the war neared its end, Romney was active in seeking sound war contract termination legislation and administration to facilitate post-war recovery and to lessen problems of unemployment in Detroit which economists had predicted but which did not materialize.

As managing director of the Automotive Golden Jubilee in 1946, he helped bring management and labor together for joint support of community endeavors in one of the first significant unity efforts to emerge from the strike-ridden post-war period.

From 1946 to 1949, Romney was United States employer delegate to the eighteen nation conference of the Metal Trades Industry of the International Labor Office and was chairman of the employer delegates at Toledo, Ohio; Stockholm, Sweden; and Geneva, Switzerland.

In 1953, Romney was chairman of a reorganized Boy's Committee of Detroit and served for several years as a director and vice-president of the committee.

Among the varied organizations in Detroit and Michigan to which Romney has given leadership are the Michigan Economic Development Commission; Detroit Tomorrow Committee; The United Foundation; United Negro

College Fund; the Detroit Round Table of Christians and Jews, and the School of Business Administration, Wayne State University. He has also served as a member of Region VII Executive Committee of the Boy Scouts of America.

In 1956 and 1958, Romney served as chairman of the 270 member Detroit Citizens Advisory Committee on school needs.

Long concerned about basic problems confronting the state, Romney, with a small group of individuals sharing his concern, organized Citizens For Michigan, (CFM) a non-partisan group, in September, 1959. CFM provided leadership in calling public attention to the need for a State Constitutional Convention which was approved by the voters after an extensive campaign. Romney was elected a delegate to the convention, and served as a vice-president. The Constitution drawn up by this Convention was then approved by the voters in April, 1963.

George Romney was named industry's "Man of the Year" by the Associated Press for four consecutive years (1958-1961), as recognition of his leadership abilities and interest in the needs of others. Other awards include: Business Man of the Year Award from The Saturday Review, Business Administration Award from Drexel Institute of Technology, American Democratic Living Award from B'nai B'rith Association, Key Man of the Year Award from

the American Society of Association Executives, and the Edward Lamb Management Award from Columbia University.

Through the years he has been honored by numerous organizations in Michigan. In 1958 Romney received the "Wolverine Frontiersman Award" during Michigan Week. In 1959 he received the "Civic Award" of the Detroit Education Association and the "Distinguished Service Award" of the Detroit Federation of Teachers. In 1960 he received the "Distinguished Service Award" of the Michigan Education Association.

Romney received honorary degrees from Wayne State University and Brigham Young University in 1959; University of Utah in 1960; and Michigan State University, George Washington University, and Macalester College in 1961; and Albion College, Arizona State University, and the Detroit Institute of Technology in 1962.

Long active in religious affairs, Romney served as the president (Bishop in other denominations) of the Detroit Stake of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon), an ecclesiastical district covering parts of Michigan, Ohio, and southern Ontario. The church has played an important role in Romney's life, from schooling in church schools, to going on a mission to England for his church plus active leadership within the church when he was most active in business and civic affairs. Romney has stated, "My religion is my most precious possession. Except for it, I could easily have

become excessively occupied with industry. Sharing responsibility for church work has been a vital counter balance in my life."<sup>9</sup>

And so Romney's religion, he feels, has helped him to live a more balanced life between the work-a-day world and the religious one. Religion is important to him and has guided him through the work he has done for society. "Religion has taught me to honor the convictions and personal rights of others, to accept truth wherever I find it, and to seek everywhere for 'anything vituous, lovely or of good report or praiseworthy.'"<sup>10</sup>

Romney's wife, the former Lenore LeFount, is also active in community affairs, serving as a member of the National Advisory Board of the American Field Service and as general chairman of the 1962 Metropolitan Opera season in Detroit. The Romneys have four children.

Romney, after fasting for twenty-four hours, which is usual in the Mormon belief when making an important decision, announced February 10, 1962 that he would be a Michigan gubernatorial candidate. In November he was elected governor of Michigan.

Through his active role in his church, Romney has had a great amount of speaking experience as a missionary and leader. As has been pointed out, public speaking

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<sup>9</sup>Mahoney, op. cit., p. 88.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

is part of Mormon education; this was the beginning of Romney's training in speech which otherwise included only one course in general speech at the high school level.<sup>11</sup>

However, as a leader in both Civic and Industrial affairs he has had to speak, to lead, to direct groups of people. From Valedictorian to Governor of Michigan, he has spoken and is still speaking to large and small groups of people, in his roles as church, civic, and political leader.

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<sup>11</sup>"An Interview with Lenore Romney," op. cit., p. 174.



## "CHAPTER II"

### THE HISTORICAL SETTING WITHIN MICHIGAN

1945 - 1962

George W. Romney was campaigning for the governorship of Michigan because he believed the state had developed and experienced serious social and financial problems since 1945.

In order to understand why Mr. Romney was using as a slogan in his campaign for governor in 1962, "Let's Get Michigan Rolling," we must go back a few years to the end of World War II, when Michigan was the arsenal of democracy, a leading state in the union, and a dynamic contributor to the world's economy.

If we can understand the problems pertaining to politics, taxation, unemployment, and the state's financial crisis, we can gain insight into why Romney felt a change was needed within the state and within the public's attitude.

In 1945 Michigan was operating financially in the black. Unemployment was practically non-existent because of war-production. Through the years, however, something happened. The population by 1960 was 7,848,000 persons, representing a 22.8 per-cent increase in the ten year period 1950-1960. This was greater than the

national average.<sup>1</sup> The growth in population was putting a great strain on the educational facilities of the state, and jobs had to be found for this expanding population when it was old enough to enter the job market. Old industry was moving out or merging with out-state companies, and new businesses were not being enticed to locate within the state in numbers great enough to keep the work force busy.

During this period the following political pattern existed: "In a general election seventy-odd of Michigan's eighty-three counties could cast about 1,200,000 Republican votes, 11 or 12 counties concentrated in the highly industrialized south-east could cast about 1,500,000 Democratic votes."<sup>2</sup> This resulted in the Democrats having a simple majority and thus being able to elect the governor and the state's administrative offices. But by what the Democrats denounced as malapportionment and by what the Republicans praised as a balanced Legislature, the Republicans ended up with as many representatives in the lower house as the Democrats and with overwhelming control of the State Senate. The result was a political stalemate. The Republicans, representing the point of view of industry and the conservative farm element, over a period of

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<sup>1</sup>"Michigan: A Far Far Better Place," Industrial Development and Manufacturers Records, 131 (September, 1962), pp. 35-55.

<sup>2</sup>H. H. Martin, "Michigan the Problem State," Saturday Evening Post, 234 (February 25, 1961), p. 13.

twelve years wrecked liberal programs advocated by a Democratic Governor, G. Mennen "Soapy" Williams. Williams proposed labor-backed social programs and tax measures which he knew had slim chance of passage. The hottest fight raged around the nature of the tax program which should be passed to support Michigan's state services. While all this argument existed, Michigan found itself in a financial jam and slowly deteriorating from its position of leadership. Through taxes on property, business activities, franchises, and sales, the state had been collecting about a billion dollars a year. Over two-thirds of this, by law, was earmarked for special purposes such as roads and schools and was unavailable for the routine operation of the state. By law the state could not borrow more than \$250,000 annually.

A huge state deficit built up. Williams advocated a labor-backed corporation and income tax. The Republicans favored a 4% Sales Tax. While they argued, the Legislature used stop gap measures to raise funds. These measures took the form of: "(1) asking business to prepay taxes, bringing in \$30,000,000; (2) liquidating part of the state liquor inventory, bringing in \$10,000,000; and (3) charging nuisance taxes on liquor, tobacco, telephones and telegrams, bringing in \$50,000,000."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 14

The deficit neared \$100,000,000. Some State employees experienced the problem of a payless payday, and so the Veteran's Fund of \$50,000,000 was tapped by the Legislature for \$40,500,000 to pay the employees.<sup>4</sup>

In order to get the state out of this predicament, the legislature put on the ballot in the Fall elections of 1960 a referendum approving a constitutional amendment for a 4% sales tax. The people approved the tax by voting for its enactment but at the same time elected John B. Swainson, Governor, running on the Democratic ticket, who did not favor the sales tax increase.

Many persons felt that because Swainson was elected governor the sales tax was approved as a temporary solution for Michigan's problems, and they hoped that the legislature and the governor might get together and find a final solution to erase the state financial deficit.

Although total revenue received from Michigan's retail sales tax in its 29 year history amounted to \$5.2 billion, this is less than federal taxes from Michigan have been for each year since 1953 (with the exception of 1959). . . . No month has equaled 1960 for total volume of taxable retail sales.

Surveys show that each passing year the Michigan consumer is spending a higher percentage of his disposable income on non-taxable services rather than on taxable retail purchases.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Michigan Department of Revenue, "Twenty-first Annual Report, 1961-1962" (Lansing, Michigan: Speaker-Hines and Thomas Inc.) p. 39.

As can be seen from the above, there could be doubt as to the ability of the sales tax increase to bring in enough revenue. This doubt proved to be correct.

By 1962, Michigan was still in trouble. As H. H. Martin in the Saturday Evening Post so aptly put it,

Michigan sorely fears that the rest of the nation believes what her own citizens have been saying about her, that high taxes, high wage rates and labor-loving courts have created a climate in which industry no longer feels comfortable and that pigheaded partisan politics has gotten the state's finances into a fantastic mess.<sup>6</sup>

Along with Michigan's financial problems, there has been a persistent problem of unemployment since the mid-1950's. "Over the past decade the number of unemployed persons has ranged from 79,000 to over 400,000."<sup>7</sup> Some of this unemployment can be traced to the heavy concentration of manufacturing in the automotive and associated equipment industry, and the inevitable outcome has been an employment situation fluctuating according to the fortunes of that industry.

The lack of new industrial growth has also affected employment. "For over five years, Michigan's growth pace has lagged behind the national average and thus most other states. Since 1946 the loss of indus-

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<sup>6</sup>Martin, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>7</sup>"Michigan: A Far Far Better Place," op. cit., p. 36.

trial jobs has been more than any other state, 172,000 or 16½ per-cent."<sup>8</sup>

In addition to inadequate industrialization other factors affecting employment have been: (1) automation, (2) decentralization of the automotive industry and (3) diminishing defense procurement resulting from the replacement of wheeled vehicles by electronics, aircraft and missiles.<sup>9</sup>

Four basic reasons have been suggested as to [sic] the slow-down in Michigan's rate of industrial growth: employment is heavily dependent upon manufacturing, the decentralization of plants, loss of defense jobs and increased productivity by fewer employees aided by automation.<sup>10</sup>

To erase some of the causes of unemployment due to the fluctuations in the automobile industry,

Michigan is engaged in establishing the diverse industrial pattern that has been so much needed in recent years, and efforts are being made to increase the rate of growth in the non-durable industries where ample scope exists in pulp and paper, chemicals, printing and publishing, and food processing. There is also room for expansion in durables - in instruments and related products, and in machinery other than electrical. Intensive product research is being undertaken and it is confidently expected that current research and development programs will lead to improved defense contracts for Michigan and greater expenditure in the state by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.<sup>11</sup>

Some business men have condemned the "strong labor atmosphere in Michigan" as a deterrent to Mich-

<sup>8</sup>Kenneth A. Thompson, "Turning Point Possible in '63 for Michigan," Detroit Free Press (January 6, 1963), p. 18.

<sup>9</sup>H. C. Taylor and Samuel V. Bennett, "Michigan Is Told How to Get Jobs," Detroit Free Press (January 6, 1963), p. 18.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>11</sup>"Michigan: A Far Far Better Place," op. cit., p. 38.

igan's economic growth in the last five years, 1957 - 1962. There have been accusations of too much unionization, high labor costs, and excessive taxation.

Taxation to solve the state's debt has brought unhappiness to business. Business complains that Michigan's present taxes fall heavier on industry than on other elements of the economy. An example of this is that recently a major national company was faced with a decision to consolidate in one location operations which it performed in two plants -- one in Detroit and one in Cleveland. The physical facilities, availability and cost of labor, proximity to markets, etc., were apparently about even. But the company's president wrote to the governor in 1963:

Since taxes are one of our important cost factors, comparisons were made between Michigan and Ohio as to the tax factor.

When all the figures were in, the facts were so overwhelming that we could make no other decision than to consolidate at Cleveland.

In 1960, our total state and local taxes in Michigan accounted for 4.98% of our capital investment, while the same taxes in Ohio were 1.04%. These statistics included such taxes as franchise, income, sales and use, payroll and property. Property taxes alone amounted to 2.76% of original cost at Detroit and .68% at Cleveland. Further in comparing our total taxes as a percentage of revenue shipments, for Michigan it was 4.66% and for Ohio 1.29%. This, of course, is the state and local tax load on our finished product as determined by sales revenue.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Michigan Department of Revenue, "Some Aspects of Tax Reform," 1963, p. 4.

Property taxes, the franchise tax and the business activities tax all add up to a heavier burden in Michigan than in the competing industrial states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Business activity tax also falls unequally on those businesses which feel its bite. In essence, a "value-added tax," it has hurt the small business which is just getting started and the big business which is doing a lot of selling and buying but showing little or no profit.<sup>13</sup>

"Value-added tax" can be explained in this manner.

Business must pay the franchise tax on invested capital whether or not it makes money. A major portion of the Business Activities Tax base is payroll, and payrolls go on and the taxes go on even though the business may never have made a dollar. Michigan's heavy reliance on these kinds of tax sources imposes a particular burden on new businesses struggling to get started.<sup>14</sup>

Labor unions are strong in Michigan, and many businesses have left for states where they can pay lower wages and taxes. Michigan's production worker's weekly earnings are the highest in the nation.

By 1962 the financial crisis still existed in Michigan. Unemployment was a problem, and business was unhappy. The state deficit was at \$85 million dollars. There was a strong belief among people that the governor's office had become the symbol of voter frustration over the impasse on tax and fiscal reform. Unemployment was high, and citizens seemed just plainly disgusted, not with the Republicans or the Democrats, but with the whole "mess in Lansing."

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<sup>13</sup>Martin, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>14</sup>Michigan Department of Revenue, op. cit., p. 5.



One of the first evidences of voter concern about the problems confronting Michigan appeared when a small group of citizens, led by George W. Romney, organized a state-wide, non-partisan group called Citizens for Michigan (CFM), in September, 1959. CFM was organized to provide each citizen with the opportunity to participate effectively in the identification and study of state-wide problems and in the presentation of recommendations for their solution.

Mr. Romney stated the beliefs of Citizens for Michigan in this manner:

As Americans we believe that an effective democracy is dependent upon informed citizens who can serve as a unifying force through which effective political action can be secured, and the effectiveness of the two-party system increased.<sup>15</sup>

CFM's chief accomplishment, along with the League of Women Voters, was in organizing and sponsoring the signing of petitions demanding that the legislature call for a vote to be taken in Michigan to decide if a Constitutional Convention should be called. The present Constitution was adopted in 1908 and had been amended 69 times.

Con-Con, as the Constitutional Convention was called, went on the ballot April 3, 1961, and the people of Michigan voted for a convention. The delegates, numbering 144, were elected September 12, 1961.

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<sup>15</sup>George W. Romney, What Can We Do For Michigan, Remarks by George Romney, President American Motors Corporation before the League of Women Voters of Michigan (Lansing, Michigan, May 17, 1961), p. 11.

One of the backers for the convention, through his work in CFM, was George Romney, the President of American Motors Corporation. He ran as a delegate to represent Oakland County, was elected and at the convention became a vice-president.

February 10, 1962, Romney announced his intention of running for Governor of Michigan on the Republican ticket.

Therefore, by the Fall of 1962 we see the State of Michigan unhappy over its national reputation, unemployment, and the financial debt. We also find a man with no political background except that which he has acquired in working on the new constitution, but who has a national reputation because he saved American Motors, a company that was almost bankrupt, with the compact car idea, who believes he can help Michigan "to get rolling again."

"CHAPTER III  
THE OCCASION, AUDIENCE,  
AND RESPONSES

In order best to understand the occasion for the speech, the audience at the speech, and the audience's responses, we have in the previous chapter presented a background of Michigan's political and financial problems. This material, along with Chapter I, Biography of the Man, has provided information which gives to us a better concept of Romney and his role in politics at the time of the speech under study.

To communicate to an audience, for an occasion to gain responses, there are three essential ingredients: "(1) the person who speaks; (2) the speech that he produces and (3) the person who listens."<sup>1</sup> In the thesis we shall discuss all ingredients; this chapter, however, is concerned with the latter, the listeners or the audience.

In discussing the third ingredient of communication, however, we shall incorporate two other areas which relate to the audience: (1) the occasion, i.e., why

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<sup>1</sup>David K. Berlo, The Process of Communication (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960), p. 29.

the audience is listening to this speech; and (2) the response, i.e., what the audience's reactions are to the speech.

### Occasion

The occasion for the speech studied in this thesis developed in an unusual manner. It has been very difficult in recent years for Republican gubernatorial candidates to address union members as such in a union meeting in Michigan. For example, Romney tried to speak to labor union members at the Labor Day Rally, 1962, at the Michigan State Fairgrounds in Detroit, Michigan and was the recipient of boos and jeers led by union leaders of the U.A.W. - C.I.O.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, George Romney indicated in the speech under study, it was a historical moment.

We must clearly understand why Romney attended this rally. He desired to present himself directly to the working man (and what better chance to speak to labor than on their own day?) Up to this time the man had been given not one opportunity to address union members, as a group, and present his ideas and beliefs (free from distortion by those who opposed his plans for reform) directly to them. He felt that it was most important for him to speak to these people in a face-to-face situation so that he could answer any questions they might have.

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<sup>2</sup> Interview with George T. Trumbull Jr., Press Secretary for George W. Romney, 1962.

Then, finally, George Romney was given a chance to speak to union men when four hundred members of union Local #326, Ternstedt Division, General Motor's Corporation, petitioned their president, Marshall Steel, to allow the Republican candidate for governor to speak to them at a union meeting. Governor John B. Swainson had already been asked to speak and a time set for his appearance. There were some men in the union who also wanted to hear George Romney.

The Republican Party's campaign committee heard of this petition and waited for an invitation for Romney to speak. After waiting a few days, when Mr. Romney had not been invited to speak to the union, the campaign group arranged to rent Dom Polski Club in Flint, where Romney could speak, and then issued an invitation to the members of Local #326 to attend.

In other words, Romney was in the City of Flint the evening of September 28, 1962 to speak to union members because they wanted to hear his reasons for running for governor of Michigan. This, then, is the reason for the occasion of Mr. Romney's speaking engagement in Flint.

An interesting sidelight to this whole affair is that after the campaign group made the announcement that arrangements were completed for Romney to speak, then and only then did Mr. Steel honor the petition and invite George Romney to speak October 13, 1962, to the union

membership. This invitation is referred to by Romney in the text of the speech.

For this particular occasion the weather was not good. It was an evening of drizzly rain, which had been falling off and on all day; it made the Dom Polski Club, site of the speech, a one story brick building at 3970 North Saginaw, Flint, Michigan, look rain-washed but rather dreary. Persons of Polish descent had built this edifice for their personal use. They rented it to the public as a means of raising money to aid in its maintenance. The basement has a bar, pool tables, and billard tables for recreation purposes for the members. The main floor consists of the hall with a small stage at one end which is often used for wedding receptions, parties, and speeches such as the one of interest to us. The hall has a wooden floor and appeared more appropriate for a dance or a reception; for this occasion, however, approximately 450 folding chairs were placed in it for seating.

On the night in question, there were two chairs and a speaker's stand on the stage. Also, one of the local television stations, WNEM-TV, Channel 5, had set up lights and a camera to take shots for their 11 P.M. news broadcast that evening.

A filming crew from WXYZ-TV, Channel 7, Detroit, was also present with movie camera, taping machinery, lights, and microphones, for Romney's campaign staff

had hired WXYZ-TV's special department for filming shorts. That night the photographers were present making films of audience members telling why they were going to vote for George W. Romney; these films were to be used as television commercials for Romney's campaign.

In front of the stage were two large cameras on tripods approximately six feet in the air, microphones taped or attached to the podium, many bright lights for filming, and behind these, rows of chairs for the audience.

Since we have observed the occasion for the speech and the setting for the affair let us look at another essential ingredient, the audience.

#### The Audience

Whether the rain kept away the anticipated crowd or not is difficult to say. Persons traveling with Mr. Romney felt that this was the reason that only 200-225 persons appeared for the occasion. Mr. Romney expected a large crowd, since the petition had been signed by over 400 persons. He noticed the smallness of the crowd because he did say, before his speech, that he wanted to speak to the group from the floor as he would feel rather strange standing on the stage when the group was small and he could join it by remaining on the floor of the hall. However, he spoke from the stage, as microphones, podium, and cameras had been set up with this in mind.

By 8:00 p.m. the audience numbered almost 200 persons from the ages of approximately 25 to 50. There was one child present. No older persons of retirement age appeared in the group. A few women were in the audience, fifteen at the most. There were quite a few Negroes, perhaps 50.

Since the meeting was aimed at attracting union members, this writer questioned men in the audience to find if the group did consist of union members. It was found that the men belonged to the union and either worked on the assembly line in unskilled and semi-skilled positions or were involved in such work as highly skilled labor in the tool and die rooms at Ternstedt.

An opportunity for a pre-designed Simple Random Sample utilizing prescribed statistical procedures as in selected Probability Sampling did not present itself because of the nature of the occasion and the time requirements involved. However, a Quota Sample<sup>3</sup> (a form of judgement sampling where the interviewer is required to question a pre-determined number of persons with given characteristics) was taken of the individuals present.

It was determined prior to the speech that a sample of 10% of the audience (the population) would represent a statistically accurate cross-section with

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<sup>3</sup>John Neter and William Wasserman, Fundamental Statistics for Business and Economics (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1961), p. 439.



respect to the characteristics of the population under study as stated above.

Twenty-three persons were approached on a random basis, either before or after the speech. This group contained four Negro men, one white woman, and eighteen white males.

These persons were asked the following six questions and their responses are indicated in the yes, no or no comment columns, except for questions two and six which could not be answered in this manner.

1. Do you belong to a union?	Yes	No	No Comment
	23	0	0
2. Are you working on an assembly line?			
	assembly line	17	
	tool and die	6	
3. Did you complete the twelfth grade:	Yes	No	No Comment
	17	6	0
4. Are you a skilled tradesman?	Yes	No	No Comment
	6	17	0
5. Have you completed any course work at General Motor's Institute?	Yes	No	No Comment
	1	22	0
6. Are you a Democrat or a Republican?			
	Democrat	14	
	Republican	5	
	No Comment	4	

We find then that the audience was comprised of persons for whom the meeting was intended, that is union members.

From the brief opportunity which presented itself, a random sampling of the audience indicated that a majority of the persons present had completed high school.

(See question 3 of survey questions.) Some had training in apprentice schools or at the General Motors Institute of Technology. (See questions 4 and 5 of survey questions.) The people were not broadly educated, in a formal sense, but they brought to the meeting their experiences in dealing with members of the union and collective bargaining; they appeared to have some understanding of the problems facing Michigan.

Romney aimed his speech at those areas which should have been of interest to this group; he commented upon unions, collective bargaining, unemployment and the needs in the areas of education, care for the aged, and inadequate facilities for the mentally retarded and/or disturbed.

Because of the evidence of Romney favoritism, this writer had concluded that the audience was predominately Republican. This was an incorrect assumption. Through talking with a number of the men, it became apparent that they were "pro-Romney," not Republican, intending to split their ticket and vote the remaining Democratic. (See question 6 of survey questions.) There were also a number present who were undecided and attended mostly out of curiosity.

This group of union men represented a cross-section of what the working man might want to hear a gubernatorial candidate speak. Not all fit the stereotyped picture of the average working man. Granted

some men appeared to have come directly from the plant in their work clothes; others wore dress pants and sport shirts; and a few arrived in white shirt, tie, and suit.

The few women were dressed in skirts, blouses or sweaters, hose and heels, except for one woman who was definitely noticeable in her mink coat. The man with her was excellently dressed, causing this writer to wonder if these two were actually representative of the average working man, for whom this speech was to be presented. Of course, one could always speculate that perhaps this man was a "higher-up" in the union officialdom. Everyone carried rain-coats or umbrellas to cope with the drizzly evening.

As was stated before, the group was, in the main, "for Romney." When the man walked into the hall, he received a standing ovation. Romney did not actually walk -- he dashed in and went from person to person, up and down the rows, shaking hands and giving a personal word to each person, such as "Glad to see you." "Glad you could come." "Hello, I'm George Romney, I'd appreciate your vote."

How did the audience react to this approach and to this man? When Romney was first seen by the group, they greeted him warmly. The following section of this chapter deals with this greeting and the other responses of this group to George Romney.

Responses

The audience was the type that George Romney had desired for so long; to address -- union members who seemed to want to hear what the other candidate had to say, not just the candidate endorsed by the leaders of labor unions in Michigan and thus agreeable to the Democratic Party.

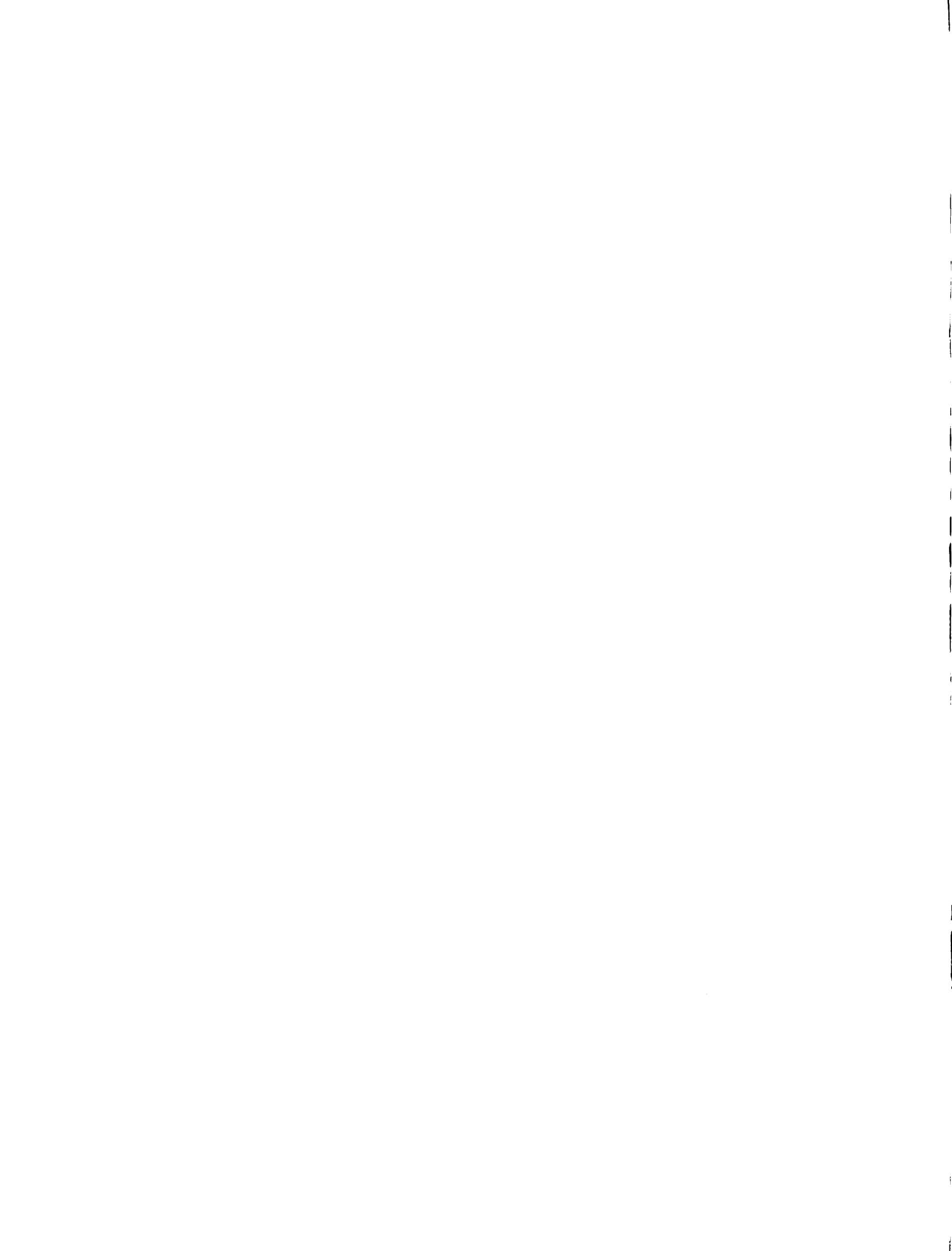
There was no precise method which we could use to judge the responses of this audience to the speaker. We can say that the group did such and so, but for every speech critic considering audience responses in a speaking situation there could be a different method in approaching the problem.

However, Thonssen and Baird tell us, "An effective address . . . should elicit an early, favorable response. . . . Manifestly, response is the key determinant of effectiveness."<sup>4</sup>

In the case of this Romney speech, we can consider the immediate response of the audience, which cannot always be done as the critic is not always part of the occasion. This writer was able to attend the address and to record on tape the audience's response to the speech. Because of this taping, we can study the responses to find what material contained in the speech

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<sup>4</sup>Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1948), p. 460.



elicited an audible response. We must then assume that the material which elicited response was of interest to this union audience.

However, to draw any conclusions as to the long term effectiveness of the speech is difficult. This was one of many speeches in the campaign. Whether this particular speech convinced voters to vote for Romney and thus add to his margin of victory in the election cannot, of course, be determined.

Mr. Romney was introduced by a union member who was identified only by the name of Art. This marks the beginning of the responses of the audience in the immediate speech situation. The group greeted Romney by standing and applauding vigorously as he approached the podium. As we can see from the opening of the speech in Chapter IV, Mr. Romney started five times to acknowledge the introduction before the group settled down to listen to him.

The audience was quiet and attentive through the beginning of Mr. Romney's speech. It was apparent that it was listening; eyes were to the front and there was not a murmur. One received the feeling that these people were present to hear certain things, and they were waiting for George Romney to state his views.

Not until the fourth page of the speech do we have any audible response from the group, but then, from the following examples, we see that the audience was

listening and was responding to certain ideas of the speaker.

Each one of these quotations was followed or interrupted by some type of a response, as indicated.

1. . . . we've got to have at least one party in this state that's a genuine citizen's party, not a business party. (Applause)

2. . . . it is morally wrong for economic organizations . . . whether they're employers or unions to participate directly in the political parties. They have no business there. (Applause)

Then we come to a quiet time for the audience while Mr. Romney talks about brotherhood and Khrushchev, and enters into the "mess in Michigan." Then for section after section of his talk, the audience responded as follows:

3. . . . the answer to Michigan's job problems has gotta be worked out in Michigan not in Washington. (Applause)

4. I think we're putting too much power in Washington but I don't think one state, . . . , can stop that flow of power to Washington. I think the only way that can be done is for one state to spark other states and build a coalition to to stop it. I think that can be done too. (Applause)

5. Look Santa the next time I ask for money send it direct, don't send it through Washington, you sent me five and they kept 4/5's of it. (Laughter and Applause)

6. Now you know they're organizing a Federal uh rescue party for John Swainson. (Laughter)

7. . . . and uh they're sending in all of the cabinet members and now I understand the President's coming. (Laughter)

8. Well, I'm sure we're always happy to have the President of the United States come to Michigan. I'm sure he'll always be welcome. (Applause)

9. . . . this . . . rescue mission is just evidence of the inability of the present occupant of the governor's office to provide the leadership we need in this state to settle our problems in Michigan. (Applause)

10. A single individual in the sight of God is more important. (Applause)

11. And I resent those who say that simply because ya don't belong to their political party you have a cruel heart and cold blood. (Applause and comments such as "Good")

12. Walter Reuther said that this contract of American Motors was the most significant contract in the history of collective bargaining in the United States. (Applause)

13. (why Romney is running for office) . . . I believe the greatest obligation we have, other than our obligation to our creator and our families is that of citizenship. And when we are in the (Applause) service of. . . .

14. . . . plant goes down because of local working conditions or if it's a supply plant, the workers thrown out of work ought to get unemployment compensation. (Applause)

15. . . . in the five minutes. . . . (Laughter)

16. . . . I welcome this meeting. (Applause)

17. Thank you very much. (Applause)

We have discussed the type of audience Mr. Romney was addressing in this speech. From the responses we can say that the group was certainly interested in certain sections of the talk. Let us again examine the examples.

The audience responded audibly to Mr. Romney, after his opening "Thank you's," 17 times, with applause and/or laughter.

Discounting the applause following the introduction of Mr. Romney and the ending of the speech which,



although very enthusiastic, is probably an example of audience courtesy, this writer feels that for immediate response, Mr. Romney's talk was greeted very enthusiastically. Many of the major divisions of his speech evidently met with the audience's approval in such areas as:

1. the importance of the citizen in a political party,
  2. the need for jobs,
  3. the lack of leadership by John Swainson,
  4. the importance of the individual,
  5. the views of Romney concerning unemployment,
- and especially
6. the fact that in the previous year Walter Reuther (see quote 12 on previous page) was praising Romney and now (see quote 11 on previous page) was denouncing him, showing an inconsistency of outlook.

This audience was responsive to Mr. Romney's material. By their applause, laughter, and comments it seems that he selected material of importance and interest to the listeners. The immediate response to Romney's speech was enthusiastic.

The speech lasted 40 minutes, and then the meeting was opened for questions from the floor. Members of the group were quick to take this opportunity to question Romney, again showing enthusiasm for the man and evidently finding material in the speech which prompted more questions from them.

Questions which were asked encompassed such areas as:

1. reapportionment of the Senate either by population or area,
2. difference between old line Democrats and those in control of the party at the present time, and
3. Romney's views for care of the aged.

In the question-and-answer period things were moving along quite smoothly when one man was recognized to ask his question. His hostility through impoliteness and vocal tone was evident to all. He ranted on until Romney finally called a halt, saying, "You've asked your question -- now give me a chance to answer it." The rest of the audience clapped and cheered loudly when Romney said this, putting the man in his place, not too politely, but very effectively.

Not until Mr. Romney left the hall did anyone in the audience attempt to leave. This is just a small point, but it suggests that Romney held the audience's attention so that they did not desire to jump up at the conclusion of the speech proper and depart from the hall.

This speech occasion was prepared by Romney and the Republican campaign group to afford union members a chance to see and hear George Romney. This audience composed of union men, was interested in matters near to them. By responding to parts of the speech through applause, laughter, and comments, they greeted enthusiastically the message Mr. Romney brought to them.

We can conclude, therefore, that the audience was very interested in this speech by George W. Romney.

## "CHAPTER IV"

### THE SPEECH

In the pages that follow we have transcribed the only known manuscript of any speech given during the 1962 Michigan gubernatorial campaign by George Wilkins Romney.

Although the word "manuscript" is used here, we must realize that a true copy of a speech is not in the form of an essay to be read. "A speech is very different from an essay. To communicate with an audience a speaker must use words to be heard, not words to be read. His discourse must be planned so that his hearers will find it easy to follow."<sup>1</sup>

From the manuscript that follows we can see that a difference indeed does exist between a piece of oral communication which is "put on paper" and a speech written to be read by others. We have seen manuscripts of speeches and realize that they are usually "fixed-up" to appear "proper" in print and thus they lose accuracy, meaning, and flavor in the editing.

Aristotle notes this difference by saying, "The written [literary] style is the more finished; the con-

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<sup>1</sup>Wilbur E. Gilman, Bower Aly and Loren D. Reid, The Fundamentals of Speaking (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951), p. 121.

troversial is far better adapted to dramatic delivery whether for the kind of speaking that reflects character, or the emotional kind."<sup>2</sup>

In other words, the speech that follows is just that. It is not an essay to be read but it is a careful copy of what was spoken.

The speech was taped the evening of September 28, 1962, at Dom Polski Club in Flint, Michigan. The transcription, by typing, has been done in an attempt to put in written form what Mr. Romney said. Punctuation is not always according to grammatical forms but is used as an attempt to produce the structuring of words, phrases, and sentences as delivered by Romney.

Two dashes (--) mean a noticeable pause, a comma (,) a breathing pause, and words that are underlined and/or in capitals were definitely stressed in relation to surrounding material. When two words are typed together it is because Romney pronounced them as one.

We should realize that because this copy of Romney's speaking may look poorly as a literary piece of work, it does not mean that his speech and speaking were not well done. The man did not give this speech for the reading public but for a listening public.

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<sup>2</sup>Aristotle, The Rhetoric, trans. Lane Cooper (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1932), p. 8.

What we have here is a true copy of a real speech, not as James A. Winans has said, "an essay standing on its hind legs."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>William N. Brigance, Speech (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.), p. 23, citing James A. Winans.

(Applause) Thank you very much. Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you very much. (Applause ends)

Thank you very much, Al, and I certainly appreciate the warmth of your reception. And I believe this is a historic meeting. I think this is a historic meeting because I think it represents a new, trend of things -- in Michigan.

Now, fundamental to our way of life -- is the, fact -- that we are all children of a Cre-a-tor. We're all brothers and sisters, and uh children of a common Creator, and as such we have certain inalienable rights. And the men who founded this country decided that we could have a better way of life -- if, the, responsibility for making progress in our country was based on an individual responsibility in providing the opportunity for individual citizens ah to control the government rather than for the government to control individual citizens.

Now recognizing that if individual citizens were gonna control government, and if they were gonna exercise sovereign power, they would have to be intelligent and informed. Uh efforts have been made throughout the history of the country to provide ways by which, all citizens can ah exercise this sovereign power intelligently on and on the basis of information. On the basis of being familiar, with, both viewpoints. You

know Jefferson said that the only safe depository of the ultimate power of society is the people themselves, and if we consider them not sufficiently enlightened to exercise their power with due discretion, the answer is not to take it from them but to inform them.

Now, the most widely read newspaper correspondent that I ever knew and probably the most widely read one we've had in America was Ray Clapper. He was killed during World War II. In his office in Washington he had just one sign on his wall, one thing on his wall and it was a sign which said: "Never underestimate the intelligence of people and never overestimate their information."

Now I'm not one of those who believes that people regardless of what what they do in life, whether they are workers or whether they're uh farmers or whether they're school teachers need to be shielded from information. I don't believe that, that any group of good Americans can be misled by hearing both viewpoints. And I think that the historic aspect of this meeting tonight is that -- uh 400 members of the Ternstedt local uh on their own uh petitioned for this meeting tonight. And I think this represents a ah breakthrough in what has tended to be a political curtain. And I think uh those who initiated this meeting are not only to be thanked and are not only to be, praised, for indicating their desire to hear both sides and indicating that they recognize that as American



citizens they have a right to hear both sides, but also for the fact that that your action has caused the local, through Mr. Steel the president, uh to invite me to talk to a meeting of the entire local a-a the week of the fourteenth. And perhaps you have already noticed in the papers that I have accepted that invitation because one of my purposes in this campaign, was to find the opportunity to talk with people in all fields of activity in Michigan and particularly to talk to those who haven't been receiving uh a con uh a complete presentation of the state's problems and the state issues.

No one could, I believe, be more conscious of the important contribution made by collective bargaining and unions than I am. I lived in Washington from 19 uh 30 uh to 1939 and a little before that too. I was away a year, I started went there in '29. And -- I was there, when this country, was governed importantly, politically, and economically by business interests. There no question about that. We had political col control in the country that was essentially a coalition between Eastern business and Western Agriculture. And a there had developed a concentration of political and economic power in this country that needed to be balanced. And then the depression came along as you know and Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected president. I heard Franklin Delano Roosevelt make the talk that is referred to probably more frequently than any, his "First Inaugural Address," in

which he said -- that the only thing we had to fear was fear itself. And I know what his dramatic spirit of confidence did for the nation in terms of changing our mood at that point and then he went on and while he did some things with which I do not agree, he did some things with which I basically very much agree and one of the things he did was to foster collective bargaining and he fostered collective bargaining to bring about a better distribution in this country of economic power -- on the basis, that if we were going to have, industrial democracy, because that's what was being discussed in those days, the great hope in connection with the fostering of collective bargaining was that it would create a cooperative relationship, a partnership between labor and management. And so collective bargaining was fostered to permit workers to to organize so that they could bargain collectively with employers and thus share more equitably in the fruits of progress in this great country of ours. And I consider this one of the great steps forward in this century. There isn't any question but that that uh fostering of collective bargaining has helped to bring about a better distribution of the fruits of progress of the economic results of our ah work and effort. And I think this has contributed importantly to the nation's high prosperity in the 40's and the 50's.

Now I whole heartedly believe in collective bargaining on a sound basis. I think, some mistakes were

made. I think that his uh right to bargain collectively ah was permitted -- on a basis that has permitted collective bargaining power by employers or by unions to be concentrated without limitation and this has created some some concentrations of collective bargaining power on the part of both unions and employers that is excessive. A good example is the steel industry -- where the unions or the employers in the steel industry can shut down a practically a whole industry and create a national emergency where the only power that can deal with the situation is the Federal Government and the result is the result is the Federal Government's been stepping in more and more. I think this is one of the problems.

I think another problem is that, that in order to correct this imbalance politically that existed because there was a political imbalance as well as an economic imbalance, unions were encouraged to move directly into the Democratic party. This was done under Sydney Hillman and of course this spread into states and this is what -- on the basis there had to be uh uh a development of what's described as counterveiling power politically as well as economically. And the result is that union leaders have tended to move move into political parties, and this has been particularly true in Michigan -- and have tended to create the idea that the heads of economic organizations like unions and employers should speak for members and employees in direct political activity. Now I think this



is wrong. I don't think that any economic organization or the representatives of any economic organization should represent it their individual members in direct political party activity. I believe that this direct participation in the political parties is a personal -- right associated with our personal individual citizenship and that we should exercise this directly, as citizens, and that union leaders and business leaders should also participate, not as union leaders and not as business leaders but as individual citizens, with that background.

Now, now I think that if we're gonna get America get Michigan on the right track that we've got to have at least one party in this state that's a genuine citizens party, not a business party. (Applause) Not a business party, not a union party, not an agriculture party, but a party when where the citizens members as ah members control it, finance it, and direct it. And that's what I'm out to create in the Republican Party and the Republican Party in many parts of the state is already this sort of a party.

Now, I think this is important because, if we are going to have government of, by, and for the people, and this is the ideal, this is what we're supposed to have, then the people as citizens are the ones that must be active directly in the political party. And I believe if one political party becomes a genuine citizens party that

the other citizens that the other political party will have to do the same same thing because it's the right thing. I believe it is politically indefensible. I believe it is socially, undesirable and I believe it is morally wrong for economic organizations as economic organizations whether they're employers or unions to participate directly in the political parties. They have no business there. (Applause)

Now let me make it perfectly clear. I'm not talking about unions or employers -- representing their members or their stockholders in presenting facts to legislative bodies or to public officials or even to party officials when party officials want to know their views in developing programs to be shaped by citizen members. I'm not talking about that. They do have an important part to play in those areas, because public officials and others need the benefit of the views of economic organizations in shaping sound legislation and so on. But I'm talking about this right of direct participation in the political parties because the political party responsibility is to select candidates for the responsibility of leadership and the responsibility of governing. And so I welcome, I welcome, this evidence of the recognition on the part of workers as well as others of the importance of reasserting in this great state of ours the individual rights that we have, because after all, after all, the thing that's made this country

is the fact that we do have these individual rights. That there has been a greater opportunity for us individually to do what what we thought we could do to help make this a better country. And somebody has said that America is great because she's good and that America will cease to be good or great when she ceases to be good. And I think this is right and I think we're citizens of a great country because this country has been built, on the deathless liberty, of the individual. And it's been built on the matchless power of individual initiative and voluntary cooperation. And it's been built on the priceless right of equal opportunity for all. And this goes for a Negro in Mississippi in his right for education and equal opportunity as well for as for Negroes and others regardless of race, color, creed or national origin anyplace, because there must be equal rights for all, if we are going to give adequate expression to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and our basic principles. And also we premise this growth of ours on the indestructible brotherhood of all of us.

You know when Khrushchev first came to this country -- he did a gr-e-at propaganda job. He tried to put the spotlight on us, on those things about us that he wanted the rest of the world to think. Now one of the things that he did instead in addition to putting the spotlight on "Can Can" in Hollywood was down in the press club in Washington, where the Washington correspondents

were at a luncheon. He started that his luncheon talk by saying: "Comrades" and then he stopped himself and he said; "Oh forgive me," he said, "in this country you don't consider yourselves comrades. I'll start over again, Gentlemen." Now, his obvious purpose was to create the idea that over there they have a feeling of responsibility for each other greater than we do here and that ours is kind of a cold and indifferent relationship. As a matter of fact they've argued with some of our leading people in the postwar period, that theirs is a more idealistic society than ours because under theirs you have to sacrifice for the state whereas in our society the individual is free to do whatever he wants to do. Now we're not free to do whatever we want to do. -- We believe our relationship is not that of "Gentlemen" or "Comrades" but brothers and the responsibility of Brotherhood is infinitely greater than the responsibility of comradeship. And we believe in government by consent at the national, the local, the state and the local level, and this means we have the obligation of obeying government at the national, state and local level. And we believe in carrying this responsibility of brotherhood into the economic and social areas, and thus we have created obligations that are infinitely greater than those in a totalitarian society. And a-a-a- and that's what makes our society a more idealistic one even though currently -- people around the world are, in too many cases, incli-



ned to think of us as a materialistic society and the Communist society as an idealistic society. This is one of the paradoxes of the world at the present time.

Now here in Michigan we face some special problems. As a part of this country under these principles we have been, a great state. We've been a leading state. We wound up World War II as the number one state in the nation. We used the industrial capacity we had built as labor and management and as citizens to make Michigan the arsenal of freedom. We did more in producing the things our soldiers needed and their allies than any other state in the union, during World War II. And yet in 17 short years we've plunged from that position of leadership to a position of being described, generally, as a state with a lot of problems and even a-a problem state. We've lost our reputation. -- And we've got to rebuild Michigan. We haven't been realizing the job increase we need in Michigan. Because we we've had those in power who've been hostile and one sided in their attitude and they've discouraged expansion in this state and they've discouraged employers from locating in this state and the result is we have not had job increases approaching those in other industrial states in the East with whom we compete. And the result is that we face not only a current situation where our unemployment is higher than the national average, and where we have great pockets of unemployment and a lack of uh enough economic strength to support

education, mental health and other things that we need on the basis we need them, but we also face in the period immediately ahead, as a result of the postwar baby explosion, and the fact that 1945 babies are gonna be graduating from high school this spring and be on the job market or the college, campuses, next fall, we face an explosive increase in the need for jobs and education and other public services. We have youngsters living in Michigan now that make it necessary for us to have a million more jobs in Michigan by 1970. And that means a hundred and 30 thousand more jobs a year between now and 1970. We're sitting on a delayed action economic BOMB OF BLOCK BUSTER PROPORTIONS AND WE'RE NOT READY FOR IT.

Because we've created the impression through the country that this is a bad place to locate business. And the employers that are here feel that they're being persecuted and not treated fairly. This is an unfortunate situation and this answer and the answer to Michigan job problems has gotta be worked out in Michigan not in Washington. (Applause) Because the only permanent solution to Michigan's economic growth is private initiative, is people who have ideas about services and products that people will want to buy that they are willing to put their time into developing and putting on the market and willing to put their funds or the funds of others for the purpose of putting them on the market. And do you know that it takes \$11,000 on the average, to create an indus-

trial job? So we've got to have an atmosphere in Michigan that will attract people on who will be willing to put invest \$11,000 to develop our basic economy.

Now we need government assistance of course. And that's important. And Michigan should fight for all the defense contracts we can handle and take advantage of all the Federal programs which we feel will help solve our problem. And I've made it perfectly clear that I expect to take advantage of all the federal programs that are on the books. I think we're putting too much power in Washington but I don't think one state, singly by itself, can stop that flow of power to Washington. I think the only way that can be done is for one state to spark other states and build a coalition to stop it, I think that can be done too. (Applause) But I think it's I think it's a futile act of martyrdom to go out and refuse to take advantage of programs that are on the Federal books. And after all Michigan pays a lot more for every dollar it gets back than it gets back. You know it reminds me of the story of the little kid at Christmas, time, about Christmas time, who didn't have enough money to buy Christmas presents so he wrote Santa Claus and he didn't know Santy Clause's address so he decided to address the letter to the White House. And one of the clerks down there got it. And he opened it. And he decided to show it to the president and the president said, "Well golly let's send him a dollar," the youngster had asked

for five dollars. And a when the youngster got the letter, he decided to write another letter to Santy Claus and again he didn't have the address so he sent it to the White House and when they opened it, it said; "Look Santa the next time I ask for money send it direct don't send it through Washington, you send me five and they kept 4/5's of it." (Laughter and Applause)

Now while these figures are not exactly comparable, never-the-less we paid billions to Washington and we get millions back. And we pay a good deal more for every dollar we get back -- consequently we lose, just economically, when we put things in Washington. (Long Pause)

Now jobs come from people who are willing to do what I've outlined. They come from employers. They don't come from government. Look, government takes takes taxes out of our pockets and hires some people but they don't stimulate basic economic growth, with jobs, creation. And unions don't. Unions hire some people people but they take dues from working members and hire some people. Employers create jobs. And we need to encourage jobs, those who produce jobs to locate here and expand here and we need to treat them just as fairly as others and no more fairly. I believe what we need is an administration in this state that will treat employers just like unions and unions just like employers in terms of fairness. And that's all we should expect. (Pause)

Now you know they're organizing a Federal uh rescue party for for John Swainson, (Laughter) and uh they're sending in uh all of the cabinet members and now I understand the President's coming. (Laughter) Well, I'm sure we're always happy to have the President of the United States come to Michigan. I'm sure he'll always be welcome. (Applause)

But I'm also sure that, Michigan's problems are not going to be solved by the people who come from Washington. What we need is leadership in this state that can deal with our problems in this state because the issues of this campaign are Michigan issues and Michigan must straighten out its own problems and put its own house in order, and this federally organized rescue mission is just evidence of the inability of the present occupant of the governor's office to provide the leadership we need in this state to settle our problems in Michigan. (Applause)

Now I believe we've got to put a cold an end to the cold war in Michigan, to the excessive partisanship, to the excessive economic conflict and to the excessive sectional strife. And I believe management and labor must stop considering themselves as antagonists. They should oppose the deliberate setting of one group against another. The deliberate stimulation of conflict. Look we've been through that period. Sure it took sit-down strikes and other things to secure recognition in the bloodless revolution of collective bargaining. Sure

there was a period of problem in the accommodation between labor and management in the bargaining and contract process. But I say we've reached the point where we need to put an end to this sort of conflict and where we need organized cooperation between labor and management to achieve progress so we can increase the fruits of progress and we can all share in those fruits and benefit our whole economy. And so I believe that we need to substitute organized cooperation for what has become in too many instances collective bargaining in the collective bargaining in the so-called collective bargaining process. Now certainly honest differences of opinion need to be expressed and recognized. But it doesn't have to be done in a spirit of antagonism and with the kind of world challenge we face we cannot afford the pitting of group of one group of a loyal of loyal Americans against another. At the Labor Day celebration, I heard too much talk that smacked of the 30's and the 40's. Too much class hatred. I heard too much of that on the television program last Sunday night. And that isn't the spirit we need in Michigan. We need a spirit of understanding and tolerance and a willingness to talk our problems out. And we can tear American down America down as as we have stymied Michigan if we continue to take for granted that conflict is the normal relationship between labor and management. And unless we concentrate on our mutual objectives, we'll be hag-

gling among ourselves while the Russians run off with the world.

I firmly believe that labor and management must replace conflict with cooperation to provide the inner strength Michigan and our country needs in today's era of world challenge. And I believe that both labor and management must remember that the main purpose of the existence of both is the individual citizen. Look there isn't any thing that counts as much as an individual. This world isn't worth as much as uh a individual. A single individual in the sight of God is more important. (Applause)

And I resent those who say that simply because ya don't belong to their political party you have a cruel heart and cold blood. (Applause) Because that's class conflict talk. That isn't American talk. And we ought to put an end to it. And I believe that and I mean that the individual citizen is a human being and not just as a name on a membership roll or a payroll list or as a potential consumer is the most important thing in the earth. And we in Michigan especially need a new feeling of unity and cooperation not only between a labor and management but between all segments of society in our economy. And all parts of our economy and our society must work together if Michigan is to prepare itself to meet the vast problems that will accompany our burgeoning population. This population explosion that lies imme-

diately ahead.

Now -- I've undertaken to develop collective bargaining on that basis. -- The thing that saved American Motors more than the Rambler and the compact car was progress sharing. Was recognizing that everybody associated with that enterprise ought to participate in the results of our effort. And this became last year as a result of our initiative as management, a completely new thing in collective bargaining.

We proposed a progress sharing contract to the U.A.W. We proposed -- that as our joint efforts, the joint efforts of labor and management resulted in progress, that that progress would be shared first with consumers, because only when progress is shared with all can we have balanced economic growth, and then it should be shared equitably between workers and owners. And we proposed that 15% of profits before taxes be set aside to be distributed among the workers. And that, and I'm convinced that as a result of having worked with my hands in all sorts of activities, from the time I was eight, that any man, I don't care what his position in the plant, he can be a sweeper he can do anything in the plant, can make a greater contribution if he has the right attitude then and if and feels a part of what's going on than if he just feels like he's uh an unimportant cog in the machine. And we built our contract on that basis. And the result is we've had tremendous results. And Walter



Reuther and the union leaders of the U.A.W. were praising American Motors and me for this contract a year ago.

Walter Reuther said that this contract of American Motors was the most significant contract in the history of collective bargaining in the U.S. (Applause)

Now I haven't changed. I'm the same man I was then, basically. But I'm being criticized today in whispering campaigns and leaflets being spread in plants that are full of untruths simply because as an American citizen I felt it my obligation to make myself available for public office in light of the fact that many citizens wanted me to run for public office. And I've done this because I believe the greatest obligation we have, other than our obligation to our Creator and our families is that of citizenship. And when we are in the (Applause) and that when we are in the service of our fellow-men we are in the service of our Creator. And having urged citizens for years to get involved in public affairs, I couldn't consistently refuse, to give up my position at American Motors and give up other activities to see if people want me to serve publically. I couldn't square it with my conscience, because it would have been completely inconsistent. And that's why I'm here tonight.

Now, I just want to say a few things quickly that I think are of direct interest to some of the union people present.

Number 1. I believe right to work laws are a mistake and would be wrong and I would veto one if it were passed by the legislature. I want to be perfectly clear. Now a lot of reports have been spread to the contrary. I don't agree with the position on the Ford-Canton case of some of the big business people. I think we've got to work out a solution in between the Supreme Court decision and this idea that if there's a strike in one plant people in other plants who are thrown out of work shouldn't get unemployment compensation. I think that if that plant goes down because of local working conditions or if it's a supplier plant, the workers thrown out of work ought to get unemployment compensation. (Applause) And I, and I regret that this improvement in our unemployment compensation program has been tied up with the solution in this Canton Ford-Canton controversy. We do need to improve our unemployment compensation payments in this state. They are below what they oughta be. And it's long past due that we improve them.

Now there are other problems in this area that I'd like to discuss and I hope to discuss when I come to ah Flint again on the fifteenth, (October, 1962) in the five minutes I understand I'm gonna have uh before ah your Ternstedt local.

But look, in conclusion, we need greater citizen participation in this state. We need to make more people recognize that they don't have to listen to anyone other

than those they want to listen to in making up their minds as to what they're gonna do when they go into a ballot box on November 6.

After all, every American, every American, has the inalienable right to hear both sides, to vote as he thinks he ought to vote. And this is something that when men undertake to take it away from others they are taking away something that even the founders of this nation said was in an inalienable personable right and they set up protections so that the government itself shouldn't take it away, so why should we let economic organizations try and take it away.

So again I welcome this meeting. (Applause)  
I welcome this meeting and I believe that this meeting plus the meeting later can begin to open up ah meetings where all citizens in this state can hear candidates from both parties and hear them fully. And I'm convinced that with good leadership in this state, with a public administration, supported by citizens who are supporting public officials rather than one-sided special interest officials, with correction of our fis financial mess in this state and with a reselling of this great state to the nation, we can meet this job need in Michigan. We can have the public services we need in higher education and in other fields and we can again make this state what it's been historically, namely a leading state of this nation and the dynamic progressive Michigan that

we've always wanted it to be.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

## "CHAPTER V"

### A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIALS OF SPEAKING

The purpose of any speech, according to Aristotle, is to persuade the listener. Whether the speaker wants the listener to buy a product, buckle his seat belt or watch for warning signs of cancer, he is trying to persuade his listener to some type of action. Aristotle tells us in The Rhetoric that persuasion inherently has three parts. He states,

. . . of the means of persuasion supplied by the speech itself there are three kinds. The first reside in the character (ethos) of the speaker; the second consist in producing a certain [the right] attitude in the hearer; the third appertaining to the argument proper, in so far as it actually or seemingly demonstrates.<sup>1</sup>

In this way, Aristotle briefly explains the areas which he later calls ethos, pathos, and logos.

Persuasion rests on these three modes of proof; however, they cannot be completely separated as the labeling would imply. It is sometimes very difficult to determine whether or not a particular sentence or group of sentences is part of logical or emotional proof;

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<sup>1</sup>Aristotle, The Rhetoric, trans. Lane Cooper (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1932), p. 8.

and what often might be considered by one person as logical proof might be considered under style by another.

However, for the sake of more easily studying different types of proof in this speech, we shall use the labels listed below which are comparable in modern day terminology to Aristotle's three divisions. The three labels are:

1. Materials of Personal Proof
2. Materials of Experience
3. Materials of Development<sup>2</sup>

A broad definition for each of these areas follows with a discussion of the way in which George Romney used each area in his speech.

#### Materials of Development

Materials which a speaker finds outside himself are in the area of development. These materials of development are those which Aristotle called the facts, and the way in which the speaker welds them together, the reasoning.

Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell state in their book, Principles of Speaking, that Materials of Development include: (1) examples, (2) narratives, (3) statistics, and (4) quotations which a speaker can obtain from outside himself, in other words from outside sources.

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<sup>2</sup>Kenneth G. Hance, David C. Ralph, and Milton J. Wiksell, Principles of Speaking (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc.), pp. 36-88.

If the speaker, as Romney is -- is trying to persuade the audience, he reasons (draws conclusions) from the material he is presenting. Various methods of reasoning are by Analogy, Cause and Effect, Sign, and Example.

#### Evidence

Evidence is the raw material used to establish proof. It may include testimony of individuals, tables of statistics, illustrative examples, and facts gained from outside sources which induce in the mind of the hearer a state of belief for the material offered by the speaker.

Romney offers figures in this speech as proof for an idea he is offering to his audience. He states:

We have youngsters living in Michigan now that make it necessary for us to have a million more jobs in Michigan by 1970. And that means a a hundred and 30 thousand more jobs a year between now and 1970.

To the casual listener this could be considered a fact. But as evidence it is not an acceptable fact. Evidence used by a speaker to support his line of argument (in this case more job opportunities required in Michigan) must be identified as to source. The speaker must tell where he found these figures so the audience will know that such a statement as ". . . 30 thousand more jobs by 1970." is not just an assertion by the speaker to support his own ideas.

This same type of error, apparent factual material which in reality is not, was made by Romney when he offers a statistic. That an audience could easily accept the statement as evidence because Romney participated in union negotiations is quite possible -- but in the statement, "And we proposed that 15% of profits before taxes be set aside to be distributed among the workers," he is not explicit enough. When and where this was done and how the percentage was found are not told to the listeners, and so doubt can exist as to the authenticity of the statistic.

Telling a story to an audience is a good attention getter. If the story can also emphasize a point in the speech it is of greater usefulness, since a story, or a narrative as it can be called, helps to further explain a speaker's ideas. This technique is used by Romney in the story of the little boy sending the letter to Santa via the White House. He asked for \$5.00, received \$1.00, and advised Santa not to send money through Washington again as they kept four-fifths of it. Romney used this narrative to develop the idea of too much tax money being kept in Washington. This is a material of development but it is not evidence.

However, Romney does use one acceptable form of evidence in this speech. In the speech, Romney refers to a statement made by Krushchev saying: "Comrades . . . oh forgive me, in this country you don't consider yourselves



comrades. I'll start over again, Gentlemen." Then Romney ties this quotation from Krushchev into the idea he is developing of Brotherhood among men. This is a direct quotation used to develop an argument and so can be considered an example of evidence.

Romney uses this one example of acceptable evidence forming materials of development concerning his ideas that all men are brothers. But this type of proof is sparse in this particular speech. Romney does not use evidence to draw specific conclusions for the audience. It seems that he speaks his feelings and beliefs, rather than rely on the use of evidence; and then it is left to the listener to draw his own conclusions on the material presented for him.

Perhaps Romney relies on reasoning, more than on evidence, in transmitting his ideas to the listeners. We have seen that, even if sparsely, Romney has used evidence, but what does he do with it? In what way does he put together his presentation of evidence, called reasoning, so as to clarify his material? A part of development is reasoning, so let us look at the second area of Materials of Development, reasoning.

### Reasoning

The reasoning process is often structured into the four basic divisions which follow:

1. Example. - the process of inferring conclusions from specific cases of instances,

2. Analogy. - the process of making a comparison between two cases, in one of which a certain factor is known to exist while in the other this same factor is under question and is inferred from the comparison,
3. Cause. - the process of proceeding from a phenomenon which is called a cause to an inferred effect or result, or of proceeding from a phenomenon called an effect to an inferred cause,
4. Sign. - the process of inferring associations or relations which are not truly causal in nature - of proceeding from substance to attribute or from attribute to substance.<sup>3</sup>

All four of these methods of reasoning can be found in this speech of Mr. Romney's. Let us look at them in the order in which we defined them.

#### Example

As we said in defining the term Example, we infer a conclusion or conclusions from specific instances. Romney uses examples throughout the speech. Let us look at one of them. He states, "I believe the greatest obligation we have, other than our obligation to our Creator and our families is that of citizenship." This is a statement or conclusion of what he believes. Then he gives as examples these feelings. ". . . when we are in the service of our fellowmen we are in the service of our Creator. And having urged citizens for years to get involved in public affairs, I couldn't consistently refuse, to give up my position at American Motors and

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<sup>3</sup>Adapted from mimeographed class notes of Dr. K. Hance and Dr. D. Ralph, Professors of Speech, Michigan State University.

give up other activities to see if people want me to serve publically. I couldn't square it with my conscience. . . ."

In backing his statement that he feels this is a historic meeting he gives these two points. ". . . 400 members of the Ternstedt local uh on their own uh petitioned for this meeting tonight. And I think this represents a ah breakthrough in what has tended to be a political curtain."

And so in at least two parts of the speech, Mr. Romney gives a conclusion from what he states as specific instances. This is the form of reasoning classified as example.

### Analogy

Mr. Romney uses reasoning by analogy. The example of this type of reasoning, which brought delighted responses from the audience was the one involving a letter to Santa. It is as follows:

You know it reminds me of the story of the little kid at Christmas, time, about Christmas time, who didn't have enough money to buy Christmas presents so he wrote Santa Claus and didn't know Santy Clause's address so he decided to address the letter to the White House. And one of the clerks down there got it. And he opened it. And he decided to show it to the President and the President said, 'Well, golly let's send him a dollar.' The youngster had asked for five dollars. And a when the youngster got the letter, he decided to write another letter to Santy Claus and again he didn't have the address so he sent it to the White House and when they opened it, it said, 'Look Santa the next time I ask for money send it direct don't send it through Washington, you sent me five and they kept 4/5's of it.'

(Laughter and Applause)

Now while these figures are not exactly comparable, never-the-less we paid billions to Washington and we get millions back.

This analogy between a letter to Santa and the money paid to Washington in taxes brought taxation closer to home and clarified in familiar terms Romney's views of money being paid to the national government by citizens of Michigan.

### Causal Relationships

Romney frequently uses causal relationships, building his cause to effect and effect to cause reasoning upon a stated fact or personal opinion. Therefore, at times, his reasoning is based upon a clearly acceptable premise and at other times is inaccurate unless the base of the argument is acceptable to the listener. Also, in this area of reasoning, Romney will have one cause with which he will follow with more than one effect, sometimes two, three and at least four effects were given for the same cause.

A typical example of this reasoning is on page 46 of the manuscript. The passage is as follows:

Now, I'm not one of those who believes that people regardless of what what they do in life, whether they are workers or whether they're uh farmers or whether they're school teachers need to be shielded from information. I don't believe that, that any group of of good Americans can be misled by hearing both viewpoints. And I think that the historic aspect of this meeting tonight is that -- 400 members of the Ternstedt local uh on their own uh petitioned for this meeting tonight. And I think this meeting represents a ah breakthrough in what has

tended to be a political curtain. And I think uh those who initiated this meeting are not only to be thanked and are not only to be, praised, for indicating their desire to hear both sides and indicating that they recognize that as American citizens they have a right to hear both sides, but also for the fact that your action has caused the local, through Mr. Steel, the president, uh to invite me to talk to a meeting of the entire local a-a the week of the fourteenth. And perhaps you have already noticed in the papers that I have accepted that invitation because one of my purposes in this campaign, was to find the opportunity to talk with people in all fields of activity in Michigan and particularly to talk to those who haven't been receiving; uh a con uh a complete presentation of the state's problems and the state issues.

As we can see in this particular section, Romney uses rather intricate reasoning. We find (1) reference back to the introduction, (2) cause to effect relationship, and (3) causes based on fact but effects which may not be valid as they are personal beliefs of the speaker.

### Sign

The following quotation gives us an example of Mr. Romney using sign reasoning; to clarify a point. He states first,

Now you know they're organizing a Federal uh rescue party for for John Swainson, and uh they're sending in uh all of the cabinet members and now I understand the President's coming. (Laughter) Well, I'm sure we're always happy to have the President of the United States come to Michigan. I'm sure he'll always be welcome. (Applause)

Then Mr. Romney follows with this statement which shows the sign relationship.

. . . this federally organized rescue mission is just evidence of the inability of the present occupant of the governor's office to provide the leadership we

need in this state to settle our problems in Michigan.

With this example of reasoning by sign we find that Mr. Romney used the four basic divisions of reasoning processes in this particular speech.

All the above ways of reasoning have been identified and labeled for many years, but Romney also employs "reasoning" for which we have no particular label. These are assertions without proof or support.

The examples of reasoning that follow could be accepted as fact by the listener if the listener accepts the speaker's reputation for expertness. Because of Romney's background in manufacturing, discussed in Chapter I, we know that this man might be considered an expert in manufacturing, particularly the automobile industry.

We also realize that Mr. Romney could be considered an expert in other areas related to manufacturing. He held a most important position in the industrial field as President of American Motors. In order to have achieved this position we must consider him to be knowledgeable in such areas as: (1) economics, (2) labor relations, (3) management of individuals, and (4) executive decision making.

This man might also be considered an expert in another area, religion. Signs of his faith appear in the position he held in the church, comparable to Bishop, and the way in which he follows the tenets of his religion.

We find, then, that Mr. Romney, because of previous experience, might be considered an authority in many areas and so uses this experience upon which to base his reasoning.

This type of material, which a listener might accept as factual, abounds in this speech. Such statements as the following fall into a classification which we can title "assertions without proof or support," upon which Romney bases much of his reasoning.

1. The thing that saved American Motors more than the Rambler and the compact car idea was progress sharing.

2. (Collective Bargaining) . . . contributed importantly to the nation's high prosperity in the 40's and the 50's.

3. . . . when we are in the service of our fellow-men we are in the service of our Creator.

Mr. Romney relied, in this speech, very heavily on reasoning by causal relationships. The causal relationships were at times based upon evidence not acceptable as valid, thus limiting the reasoning that would be considered as "good reasoning".

We must realize, however, that Mr. Romney states near the beginning of this talk that he wants the opportunity to inform all citizens of Michigan and in this speech that is what he is doing. He informs the group of his beliefs, his feelings, and of the problems in the state. He is attempting to persuade the listeners that Michigan needs a change. The lack of a great quantity of evidence is probably not a flaw in the speech, because

this man is apparently acceptable to his audience; and he did not necessarily have to back up everything he said through the entire speech with evidence.

### Materials of Experience

We stated that this chapter on modes of proof would be divided into three sections. This second section is concerned with materials of experience.

Thonssen and Baird state:

. . . the process of persuasion is complex, and that the materials and methods employed to achieve the end of influencing listeners is varied.<sup>4</sup>

Then they continue by discussing the mode of proof traditionally called pathos, which includes:

All those materials and devices calculated to put the audience in a frame of mind suitable for the reception of the speaker's idea.<sup>5</sup>

Aristotle states this same idea in this manner:

. . . the speaker must not merely see to it that his speech shall be convincing and persuasive, but he must give the right impression of himself, and get his judge (audience) into the right state of mind.<sup>6</sup>

In other words, in using materials of experience, the speaker attempts to adapt his material to a particular audience both prior to the speaking situation and during the speech situation. These -

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<sup>4</sup>Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 358.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Aristotle, op. cit., p. 91.



materials of experience are designed to appeal primarily to the listener's basic motives, his sensory experiences and memories of them, and his needs, hopes, fears, and desires. These materials are used to make the message more real to the listener and to sustain his interest.<sup>7</sup>

We discussed in Chapter III the particular audience to whom Romney did speak. From the content of the speech we can assume that Mr. Romney did decide that certain topics would be more suitable for his audience.

He must have considered that this group would be principally composed of union men from the factories, concerned with those things that concern the union. In other words, this group had a common bond, their union membership.

Mr. Romney spoke in a central area of interest to these men, dealing with the strength of unions, collective bargaining, and economic groups involved in government. In other words, as part of his use of materials of experience, Romney adapted his material to this audience during the preparation of the speech.

We know that Mr. Romney did not speak from a manuscript for this speech. He held a notecard to which he referred only when he was ready to switch to another interest area. Because of the lack of anything written down we can conclude that he dealt with topics that seemed to elicit favorable responses from the group. When they did applaud or laugh, he would pause until this

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<sup>7</sup>Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell, op. cit., p. 71.

died down so he could again be heard.

The one thing that makes us realize that Mr. Romney tried to adjust to his audience during the presentation of his speech was in his searching, quite a few times, for the proper word or words to convey his idea to the group. The following are examples of this:

And I think this represents ah ah break through. . . .

. . . in too many instances collective barg bludgeoning. . . .

. . . in the five minutes I understand I'm gonna have uh before ah your Ternstedt local.

In other words, before and during the speech Mr. Romney was adjusting his material to this particular audience.

There are other materials considered to be important in this area of experience. Speakers in adjusting their material to the audience will employ motive appeals.

Assuming the proper conditions, the appeals that speakers can make are manifold. Men are excited to belief or action by different motives at different times. . . . Aristotle postulated happiness as the end of man's efforts; . . . .<sup>8</sup>

Appeals to achieve happiness may be made to such things as happy old age, patriotism, fear, fame, fair play, shame, anger, personal honor and the like.

Romney does make appeals to certain tendencies which he apparently assumes his listeners might possess.

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<sup>8</sup>Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 366.

He appeals to the audience's belief that they are intelligent humans by using this phrase; it also appeals to the belief, perhaps, that they are always seeking knowledge.

Never underestimate the intelligence of the people and never overestimate their information.

He makes an appeal to a better life with these lines:

. . . we need organized cooperation between labor and management to achieve progress so we can increase the fruits of progress and we can all share in those fruits and benefit our whole economy.

Appeal to fair play, because of the manner in which union leaders had been behaving, is made in this way:

And Walter Reuther and the union leaders of the U.A.W. were praising American Motors and me for this contract a year ago. . . . Now I haven't changed. . . . But I'm being criticized today in whispering campaigns and leaflets. . . .

Just from these three quotations, picked at random from the speech, we can see that Romney does use emotional appeals to help motivate his listeners. He also appeals to the self-preservation motive by such a statement as follows (by emphasizing "ought" he insures no mistake in the group's understanding the idea being transmitted):

I don't agree with the position of the Ford-Canton case of some of the big business people. I think that if a plant goes down because of local working conditions or if it's a supplier plant, the workers thrown out of work ought to get unemployment compensation.

One point we should stress: Romney did not have to adjust to a hostile or indifferent audience. They were evidently in the mood to be informed; they were already persuaded to vote for Romney. And so he adapted his material to this group to inform them about his viewpoints concerning interests the group had in common.

We can conclude that Romney does use materials of experience as he does adjust his speech to this union audience and appeals to various motives which these men could be thought to hold.

#### Materials of Personal Proof

In this third and last section of the chapter we are considering materials of personal proof, which take into consideration the character of the speaker and how this is revealed in the speech itself.

Aristotle believed that the character (ethos) of the speaker was a cause of persuasion. He stated, "It is not true, . . . that the probity of the speaker contributes nothing to his persuasiveness; on the contrary, we might almost affirm that his character (ethos) is the most potent of all the means to persuasion."<sup>9</sup>

So we can reach the understanding that materials of personal proof denote qualities appearing in the speech which might convince an audience that the speaker is of good character. When this occurs, the material can be

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<sup>9</sup>Aristotle, op. cit., p. 8.

classified under the third mode of proof, materials of personal proof.

Statements such as follow help to explain this:

I firmly believe that both labor and management must replace conflict with cooperation to provide the inner strength Michigan and our country needs in today's era of world challenge.

I think this is a historic meeting because I think it represents a new, trend of things -- in Michigan.

Now, I think this is important because, if we are going to have government of, by, and for the people, and this is the ideal, this is what we're supposed to have, then the people as citizens are the ones that must be active directly in the political party.

These statements may appear as fact to some listeners but they are, by definition, Mr. Romney's personal beliefs and thus are helping to build his ethos.

These statements do give us an inkling into the character of the man. We can conclude that Romney does not like conflict, that his character and personality is one that works for cooperation.

There are other aspects of personal proof that may lead the listeners to form the right impression of the speaker. Three qualities or virtues are: (1) intellect, (2) high character, and (3) goodwill. Let us look at each division and find examples of George W. Romney's using these as materials of personal proof. It must be indicated here that many examples of this method of persuasion can be found in the speech; however, only a few of them are quoted to clarify the use of materials of personal proof by Romney.

According to Thonssen and Baird's book, Speech Criticism, there are various ways for a speaker to show his intellect, high character, and goodwill. The following examples demonstrate some of the ways in which Romney tried to show his.

### Intellect

One way in which a speaker can infer he is an intelligent being is by revealing that he is familiar with what is important in the news. Romney does this by stating:

I think that if that plant goes down because of local working conditions or if it's a supplier plant, the workers thrown out of work ought to get unemployment compensation. And I, and I regret that this improvement in our unemployment compensation program has been tied up with the solution in this Canton Ford-Canton controversy. We do need to improve our unemployment compensation payments in this state.

Another sign of a person's intellect is when he acts with tact and moderation. Although Romney is running on the Republican ticket, he praises one of the most famous Democrats of all time, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and in a way associates himself with the man, which might aid in making him more appealing to this labor audience.

I heard Franklin Delano Roosevelt make the talk that is referred to probably more frequently than any, his "First Inaugural Address," in which he said -- that the only thing we had to fear was fear itself. And I know what his dramatic spirit of confidence did for the nation in terms of changing our mood at that point and then he went on and while he did some things with which I do not agree. . . .

From these two examples, we can see that, in this speech, Mr. Romney does show his intellect within

materials of personal proof.

### Good Character

The good character of a speaker may be shown within the speech in various ways, two of which are: (1) relying upon personal experiences to give authority to some statement -- if the listener accepts the authority he will also accept the character of the speaker -- and (2) praising oneself but not to an extreme.

One of these, Mr. Romney relying upon his personal knowledge, is carried out in this manner:

Because the only permanent solution to Michigan's economic growth is private initiative. . . . And do you know that it takes \$11,000 on the average, to create an industrial job?

Romney also uses the technique of self-praise:

And Walter Reuther and the union leaders of the U.A.W. were praising American Motors and me for this contract a year ago. Walter Reuther said that this contract of American Motors was the most significant contract in the history of collective bargaining in the U.S. Now I haven't changed. I'm the same man I was then, basically.

This clearly shows Romney using the technique of self-praise, but it is done in moderation. It actually is showing that "we" (union and management) of a year ago are now split into "me" and "they." Romney feels that the way he is being treated by members of the U.A.W. is not reasonable. Through the above quotations, we can see that Romney does use a method of persuasion which shows his good character in establishing personal proof.

## Goodwill

Three divisions were given as a means of discussing materials of personal proof. The last one to be mentioned is the way in which the speaker aids the audience in becoming aware that he is a man of goodwill.

One way in which a speaker can bring out this awareness is to offset any personal reasons he may have for giving the speech, and this Romney does in the sentences which follow:

And having urged citizens for years to get involved in public affairs, I couldn't consistently refuse to give up my position at American Motors and give up other activities to see if people want me to serve publically. I couldn't square it with my conscience. Because it would have been completely inconsistent. And that's why I'm here tonight.

This statement also reveals another technique used to measure the goodwill of the speaker. If he associates himself with that that is virtuous and elevated, he is revealing this trait. This statement does this. In other words, Romney is doing what he has urged others to do and that is to become active in politics.

Romney also attempted to show sincerity, since this is a means of goodwill:

Now we're not free to do whatever we want to do. We have the obligation of obeying our Creator's commandments as we understand them. We believe our relationship is not that of Gentlemen or Comrades but brothers and the responsibility of Brotherhood is infinitely greater than the responsibility of comradeship.

Romney uses many techniques to show goodwill.



One more example is in praising the audience -- he does not indulge in this practice to an extreme, but still he involves his listeners in the speech in a praiseworthy manner.

And I think uh those who initiated this meeting are not only to be thanked and are not only to be praised, for indicating their desire to hear both sides and indicating that they recognize that as American citizens they have a right to hear both sides. . . .

We can see that Mr. Romney developed in this speech forms of proof that aid in showing he is an intelligent being, of good character, and goodwill; a person who does not like conflict and believes in cooperation of persons to meet objectives in government. The use of materials of personal proof makes up a good share of the total proof within this speech.

Some rhetorical critics believe that only the proof within the speech can be considered as materials of personal proof. However, we must realize that a person's reputation precedes him to the speech situation; and thus this type of proof is already having its effect even before the audience gathers to hear a speaker. The listeners have preconceived opinions about the speaker's intellect, character and goodwill. With modern day communications, especially on-the-spot coverage of events by the television industry, this cannot be prevented.

Therefore, because Romney's name has never been linked with corruption, because he is a leader in industry, and because he has led many groups to further the

well being of the community, we say that even before this particular speech situation, George W. Romney's ethos was already at work assisting the audience to believe that he was a man of good character, intelligence, and goodwill.

In conclusion, we can state that in this speech Mr. Romney certainly used the three main divisions of proof: (1) Materials of Development, (2) Materials of Experience, and (3) Materials of Personal Proof. Materials of Personal Proof and Materials of Experience certainly dominate in this speech. The man also uses reasoning but not what we can consider "good" reasoning in the speech since his reasoning is based upon his own ideas and feelings rather than upon evidence. Evidence is almost totally lacking in this speech. The use of examples is very scanty and those statistics which are used are not identified as to source. In this type of speech, where Romney is attempting to reveal himself and his ideas to an audience, the lack of factual material is not as important as it might otherwise have been.

## "CHAPTER VI"

### THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE SPEECH

Through the ages, rhetoricians have held various beliefs about the art of arranging a speech. They have all agreed that a speech is composed of parts but disagreed as to just how many.

Aristotle stated:

The provinces of study which concern the making of a speech are three: (1) the means of effecting persuasion; (2) the style [language, diction]; (3) the right ordering of the several divisions of the whole.<sup>1</sup>

This third step, as listed by Aristotle, is what we are considering within this chapter under "The Arrangement of The Speech."

In discussing the arrangement of the speech, Aristotle tells us that a speech has two parts, the statement of the case and the proof. In rhetoric these two processes are called "The Statement" and "The Argument." "These are the essential elements of a speech; at most, the parts cannot exceed four - Proem, Statement, Argument, and Epilogue."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 220.

Of course, as Cicero writes in De Oratore, arranging the particulars of a speech in order to prove, to inform or to persuade is actually up to the orator's discretion. However, he does state that there is a mode of speaking that nature herself prescribes. He says,

For, to premise something before we come to the main point; then to explain the matter in question; then to support it by strengthening our own arguments, and refuting those on the other side; next, to sum up and come to the peroration. . . .<sup>3</sup>

From the above we can see that Cicero felt that an orator would build his speech on a basis of six parts, not the statement of the case and the proof which Aristotle advocated.

Modern rhetoric deviates from that of the early rhetoricians, who divided speeches into as many as six parts, by usually arranging the speech into three divisions or parts. These "Speeches ordinarily have three parts: an introduction, a body, and a conclusion."<sup>4</sup> Also the speech will usually include a central theme, or according to Aristotle's definition "the statement of purpose."

This brings us to the realization that a speech may be arranged in a number of ways - depending upon what text book concerning rhetoric we might consult.

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<sup>3</sup>Lester Thonssen, Selected Readings in Rhetoric and Public Speaking (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1942), p. 80.

<sup>4</sup>Gilman, Aly, and Reid, op. cit., p. 64.

Therefore, instead of trying to apply a particular textbook's manner of arrangement to a speech we should be more concerned with what actually is done in arranging a particular speech.

In discussing the arrangement of the speech by Mr. Romney, we must consider the arrangement of the speech from two view points; (1) the basic construction of the speech, and (2) the total organization of the speech with reference to the particular audience which George Romney was addressing.

#### The Basic Construction of The Speech

While listening to this speech and in reading and re-reading the manuscript duplicating the tape recording, it is soon evident that Mr. Romney is developing a main idea or central theme. This theme is woven through the fabric of the entire speech.

#### Central Theme

What is this central theme? Let us look at the following quotations and see just what point Mr. Romney is developing and emphasizing in his speech text.

. . . the responsibility for making progress in our country was based on an individual responsibility in providing the opportunity for individual citizens to control the government. . . .

. . . union leaders . . . have tended to create the idea that the heads of economic organizations like unions and employers should speak for members and employees in direct political activity. Now I think this is wrong.

And I've done this because I believe the greatest obligation we have, other than our obligation to our Creator and our families is that of citizenship.

. . . we need greater citizen participation in this state. We need to make more people recognize that they don't have to listen to anyone other than those they want to listen to in making up their minds as to what they're gonna do when they go into a ballot box on November 6.

These five examples are only a few which develop the main idea that citizens should be active, informed participants in a political party instead of being uninformed, passive human beings led by economic organizations.

Various ideas are developed by Mr. Romney in various sections of the speech, yet all tie in with this central idea. He selected other areas important to this audience, wove them around and through his central theme. His other areas were concerned with: (1) collective bargaining; (2) brotherhood of man; (3) Michigan's problems: leadership hostile and one sided, the need for jobs and government assistance; and (4) reasons for his candidacy.

All four of these ideas are included in the body of the speech with the central theme, and all are again mentioned in a summary form at the end of the speech.

Within the speech are found these examples of each of these divisions.

1. Collective bargaining is dealt with quite extensively in this speech. Since the audience was a union group, Mr. Romney's views on this topic would be

of importance. At one point in his speech he makes his position clear with this statement.

There isn't any question but that that uh fostering of collective bargaining has helped to bring about a better distribution of the fruits of progress of the economic results of our ah work and effort.

2. Brotherhood of man is rather a general term, perhaps, but union men are organized into brotherhoods of workers and as citizens of the United States should have some conceptions concerning this terminology. Mr. Romney approached this by saying:

We believe our relationship is not that of 'Gentlemen' or 'Comrades' brothers and the responsibility of Brotherhood is infinitely greater than the responsibility of comradeship.

3. Problems of Michigan, which Romney feels exist, are spoken of within the speech. Since these men are citizens of Michigan they should be interested in Mr. Romney's view-point and ideas for solutions to problems if Romney has any solutions. Romney covers many problem areas he believes are apparent and states them thusly:

We've lost our reputation. . . . We haven't been realizing the job increase we need in Michigan. . . . Those in power who've been hostile and one sided. . . . We face an explosive increase in the need for jobs and education and other public services.

4. Reasons for candidacy should certainly interest any voter in Michigan who is interested in the viewpoints of the candidate concerned with the above three topics. Therefore, a declaration by any candidate

of his reasons for aspiring to a government position should be stated and thus Mr. Romney does.

. . . many citizens wanted me to run for public office. . . . I believe the greatest obligation we have, other than our obligation to our Creator and our families is that of citizenship.

With the examples given we can see that George Romney did develop a central theme or main idea which is that citizens should be active, informed participants in a political party.

Tying in with this main theme were ideas which we can call lesser themes in that they were not apparent throughout the speech. These fall into four main sections: (1) collective bargaining, (2) brotherhood of man, (3) problems of Michigan, and (4) reasons for Romney's candidacy, which are topics important to this audience, and which dove-tail into the central theme of "informed citizen participation."

#### The Method of Arrangement

Just having a mind full of ideas is not enough on which to build a speech. These ideas must be placed in an order which aids in making them understandable and listenable to the hearer. As an example, history books are usually organized in what is called historical order or "first things coming first."

Mr. Romney did not use this method of arrangement in his speech. What method of arrangement did he use? The speech materials are placed in an order that we can



call "logical." In other words, according to issues, as Romney sees them, and his beliefs.

Romney builds issues around the central theme. These issues deal with his beliefs as to the need for a change in the Status Quo.

To build these issues in a logical manner, he separated his speech into divisions which are discussed in this next section.

#### The Order of Development

As we stated at the beginning of this chapter, since the time of Aristotle, many ways have been advocated for developing a speech. This particular one falls into the most usual way which is advocated by Thonssen and Baird and that is into a beginning, a middle, and an end. These divisions are usually called an introduction, body, and conclusion. The introduction of this speech is very brief, consisting of these two sentences.

Thank you very much, Al, and I certainly appreciate the warmth of your reception and I believe this is a historic meeting. I think this is a historic meeting because I think it represents a new, trend of things -- in Michigan.

From this point Mr. Romney develops the body or main sections of his speech. These sections start with a topic sentence and usually a "transition word." By "transition word" we mean that Mr. Romney switches from one idea to another, many times, with just one word. That word is "now." "Now" becomes an automatic signal

that a new idea is being introduced. When this word, "now," is heard, the sentence which it usually introduces will lead us to the topic of thinking to be discussed next in the speech.

The following are examples of this "transition word" introducing topic statements which lead to new ideas in the speech.

Now, fundamental to our way of life -- is the, fact, -- that we are all children of a Cre-a-tor.

Now recognizing that if individual citizens were gonna control government, and if they were gonna exercise sovereign power, they would have to be intelligent and informed.

Now, now I think that if we're gonna get America get Michigan on the right track that we've got to have at least one party in this state that's a genuine citizens party, not a business party.

Now, here in Michigan we face some special problems.

Now we need government assistance of course.

Now you know they're organizing a Federal uh rescue party for for John Swainson. . . .

Now -- I've undertaken to develop collective bargaining on that basis.

Now, I haven't changed.

Now, I just want to say a few things quickly. . . .

We can see from just these nine quotations listed above that Mr. Romney has used a particular word to introduce transition sentences, and that word is "now."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>The underlining of the word "now" in these instances is done by this writer to emphasize the use of this particular word.

Within the topics or sections of the body of the speech, Romney also used another "pet" word. This word is used to connect thoughts and to tie many ideas together instead of starting new sentences. One can see in the transcript of this speech many many uses of the familiar word "and." For example, Romney uses "and" in these ways:

1. to start sentences within a single paragraph,

And I think. . . . And I think. . . . And I think uh. . . . And perhaps you. . . .

2. to connect ideas without forming a new sentence,

And I know . . . and then . . . and while . . . and one . . . and he. . . .

If this speech had been placed in writing to be read, literary critics could have, and rightfully so, condemned the technique of repetition of phrases and words for shifting from thought or idea to another thought or idea. There is certainly an overabundance of the word "and" to start new sentences and new ideas. But this may not have been a detriment to this speech which was not given to be read.

This speech was prepared to be heard. This cannot be emphasized enough. Through the use of repetition of words and ideas, Mr. Romney used a technique which is necessary in speaking, that of repeating ideas and leading the listeners by cue words, such as "now" and phrases such as "and I think," from one topic to

another so they can more easily grasp the thoughts being transmitted by the speaker.

Emphasis is obtained by meaningful repetition of a word or phrase until it is indelibly impressed upon the listener's mind. The key word is not repeated for lack of a synonym. . . .<sup>6</sup>

This technique, repetition, may prove monotonous when contained in material being read, but the use of repetition to aid the listener constitutes a good speaking technique.

Analysis of The Total Speech Organization  
for This Particular Audience

In considering the arrangement of the speech, the critic must "examine the speech as an instance of craftsmanship, and he evaluates the total organizational plan with reference to existing audience conditions."<sup>7</sup> This second part, discussing the speech with reference to this particular audience is our concern within this part of the chapter.

Mr. Romney did not deviate from the normal construction of a speech, namely the introduction, body, and conclusion. Using the traditional scheme he successfully adapted his material to his audience. This conclusion is based upon the audiences spontaneous reaction to the speech, both vocally and physically (hand clapping and foot stomping) during and after Romney spoke.

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<sup>6</sup>Gilman, Aly, and Reid, op. cit., p. 91.

<sup>7</sup>Thonssen, op. cit., p. 401.

### Introduction

We did state that the introduction was very short, allowing Mr. Romney to utilize the time he had to deal with topics of specific interest to this group. In three sentences the man aroused the audience's attention by actually involving them in what he felt was an historic occasion.<sup>8</sup> This introduction then proceeded very smoothly into the body of the speech.

Whether Mr. Romney uses such a short introduction in other speeches is not answerable here. The purpose of the introduction is to make contact with the audience, to gain their attention and interest. One reason the introduction could be so short in this instance is because a purpose did not exist for an introduction. The very nature of the group, the fact that they asked for Romney to speak and were obviously partisan for him,<sup>9</sup> made it unnecessary for him to use a long introduction to gain their attention and interest. Therefore, Mr. Romney dealt with his time in a sensible manner by concentrating upon topics of concern to the listeners.

### Body

Mr. Romney does not seem to have disposed of his materials in any certain form to present to this

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<sup>8</sup>As stated in Chapter III, this was the first time in many years that a Republican had been able to address an union audience.

<sup>9</sup>See Chapter III, The Occasion, Audience, and Responses.

group, except in a form that seemed logical to him. He jumped from one idea to another using the word "now" for transition. It is evident that the man worked from a very incomplete set of notes, as the transition from idea to idea in the body of the speech is certainly not done very smoothly. We know without really having to listen that the topic under discussion is going to be changed when Romney pauses and then again talks, starting with the word "now."

Although this is really not too confusing to the listener, organization of the body of the speech certainly could have been improved upon to the listener's advantage.

Romney does backtrack, repeating the same idea over and over, blending his ideas with each other so that we meet particular ideas in different parts of the speech. An example of this is the topic of collective bargaining. We first meet with collective bargaining in reference to Washington in the 1920's and F. D. Roosevelt, page 47 of the manuscript. Then, again, collective bargaining is mentioned in connection with the excessive partisanship in Michigan of management and labor, page 49 of the manuscript. The success of progress sharing at American Motors, page 61, also ties in the idea of collective bargaining. Thus we see a basic theme appearing throughout the speech.

All of the themes were of equal importance to the audience and Romney dealt with all of them. If the man's organization of material had been better planned, in other words, if more than just a word on a notecard had been used to prompt him into a new stream of thought, these topics might have been separated into individual sections, then related to each other through smoother transition -- all of which would have helped the listener.

#### Conclusion

A conclusion, as one speech teacher has said, is for the purpose of telling your listeners what you have just told them in the body of the speech.<sup>9</sup>

Gilman, Aly, and Reid state the purpose of the conclusion in a little more dignified manner.

The conclusion should not merely break off at the end of the last point in the body of your speech. Your hearers will expect you to reinterpret your ideas for clarity and emphasis. Since the final impression is likely to prevail, you should use the conclusion to re-inforce your purpose.<sup>10</sup>

In other words, as an excellent cook knows, if one concludes a meal with a good dessert, no one will remember if the main course was truly outstanding or not.

Mr. Romney uses his conclusions as a means of bringing together in one area of the speech the ideas he has stressed in the body of the speech. Thus the con-

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<sup>9</sup>Miss Sally Adams, Speech teacher at Pontiac High School, 1957.

<sup>10</sup>Gilman, Aly, and Reid, op. cit., p. 66.

clusion is long, in comparison to the introduction, occupying two pages of the speech manuscript.

He stresses again the points he established in the body, which were of importance to this union audience. He actually led the group into the final phase of his speech by saying, "But look, in conclusion. . . ." Then he goes on to again relate to them, in a shortened form, those points that should be of primary interest to them.

This is the manner in which it is done.

. . . we need greater citizen participation in this state.

. . . every American, every American, has the inalienable right to hear both sides. . . .

And I'm convinced that with good leadership in this state, with a public administration, supported by citizens who are supporting public officials rather than one-sided special interest officials, with correction of our financial mess in this state and with a reselling of this great state to the nation, we can meet this job need in Michigan. We can have the public services we need in higher education and in other fields and we can again make this state what it's been historically, namely a leading state of this nation and the dynamic progressive Michigan that we've always wanted it to be.

This speech does not deviate from the usual arrangement; instead it is constructed on this basis: an introduction, a body, and a conclusion. We can state that this arrangement is used successfully to present issues of interest to this union audience, as the audience reacted favorably to the man by their applause, attention to him, and comments and questions at the close of the speech.



## "CHAPTER VII"

### THE DELIVERY OF THE SPEECH

The importance of delivery cannot be minimized by any rhetorician; even Aristotle admitted to its significance. He does not give much space to the subject, delivery, in The Rhetoric, as he felt that audiences should not be influenced by the appearance or vocal quality of the speaker, only in his evidence and reasoning. However, Aristotle states that delivery is important, in this way:

. . . it is not enough to know what to say -- one must also know how to say it. . . . Now, plainly, for the art of rhetoric delivery is of as much concern as it is for the art of poetry, - - - the case should in justice, be fought on the strength of the facts alone so that all else besides demonstration of fact is superfluous. Nevertheless, as we have said, external matters do account for much, because of the sorry nature of an audience.<sup>1</sup>

According to Thonssen and Baird, the delivery of a speech should embrace five areas. These five areas, which are discussed in this chapter, include: (1) the orator's methods of preparing his speeches, (2) the method of delivery, (3) the physical factors conducive to his effectiveness as a speaker, (4) the speaker's

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<sup>1</sup>Aristotle, op. cit., pp. 182-184.

bodily action in delivery, and (5) the use of the voice as an instrument of persuasion.<sup>2</sup>

### Preparation of Speeches

The first section of this chapter is concerned with the speaker's method of preparing his speeches, although we have discussed this slightly in other chapters of this thesis, let us here view the important aspects of George Romney's speech preparation.<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Romney usually speaks extemporaneously from brief notes, gathering his material from his own vast experiences, from experts, and at times in consultation with others.

Romney prepares his own speeches, in note form, unless the speech situation is a commencement address, and speeches for this type of occasion he writes in manuscript form. He accepted, until the gubernatorial campaign, 30 to 40 invitations for speaking each year, for such occasions as: Kiwanis International Convention, Annual Employee's Product Reviews, National Business Publisher's Dinner, New York Society of Security

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<sup>2</sup>Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 435.

<sup>3</sup>Personal information that follows has two sources: (1) interview with John Conde by John Kirn, November 14, 1961, at Conde's office in the headquarters of American Motors, Detroit, Michigan. Conde was then assistant Director of Public Relations, and (2) Interview with George T. Trumbull, Jr., Press Secretary for Governor George W. Romney, Capitol Building, Lansing, Michigan, January 17, 1964, by this writer.

Analysts, Executive Clubs, Junior Chamber of Commerce Convention, and Economic Club of Detroit.

It is said, in connection with his various speaking engagements, that when an American Motors' executive showed up at an automobile manufacturer's meeting in place of Romney (who was then president of American Motors) a Big Three auto official asked: "Where's the boss?" Said the substitute: "He's making a speech." Yawned the Big Three man: "So what else is new?"<sup>4</sup>

If practice makes perfect we can see that Romney has not lacked speaking situations in which to perfect his speaking techniques. He has made it a practice to speak only at national or state-wide events, excepting when the speech would take place in a plant city. (In a city involved in American Motors' production.) Once he did refuse a National Association of Margarine Workers request for a speech, because American Motors' main plants are located in the dairy state of Wisconsin.

When Romney is preparing a speech, his wife, Lenore, aides with her criticism. He feels that she is a great help. She works with him on delivery and selection of words to achieve a clear meaning. Romney is eager for her ideas, since he feels that she is the better speaker of the two.

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<sup>4</sup>"The Dinosaur Hunter," Time, April 6, 1959, p. 42.

The man has a remarkable memory, using quotations and statistics after one exposure to them. He has recall on statistical information from two or three years previously which aids tremendously when speaking extemporaneously. The quotations he employs are usually accurate in detail to each word, unless the quotations are of unusual length -- then they are usually paraphrased.

Romney believes in using quotations to stress or emphasize an important point. If Franklin D. Roosevelt can be quoted to fit a topic of current interest, Romney will use the quotation. For moral principles he refers quite often to Thomas Jefferson. More modern personages whom he quotes quite often are: Helen Keller, K. T. Keller, and Dwight D. Eisenhower. Eisenhower is usually quoted with regard to anything of a political nature. Romney feels that the religious beliefs of Thomas Paine are questionable and therefore will not quote from his writings.

Probably the greatest molder of Mr. Romney's character is his Mormon Church background, which places deep importance on fundamental values and individual self-reliance. Early speech training within the church has certainly been a great help in molding Romney as a speaker. Mormon youth are required to give sermons to the entire congregation. From earliest youth they give little talks within their Sunday School classes. This is practical experience. Thinking on one's feet and

learning by doing, to cope with an audience, -- there is no better training for a speaker than this. Undoubtedly this church speaking was the most important factor in Romney's becoming the capable speaker he is today. Religion is considered by many to be the key to this man. If and when he does something unusual he is usually doing what The Book of Mormon says. For example before making any large decision he usually fasts for twenty-four hours, which is one of the ways Mormons approach great decisions.

Romney believes that his self-reliance was fully developed when he was sent by his church on a two year mission to Scotland and England in 1928. There he learned to cope with hecklers when speaking from a soap box in England's Trafalgar Square. Again he was learning to speak by actually doing it and learning to adapt to his audiences at the same time.

In the preparation of a speech, Romney notes the ideas about which he wants to speak. His material is drawn from recall and from persons who are experts in various areas, along with consultations and conferences with people he believes can help him secure the correct information he needs.

#### Method of Delivery

After Mr. Romney works with the materials of the speech, he puts them in brief note form on filing cards. These notes are very brief, consisting of just a word or two for each idea. He delivers his talks extemp-

oraneously from these notes. He does not make these cards available after a speech has been given; therefore no observations can be made as to the relation of these notes to the finished speech product. The speech which was taped for this paper was given from the type of note card described above.

Persons may say that they have seen many complete manuscripts of speeches given by Mr. Romney. If the copy of the speech is other than a commencement address, then the speech was edited from a tape recording or notes taken by listeners during the actual speaking situation, and is not a true and accurate copy of the content and delivery of the speech. In other words, it has been dressed up to look better in print.

It is certainly evident, from this writer's research, that "dressing up" of a speech might be needed when it is printed. Simply reading the literal transcription of this speech, we can see that some re-writing, especially deletions, would be necessary. Perhaps a more detailed outline, rather than ideas just jotted down on a note card, would have resulted in a smoother delivery. Then some of the errors as those listed here might have been avoided.

One of the most common errors in speech-making occurs when the speaker is searching, mentally, for a word and so, to fill the pause while he searches, (instead of just stopping until he finds the proper word), he

says "ah" or "uh." Romney had this fault:

. . . and uh children of a common Creator. . . .

. . . based on ah individual responsibility.

And a-a-a and that's what makes our society. . . .

. . . there had to be uh uh a development. . . .

I think that his uh right to bargain collectively ah was permitted. . . .

Romney might also have avoided tripping over words, repetition of words, and the use of the wrong word, had his speech been better organized. His mind actually seemed to be going faster than his tongue and verbally he could not keep up. Troubles with words showed in this manner:

. . . any economic organization should represent it their individual members.


Now, now I think that if we're gonna get America get Michigan. . . .

. . . I believe that we need to sub sub substitute. . . .

. . . too many instances collective barg blud-  
geoning. . . .

And I believe that and I mean that the in-  
dividual. . . .

Most of these errors are probably avoided when Mr. Romney does speak from a manuscript or at least from a detailed outline.

We did discover, however, that when Mr. Romney does speak from a manuscript, he writes notations on the text and uses a slash (/) line to denote a pause and with this mark  designates when he wants to run words together in his speaking.

Since this study is limited to one campaign speech by Mr. Romney, we cannot tell if he uses in his speaking favorite phrases or words. However, Mr. Trumbull did state that very frequently Mr. Romney uses two favorite connective phrases "after all" and "now look." These are in addition to those mentioned in Chapter VI, "now" and "and" as found in the speech studied for this thesis.

Stewart Alsop commented once upon Romney's thinking and speaking. He felt that Romney's ideas are based upon what he calls Romney's five basic "Romneyisms." He stated that Romney, when Romneyizing, is articulate, always filled with a passionate conviction.<sup>5</sup> These so-called Romneyisms do appear in the particular speech with which we are concerned. They seem to be essential to George Romney's speaking.

The Romneyisms, in very brief form, are the following:

1. The American political system is "divinely inspired."

2. Despite its divine inspiration, Romney believes that the American system is endangered. The danger springs from the fact that "the political parties are not run by citizens any more."

3. The Romney cure for the "low status" of politics, envisages "voluntary cooperation" and "citizens' participation" in the affairs of state.

4. The American economic system is not capitalism - it is "consumerism."

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<sup>5</sup>Alsop, op. cit., pp. 15-21.



5. The economic system of consumerism is endangered, just as the political system is endangered.

Therefore, we can state that Romney's delivery is extemporaneous from brief notes prepared by himself. But evidently he does base his thinking upon certain themes which, apparent to Mr. Alsop in May of 1962, are also evident in this particular campaign speech given in September of 1962.

### Physical Factors in Delivery

A speaker's appearance is bound to have some influence on his reception by an audience. The following, of course, is a woman's view, but in various writings about Romney in national magazines, one may find that males have stated approximately the same things regarding George Romney's physical make-up.

Stewart Alsop wrote these three phrases about the man:

1. . . . personal magnetism. . . .
2. . . . personality which conveys an almost overpowering impression of earnestness, conviction and just plain goodness.
3. . . . visible sincerity and goodness.<sup>6</sup>

In 1959 an article in Time stated the following about Romney's physical characteristics when speaking:

1. Back and forth he rocks, clenching his fists, screwing his handsome face into an intense mask. Out shoot the words in evangelical organlike tones; down flies his fist to shake the dust from the table.

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

2. . . . juts his formidable jaw.
3. . . . wagging his finger at them.<sup>7</sup>

All of the above statements help to describe George Romney's speaking appearance. It must also be stated that he is handsome. The man is tall with dark hair graying at the temples. His face is lined, but the lines seem to be those of laughter and smiles, at peace with the world. This is not a face of unhappiness.

Romney's personality reflects a healthy, vigorous body which can well be the result of his athletic life. He terms his golf game "compact 18," which is six holes of golf played every morning with three balls used for each hole. The Mormon precepts of never smoking or drinking anything stronger than milk have also aided in his physical well being.

The evening upon which Romney gave the speech discussed in this thesis, started at six that morning. He had driven, with three campaign aides, from his home in Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, to Flint and spent the day shaking hands with persons at factory entrances all over the city. He had also attended many coffee klatches. He had been campaigning all day when he dashed into Dom Polski Club at 8:00 P.M. to give his speech.

Yet the man looked as if he had just showered and shaved and was greeting the day with a smile. Not a hair was out of place, the press was in his suit, his white

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<sup>7</sup>"The Dinosaur Hunter," op. cit., p. 42.

shirt looked immaculate, and his shoes were shining. A big smile was on his face, and not one hint of weariness showed. Truly a striking person.

This man's face is very expressive, which can be seen in the pictures in the next section concerned with bodily action.

If his voice and face convey one emotion above all others, it is the emotion of intensity. The man is intense about everything. Whatever beliefs Romney holds, they automatically become intense beliefs.

#### Bodily Action in Delivery

When we are discussing bodily action in delivery of a speech, we are concerned with all parts of the body and their uses. The movements of the body can be termed as the gestures. Mr. Romney used gestures involving his whole body: head, arms, face, and trunk, during his speaking. He kept contact with his audience, looking them directly in the eye and shifting frequently from one part of the group to another during the speech. He had excellent eye contact, never leaving his audience except to consult his notes.

We have all heard the old, old saying "a picture is better than a thousand words." Therefore, in the next few pages we find pictures depicting Romney as he was giving his speech.

Under each picture is the excerpt from the speech which the gesturing accompanied. As we can see, Mr.

Romney uses gestures which fittingly match the idea being expressed. Many gestures were used in this speech; in fact it may be said that Mr. Romney speaks with his body as well as with words. Because of these meaningful movements by him, his whole speech gained force and clarity.

When noting the hand and body gestures, also observe the man's facial expressions. His face is very expressive, which certainly aids in the physical delivery of the speech.





"Thank you very much, Al."



"And . . . I was there when this country. . . ."



"In his office in Washington,  
. . . one thing on his wall. . . ."



". . . where the unions or  
the employers . . . can shut  
down . . . industry. . . ."

"On the basis there had  
to be development. . . ."



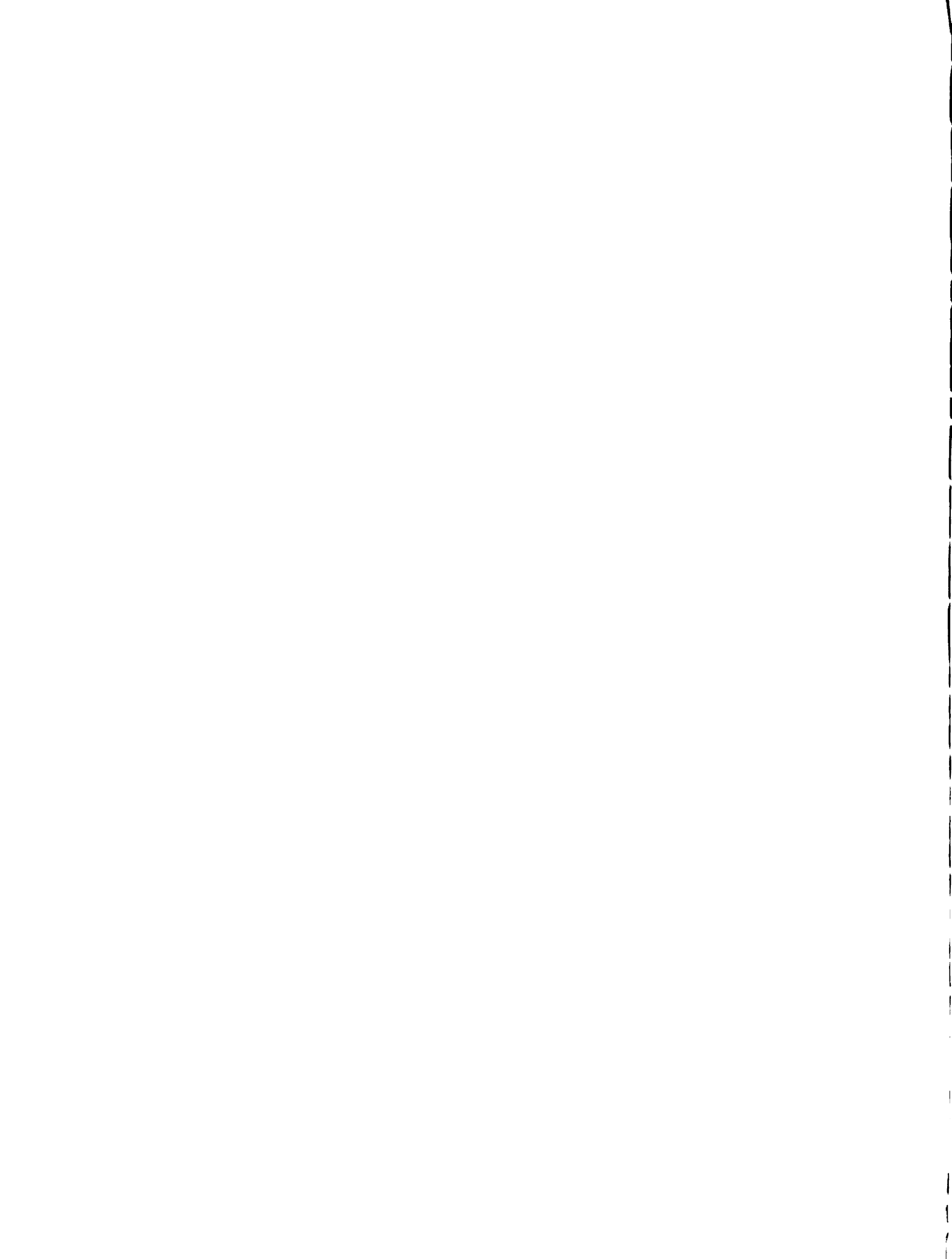
". . . a genuine citizens party,  
not a business party."



". . . Comrades, and then  
he stopped. . . ."

"We're sitting on a delayed  
action economic BCMB. . . ."







". . . you sent me five  
and they kept 4/5's of it."



". . . to provide the leader-  
ship we need. . . ."



". . . cruel heart and  
cold blood."



"Now I haven't changed."



"I couldn't square it with my conscience. . . ."

". . . workers thrown out of work ought. . . ."



The heckler  
during the question and answer period.



In response to the heckler  
in back of the room.

Voice in Persuasion

A voice in its vocal qualities can be persuasive, not because the speaker is speaking logic or sense to the hearer but because, from the harshness or softness or other variations of tone, the listener knows what reaction is expected of him. An example of this can certainly be found in the youngster being called by a parent for dinner. The child may be too far away to hear the words the parent is sending out, but the child still says, "Boy, I better get going, Dad really sounds angry." In other words, the vocal tone, not the words, has persuaded the child to action. The voice, in this instance, was very important in the art of persuasion.

Mr. Romney's voice is a factor to be considered when discussing the man's persuasiveness within this speech. Vocal tone, quality, pitch, range, etc. are most important in adding to his persuasiveness as a speaker. Many of us have tuned a speaker out of our listening mind, perhaps in church, or at a school assembly, or at a P.T.A. meeting, not because we were disinterested in the speaker's subject matter but we could not listen to the speaker's voice. An example of a voice we might not listen to, is one which is a monotone.

Therefore, we know that the voice itself is important in the speaking performance as a whole. What is there in the vocal quality of George Romney's voice that aids in his speaking?

There are at least four conditions which help to make a good speaking voice. By asking the following questions and then attempting to answer them, we can learn about the voice of George Romney. The questions are: (1) can the voice be heard, (2) can the voice be understood, (3) is the voice pleasant, and (4) is the voice flexible? Let us look at each of these four areas which constitute the make-up of vocalization and by which we can determine if a voice can be classified as listenable or not.

#### 1. Can the Voice be Heard?<sup>8</sup>

George Romney has excellent vocal resonance which is included with tonal depth. The man is capable of speaking in many variations of softness or loudness. His softest voice can be heard because the voice is so resonant. In a hall the size of Dom Polski there was no need for a microphone because Romney could project his voice to every part of the room.

#### 2. Can the Voice be Understood?<sup>9</sup>

Sometimes persons can be heard but not understood because they do not form their words distinctly

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<sup>8</sup>At the time of the speech, this writer moved about the hall to determine if Romney could be heard and understood; also by playing the tape of the speech over and over the writer's first impressions were further confirmed.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

enough for the listener. This can be true both in face-to-face conversation or in a speaking situation.

Articulation is said to be good when the sounds are distinct, accurate, and harmoniously blended into one another. Articulation is no more acceptable when it is overly precise and pedantic than when it lacks clearness and accuracy.<sup>10</sup>

Romney's voice fulfills the needs of good articulation, thereby being understandable. His pronunciation of words is distinct, usually accurate, and these words are blended into one another.

Distinct pronunciation is given to words without his being too precise. We know when words end in "t" or "ed" or "ing." These endings are not slurred. The word "because" is that, not "becuz."

Mr. Romney does slur one set of words, resulting in "gonna" for "going to" and makes one of the oldest mistakes of saying "jest" for "just." These errors are evident throughout the speech but do not detract from the speaking itself.

The blending of words in this speech is rather amazing in that Romney will use a long series of words without pausing, and yet all are understandable, because the words, although flowing together, are distinct, one from the other. The man has good breath control; thus

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<sup>10</sup>Elsie Hahn, Donald E. Hargis, Charles W. Lomas, and Daniel Vandraegen, Basic Voice Training For Speech (New York: McGraw-Hill Co., Inc., 1952), p. 135.

he is not choppy in developing his speech sentences.

### 3. Is the Voice Pleasant?

Romney's voice is deep, smooth, mellow and rich, which certainly makes it pleasant to listen to. He speaks smoothly and, in this particular speech, paced his flow of words in a slow conversational voice which flowed along with enough variety not to be boring.

As the pace of the speech quickened, Romney still maintained the smoothness and richness of voice.

The man, himself, seemed confident and sure when starting to address the audience. He never lost this poise, and his voice showed confidence which added to the awareness of this listener that he was sure of himself.

### 4. Is the Voice Flexible?

Many items can add to the flexibility of a voice. We must consider those which help to form George Romney's very flexible speaking voice.

Probably the most effective part of his delivery is the way in which he stresses words. He does use all the usual ways, loudness or softness, pause before or after a word or phrase, and lengthening of the word, and rhythm patterns. He also uses another means which we shall term partial emphasis within a word or group of words. Examples of these constituents of flexibility involving word stress are available from this speech. It is difficult to transcribe on paper that which is audible



to the ear, but with the following examples we shall make this attempt.

#### Loudness or softness

First, Mr. Romney uses loudness or softness.

. . . on a basis that has permitted collective collective bargaining power by employers or by unions. . . .

This particular group of words was started in a normal voice and the loudness increased until "by employers" and "by unions" are very loud to the ear in the context of the speech.

#### Pauses before or after and lengthening of words

Pauses before or after and lengthening of a word are also used effectively. One sentence shows the use of all three of these techniques.

Now, fundamental to our way of life -- is the, fact -- that we are all children of a Cre-a-tor.

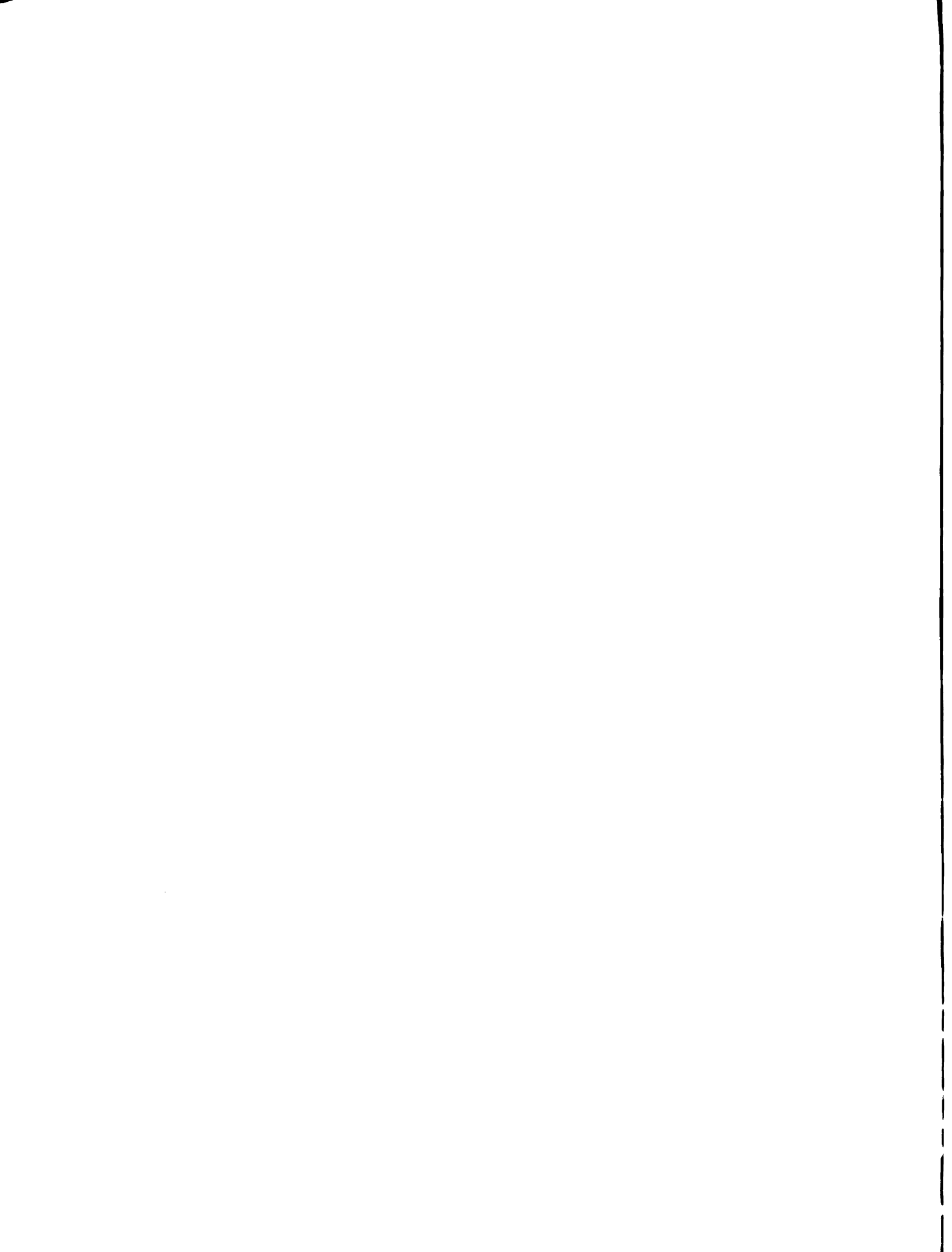
#### Partial emphasis of words

Very catching to the listening ear is the partial emphasis of words which points to vocal flexibility. Romney used these words which illustrate this point.

adequate, infinitely, and shielded

#### Rhythm for emphasis

The man does not speak in a noticeable rhythm pattern, but there are times in the delivery of the speech where he establishes a rhythm for emphasis which is indicative of flexibility with the voice. Examples



are listed below:

. . . is people who have ideas about services and products. . . .

. . . and Walter Reuther and the union leaders of the U.A.W. were praising American Motors and me. . . .

After all, every American, every American. . . .

At times the rhythm or pace is quickened or slackened, which adds to the listenability of the speech.

#### Slowness or fastness of pace

One sentence in the speech denotes the slowness of the pace of the beginning of the speech.

And the men who founded this country decided that we could have a better way of life -- if, the, responsibility for making progress. . . .

A fast pace is evident in just the transcription of these words.

We're sitting on a delayed action economic BOMB OF BLOCK BUSTER PROPORTIONS AND WE'RE NOT READY FOR IT.

#### Range as seen in sentences

Also included in vocal flexibility should be the use of the speaking range. By speaking range we mean the flexibility of the voice as it could be measured on the musical scale. Romney has quite a vocal range. This sentence is an example of the use of vocal range in pitch.

I think, some mistakes were made.

On a musical scale the words would shift in this pattern, not necessarily on these pitches.



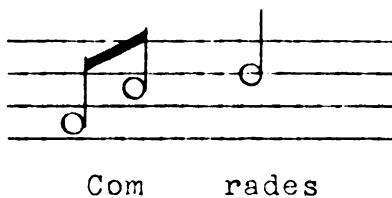
By putting the words on the staff it is obvious that there is no monotone in this speaking voice.

Range as seen with just one word

Mr. Romney has a distinct way of sliding on one word which is observable in the above example with the word "think." This is perfectly seen in his pronunciation of "ideal" in the sentence, "This is the ideal." Ideal in this context reads:



Romney's use of this sliding on the scale is evident with the word "Comrades." It appears like this:



With this concluding example we see that Romney's voice is indeed very flexible, as can be observed through these seven means of which we gave examples.

- (1) Loudness or softness
- (2) Pauses before or after and lengthening of words
- (3) Partial emphasis of words

- (4) Rhythm for emphasis
- (5) Slowness or fastness of pace
- (6) Range, compared to the musical scale, as seen in sentences, and
- (7) Range, compared to the musical scale, as seen within one word.

This flexibility of voice increases in importance when discussed with the first three points we considered in the use of this voice in persuasion. Because Romney has such a flexible voice with which to work, he can better fulfill the needs of having a pleasant voice, a voice that is understandable, and a voice that can be heard.

In brief, we can state that George Romney's delivery of his speech certainly did not detract but added to the content. The fact that he uses note cards and thus does not need to be tied to a manuscript adds to eye contact and physical freedom at the lectern. These brief note cards, however, are a hindrance in that Mr. Romney might make less mistakes as far as tripping over words, repetition of words, and the use of the wrong word had his speech been better outlined or in manuscript form. He is a good looking man, well dressed, thus his initial appearance to an audience is in his favor. All these factors coupled with good body action and a strong dynamic voice are assets for this man in the delivery of a speech.

## "CHAPTER VIII"

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis was to discover speaking techniques of George Wilkins Romney, as revealed in one speech, that might aid him in securing the public's vote as a candidate for governor of Michigan.

To do this we first had to know about the man -- what in his background influenced him as a speaker. It was learned that the Mormon Church was certainly a major factor in his speech training. As a small boy he was required to give two-and-a-half minute talks in Sunday School. The two years he spent on mission in Britain, 1926-1928, certainly aided in his learning how to cope with crowds and how to attract and hold their attention with his speaking ability. Then, of course, his role as a leader in his church and in industry gave him many opportunities to speak.

For many years, Romney believed that citizens should be active in their government. His political role began in earnest with "Citizens for Michigan" and as a member of the Michigan Constitutional Convention. In 1962, Romney stated that he was running for governor because of the "financial mess" in Michigan.

In Chapter III we tried to determine if there was a "financial mess" within Michigan's economy, which would have developed since 1945, when Michigan was financially stable. It was clear that Romney was running because he could see that since the end of World War II, many problems had developed in the state concerning taxation, a lack of money, unemployment, and party politics.

It was found that there was a state deficit; unemployment was increasing; and industry was so heavily taxed that it was finding expansion within the state impossible and, as an alternative, was moving out of the state. Because of these problems, both economic and political, Romney believed he should run for governor. He believed that he was the man needed to help straighten out the state.

Thus, a study of Romney the man and of Michigan's recent history helped in attaining a better understanding of George Romney the speaker, a devout man who believes in citizen participation in government; and it explained why he believed he should run for governor of the State of Michigan.

Since this study is limited to one speech in Romney's first gubernatorial campaign, we cannot make generalizations about his speaking in any situation; but we can draw specific conclusions about this one speech,

and these conclusions may be of value to the researcher who seeks broader answers to the questions about Romney's speaking.

For the sake of clarity and convenience, the remainder of the thesis was divided into four areas of study concerned with this speech. Now it is our purpose to weld together the findings of these four areas in a summary and to conclude our findings as to Romney's speaking in this one particular speech.

Chapter III, "The Occasion, Audience, and Responses," was first presented in detail so that we could understand the factors "outside" of the speech text, which is transcribed in Chapter IV. Because this transcription was made from a tape of the actual speech, it includes every pause, every mispronounced word, and all other mistakes which could be reproduced in printed form. The text of the speech was then followed by chapters divided into a consideration of the three factors of the text itself: Analysis, Arrangement, and Delivery of the Speech.

Now we must take these four areas; The Occasion, Audience and Responses; Rhetorical Analysis of the Materials of the Speech; Arrangement of the Speech; and Delivery of the Speech, and bring them together in this chapter. In other words, let us look at the speech as an entirety and not in parts as was necessary at first.



### Chapter III

It was found in Chapter III, "The Occasion, Audience, and Responses," that the reason for this speech situation was unusual in that union men had petitioned to hear Romney. The audience to whom he spoke was an union group which responded warmly to Romney and the contents of his speech. By their immediate responses, applause, and verbal comments, it was found that they were interested in:

1. Citizens working in a political party,
2. Job needs,
3. Governor John Swainson's lack of leadership,
4. The importance of the individual,
5. Romney's views concerning unemployment,
6. Walter Reuther's animosity towards George Romney.

### Chapter IV

Chapter IV is concerned with a rhetorical analysis of the Materials of Speaking. The chapter was divided into three areas: Materials of Development, Experience, and Personal Proof.

#### Materials of Development

Materials of Development can be divided into two major categories: 1. Evidence and 2. Reasoning.

#### 1. Evidence

Mr. Romney used very little "evidence" in this

speech, in the normal sense of the word. Although he stated figures and percentages, and used quotations, rarely were any of these identified as to source; therefore, they cannot be considered "good" evidence. Mr. Romney did use a type of "evidence" -- at least this writer believes that Mr. Romney considered it "evidence." A more accurate term would be "unsupported assertions."

Unsupported assertions were acceptable to the listener as true evidence, if he accepted Romney as an expert in industry and religion. In other words, if Romney was a credible person to his listeners, then the listeners could accept this "evidence" as from a reliable source -- that source being Romney because of his past experiences. In the case of this speech situation, the lack of "good evidence" was probably not a flaw, since Romney was acceptable to the audience and he was there to inform each person about his beliefs and feelings in order for the audience better to understand him.

## 2. Reasoning

Mr. Romney used all four of the forms of reasoning; Example, Analogy, Cause, and Sign. The use of Example, however was very sparse. Only two uses of this form of reasoning could be found in this speech. Analogy, cause, and sign reasoning were used throughout the speech, usually based upon Mr. Romney's unsupported assertions.

### Materials of Experience

The material which Romney presented to this union audience was picked to be of interest to them. The speech dealt with the strength of unions, collective bargaining, and economic groups involved in government. Romney also appealed to various inner motives which the audience could be believed to hold, such as personal intelligence, desire for a better way of life, a belief in fair play, and self-preservation. As the speech was delivered, Romney could judge what was of interest to the audience, as he relied on immediate feed-back; and, since he was not confined to a manuscript, with the responses of the listeners as a guide, he could shift from one idea to another.

### Materials of Personal Proof

It was found that Materials of Personal Proof comprised the main type of proof used by George Romney within Materials of Speaking. Romney gave to his audience an inkling into his own character, which is of importance in a speech in which this man was attempting to inform and also persuade his audience that he was the best man for the job of governor of Michigan.

Through analysis of the material which he used, the following characteristics which should aid in making the speaker more acceptable as a person to his audience were found: (1) Romney does not like conflict amongst

groups in government, (2) he wants co-operation between people and economic groups, (3) he is a man of intellect, good-will, and good-character.

In summary of Romney's use of Materials of Speaking, it was found that his use of evidence was slight. Instead, Romney based his reasoning upon unsupported assertions. These assertions aided in revealing to the listener the background and experiences of the man. Romney appeared to rely more upon Materials of Personal Proof than upon the other two areas of proof.

#### Chapter VI

The analysis of the arrangement of Romney's address revealed that the speaker employed the most common form of organization: Introduction (very short), Body (quite long), and Conclusion (relatively short).

The speech was constructed upon the central theme of informed citizen participation, and expanded with the incorporation of ideas concerned with: (1) collective bargaining, (2) brotherhood of man, (3) Michigan's problems, and (4) reasons for Romney's candidacy.

The conclusion of this speech is a strong one, re-establishing the main points and central theme of the talk for the audience, leaving the group with the idea that this man can aid in solving of the problems which he discussed.



Chapter VII

Where Mr. Romney shone in this speech, however, although he effectively used the three main divisions of proof and good, solid arrangement, was in his presentation or delivery of the speech.

As we found, the man goes to experts in various areas for assistance in locating ideas and factual material, but he prepares the text of a speech, himself. He usually speaks extemporaneously from very short notes jotted on file cards, just as he did the evening of this particular talk.

Romney's delivery finds strength in his forcefulness of physical and vocal activity while speaking. His physical appearance is commanding. He is tall and very well-groomed. He is, to this writer, a handsome man; and his appearance is that of an athletically active person.

When Romney begins to speak, his physical vigor becomes even more apparent, as he is physically active through gestures and bodily movement at the lecturn. As we can see by the pictures in Chapter VII, he is speaking, not only with his voice, but with all of his body. He gestures with his hands; his face is very expressive; and from the pictures we can see the use he makes of his arms. His entire body is used in transmitting to his listeners the ideas which he is intensely presenting to them.

Because the man uses his entire body so meaningfully within the context of the speech, his speech gained force and clarity.

Probably, Romney's greatest asset as a speaker is his voice. It has strength and clarity, and the man uses it to his advantage. From anywhere in the hall his voice could be heard and understood. Because of its flexibility and Romney's use of emphasis in pronunciation of words, the speech was easy to listen to -- the voice helped greatly to hold the audience's attention.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, we can say the following about the speaking techniques of George W. Romney:

1. Technically, the man's speech was constructed according to current practice. During the speech and in its preparation, he did consider his listeners; and he adapted his material for these listeners. He used little evidence but relied more upon unsupported assertions, which he used as evidence.

2. In this particular speech, Romney relied upon the use of Materials of Personal Proof which would aid in presenting him as the right person for the job of governor, and aid in suggesting that he was the right person to provide the change from the status quo.

3. Romney's greatest asset -- the one factor which certainly aided in holding the holding the audience's attention for forty-five minutes -- was the

man's speaking voice. This is a voice of great flexibility which adds to -- does not distract from -- the message being delivered.

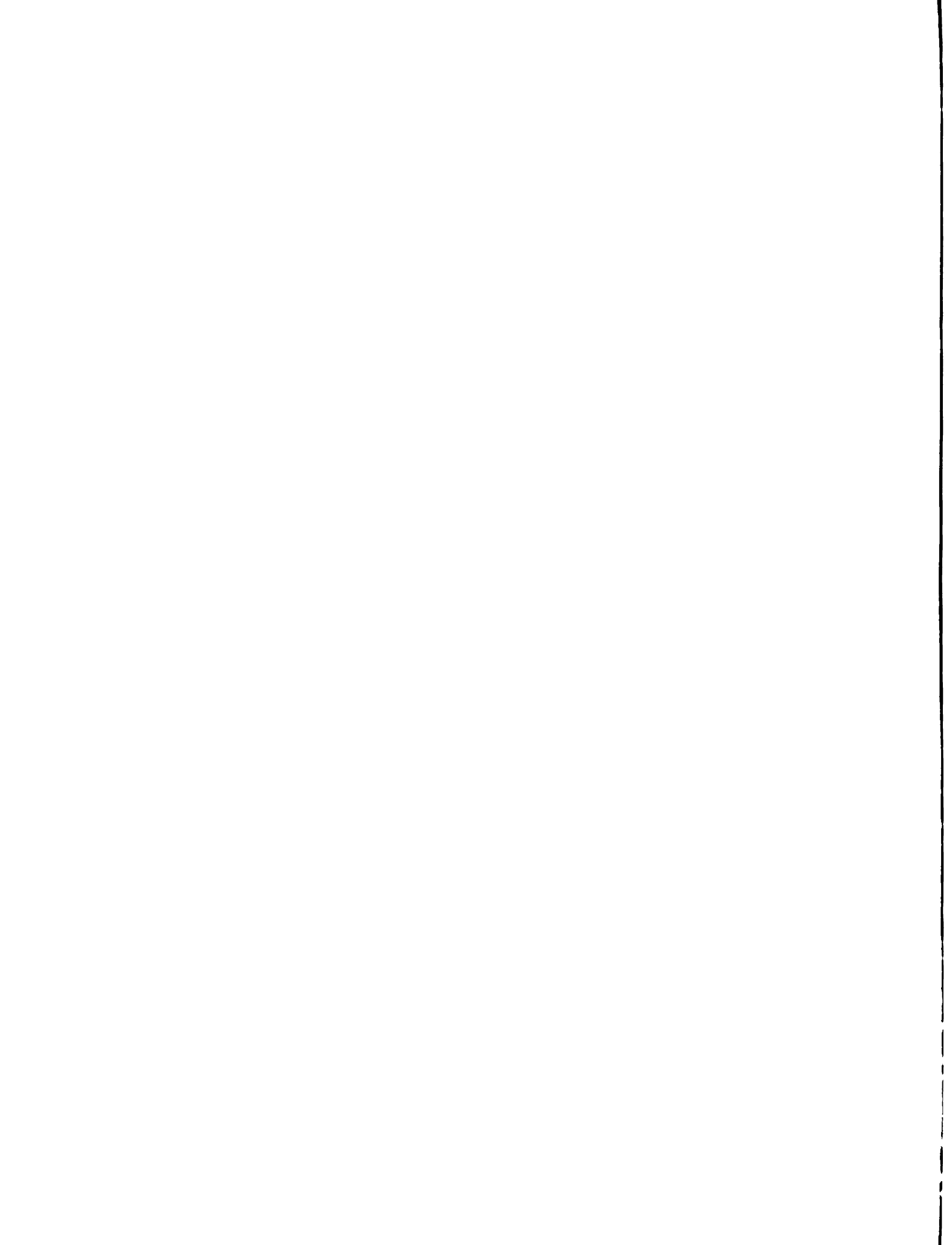
Because of the limitations of the study, we cannot say that this particular speech was influential in helping Romney gain the gubernatorial chair in Michigan. However, it is this writer's opinion that this man, with his speaking ability, certainly is an able persuader and during this campaign must have convinced many voters to vote for him. In November, 1962, he received 1,420,000 votes in Michigan. This was in a state which for the previous fourteen years had elected a governor from the Democratic Party and where the Democratic Party out numbers the GOP registration by 200,000 and twenty-six percent of the voters are independents.<sup>1</sup>

In other words, to win the election, George Wilkins Romney had to convince more voters to vote for him. This he did, and it appears very likely that speeches such as the one delivered to the members of the Ternstedt local union were a factor in this victory.

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<sup>1</sup>Mahoney, op. cit., p. 67.





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