

PAYNE COUNTY

HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME III NUMBER 2 AUTUMN 1982

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Published by

The **PAYNE COUNTY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

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Photo Courtesy of Stillwater Chamber of Commerce

Truman Visits Stillwater March 1, 1957

On Friday, March 1, 1957, President Harry S. Truman visited Oklahoma A & M College to deliver a speech for the Young Democrats Banquet. The text of that speech and accompanying three articles were originally presented at the Southwest Cultural Heritage Festival in Stillwater on September 30, 1983.

The Presidency of the United States

A Speech by Harry Truman

Transcript by N. L. Reinsch, Jr. and Frederick L. Kolch

The following speech was delivered by former President Harry S. Truman on Friday, March 1, 1957. The occasion was the Young Democrats Banquet at Oklahoma A & M College, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Truman spoke from a prepared text. Audience reactions and comments by the transcribers are noted in brackets.

[Applause and cheers. One voice calls out "Give 'em hell, Harry," Truman and audience laugh.]

Thank you very much. Governor [Raymond] Gary, Mr. President of the university, [former] Governor [Roy] Turner, Mr. President of the Young Democrats of the state of Oklahoma, and Mr. President of the Young Democrats of Oklahoma A & M, and all my good friends.

You know I am particularly pleased that you have asked me to be your guest of this wonderful school. I had been informed that this is a bipartisan meeting and that I'd have a chance to convert somebody, but it seems to me that all I'm going to be able to do is to put a little pep into you to go out and convert somebody. [Applause] You're all on my side.

You've asked me here now and I'm going to take advantage of you... [Laughter and applause] and talk of many things. You remember that

'The time has come,' the Walrus said,
'To talk of many things:
Of shoes—and ships—and sealing wax—
And cabbages—and kings—
And why the sea's boiling hot—
And why pigs have wings.'

When I'm through you may do as these pressmen did and ask me what I'm talking about because you may not be able to understand me, particularly₂ if you're a hidebound

Republican. [Laughter] But you'll find...you'll find that the Republicans have the shoes and the ships and the Democrats have the sealing wax and the wings, and don't mind [laughter] too much. But when the people get to the point where they want a few of those shoes and, and ships and things, they always ask the Democrats to give them to them. [Applause]

This place was long the home of one of my greatest friends and one of the world's great benefactors, Dr. Henry Garland Bennett. And I was... [applause] I was most happy to meet some of his family and some of his grandchildren this afternoon. It was a very pleasant occasion and I enjoyed it very much.

I had known Dr. Bennett for many years and had admired and fostered his memorable work in soil conservation and in the educational program for student exchanges. He used to bring hundreds of students to see me in the White House, students who were leaving for foreign countries or those who had come to the United States to study, and I enjoyed addressing these large groups of them three or four times a season.

In nineteen hundred and fifty I appointed him director of the Point Four program for the technical improvement of the under-developed areas of the world. He believed in this program and realized how very little time...how very little in time, in men and in money it would take to make these lands bloom again. He did a wonderful job in South America, the several countries of the Middle East and even in the Far East.

In Ethiopia, for instance, Dr. Bennett discovered an uncultivated plateau from six to eight thousand feet high whose sixty thousand acre area--about the size of the great state of Missouri--could be made to produce three crops a year and provide enough food for a hundred million people. It isn't used at all now, except for a few cattle on pasture which come nowhere near eating all the grass.

He was our roving ambassador of good will and good deeds, the very spirit behind the Point Four program. It was he who made it work, and shaped the miracles by showing people how to help themselves and each other.

His tragic death in the Near East was a great loss to us all, for he was one of the creators and the principal

interpreter of the idea of technical cooperation. I lost a devoted friend and helper. I'll never forget him, nor will the people of the countries whose interests he shared.

And I shall talk to you tonight about the Presidency of the United States. It is one of the most unusual, most important and least understood of the constitutional offices in the history of the world. But before I start on that let me express my very great appreciation to your great governor here, to the chairman of the Oklahoma Democratic committee, and to the president of the Oklahoma Young Democrats, and the president of your Student Union, and to [League of Young Democrats President] Clyde Sare, and to Miss Democrat, and all the students of the Oklahoma A & M, and to His Excellency and His Honor the Mayor of Stillwell...Stillwater...[some laughter] too many stills in this country. [Laughter] I particularly express my appreciation to the president of this great institution, Dr. Willham, for the cordiality of his welcome, and the courtesies which he has extended to me. You don't know how much that means to, uh, a man who's out, with no chance of ever getting back. [Laughter] To have all of...[laughter] all the honors that you have, uh, uh, treated me with today. It's a heart warming situation. And one that I shall never forget. I called Mrs. Truman awhile ago before I came downstairs and told her that I had been met at the airport by some three thousand people and had all the honors that a president of the United States would receive. And she said "that's...[applause] she says "that's hard to believe but it makes me very happy." [Some laughter.] Generally speaking, we have a pretty good idea of the nature and functioning of the Supreme Court and of the Congress. Their words and acts are preserved in official publications and official records. But there is no single publication that preserves the utterances and the acts of the Presidency, and many of them can be found only inadequately reported in newspaper files. [Laughter]

The personal papers of the President, which are the best record of the functioning of the office, have often been scattered and destroyed. I am trying to correct this condition by encouraging an official and current publication of all the public utterances of the President—just as the Congressional Record reports all the public utter..., utterances of Congress—and by establishing a firm...the precedent...uh the firmly the

President, President Herbert Hoover, that the papers of the President should be preserved as the property of the nation. To this end I am having a Presidential Library built in Independence, in which I will place all my papers for research and study by all qualified students. The building is progressing quite rapidly now, and I hope it can be turned over soon to the Federal Government for operation by the National archives. I hope some of you will come to Independence and work in it when it's finished. Now that situation occurred to me while I was President of the United States. I had started off by a meeting in the Library of Congress...the assembling of Jefferson's papers. You know when Jefferson died, he left the most orderly set of papers that any president ever left. And those papers had been preserved for a long time. But his grandniece and grandnephew got hard up for money. They told the Congress of the United States in eighteen fifty or fifty-one that they wanted to sell those papers to the government for a certain amount of money. About, I suppose, about one tenth of what they were worth. And the Congress decided, in the Congress' deliberative way in which they do things, that they'd just buy those papers of President Jefferson which were official. Every paper the President touches becomes official whenever he touches it no matter what's on it. Sometimes some of them are pretty bad too. [Laughter] Well the Congress spent twenty years looking over Jefferson's papers. Then they took part of them. Paid some money to his grand nieces and grand nephew. The rest of them are scattered from one end of the country to the other. And Princeton University is now spending some hundreds of thousands of dollars assembling those papers and publishing them in...in volumn. The two Adams presidents left their papers to their families. Built a private library to hold them. And those papers have never been accessible for the use of scholars except those scholars that come out of the Adams family. That's the reason we have so much prejudiced history from New England is on that account. [Some laughter] But I did so much talking around over this country that we smoked them out and now Harvard's having those papers indexed so everybody can see them. [Laughter]

Now the first three Articles of the Constitution outline the three branches of the Government of this great republic.

Article one sets up the legislative Branch and gives that branch certain powers and duties. There's a great long string of them. They have a right to levy taxes and spend the money. In fact they hold the purse strings of the government of the United States. And that's the way it should be. Article two sets up the Executive Branch of the government and gives the Executive certain powers and duties about which I'll tell you a few in a few minutes. Article three sets up the Courts, and creates a Chief Justice of the United States. He's not the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He's the Chief Justice of the United States. And he has supervision of all the courts of this great nation of ours. And the Supreme Court of the United States has a record made of every action they take officially. That action...Those actions are stored in a great mausoleum which we built back there for them in Washington. Its a wonderful building. And it houses the Supreme Court and the record of all its actions.

I hope now that you'll go home—af...after I get a good start on this and I get through boring you so much—to go home and read the Constitution of the United States. It won't take you but a very few minutes. But it must be read again and again. Because you'll find something you overlooked everytime you read it. It took the Congress and the Supreme Court a hundred and fifty years to find that there's a welfare clause in the Constitution. And that welfare clause is right in the Preamble but they never saw it until just a few years ago. [Applause] You keep reading that greatest document of government and sometime, maybe, when you're in Congress or on the Supreme Court or happen to be living at sixteen hundred Pennsylvania Avenue, which is the address of the White House, you may be able to use what you've read for the benefit of your country and the nation. Bear that in mind now. I want every single one of you to read that Constitution and read it as often as you possibly can. Its the greatest document of government that was ever written.

The office of the Chief Executive has grown with the progress of the Republic. It's given our nation a means of meeting our greatest emergencies. And today it is one of the most important factors in determining whether we provide leadership for the free world.

Now, if you take the powers of the President as

enumerated in Article two of the Constitution, and the duties that have been given to the President by the growth and development of our institutions, and add them up, you will conclude that the President has the most difficult job in the history of the world. It is also the most honorable and powerful office in the history of the world, and one of which every American should be proud—because the President is given his position by the voice of the people, and no emperor, king or dictator in history ever rose to a position of such power and influence as this chosen spokesman of a free electorate of this greatest of all republics in the history of the world. [Applause]

Now the President's job is really five or six jobs and if you'll be patient with me I'll tell you about some of them. And some of them are right entertaining.

You must bear one thing in mind. As a former President of the United States, my sympathies are with the man who has to hold down all these jobs. It's almost an impossible job. And you'll never hear me express anything but sympathy for any President who is occupying that address at sixteen hundred Pennsylvania Avenue. I may not agree with him politically, and I reserve the right to say whether he is doing his work well or badly, but he still has my sympathy, because I know exactly what he's up against. And there are a hundred and sixty-five million people in this country who try to tell him just exactly what he ought to do and how he ought to do it. [Laughter]

One of the first of these Presidential jobs—and the one enumerated in Article two of the Constitution—is to take care that the laws are faithfully executed. This means the supervision of the work of the entire executive branch of the government—not only to enforce criminal laws through the Department of Justice, but to carry out all legislation, whether it applies to national defense, to public lands, to postal rates, to immigration, to rural electrification, or to any other subject. And it is just as much the duty of the President of the United States to enforce the Bill of Rights for the benefit of every individual in this nation as it is to catch kidnappers and robbers and counterfeiters. [Applause] In other words the President of the United States is the chief executive of the United States. That's a tremendous thing.

Such a job of supervision is a staggering one. No matter how much help the President may have, and no matter how well organized the executive branch may be, he has to work to keep a firm grip on the policies of all executive agencies. You'd be surprised how many of those executive agencies there are. And everybody in the United States thinks the man in the Whitehouse ought to know all about every one of them. It's a job I want to tell you.

But make no mistake about it, the President has the ultimate responsibility for the conduct of the entire executive branch of the government. That's what the Constitution says, and that's what it means. And while the President can and must delegate certain of his executive functions, he cannot dodge the ultimate responsibility. In all the executive branch he's the only elected official, and he alone is responsible to the people. The members of his cabinet, his staff, and his other executive officers owe their appointments to him, and their continuance in office depend on his will, and his will alone. Congress can't make him keep them. And if they are not responsive to his wishes, he can and ought to fire them. And that's a terrible job. It's not a happy experience, but I had to fire several people in my time. And if you have a heart and a grain of sympathy in your make-up, it's hard to do—but for the welfare of the country sometimes it must be done. But no matter how carefully or how easily you may go about that job you can't help but sometimes permanently injure the man who's the object of it. But the welfare of the country comes before the welfare of any single individual in it including the President. [Applause]

This is very different from the so-called "cabinet" system of government, where the principal executive officers are elected officials, and the prime minister, or premier, is the spokesman for the group. That system is a government by a group or a committee, and the chief executive is a sort of committee chairman. It's not the American system at all. The American President is not a Chairman of the Board, because his Board or Cabinet owes its existence to him. He can never hide behind their skirts, or escape responsibility because they refuse to back him up or refuse go go along with him. He always has the majority vote in the Cabinet. If they do not carry out his policies, they must resign or get out.

This does not mean that a member of the President's Cabinet cannot disagree with him in Cabinet meetings. And I've had some of the toughest arguments you ever heard in Cabinet meetings. But when the President decides, his decision must be followed and carried out. One of the most famous of those decisions is the Emancipation Proclamation in eighteen sixty-three. President Lincoln laid it before his Cabinet and they all voted "no." He says "Thank you gentlemen. The 'ayes' have it. It's carried."

The next job of the President—and this is also enumerated in the Constitution—is to be commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces. He appoints and commissions officers in the Army, and the Navy and the Air Force. He has complete authority over the armed forces of the United States. He can place generals in command, and when it is necessary, he can take them out. And sometimes it's necessary. [Laughter, shouts, applause.] I know what you're thinking about but I'm not the only President that's fired generals. This is a very great responsibility, and one that has to be considered very, very carefully.

The third job I would like you to think about is the President's role in foreign affairs. He is the foreign policy maker of this nation. The Constitution says that he shall appoint ambassadors with the advice and consent of the Senate and receive ambassadors and ministers from foreign governments. Few of us fully appreciate what this means. Our ambassadors are the personal agents of the President of the United States—they are the eyes and his ears. The ambassadors of other countries cannot operate here unless they are approved by the President. To put it another way, the President "recognizes" foreign countries, diplomatically, and this is a great power and a great responsibility.

The President is our foreign policy maker, also, because he negotiates treaties. The Constitution says he shall have power to "make treaties" by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. In the days when the Constitution was young, George Washington tried to carry out this provision by going down personally to the Senate with a proposed treaty to get their advice and consent during his negotiations. The Senate in their usual way said they couldn't act on things that way—they said they would have to appoint a committee and have

them report back, and they couldn't work properly with the President sitting there. At this, George got indignant and left in a huff. And said some unprintable things to and about the Senate. I served ten years in the Senate and I have a right to talk about them any way I please because I'm talking about myself when I do it. So ever since, the President has negotiated the treaty first, and then submitted it to the Senate for approval. But he can make executive agreements with foreign countries and send special representatives without consulting anybody. Most all Presidents have done that.

The Senate's power to approve treaties has been abused in some instances, notably in nineteen hundred and nineteen and nineteen twenty, when the Irreconcilables killed the most important parts of the treaty that had been made by President Wilson. That action of the Senate was ultimately the cause of the second World War and cost millions of lives and hundreds of billions of treasure. We can't let that situation happen again, because this is an age when war means complete destruction. That's the reason I pray for peace in all time. For the simple reason that wars are no longer fought by the men on the front. Every single inhabitant of every country is on the front under these conditions. So let's all pray for peace at every opportunity.

One of the by-products of the President's job as our foreign policy maker is that any utterance he makes on foreign affairs will be heard round the globe almost as soon as he makes it. The President has to be exceedingly careful about what he says. whatever he says both foreign and domestic have repercussions, even if he only cusses out an unfair music critic. [Laughter]

The foreign policy job of the President is enough for one man, without the other jobs I've described, the executive job and command of the armed forces. But there is more to come—much more. Indeed, when I was President, I worked sixteen hours a day, seven days a week, and I wish there had been thirty-two hours in a day instead of twenty-four, to give me another eight hours on the job.

Turning again to the Constitution, there is the President's legislative job. The Constitution says he shall from time to time give Congress information on the state of the union and

recommend measures for their consideration. And of course he must approve the laws before they can become effective, and unless Congress can muster a two-thirds vote over his veto. The Constitution has written the President in as a vital and necessary part of the legislative process, and he is not supposed to stand back and be a "yes man" for Congress. He must fight for his. And if he doesn't, he's a weak executive and doesn't get what he wants. And they'll kick him around all they can. The Congress is always trying to abolish the Presidency and if he's a good man they never get a chance to do it. [Laughter]

The function of recommending legislation is now broken down into several tasks. One of the first of these tasks is to make a Budget. And I used to have a budget directory. He sits right over there. And the budget when it comes to the President is a book about the size of a telephone book for the city of St. Louis if you've seen one. And it's got just as many figures in it as the telephone book for the city of St. Louis but you can understand those in the telephone book. But I'd like to see you work out a budget unless you have a Jim Webber around to help you do it. I used to know it pretty well because I helped to make ten budgets in the Senate and then made eight of my own. So I ought to have something about the budget by the time it got to me. But the President has other things besides that. He sends down an economic message on the economic situation in the country and what he thinks should be done by the Congress and himself to keep people employed and to see that the government of the United States is run for the benefit of the whole country.

And when I was in the Senate I used to be very vitally interested in the President's messages and used to read them all very carefully. I didn't know I was ever going to have to write any. But I'm glad I read those messages because it helped me to send some down that the Congress took good care of. And some of them they didn't. [Some laughter.] I had a lot of fun over that but it was not...not happy while it was going on.

In addition to all these other messages the President, when he gets ready, can call Congress into session. If you remember back in nineteen forty-eight we had a convention in Philadelphia. And there was a split in that convention and

some of the people got up and walked out. Along about two-thirty in the morning they sent for Senator Barkley and myself to come say whether we would accept the nominations for President and Vice-President of the United States. And at that session, if I remember correctly, I called a "turnip day" session of the Congress. That was the twenty-sixth of July. Up in Missouri you sow turnips on the twenty-sixth of July, wet or dry. And I called that turnip session of the Congress and sent them a message down with some of the things that the Republican platform had said they were going to do and asked the Congress to go ahead and do it. It was a Republican Congress. But they didn't do a thing. If they had I'd have been up against it and I wouldn't have made the eightieth Congress a whipping boy and won that election. If they'd have gone ahead and done...[Laughter and applause.]

And the President has the final say on all the bills that the Congress passes. He has the veto. And if he uses that veto intelligently—sometimes some of our Presidents are better known by the messages, by the messages on the veto that they sent down than they are by the messages asking for legislation. The greatest number of vetoes was made by Grover Cleveland. The next largest number was made by Franklin Roosevelt. And I come in number three on it. But I'm very proud of some of those veto messages. And they're still good! If you want to read some of them I'll point them out to you.

Now the fifth job the President has, and this is the job I got the biggest kick out of. He's the head of his political party. You won't find this job mentioned in the Constitution. Political party leadership was the last thing the Constitution contemplated. The founding fathers did not intend the election of the President to be mixed up in the hurly-burly of party politics. But our two-party system, as it developed, changed all that. The electoral college became a formality, and the President emerged as the man who had led his party to political victory, and who was expected to set its policies for the future.

Through his policies and actions, the President must try to convince the people that his party can run the national government better than the opposition. But at the same time, he must never forget that he is responsible to all the

people of the nation, regardless of party, and he must always think of the welfare of the nation as a whole.

The President and the Vice President are the only officers elected from the United States at large, and as I have said time and again, the President is the only lobbyist in Washington who looks after the interests of a hundred and fifty million people. The other fifteen or twenty million are able to hire people to go to Washington and present their claims to Congress on any subject they choose. That's lobbying, and it is a perfectly legitimate function, and an exercise of the right of petition. But there are one hundred and fifty million people who can't afford to hire lobbyist.

And it is the business of the President to find out what's good for those people, for that one hundred and fifty million, and to act as the principal lobbyist in the nation for their welfare and benefit. And when a President does that, he's looking after the welfare of the whole nation. Not because he's a Democrat or a Republican, because he's the representative of all the people. And it's his business to see that their interests are protected. That's my political philosophy and that's what I've worked by ever since I started in the first precinct and went all the way to the top by good luck. [Applause]

The President can't carry out his legislative job and his political leadership without a lot of opposition. The Constitution makes the Executive and the Legislative separate and independent branches of government, and as a result, there is a certain amount of conflict built into the Constitution. The separation of powers was not devised to promote efficiency in government; it was devised to pre...prevent absolutism or dictatorship. It was devised to prevent Executive dictatorship and Congressional dictatorship. So a certain degree of struggle between the President and the Congress is natural and a good thing. Now the best example of an attempted legislative district is the radical control of the Congress right after the war between the States. That's the best example that ever happened in this country, when old Thad Stevens tried to run the country and tried to impeach the President. And he almost did. Tried to convict him. He was impeached in the House but they didn't convict him. And the French Assembly of five hundred

was also another example of legislative dictatorship. And if you need any examples of dictators in this world I can name you a whole lot of them, seven of them...several of them still going.

It is the duty of the President to see that the Constitution powers of the Presidency are not infringed. Some elements in Congress are always trying to legislate him out of office, and make themselves an English legislative government, which is not what the Constitution provides.

Hostility to the President is much more widespread in the Republican Party than it is in the Democratic Party. And if you'll read your history you'll find I'm correct. In fact, I think the political leaders of the two parties have very different views of the Presidency. The Democrats regard the President as a constitutional leader; the Republicans regard the President as the spokesman for a ruling oligarchy.

My successor in office has had a bitter experience in this field. In a campaign speech in nineteen hundred and fifty-two he said and I quote from his speech:

I come before you to make one pledge.
When a Republican House of
Representatives has taken charge of
the legislative branch of our
government, there will be perfect
coordination and cooperation between
that body and the man in the White
House.

That speech was made in Columbus, Ohio on September the twenty-third, nineteen hundred and fifty-two and they were famous last words! He had more trouble with his Republican Congress than I had with the Eightieth. [Laughter and applause.

The Republican leaders in Congress took the political initiative. They blocked the President's program, and after Senator Taft died, the lid was off. Republican Congressmen kicked the Republican Cabinet members around in the committee rooms of the Capitol as if they were so many political footballs. The President evidently did not have even the faintest idea of how to stop this carnage. According to

the Donovan book, he brooded over the idea of starting a third party. And the Cabinet carnage still goes on. He ought to consult Thurmond of South Carolina and maybe he could tell him how to start a third party. [Laughter]

Now I come to the sixth job of the President. The President is the social head of the state. A great many of the stuffed-shirt people like this very much. They think it is the finest thing in the world to be able to meet counts, and princes, and kings and queens and other dignitaries of the foreign countries. And you'd be surprised, when the President goes to entertain them at dinners and things of that sort—how many of the old dowagers in Washington commence pulling strings to get their daughters in so they may meet a prince and get a title. [Laughter] And...It doesn't work very well. At least it didn't with me. [Laughter] Of course, when distinguished guests of that kind come to the United States, the President is their host, and he is always a courteous host, and so should all the other government officials be courteous hosts—that's a vital part of our international relationships.

The President gives five or six state dinners each year at he White House and holds several large receptions, and if you think it's a lot of fun to stand in line for two hours and a half and shake hands with twenty-seven hundred people, whose names you can't even understand when they are pronounced, I wish you'd try it sometime and see how you like it. [Laughter]

He holds diplomatic receptions, receptions for Congress, receptions for the Supreme Court, and various other receptions, and I want to say to you that the wife of the President has a tremendous burden. The last year we were in the White House, Mrs. Truman shook hands with some fifty thousand people. I shook hands with twenty-five thousand and dodged the rest, but she had to go ahead and do it all. [Laughter] However, the social end of the President's office is a necessary job and an important one.

I have enumerated for you now six full-time jobs that one man has to fulfill, and there isn't any way in the world, under the Constitution of the United States, for him to get out of any of them. He must do them. He must do them, or they aren't done; and when they aren't done, it's just too bad for the country.

There is only one way to do those six jobs, and that is to keep everlastingly at it, and to give them as much time as possible, as it is possible, as I say, to squeeze in, in twenty-four hours. There is a lot of talk these days about lightening the burdens of the Presidency, but no matter how you reorganize the government and the paper work, those six jobs remain. If the President lets things adrift, the country is in danger, for drifting is the easy road to disaster. If the President leaves things to his Cabinet officers and assistants, there is confusion and conflict. And the worst of it is that the President cannot sit back and wait for people to bring problems to him, as they do to a judge. It's up to him to keep a firm hand on the conduct of the government's business, and to lead the way in charting a course of action for the people's welfare.

Shortly after I was elected, in nineteen hundred and forty-eight, I made up my mind that I'd not seek another term. I had to keep my decision to myself, of course, until it could be announced publicly—you know the Republicans got that amendment to the Constitution where limit the President to two terms. And its a bad amendment. But the, uh, they exempted me from the action of that amendment to the Constitution because they didn't think I had a chance to be elected anyway in nineteen forty-eight. [Laughter] And I have seen a great many men in public life, and their one besetting sin is to know when to get out. Most of them stay in too long. And most of them are, uh, seem to be married to their jobs. And when a man does a good job publically the people like him. And they are perfectly willing to send him back as long as he wants to go. But when a man reaches a certain age, in politics, in business, or anything else, its up to him—particularly if he's President of the United States—to make up his mind that somebody else ought to assume this burden, the greatest burden in the history of the world, and the greatest office in the history of the world, and the greatest honor that can come to any man. And if you don't think I'm proud of that honor, you're mistaken. You gave me the greatest honor in the history of the world.

And I'm trying now to pass on just what that means, and what your government means. Your government. Its yours. You're the government. Read the Constitution. If you read the Constitution you'll find that you are the government. And

when you shirk your duty as a citizen and turn up your nose at a politician you're doing the country no service whatever.

A politician is a man who understands government and is a good public relations man. And a statesman—a man never becomes a statesmen, he becomes a statesman when he's a dead politician. And I don't want to be a statesman for a long time to come yet. [Applause]

I'm trying my best, my friends, to make a contribution. For your information and for the welfare of the country I want all the young people in this United States to understand what they have. And you must understand that that was won by blood, sweat and tears and is being passed on to you in a condition that you can keep it for ever and ever if you want to do it. If you shirk your duty first thing you know some fellow will come along on, on horseback and take it away from you and you don't know what you've done. I'm hoping you won't do that. Read that Constitution! [Applause]

Truman in Stillwater

A Textual Perspective

by N. L. Reinsch, Jr.

My maternal grandmother was a Democrat. She loved Harry Truman for puncturing that wind-bag Dewey, for putting that smarty-pants MacArthur in his place, and for carrying on the work of Franklin Roosevelt. Grandma was also a Christian who was embarrassed by Truman's profanity. My grandmother viewed Harry Truman as both a hero and a heel, sort of a white knight with a dirty mouth.

Consequently, I grew up with a complicated impression of Truman. I also grew up with a great deal of curiosity about this man who stirred such strong — and such contrasting — emotions in my grandmother.

In 1977 I joined the faculty at Oklahoma State University. Shortly thereafter I was told that someone had a tape recording of a speech Truman made in Stillwater. I was intrigued and soon located the tape in the possession of Fred Kolch. In fact, Fred had both a tape recording of the speech and a copy of the speech manuscript released by Truman's staff. It seemed to me that the material should be shared with a larger audience and I asked Fred's permission to work toward that end.

Professor Kolch and I have now prepared a written text of the speech given by Harry Truman in Stillwater on March 1, 1957. This text is a transcript of his oral remarks rather than a copy of his prepared text. It was our opinion that a transcript of his actual comments would be of greater value than the pre-delivery text. Truman made a number of changes from the text in delivering the speech and several of these changes relate directly to Oklahoma State University.

In this instance — and due to Professor Kolch having

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preserved the necessary artifacts — it was relatively easy to produce a text of Truman's speech. We began our work with both Truman's prepared text and a tape recording. The tape recording was a copy made for Professor Kolch in 1957 and recorded on paper tape. This recording was complete and revealed both additions and deletions to the prepared text throughout the speech and especially during the final third of the speech. Due perhaps to advancing age, a few passages were hard to understand. Fortunately, another tape recording of the speech came into my possession. This recording includes only portions of the first third of Truman's speech, but it is better preserved (perhaps because it is on plastic tape) and it is in several passages more easily understood than the Kolch tape. The final transcript is, therefore, based on the Kolch tape and has been checked against the Reinsch tape.

In transcribing a tape one faces several decisions. What should one do about "vocalized pauses," the inevitable "uhs" and "ums" sprinkled through a speech? — We have included those that are noticeable. Should one correct the speaker's grammar? — We have not. How should one punctuate the written text of an oral event? — We have followed the prepared text when possible and used our own judgment in other instances. What should one do about imprecise diction, i.e., a speaker who says "frens" instead of "friends" or "cause" instead of "because"? — In general, we have corrected Truman's diction by transcribing the "target phonemes," i.e., the sounds Truman intended for the audience to hear. This last decision was primarily a matter of convenience since a true transcription is very difficult to prepare. We believe the resulting document is a useful text of the speech. It provides any interested person with an accurate and complete account of Harry Truman's Stillwater speech. And it could also be used by scholars who wish to study Truman's speaking.

Our efforts toward preserving a text of Harry Truman's speech in Stillwater on March 1, 1957, imply that, in our view, the preservation of correct and complete speech texts is desirable. I do believe that this is important work and I offer several arguments to support the belief.

First, an accurate historical record is desirable. Judy Hample's study of Patrick Henry's "Liberty or Death" speech

revealed that no notes or transcript survived the delivery of that speech on March 23, 1775 (Quarterly Journal of Speech, 63, pp. 298-310). Her data strongly suggest that the speech as we know it was not composed by Patrick Henry in 1775, but rather by William Wirt for an 1817 biography of Henry. Confusion over the authorship of that speech could have been reduced or eliminated had someone in Henry's time made an effort to preserve a text of Henry's speech.

Of course Truman's speech in Stillwater is not as important historically as Henry's "Liberty or Death" speech. But Truman's speech does have historical significance. It provides a rather thorough discussion of the Presidential office. Truman had delivered similar remarks at least once before, at a Chicago Library Luncheon on July 10, 1956 (W. W. Braden and M. L. Gehring, Speech Practices, Harper and Brothers, 1958, pp. 39,46) and his repeated use of the speech suggests that Truman regarded the ideas as important. Truman's speech also provides a glimpse into the history of Oklahoma State University and those remarks do not appear to have been duplicated on any other occasion. Since Truman's remarks have historical value, they should be preserved.

Second, rhetorical criticism is dependent upon accurate, complete texts. Rhetorical criticism is the qualitative evaluation of public communication. It includes an assessment of many dimensions (ideas, word choice, delivery, etc.) of a communicator's efforts, and such assessment should not be based on a text which misrepresents either the content of the communicator's remarks or the style in which he or she expressed them. Haig Bosmajian recently called attention to a number of inaccuracies in commercially available texts (and even one recording) of Martin Luther King's "I Have A Dream" speech (Communication Education, 31, pp.107-114). Such inaccuracies hinder rhetorical criticism.

Third, some lines of communication research depend on exact transcriptions of speech. Recently John Sherblom and I were able to show that a person's intentions can alter some of his or her speech habits (Communication Quarterly, 29:1, pp. 55-63). A. Q. Morton has demonstrated, on the other hand, that some speech habits do not change and can, therefore, be used like fingerprints to identify the author of an anonymous

or disputed text (Liberty Detection, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978). Both these lines of research are dependent on the preservation of complete, exact texts. Any future scientific study of Truman's speech habits will depend on transcripts of Truman's speaking.

Finally, I believe that Harry Truman would have wanted his public remarks to be preserved, and to be preserved accurately. Truman understood that his elevation to the Presidency had increased the importance of his words and deeds. He worked hard to meet his obligations. If we respect the man, his efforts, and the office he held, then it is fitting that we preserve his remarks.

My grandmother didn't always like Harry Truman's language. But she respected the man and his office. She would have liked Truman's Stillwater speech. And I think she'd be pleased to know that it has been preserved.

Truman in Stillwater

An Historical Perspective

by Theodore L. Agnew

We have heard two able examinations of President Truman's Stillwater Address, respectively from the stylistic and the rhetorical points of view. My task is easier. I need concern myself not at all — or at least very little — with analysis of the speech, but instead must give "an historical perspective." Factual, narrative, background: let us proceed.

For Harry S. Truman, his Stillwater Address of March 1, 1957, may be seen as a pivotal event, coming between his two post-Presidential careers, those of Politician and Sage. The Presidency was now four years in the past, and — although we were not to know it at the time — he still had more than fifteen years of life ahead of him. In such circumstances he could ring the changes on his accustomed roles in the first career, that of Politician. As he described the Presidency in his Stillwater Address, Harry Truman saw the President's roles as Politician to consist of: Chief Executive, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, Foreign Policy Maker, Chief Legislator, Head of the Political Party, and Social Head of State. All of these roles he had played in his nearly eight years as President. Each role had found him acting, occasionally haltingly, though usually briskly, decisively, successfully.

It requires a firm effort of the mind to recall the low repute with which Mr. Truman entered, and left, the Presidency. The details of his early life and of his curiously delayed maturity were known in 1945 — his birth on the Missouri farm, a heritage both Yankee and Rebel, the move to Kansas City and the big world, the National Guard experience, the heroic service in the First World War, the failed haberdashery, the clean but undistinguished role in

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Jackson County government, marriage to a childhood sweetheart and the birth of their only child when they were near their forties, then election to the United States Senate at fifty (though Truman had only asked "Boss" Tom Pendergast about a seat in the United States House of Representatives).

The first Senate term had been sound but unspectacular. At the end of the six years Truman staved off a challenge from the popular Missouri governor and the glamorous public prosecutor who had jailed "Boss Tom," and went into his second term. Then came the Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program, popularly called the Truman Committee (including in the Index to Truman's Memoirs); here he acted as public watchdog on war spending, and eventually earned recognition in the "American House of Lords" (a cover story in Time magazine). More importantly, this committee service placed him in a strategically sound position for the Vice Presidential nomination when the 1944 Democratic National Convention showed signs of deadlock. Then came the fourth election for Franklin D. Roosevelt and Truman's change of base to the presiding officer's post. Without time or occasion to receive briefings on administration policy, Vice President Truman was singularly unprepared — though not necessarily ill-prepared — to assume the highest office.

Then came the afternoon of April 12, 1945. The story is well known. Truman was having a social break with Speaker Sam Rayburn and others in the speaker's office when the call came from the White House. Truman went over to be met by Mrs. Roosevelt with the news, "Harry, the President is dead." The swearing-in that evening made Truman officially President, though he had actually held the office since the moment FDR drew his last breath.

The new President met some of the press the next day. "I don't know whether you fellows ever had a load of hay fell on you," he said, continuing that "I felt like the moon, the stars, and all the planets had fallen on me." Some felt it was a becoming modesty, others a recognition of an unbecoming inadequacy. And we who served with the Pacific Fleet recalled our one glimpse of Vice President Truman, in the week of his accession to the highest office. Life magazine reached us with a picture which showed Truman playing an

upright piano at a USO with actress Lauren Bacall draped over the top of the instrument — hardly a dignified introduction to the countrymen he would now preside over.

But Truman could act decisively, as when he urged Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to insure that the coming San Francisco Conference should bring Russian leaders of the highest rank. In addition, he could build an effective staff; Charles Ross, press secretary, George Ball, George Elsey, and others could rank with those of any recent Chief Executive. Likewise, Truman's cabinet secretaries, though eventually numerous enough to signify instability to critics, included both civil service technicians and stars of the first rank — Dean Acheson, George Marshall, and Averell Harriman come to mind. To such persons Truman could, and did, delegate authority. In fact, his letters to "Mama and Mary" (mother and sister) in his first months in the White House exude confidence and a slightly bemused objectivity.

Let us note in summary form the leading events of the two Truman terms:

(1) Victory in the Second World War, highlighted by announcement, on his 61st birthday, of V-E Day, May 8; and V-J Day, for which ceremonies were held on the deck of the U.S.S. Missouri in Tokyo Bay. Further, Truman presided over the signing of the United Nations Charter at the conclusion of the San Francisco Conference, a hopeful sign of postwar harmony and striving toward peace.

(2) A deliberate extension of New Deal objectives, which Truman eventually gave his own label "Fair Deal". This program included legislation that brought extended social security coverage and benefits and that raised the minimum wage. Equally important were recommended programs which might not be enacted for a decade or two, as for example Medicare.

(3) An issue which Truman grasped where FDR had temporized, namely Civil Rights. The report of the Presidential Commission in 1947 set the agenda for the next decade of progress, while the Executive Order requiring racial integration of the armed forces was a positive step of

tremendous importance.

(4) Democratic party leadership which enlisted a host of young vibrant leaders, the next generation's contenders for public office. Included here must be Presidents John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, Vice President (and near President) Hubert Humphrey, and perennial candidate Adlai Stevenson, to say nothing of a myriad of Senators, Governors, Representatives, and so on. This leadership was symbolized in Truman's surprise (to some) victory over Thomas E. Dewey in 1948.

(5) A modification of the leading international stance of the 1940s, in which the United States attempted to cooperate largely with the USSR. The change was characterized by the phrase "The Cold War." Seeing a danger to the U.S. position in the world from Soviet expansionism, Truman led the country step by step to a stance which set the framework for at least two decades — the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty, Point Four, and the rest.

(6) A substantial experiment in East Asia, embodied in Truman's deploying of U.S. troops to help stave off the conquest of South Korea by the North Korean state. Assuming responsibility at the request of the United Nations, Truman successfully avoided defeat while not achieving victory either. This indecisive result brought dissatisfaction at home, compounded by Truman's removal from command of General Douglas MacArthur, however soundly based the removal might have been.

(7) A bad press, which showed itself in the initial condescension — after all, Truman had not even been to college and had not completed law school. His enthusiasms occasionally led him astray, as in the matter of the music critic's unfavorable review of Margaret Truman as concert artist. He occasionally seemed indecisive — "to err is Truman" was an epithet used frequently. And there was McCarthyism, wherein a completely unprincipled United States Senator savaged all who disagreed with his own overblown bully-boy tactics. Thereby McCarthy gave undoubted aid and comfort to the enemy he professed to

oppose.

All these policies of the Truman years are subject to legitimate criticism and to historical revisionism. Yet the "three C's" of the 1952 election campaign — "Communism, corruption, and Corea (Korea)" — appeared to invite an unfairly negative judgment on the Truman Presidency. Little surprise that his Gallup poll rating was at a low ebb when he left office, only 26% of those polled granting Truman a favorable mark. During the first Eisenhower term Truman remained active politically, yet without being significantly effective in shaping Democratic party choices. It was at this juncture that the Stillwater Address was arranged for. And it is my judgment that this Stillwater Address was a significant stage in Truman's assumption of status as Elder Statesman, or Sage.

Barring preliminary telephone contacts, the former invitation for the Stillwater Address was delivered in person by a delegation from the Young Democrats at what was then Oklahoma A & M College. It was December 21, 1956. We had driven up the day before, successfully "integrating" the Hotel Muehlebach, for one of our number was black.

President Truman received us graciously in his office, then located in the First National Bank Building. As we filed in he turned to me, the faculty sponsor, but I indicated that chapter president Clyde Sare would make our presentation. Clyde did so, formally inviting President Truman in the name of the Young Democrats of Oklahoma and reminding him that we were from the institution long presided over by Henry G. Bennett, his Point Four director. Mr. Truman responded warmly, accepting the invitation, tentatively setting the date for Friday, March 1, 1957. He also autographed my copy of his Memoirs, Volume I, and engaged in amiable chit-chat. Part of this conversation was a conducted tour of the several rooms of his office suite. As we came to a giant-sized portrait of Andrew Jackson, Mr. Truman exclaimed, "Now he was my kind of President." After half an hour we bowed out, agreeing to keep in touch through his faithful secretary, Rose Conway.

Succeeding events before the March 1 speaking engagement included a press conference in the State Capitol at which Governor Raymond Gary announced the event ("a big

time deal"), indicating a degree of official party support which guaranteed its success. After all, Governor Gary had been one of the leading proponents of Mr. Truman's choice for the Presidency before the previous summer's party convention — New York Governor Averell Harriman. Mr. Truman was repaying an obligation.

The Oklahoma A & M College administration — the change of name to Oklahoma State University, already under legislative discussion, was to be effective the following July 1 — turned to in magnificent style, with President Oliver S. Willham and the Student Union management taking the lead. The Young Democrats found sales of tickets, standard price \$10 a head, booming. Preparations for the banquet, in the Union Ballroom, included accommodations for seven hundred fifty, with about a hundred of these seated on risers at the east side, dubbed the "head table" seats (\$25 a ticket). March 1 eventually arrived, a bit windy but warmer than many Oklahoma late winter days. President Truman flew into the Stillwater airport, fresh from a Florida vacation of three weeks. Mrs. Truman did not accompany him, since she was nursing a broken ankle. The OAMC band welcomed him, and a ROTC (Scabbard and Blade, Pershing Rifles, and drill team) gave him full military honors; he was pleased to be recognized as Commander-in-chief, reviewing the troops with accustomed zest.

Other events of Mr. Truman's day included a luncheon (at which State Young Democrats President George Nigh was present), a tour of the campus, a visit with members of Henry G. Bennett's family (some of whom the President saw at the OAMC pre-school nursery), a press conference, and a social hour in the Presidential Suite of the Student Union; then at length came the banquet. The latter was a huge success, some of the politicians present expressing surprised delight that they were offered a full roast beef dinner, not the accustomed baked beans or chili. Eventually Mr. Truman rose to speak, delivering the address which we have just heard analyzed.

Newspaper accounts varied. The New York Times, devoting two paragraphs on page 15, picked out the only political pieces, a few barbs at President Eisenhower. State and local papers, giving more space to the event, were more

balanced. The Stillwater News-Press caught it well noting Mr. Truman's words that the Presidency of the United States is "one of the most unusual, most important and least understood constitutional offices in the history of the world." The same paper picked up the other Truman theme: "The most important thing in the country is government and I am devoting the rest of my life showing the young people its importance." A third quotation was even more direct — "You are the government."

Here we have Mr. Truman assuming the role of Sage, of Elder Statesman. It was to occupy, indeed, the rest of his life. Later in the same year, 1957, the Truman Library was opened at Independence, Missouri, the first of the Presidential Libraries to be built away from the East Coast. Here Mr. Truman had his office for his remaining active years. Here he would be interviewed, especially at the five-year birthdays — seventy-fifth, eightieth, eighty-fifth. Here in the auditorium he would frequently greet groups of school-children and older tourists, causing the staff to scurry in taking down the Truman advice and homilies. Here he hosted the ceremony at which President Lyndon Johnson signed the bill creating Medicare, receiving the first card issued thereunder for his early advocacy of the measure. Here, in the last of his public ceremonies, he accepted the White House piano of his presidential days, from the hands of a person he had often criticized, President Richard Nixon.

Historical reputations come and go. President Truman's, in the opinion of this observer, has stood the test of time well. It is partly because of the background facts which we have rehearsed today. It is more, I think, because in Harry Truman — and in Bess Truman, still with us at 97 — we can see something of ourselves. And we can find something good.*

*Mrs. Truman died October 18, 1982.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The text of the Stillwater Address, as transcribed by N. L. Reinsch, Jr. and Frederick L. Kolch, is "The Presidency of the United States: a Speech by Harry Truman," Stillwater,

March 1, 1957. I have compared it with the untitled "Original Reading Copy" in the Harry S. Truman Library. For this and other services and courtesies I acknowledge the staff of the Harry S. Truman Library, especially Dr. Benedict K. Zobrist, Director. Accounts of President Truman's Stillwater visit and address appear in the March 1 and 2 issues of New York Times, Daily O'Collegian (OSU campus newspaper), Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman, Oklahoma City Times, Stillwater News-Press, Tulsa Tribune, and Tulsa World. In my possession are autographed copies of President Truman's Memoirs (2 vols., Doubleday, 1955-1956) and a photograph of the OSU delegation on their visit to Kansas City, December 21, 1956. The Time cover story appeared in the issue of March 8, 1943, the Truman-Bacall picture, in Life, February 26, 1945.

Serious historical work on the Truman presidency is evaluated in Richard S. Kirkendall, The Truman Period as a Research Field, a Reappraisal (University of Missouri Press, 1974), which includes scholars of widely differing viewpoints. The printed literature, both books and articles, about the Truman presidency continues earlier debates. Most recent comprehensive accounts have been Robert J. Donovan, Conflict and Crisis: the Presidency of Harry S. Truman 1945-1948 and Tumultuous Years: the Presidency of Harry S. Truman 1949-1953 (Norton, 1977, 1982), and Harold F. Gosnell, Truman's Crises: a Political Biography of Harry S. Truman (Greenwood Press, 1980). Of particular value is The Truman White House: the Administration of the Presidency 1945-1953, edited for the Harry S. Truman Library Institute for National and International Affairs by Francis H. Heller (Regents Press of Kansas, 1980); Heller was associated with the preparation of the Truman Memoirs. Biographical treatments of importance include Merle Miller, Plain Speaking, an Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman (Berkley, 1974), Margaret Truman, Harry S. Truman (Morrow, 1973), and Jhan Robbins, Bess and Harry: an American Love Story (Putnam, 1980). For the official documents, see National Historical Publications and Records Commission, Public Papers of the Presidents, Harry S. Truman (8 vols, Government Printing Office, 1961-1966). An important assessment, especially in view of these papers about the Truman Stillwater Address, is Robert Underhill, The Truman Persuasions (Iowa State University Press, 1981)

Truman in Stillwater

A Rhetorical Perspective

by *Frederick L. Kolch*

Rhetoricians have not dealt very kindly with Harry Truman. Most critics agree that his formal speeches seemed to lack the kind of vigor and strength that his extemporaneous utterances often had.

Hillbruner attributes this failing to the fact that Truman sought the "assistance of executive aides" when composing written speeches (Anthony Hillbruner, Critical Dimensions: The Art of Public Address Criticism, Random House, 1966, p. 132). Brockriede and Scott, when evaluating the president's "Truman Doctrine Speech" of March 12, 1947, summed up their evaluation of the attempt in the following caustic manner:

The Truman Doctrine speech had been articulated with a rhetorical power that easily eludes the critic. It fails to meet many standards of effectiveness discussed in ancient writings on rhetoric or in contemporary textbooks on public speaking. The language seems neither appropriate nor impressive; the structure is not sharp; the arguments are not tightly reasoned or well supported by evidence; and emotional appeals of the kind likely to rouse a nation from dreams of normalcy are not prominent. . . . In short, viewed traditionally, the substance, structure, and style of Truman's speech and his image as a speaker do not represent an example of effective rhetoric (Wayne Brockriede and Robert L. Scott, Moments in the Rhetoric of the Cold War, Random House, 1970, p. 27).

Interestingly enough, as I looked back over the many term

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papers that students have written in my classes during the last thirty years on famous orators (from Susan B. Anthony to John Wycliffe), I found none on Harry Truman.

Lest you get the impression that the man from Independence, Missouri, had very little going for him, rhetorically speaking, let us be sure to give credit where credit is due. Most assuredly one cannot discuss Truman as a speaker without referring to his extremely successful whistle stop speeches during the presidential campaign of 1948. Reporters traveling with the president over those 22,000 miles, during which he delivered 275 "little speeches" (Cole S. Brembeck, "Harry Truman at the Whistle Stops," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 38, p. 42) were compelled to agree that his informal speaking was "perhaps more important than the major addresses. . . . because they got him close to the people" (Charles G. Ross, "How Truman Did It," Colliers, 122, pp. 13 ff., quoted in Brembeck, p. 42).

With this introductory material, let us proceed to an evaluation of Truman's speech delivered on March 1, 1957, at Oklahoma A & M College.

The approach that I will use is to mention specific rhetorical techniques employed by the speaker, and refer to them in the preceding article as "Text, page number, and paragraph number."

Fortunately a helpful guide for this investigation exists in the form of an interview with Mr. Truman conducted by White and Henderlinder, two distinguished rhetoricians, in 1953. These scholars felt that Truman's views on speaking "would be of interest to the speech profession, to historians and biographers, and to other Americans in various walks of life" (Eugene E. White and Clair R. Henderlinder, "What Harry S. Truman Told Us About His Speaking," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 40, p. 37).

To begin with, Truman stated that when preparing the introduction he usually made "some reference to the audience, to the circumstances surrounding the speech, or to the locality in which it is to be delivered" (White and Henderlinder, p. 40). In the speech delivered at Oklahoma A & M Truman illustrated such an approach (p. 2, par. 4-p. 3, par. 6). Another word for this device is adlibbing. When the

interviewer asked Truman if it was true that early in 1948 Truman had imported a radio personality from Ohio who suggested that the president learn to adlib from a manuscript, here was Truman's reply:

Like a lot of others, this story has no truth in it. I was adlibbing from a written speech even before I became County Judge in the 1920's (White and Henderlider, p. 38).

Regardless, Truman adlibbed extensively in his formal speaking. Although it is not apparent to one who reads the script, he adlibbed the phrase "about the size of the great state of Missouri" and the entire last sentence (p. 3, par. 4).

As previously reported, one criticism of his speaking was that "the structure is not sharp . . ." (Brockriede and Scott, p. 27). Such is the case early in the speech when Truman introduces his subject and then immediately backtracks to express appreciation to some of the dignitaries in the audience (p. 4, par. 1). The sudden switch in direction certainly detracts from the announced topic of his speech. This example, however, coincides with his answer to the interviewer's question: "Do you have any favorite sequence or pattern for arranging your main points . . .?" Truman's answer:

No, I just present my arguments in what I believe is a logical sequence. . . . I just use whatever materials seem to fit. Since I have never studied the niceties of speech composition, I cannot follow a set of rules or principles. Instead, I just go by a sense of 'feel' (White and Henderlider, p. 40).

Most rhetoricians agree that Truman's sense of humor and down-to-earth language hold the attention of his listeners, especially when he spices it with innuendos and sarcasm. Note such devices in the narrative account beginning with: "You know when Jefferson died, he left the most orderly set of papers. . . ." (p. 5). How can one help but enjoy such a narrative?

Nevertheless, one is constantly reminded of the poor structure in his speaking. To illustrate, why is he uncertain

of the number of jobs the President has? For he states: "Now the President's job is really five or six jobs" (p. 7, par. 1). In reading the entire speech, however, he lists six jobs, one at a time. Why the uncertainty?

Regarding the six jobs, Truman states correctly what his preference was. Later in the speech he takes pride in announcing: "Now the fifth job the President has, and this is the job I got the biggest kick out of. He's the head of the political party" (p. 12, par. 2). Thus it is not surprising to find that he devotes more time to this responsibility — 80 lines. Parenthetically, the next greatest amount of space went to the legislative job — 58 lines. If you're wondering about his least liked job, you'll find a mere 9 lines spent on commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces (p. 9, par. 1).

At times Truman sounds like an evangelistic preacher, punctuating words in a staccato rhythm. Listen to his impassioned urging of his audience to read the Constitution, beginning with: "You keep reading that greatest document of government. . . ." (p. 6, par. 1).

Let us conclude with an examination of how accurately Truman follows his own views on what to accomplish in the conclusion of a speech. In the aforementioned interview he stated: "In ending a speech, I summarize what I have already said, and try to leave my listeners in a positive state of mind" (White and Henderlider, p. 41). Notice how he begins his conclusion with a summary and repeats his plea to the audience that the best way to understand the government is to read the Constitution (p. 15, par. 4). It certainly is an effective way to end the speech.

In summary, Truman's desire to reach the people in a down-to-earth way is illustrated more effectively in his informal speaking than in his formal addresses. Yet the latter still capture much of the flavor of the "Give 'em hell, Harry" style.

News and Notes

Inquiry to the Payne County Historical Society

I am doing research on my grandparents who came to Stillwater in 1890. My grandmothers name was Mary Francis (Goddard) Dodson, born 1844 or 1845 in Lexington, Illinois and my grandfathers name was William Rapier Dodson, born 1834 in Champaign County, Ohio.

I am trying to find their burial place. They may have died shortly after coming to Stillwater or as late as 1934.

Any information will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you.

Bonnie Lee Britt (Mrs. John M.)
162] George Washington
Richland, WA 99352

Dear Sir:

I was doing some research on my Ladd family line and was looking for the following information, if it is available.

1. Any information on Charles Henry Ladd - wife Henrietta
 - a. Bought farm in 1892 near Ripley
 - b. Was farmer for 15 years there
 - c. 1908 moved to Ripley and bought home
 - d. Died February 29, 1924
2. History of Payne County

I was looking for information, on the contribution they made to the community, if any.

I would appreciate any help you could give me.

Thank you.

Barbara Haun
14200 South Livesay Road
Oregon City, OR 97045

Minutes

September 23, 1982

The PCHS met at the Payne County Fairgrounds at 7:30 p.m. President David Baird opened the meeting and indicated that the Treasurer, on the advise of the Board of Directors, had opened a safety deposit box in the First National Bank for the safe keeping of the PCHS certificates of deposit.

It was suggested that the PCHS purchase a file cabinet to be placed in the Citizen's Bank Building to house many of the items that have been stored in the Stillwater Public Library. Since there would sometime in the future be a new Librarian, it was deemed advisable to remove these possessions of the previous Payne County Historical Society to our own location. Motion was made and passed to purchase the file cabinet.

The Payne County Historical Society has been approached by Mrs. Veneta Arrington to aid in the publishing of a book about Ripley, Oklahoma, in the 1920s. It was agreed by the society that we would cooperate in the publishing: making available membership lists, acting as a liason with the publisher, Dr. Baird writing an introduction for the book, etc. In return for this cooperation, PCHS will receive 50 books which will be donated to libraries in Oklahoma.

A first reading of the proposed changes in the Constitution and Bylaws was accomplished. Changes would make a "year" of membership from July 1 to June 30. A Publicity Committe would also be added as a Standing Committee.

The meeting was adjourned and a tour of the Fred Pfeiffer Museum was enjoyed by all.

Respectfully submitted,
Helen Matoy
Acting Secretary

PAYNE COUNTY

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Payne County Historical Society is organized in order to bring together people interested in history, and especially in the history of Payne County, Oklahoma. The Society's major function is to discover and collect any materials which may help to establish or illustrate the history of the area.

Membership in the Payne County Historical Society is open to anyone interested in the collection and preservation of Payne County history.

All members receive copies of the *Review* free. In addition, the Society sponsors informative meetings four times a year, the first Thursday in March, June, September, and December. Two outings; one in the fall and the other in the spring, are taken to historical sites in the area.

Board meetings are held the second Monday of each month that a regular meeting is not scheduled. These luncheons are held at 12:30 pm in the meeting room at the Holland House Restaurant, 9th and Main, Stillwater. All members are encouraged to attend.

Payne County Historical Society
P. O. Box 194
Stillwater, Oklahoma 74076