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A study of the relationship between presidential inaugural addresses, socio-political ideologies and presidential policy

Floyd Samuel Ohler
University of the Pacific

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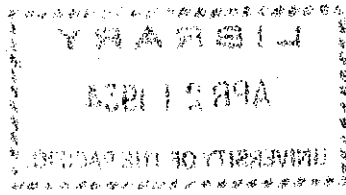


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A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURAL ADDRESSES,
SOCIO-POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES AND PRESIDENTIAL POLICY

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Speech
University of the Pacific

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Floyd Samuel Ohler
August 1963

This thesis, written and submitted by

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Dated Aug 20, 1963

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE TOPIC AND JUSTIFICATION

Presidential Inaugural Addresses are not required by the Constitution, but are, nevertheless, expected and evaluated by people around the world.

I. INTRODUCTION TO THE TOPIC

Character of Inaugural Addresses. Research concerning the character of the Inaugural Address reveals great diversity of opinion among writers. The New York Herald Tribune, after President Kennedy's address, concluded that the function of an Inaugural address was "to express. . . the essence of what (the President) proposes to do in the White House."¹ Dr. Claudius O. Johnson, in his book Government in the United States -- after reviewing President Franklin Roosevelt's first inaugural, wrote that in his address, the President "usually tries to smooth over some of the ill-feeling which recent partisan strife may have caused, appeals to all good citizens to help him in his task, and outlines his program, sometimes rather

¹ The Herald Tribune quoted in "Editorial Comment Across the Nation on President Kennedy's Inauguration," New York Times, January 21, 1961, p. 10.

specifically."² Conversely, it is pointed out by Wilfred E. Binkley in The Man In The White House, His Powers and Duties that "there have been presidents elected who entered the office on inauguration day almost utterly innocent of what the election signified and what was expected of them -- Ulysses S. Grant, for example."³ Today Americans accept and anticipate the elaborate inaugural ceremony of which the inaugural address is a part. Author Binkley points to the feelings of the post-revolutionary "purists," who thought it to be "a conspicuous violation of Republican simplicity and an inexcusable aping of monarchy."⁴ Furthermore, it is noted that George Washington was deeply concerned "as to what the public expected of him. . . ."⁵ Mr. Binkley's conclusion, with which this writer concurs, is that "while the inauguration it-self has no legal force, it nevertheless symbolizes the fact that the president is. . . chief executive."⁶

Presidents who have not delivered inaugurals. Not all

² Claudius O. Johnson, Ph.D., Government in the United States (New York, 1937), p. 245.

³ Wilfred E. Binkley, The Man In The White House, His Powers and Duties (Baltimore, 1958), p. 97.

⁴ Ibid., p. 8.

⁵ Ibid., quoting James Hart, The American Presidency in Action, 1789, p. 7.

⁶ Ibid.

presidents have given inaugural addresses. From President Washington and including President Kennedy, there have been forty-six inaugural addresses. Thirty were first inaugurals and fifteen have been second inaugurals -- considering President Cleveland's second speech as a second inaugural, although interrupted by Benjamin Harrison's four-year term. For the same period of time, there have been thirty-five presidents -- again considering Grover Cleveland's split terms as one presidency. Presidents give inaugural addresses only after being elected to office; not after assuming it following the death of an elected President. In all, seven presidents died while in office, thus allowing their vice presidents to assume their office. Presidents John Tyler, Millard Fillmore, Andrew Johnson, and Chester Arthur completed terms of deceased chief executives, but were not elected to terms of their own. Therefore, these men did not give inaugural addresses. Therefore Roosevelt, Calvin Coolidge, and Harry Truman also succeeded to the presidency and were later elected to that office in regular elections. Their inaugurals will be included in this analysis.

Time and location of the addresses. The inaugural address is delivered immediately following the oath of office. George Washington's first inaugural was given in the Senate

Chamber of Federal Hall, New York City, New York.⁷ His second was given in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where John Adams delivered his only inaugural. It is presumed by this writer that the addresses given in Philadelphia were probably given at Independence Hall.⁸ Beginning with Thomas Jefferson, March 4, 1801, all inaugural addresses with one exception have been given at the Capitol in Washington D. C. This single exception is President Franklin Roosevelt's fourth address. It was delivered at the South Portico of the White House.⁹

An article published by the New York Times in 1957 states that inaugural speeches "have not been a very rich source for the anthologists."¹⁰ It concludes that the typical American citizen "cannot remember more than two ... memorable phrases ... (from inaugural addresses) -- 'With malice toward none; with charity for all' from Lincoln's second inaugural address and 'The only thing we have to fear

⁷ Fredrick Austin Ogg, The Pageant of America, Vol. 8 (New Haven, 1927), 169.

⁸ The "capitol" building from 1790 to 1800 was Independence Hall.

⁹ "Term IV White House Inaugural," New York Times, January 21, 1945, p. 1.

¹⁰ "Inaugural Talks Give Few Quotes," New York Times, January 20, 1957, p. 50.

is fear itself' from Franklin D. Roosevelt's first."¹¹ This writer is doubtful of the accuracy of this Times article. Comments will be made on this subject under hypothesis number one -- inaugural addresses reflect the nation's socio-political ideologies.

II. JUSTIFICATION

There are three reasons for writing on this topic. First, the inaugural address is the first Presidential policy statement and may be compared with policies actually carried out. Second, they have popular audiences in this country and abroad who may be affected by their policies. And, third, they are the oldest of our official presidential statements. Furthermore, the United States' Presidents have the longest history without change of any of the heads of state in the world.¹² Therefore, a study of inaugural addresses provides consistent information on a type of address for a longer period of time than is possible for any other head of state.

Speeches in history. Ernest J. Wraga, writing for the Quarterly Journal of Speech, has said that speeches are

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² The only apparent exception to this statement is the British Prime Minister. However, it is the opinion of this writer that changes in Britain's Parliamentary form of government justify the preceding statement that United States' Presidents have the longest history without change.

agencies of their time and are repositories of "themes and their elaborations from which we may gain insight into life of an era. . . ."¹³ Continuing, this author says that "from the study of speeches given by many men, . . . it is possible to observe the reflections of prevailing social ideas and attitudes."¹⁴ It is his opinion that proper "social and intellectual history cannot be written without accounting for popular opinions, beliefs, (and) constellations of attitudes"¹⁵ Furthermore, he says "there is need for an organized body of literature which places speeches and speaking in proper relationship to the history of ideas."¹⁶

Inaugural literature. The subject of inaugural addresses may be considered, for the purpose of this writing, to be "virgin territory." There are no complete books which are analyses of the inaugurals, known to this writer. There are two volumes, however, containing all of the inaugural speeches. First is the Government Printing Office's volume titled Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States, from George Washington 1789 to Harry S. Truman 1949.

¹³ Ernest J. Wraga, "Public Address; A study in its Social and Intellectual History," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXXIII, No. 4 (December, 1947), 455.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 456.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 452.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 457.

This is simply a collection of speeches. There are no editorial remarks or other analytical comments. This volume is cited frequently during this writing as the source of quotations from specific inaugurals. Second is Davis Newton Lott's book titled Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States. Mr. Lott's volume is also a collection of speeches. There are, however, some brief notes written in the margins of this book which are designed to clarify phrases or certain meanings. It is appropriate to consider this book as a kind of "annotated edition" rather than a serious analysis of the inaugural addresses.

CHAPTER II

PLAN OF STUDY AND HYPOTHESES

In view of the fact that the "body" of the thesis is divided into ten historical periods, this chapter is devoted to a discussion of those periods, the order of the consideration of the hypotheses, and statements concerning the selectivity of this study.

I. PLAN OF STUDY

The historical periods. The ten historical periods which have been chosen are: (1) the Revolutionary Period, (2) the Jacksonian Period, (3) the "Low-Water Mark" Period, (4) the Lincoln Period, (5) the Reconstruction Period, (6) the Pre-Twentieth Century Period, (7) the Emerging Period, (8) the Pre-Depression Period, (9) the Transition Period, and (10) the Modern Period. According to Dr. Thomas A. Bailey's A Diplomatic History of the American People, 1958, and Dr. Glyndon G. Van Dusen's The Jacksonian Era, 1959, these periods are historically accurate. A brief essay providing historical background information for each period is provided at the beginning of each of the following chapters.

The Revolutionary Period includes those Presidents who held office from Washington to John Quincy Adams. The

Jacksonian Period includes only Presidents Jackson and Van Buren. The "Low-Water Mark" Period is concerned with Presidents William Harrison, Polk, Taylor, Pierce, and Buchanan. President Lincoln is discussed alone in the Lincoln Period. While the Reconstruction Period includes Presidents Grant, Hayes, and Garfield; the Pre-Twentieth Century Period concerns Presidents Cleveland, Benjamin Harrison, and McKinley. Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson are discussed in the Emerging Period. The Pre-depression Period includes Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. President Franklin Roosevelt is discussed separately in the Transition Period; while Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy are considered in the Modern Period.

II. HYPOTHESES

Statement of hypotheses. The hypotheses to be tested in this thesis reflect the attitude expressed in the preceding quotations. They are:

1. Do inaugural addresses reflect the nation's socio-political ideologies?
2. Do inaugural addresses serve as indicators of forthcoming Presidential policies?

Order of consideration of the hypotheses. In view of the fact that the first question concerning socio-political

ideologies is basic to other conclusions, it is discussed first. After establishing whether or not the address is reflective of the socio-political ideologies of the country, it is possible to begin the discussion concerning whether or not the speech foreshadows further Presidential policy.

The Problem of selectivity and brevity. All inaugural addresses are included in this study. Because the inaugurals cover a span of time of almost two centuries, however, it is not possible to give comprehensive attention to each speech.

Just as this study is not a comprehensive analysis, neither are the speeches. Five addresses are considered to be reasonably comprehensive, while thirty are less exhaustive. It is apparent that as an address becomes shorter, it becomes increasingly probable that the inaugural will be less of a comprehensive analysis.¹⁷ The five previously-mentioned exhaustive inaugurals tend to exhibit three characteristics: (1) awareness of a problem and its seriousness, (2) effect of this problem on the people, and (3) a logical or reasoned

¹⁷ The five speeches which are considered as comprehensive are (1) Abraham Lincoln's first, (2) William McKinley's first, (3) William Taft's, (4) Herbert Hoover's, and (5) Dwight Eisenhower's first.

solution for the problem.¹⁸

For the past thirty years inaugurals have tended toward greater brevity. President Kennedy's address contained one thousand three hundred fifty-five words -- the shortest since Theodore Roosevelt's inaugural delivered in 1909. The longest inaugural address ever given contained eight thousand five hundred seventy-eight words and was given by President William Henry Harrison in 1841. The average length of all first inaugurals is two thousand, eight hundred forty-eight words. Average length for all second inaugural addresses is one thousand five hundred forty-five words, or only a little more than half as long as first inaugurals. All inaugural addresses since Franklin Roosevelt's first are below average length. Table I provides data for the length of each first inaugural and its rank among all addresses. "Rank" order is numbered from longest address to shortest. Table II shows the word length graphically.

¹⁸ Each of the five addresses is concerned with a different topic, as one would expect -- they are diffused over a period of 92 years. Abraham Lincoln's first was devoted to an analysis of slavery. William McKinley's first speech was concerned with monetary reform, while Hoover's inaugural is divided into thirteen sections -- one for each area of discussion. President Eisenhower's was devoted to the Korean war issue.

TABLE I

WORD LENGTH AND RANK ORDER
OF ALL FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESSES

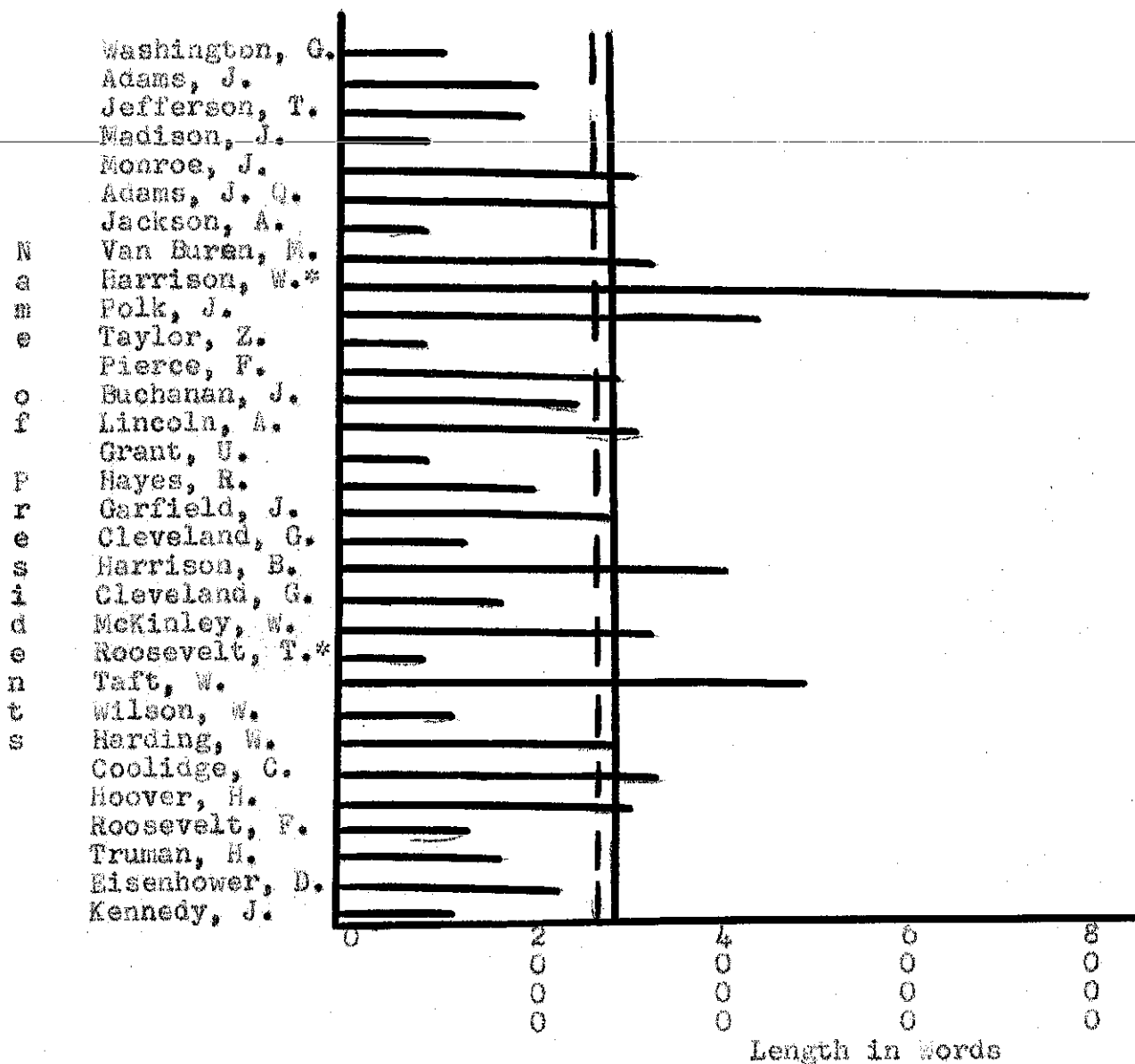
Presidents	Length in Words**	Rank Order*
Washington, George	1300	26
Adams, John.	2300	18
Jefferson, Thomas.	2123	20
Madison, James	1170	27
Monroe, James.	3322	11
Adams, John Quincy	2944	14
Jackson, Andrew.	1116	29
Van Buren, Martin.	3884	7
Harrison, William.	8578	1
Polk, James.	4904	3
Taylor, Zachary.	1096	30
Pierce, Franklin	3319	12
Buchanan, James.	2772	15
Lincoln, Abraham	3588	9
Grant, Ulysses	1139	28
Hayes, Rutherford.	2472	16
Garfield, James.	2949	13
Cleveland, Grover.	1688	24
Harrison, Benjamin	4588	4
Cleveland, Grover.	2020	21
McKinley, William.	3966	6
Roosevelt, Theodore.	981	31
Taft, William.	5425	2
Wilson, Woodrow.	1699	23
Harding, Warren.	3325	10
Coolidge, Calvin	4054	5
Hoover, Herbert.	3704	8
Roosevelt, Franklin.	1883	22
Truman, Harry.	2171	19
Eisenhower, Dwight	2442	17
Kennedy, John.	1355	25

*The rank of each address is computed by numbering from the longest inaugural to the shortest inaugural.

**Mean length is two thousand, eight hundred forty-eight words. Median length is two thousand, seven hundred seventy-two words.

TABLE II

WORD LENGTH, MEAN, AND MEDIAN
OF ALL FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESSES



*Table two shows the lengths of the inaugurals comparatively. The two noticeable extremes are (1) William Henry Harrison's longest inaugural with a total of 8,578 words, and (2) Theodore Roosevelt's short address which contains only 981 words. Mean length for all first inaugurals is 2,848. Median length for all first inaugurals is 2,772.

CHAPTER III

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Introductory historical discussion. The structure of chapter three is an analysis of the addresses, arranged chronologically, of Presidents Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams. Each speech will be analyzed in accordance with the first (do inaugural addresses reflect the nation's socio-political thinking?) and second (do inaugural addresses forecast forthcoming Presidential policy?) hypotheses.

The revolutionary period is so named because of its close relationship with the years in which the early Americans fought for their freedom. During this period the War of 1812 was begun and concluded. Dr. Bailey refers to this war as the "second war for American independence."¹⁹ Concerning the attitudes of the people, it should be stated that many, including the anti-federalists, were apprehensive about this new and stronger form of government. Others were interested in protecting their mode of worship -- Quakers, Separatists, and Puritans for example. Most of the people were tending toward the development of a nationalistic attitude. It is within this historical setting that the inaugurals were delivered.

¹⁹ Thomas A. Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People, (New York, 1958), p. 161.

President Washington -- socio-political ideologies.

President George Washington's first inaugural reflects four modes of thinking which were contemporary with his inauguration. First, there is questioning, or perhaps distrust, of the powers of the executive department of the new government. Second, the subject matter of the address is nationalistic. Third, is the great confidence in the integrity of the members of Congress. Fourth, is the uncompromising conviction that aid from God is requisite to the success of the administration.

Washington's quandry as to his proper role as chief executive is noted as he tells the Congress that it

"will remain with (their) judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power delegated by the fifth article of the Constitution is rendered expedient at the present juncture. . . ."20

He tells Congress that it will have the power to regulate the executive when he states that "it will remain with your judgment to decide . . . exercise of the . . . fifth article. . ."

21 The "fifth article" established the complete executive branch of the central government.

The following statement provides information concerning the nationalistic tone of President Washington's address:

20 Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States from George Washington 1789 to Harry S. Truman 1949, House Document No. 540 (Washington, D. C., 1952), p. 3.

21 Ibid.

"I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire. . . ." ²² This prospect was:

"that the foundation of our national policy will be laid in pure and immutable principles. . . and the preeminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world." ²³

Many Americans have placed great value in representative assemblies since the existence of the thirteen colonies. The people's attachment to them is evident in their reaction when the King of England took the power away from the assemblies, or abolished them altogether. Confidence in Congress -- a representative assembly -- is profusely expressed. The address states:

"By the article establishing the executive department it is made the duty of the President 'to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.' It will be. . . far more congenial (however), with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them." ²⁴

Continuing his approval of the Congress, he states:

"In these honorable qualifications I behold the surest pledges that as on one side no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which

22

Ibid.

23

Ibid., p. 2.

24

Ibid.

ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests. . . ."25

Later, the President says "I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good."²⁶

The fourth mode of thinking reflected by the President is that the aid and blessing of God are requisite to the success of his administration. Near the start of the address, President Washington states that:

"it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that His benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a Government. . . ."27

The President indicates the universality of this feeling of dependence as he continues. "In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every private and public good, I assure myself that it expresses your (the Congress) sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow-citizens at large less than either."²⁸ The conclusion of the address further states this opinion:

"Having thus imparted to you my sentiments as they have

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid., p. 3.

27 Ibid., p. 1.

28 Ibid., p. 2.

been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the Human Race in humble supplication that, since he has been pleased to favor the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government for the security of their union and the advancement of their happiness, so His divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this Government must depend."²⁹

Such a great and deep consciousness of executive dependence on God is almost without peer in presidential-inaugural history.

President Washington -- policy forecast. President Washington, according to Fredrick Austin Ogg, author of the eighth volume of the Pageant of America series titled Builders of the Republic made "no legislative recommendations to the Congress. . . ."³⁰ It is true that two authors³¹ state that Washington reminded the Congress -- since the inaugural was addressed to it -- of the Constitutional amendments which were to be proposed to the states; an agreement reached at the Constitutional Convention two years earlier. The following

²⁹ Ibid., p. 3.

³⁰ Fredrick Austin Ogg, Builders of the Republic, Volume 8 of The Pageant of America Series (New Haven, 1927), 169.

³¹ Ogg, p. 169 and Sol Bloom, Director General, History of the Formation of the Union under the Constitution, with Liberty Documents and Report of the Commission (Washington, D. C., 1940), p. 278.

excerpt from the address is the President's reference to this subject:

"A regard for public harmony will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how the former (effective government) can be impregnably fortified or the latter (individual rights) be safely and advantageously promoted."³²

The President prefaces this remark by saying "I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good. . . ." ³³ Apparently all policies concerning the amendments were Congressional; and the conclusion is, then, that the address is not an indicator of future presidential policy.

President Washington's second inaugural -- socio-political ideologies. The second inaugural address contains only one hundred thirty-four words -- the shortest ever given by any president. The New York Times points to the fact that this is "about six hundred words shorter than one sentence in John Adams' (address)."³⁴ Because of its uniqueness among inaugural addresses, the complete address follows:

"I am again called upon by the voice of my country to execute the functions of its Chief Magistrate. When the occasion proper for it shall arrive, I shall endeavor to express the high sense I entertain of this distinguished

32

Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 3 and Bloom, p. 278

33

"Inaugural Talks Given Few Quotes," New York Times January 20, 1957, p. 50.

34

Ibid.

honor, and of the confidence which has been reposed in me by the people of united America.

Previous to the execution of any official act of the President the constitution requires an oath of office. This oath I am now about to take, and in your presence: That if it shall be found during my administration of the Government I have in any instance violated willingly or knowingly the injunctions thereof, I may (besides incurring constitutional punishment) be subject to the upbraidings of all who are now witnesses of the present solemn ceremony."³⁵

After reading the address, it is apparent that the address is not concerned with any substantial socio-political ideology or policy forecast.

President John Adams -- socio-political ideologies.

John Adams, second President of the United States gave his inaugural address on March 4, 1797. Thomas Jefferson, Adams' successor, referred to John Adams as a "colossus in. . . debate. . . ." ²⁶ Upon reading Adams' inaugural, one is not surprised at Jefferson's point of view. One author concluded that "the eloquence of Mr. Adams resembled his general character, and formed, indeed, a part of it. It was bold, manly, and energetic. . . ." ³⁷

³⁵ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 4.

³⁶ Berman, Eleanor Davidson and McClintock, E. C., "Thomas Jefferson and Rhetoric," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXXIII, No. 1 (February, 1947), 4.

³⁷ Warren C. Shaw, "Webster's Description of the Eloquency of John Adams from His Eulogy of Adams and Jefferson, August 2, 1826," History of American Oratory (Indianapolis, 1926), p. 134.

The year 1797 was a time of hopefulness and relative prosperity for the citizens of this new republic. The Washington administration had successfully established policies for the nation's economic ills. "Domestic tranquility" was the "order of the day." In this environment John Adams gave his address. The first half of the speech is a history of the problems and eventual successes of the American people from the time of the Declaration of Independence. He mentions the concern of the intellectual strata of the colonial period, not for the armies and navies of foreign countries, but of "those contests and dissensions which would certainly arise concerning the forms of government to be instituted over the whole and over the parts of this extensive country."³⁸ He continues, saying that the interests of the country were united during the revolution "supplying the place of government, (and) commanded a degree of order sufficient at least for the temporary preservation of society."³⁹ The inability of the Confederation government to continue is also discussed. He approved of the Constitution even though he read it in Europe; and because of his distance away, he was "irritated by no literary altercation, animated by no public debate, heated by no party animosity, (and) read it with

³⁸ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 5.

³⁹ Ibid.

great satisfaction. . . ."⁴⁰ Recognition of the success of the Constitution and the public approval of it are clear when the new President states: "The operation of it has equaled the most sanguine expectations of its friends, and from . . . (the) happiness of the nation I have acquired an habitual attachment to it and veneration for it."⁴¹

The President warns that even though our government has succeeded more than anticipated, it is, nevertheless, potentially subject to corruption. His words are, in a manner of speaking, "neo-prophetic" when he states:

"If an election is to be determined by a majority of a single vote, and that can be procured by a party through artifice or corruption, the Government may be the choice of a party for its own ends, not of the nation for the national good. If that solitary suffrage can be obtained by foreign nations by flattery or menaces, by fraud or violence, by terror, intrigue, or venality, the Government may not be the choice of the American people, but of foreign nations. It may be foreign nations who govern ourselves; and candid men will acknowledge that in such cases choice would have little advantage to boast of over lot or chance."⁴²

Following the warning that the American people should guard their government from corruption and intrigue, the President expresses his appreciation for retiring President Washington. This is accomplished by Adams' speaking of the eight years of administration by a man of "long course (in)

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 6.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid., p. 7.

great actions, regulated by prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude. . . ."43 Continuing, Adams states that his predecessor "has merited the gratitude of his fellow-citizens, commanded the highest praise of foreign nations, and secured immortal glory with posterity."⁴⁴ He wished Washington an enjoyable retirement in the "delicious recollection of his services."⁴⁵

In following paragraphs under the discussion of Presidential policy, the single sentence of Mr. Adams' address which is over five times as long as George Washington's entire second inaugural, will be included. It is noted that this seven hundred and seventeen word sentence discusses "free republican government," "inquiry after truth," support of the Constitution, importance of or "delicacy toward State governments," tolerance for the diverse political opinions of the sections of the country; and encouragement of "science and letters" as well as "schools, colleges, universities, academies, and every institution for propagating knowledge."⁴⁶ He continues within this sentence to speak against corruption, foreign influence, "love of equal laws of justice, and

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid., p. 8.

46 Ibid., p. 8 (single quotation for all preceding partial quotations since the last footnote citation).

humanity;" agricultural and commerical improvement, interest in establishing friendly relations with the colonies of the hemisphere, and neutrality concerning the European nations.⁴⁷ Furthermore, he mentions the desire to obtain reparations from other countries for our citizens who sustained damage from another country,⁴⁸ His unshaken confidence in the honor, spirit, and resources of the American people," the "elevated . . . destinies of this country," and his pledge to a "strenuous endeavor" to carry out the will of the people as expressed in Congress.⁴⁹

It is concluded then, that this inaugural address is affected by, and therefore reflects, the socio-political ideas or ideologies present at the close of the eighteenth century.

President John Adams -- policy forecast. The second hypothesis -- which concerns policy -- is directly related with the long single sentence, which has all ready been discussed. It is the only part of this inaugural speech that is not either history or divine invocation; therefore, this sentence is the section to be considered in regard to possible reflections of presidential policy. Because of its copiousness and uniqueness among all of the inaugurals, the full

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 6.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

sentence follows:

"On this subject it might become no better to be silent or to speak with diffidence; but as something may be expected, the occasion, I hope, will be admitted as an apology if I venture to say that if a preference, upon principle, of a free republican government, formed upon long and serious reflection, after a diligent and impartial inquiry after truth; if an attachment to the Constitution of the United States, and a conscientious determination to support it until it shall be altered by the judgments and wishes of the people, expressed in the mode prescribed in it; if a respectful attention to the constitutions of the individual States and a constant caution and delicacy toward the State governments; if an equal and impartial regard to the rights, interests, honor, and happiness of all the States in the Union, without preference or regard to a northern or southern, an eastern or western, position, their various political opinions on unessential points or their personal attachments; if a love of virtuous men of all parties and denominations; if a love of science and letters and a wish to patronize every rational effort to encourage schools, colleges, universities, academies, and every institution for propagating knowledge, virtue, and religion among all classes of the people, not only for their benign influence on the happiness of life in all its stages and classes, and of society in all its forms, but as the only means of preserving our Constitution from its natural enemies, the spirit of sophistry, the spirit of party, the spirit of intrigue, the profligacy of corruption (sic), and the pestilence of foreign influences, which is the angel of destruction to elective governments; if a love of equal laws, of justice, and humanity in the interior administration; if an inclination to improve agriculture, commerce, and manufactures for necessity, convenience, and defense; if a spirit of equity and humanity toward the aboriginal nations of America, and a disposition to meliorate their condition by inclining them to be more friendly to us, and our citizens to be more friendly to them; if an inflexible determination to maintain peace and inviolable faith with all nations, and that system of neutrality and impartiality among the belligerent powers of Europe which has been adopted by this Government and so solemnly sanctioned by both Houses of Congress and applauded by the legislatures of the States and the public opinion, until it shall be otherwise ordained by Congress; if a personal esteem for the French nation, formed in a residence of seven years chiefly among them, and a sincere desire to preserve the friendship which has been

so much for the honor and interest of both nations; if, while the conscious honor and integrity of the people of America and the internal sentiment of their own power and energies must be preserved, an earnest endeavor to investigate every just cause and remove every colorable pretense of complaint; if an intention to pursue by amicable negotiation a reparation for the injuries that have been committed on the commerce of our fellow-citizens by whatever nation, and if success can not be obtained, to lay the facts before the Legislature, that they may consider what further measures the honor and interest of the Government and its constituents demand; if a resolution to do justice as far as may depend upon me, at all times and to all nations, and maintain peace, friendship, and benevolence with all the world; if an unshaken confidence in the honor, spirit, and resources of the American people, on which I have so often hazarded my all and never been deceived; if elevated ideas of the high destinies of this country and of my own duties toward it, founded on a knowledge of the moral principles and intellectual improvements of the people deeply engraven on my mind in early life, and not obscured by exalted by experience and age; and, with humble reverence, I feel it to be my duty to add, if a veneration for the religion of a people who profess and call themselves Christians, and a fixed resolution to consider a decent respect for Christianity among the best recommendations for the public service, can enable me in any degree to comply with your wishes, it shall be my strenuous endeavor that this sagacious injunction of the two Houses shall not be without effect."⁵⁰

The following historical facts show that John Adams' inaugural did, in fact, foreshadow forthcoming presidential policy.

First, President Adams vigorously guarded this nation's "honor and integrity" from the "pest of foreign influence."⁵¹ Second, he did steer a course of "neutrality and impartiality"⁵²

⁵⁰ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., pp. 8, 9.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 8.

⁵² Ibid.

in regard to the nations of Europe. Third, he did preserve the "power and energies" to himself, "maintain peace, friendship, and benevolence with all the world" ⁵³ Fourth, he arranged for the American people who suffered damages from foreign countries, to receive "reparation for the injuries" ⁵⁴ although in a different manner than Adams originally planned. ⁵⁵

President Jefferson -- socio-political ideologies.

President Thomas Jefferson's inaugural address reflects the socio-political ideas prevalent at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in three ways. First, by expressing adherence to fiscal responsibility in government. Second, by expressing belief in fundamental human rights, and third, the President's advocacy of isolationism.

Concerning fiscal responsibility in government finance, the incoming President of 1800 states that "a wise and frugal Government" ⁵⁶ is necessary. Continuing, he expresses the need for economy in the public expense. . . ;" ⁵⁷ "honest

⁵³ Ibid., p. 9.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Bailey, p. 98.

⁵⁶ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 13.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

payment of our debts. . . ."⁵⁸ Jefferson's statement on preservation of fundamental human rights sounds like a review of the Bill of Rights. He states that the government must protect "freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected."⁵⁹ The third contention, that of being isolationistic, is clear when the president states: "Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own Federal and Republican principles. . . ."⁶⁰ Expanding this contention, Jefferson says we are "kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to thousandth and thousandth generation. . . ."⁶¹ It is pointed out by Thomas A. Bailey that the "no entangling alliances" phrase was made famous by Jefferson-- and not by Washington as is frequently assumed.⁶² This phrase is included in the inaugural, and the Jeffersonian statement that we should "pursue our own Federal

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 12.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Bailey, op. cit., p. 100.

and Republican principles," as well as the one stating that we are "too high-minded to endure the degradations of. . . others," is a continuation of the desire to remain free from foreign entanglements; a desire which is definitely in keeping with isolationism. In reference to the New York Times article of January 20, 1947, titled "Inaugural Talks Give Few Quotes," it can now be stated that there are more than the two quotations -- one by Abraham Lincoln and the other by Franklin Roosevelt -- that are remembered by the American people. A third is "entangling alliances with none" from President Jefferson's first inaugural.

President Jefferson -- policy forecast. Within fourteen months after the inaugural address in which President Jefferson declares that the United States would stand for peace, our warships were sailing toward the Mediterranean Sea, and Tripoli in particular, to stop the Barbary pirates from raiding our ships. Then our government succeeded in "extorting from Tripoli a favorable treaty,"⁶³ This treaty eventually cost the United States sixty thousand dollars, paid to ransom American prisoners. This expenditure and troop movement was after promising frugality in a government "which shall restrain men from injuring one another. . . ." ⁶⁴

⁶³ Ibid., p. 101.

⁶⁴ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 13.

Within twenty-six months after Jefferson's inauguration, when Napoleon began to show interest in building a "New France" in the Louisiana territory, President Jefferson told Robert Livingston that from the moment France "takes possession of New Orleans. . . we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."⁶⁵ This is a political "about-face" from the inaugural statement declaring against "entangling alliances." Therefore, it is concluded that President Jefferson's inaugural address does not forecast future policy.

President Jefferson's second inaugural -- socio-political ideologies. President Jefferson's second inaugural address, delivered on March 4, 1805, reflects a strong feeling of national contentment, which is an aspect of the isolationistic socio-political ideology. The President, somewhat bluntly, states that after observing the "union of sentiment" for the "harmony and happiness (of) our future course, I offer to our country sincere congratulation."⁶⁶ This inaugural is much different from the preceding four that have been discussed. It resembles a twentieth century "political" speech in that it praises the speaker and his associates. Furthermore, it promises continued greatness in

⁶⁵ Bailey, op. cit., p. 105 quoting a letter from Jefferson to Livingston, April 18, 1802.

⁶⁶ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 18.

government. The first part of the address is Jefferson's uncompromising statement of his successes in office. He notes:

"On taking this station on a former occasion I declared the principles in which I believed it my duty to administer the affairs of our Commonwealth. My conscience tells me I have on every occasion acted up to that declaration according to its obvious import and to the understanding of every candid mind."⁶⁷

President Jefferson discusses the "aboriginal inhabitants," or indians, who were being "overwhelmed by the current (of American expansionism) or driven before it."⁶⁸ But the President reaches the conclusion that the central government has done its best for these people whom he states are "endowed with the faculties and rights of men. . . ."⁶⁹ Jefferson says the government has "liberally furnished them with the implements of husbandry and household use; we have placed among them instructors in the arts of first necessity, and they are covered with . . . the law against aggressors from among ourselves."⁷⁰

President Jefferson's second inaugural -- policy forecast. During Jefferson's first term of office, taxes

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 15.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 16.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 16, 17.

were reduced. Also, government spending declined to the point that President Jefferson began to think about the time when the national debt would be paid. The surplus tax revenues would then be returned to the states. He says:

"The revenue, . . . liberated may, by a just repartition of it among the states and a corresponding amendment of the Constitution, be applied in time of peace to rivers, canals, roads, arts, manufactures, education, and other great objects within each State. In time of war, if injustice by ourselves or others must sometimes produce war, increased as the same revenue will be by increased population and consumption, and aided by other resources reserved for that crisis, it may meet within the year all the expenses of the year without encroaching on the rights of future generations by burdening them with the debts of the past."⁷¹

The national debt was not paid off, and it did not become necessary to decide whether or not the surplus revenues should be spent on the issues of peace or those of war. Later, the President, with apparent irritation, berated the press for its "artillery. . . (which) has been levelled against us, charged with whatsoever its licentiousness could devise or dare."⁷² However, the President did not, during his administration, pursue any legal action to correct this problem. In conclusion, then, this address is one which points our problems and victories, but does not foreshadow forthcoming presidential policy.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 16.

⁷² Ibid., p. 17.

President Madison -- socio-political ideologies.

"Little Jemmy," as President James Madison's political opponents referred to him,⁷³ gave his first inaugural address on March 4, 1809. The nation was in the depths of economic despair as a result of the Jeffersonian Embargo on European trade. Madison had been elected in favor of Governor Clinton of New York -- on a war platform.⁷⁴

Regarding the first hypothesis, this inaugural does reflect the socio-political ideologies prevalent in 1809, but not as fully as one might expect. First, the address reflects the problems of the people in their economic depression, but second, it only dimly reflects the fact that Madison was the war candidate in the preceding election.

Concerning the economic depression, President Madison states that "the national prosperity being at a height not before attained, the contrast resulting from the change has been rendered more striking."⁷⁵ He continues saying "the scene. . .has. . .for sometime been distressing. . . ."⁷⁶ However, concerning the war issue, the President strongly advocates peace. He states that this nation should "cherish

⁷³ Bailey, op. cit., p. 131.

⁷⁴ Ogg, op. cit., p. 226.

⁷⁵ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 21.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

peace and friendly intercourse with all nations, . . . (and)
 . . . maintain sincere neutrality toward belligerent nations
" ⁷⁷ Furthermore, the President maintains that we should
 "prefer in all cases amicable discussion, . . . of differences
" ⁷⁸ However, it is noted that "the present situation
 of the world is indeed without a parallel," ⁷⁹ In this
 instance the address is recognizing the problem of war or
 peace, and although the President is not expressing the
 sentiment of the majority -- who advocate war, ⁸⁰ he is,
 nevertheless, stating the objective of the industrialized
 states. Therefore, it is true that the address is affected
 by -- reflects -- the nation's socio-political ideologies.

President Madison -- policy forecast. As pointed out
 earlier, President Madison strongly advocates peace, neutrality,
 and arbitration in regard to current international problems.
 The President also praises the preceding administration,
 Jefferson's, for keeping this nation out of "bloody and
 wasteful wars" ⁸¹ and by so doing, providing for "an unrivaled

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 22.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 21.

⁸⁰ Ogg, op. cit., p. 226.

⁸¹ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 21.

growth of our facilities and resources."⁸² But it is interesting to note that this nation's most futile war was fought during Madison's first administration -- the War of 1812. It was futile because England agreed to abandon her irritating (to us) Orders in Council on June 16, 1812.⁸³ We declared war on England on June 17, 1812.⁸⁴ Naturally it was impossible for this nation to learn of the British decision in view of the slow communications then in existence, but if the United States had been following a policy of "amicable discussion of differences" rather than "an appeal to arms" -- the statement made in the inaugural address, news of the British decision might have reached Washington before war was declared.⁸⁵ In addition, it is implied that ministers of sufficient ability will be "on the job" when an administration is pursuing a policy of "discussion" with "belligerent nations." In fact, the United States' affairs were in the hands of a chargé d'affaires who held approximately the same diplomatic position as a modern Consul. Our expert representative, William Pinckney who commanded the prestige of twentieth-century Ambassadors, had resigned a year and a

82

Ibid.

83

Bailey, op. cit., p. 144.

84

Ibid., p. 140.

85

Ibid., p. 145.

half before the declaration of war, and had not been replaced.⁸⁶

Furthermore, President Madison advocated a strong military force in his inaugural address, saying "an armed and trained militia is the firmest bulwark of republics. . . ."⁸⁷ This statement did not materialize in the form of policy, either.

At one point of the war, English troops had overrun large tracts of land near the Great Lakes -- not to mention the fact that they even succeeded in burning the national Capitol; and at the war's end, the British still had eight hundred ships in its Royal Navy. America had three!⁸⁸ Finally, the President's address states: "a spirit of independence to just to invade the rights of others. . . ."⁸⁹ But, according to author Bailey, the real cause of this war was the desire to capture Canada. He states: "Without Canada, there could hardly have been a War of 1812."⁹⁰ This decision to annex Canada is in direct opposition to the inaugural statement indicating that we would not "invade the rights of others."⁹¹ In view of the preceding statements which were presented

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 114.

⁸⁷ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 22.

⁸⁸ Bailey, op. cit., p. 147.

⁸⁹ Inaugural Addresses, loc. cit.

⁹⁰ Bailey, op. cit., p. 141.

⁹¹ Inaugural Addresses, loc. cit.

and not carried out, it can be concluded that this address was not an indicator of the policies of Madison's first administration.

President Madison's second inaugural -- socio-political ideologies. "Little Jemmy" became a two-term President. On March 4, 1813 he gave his second inaugural address. It was given during wartime -- the first of only four addresses which have been given during the time the United States was participating in hostilities. As would be expected, the address is totally committed to the war issue. According to his address, the Americans were fighting fairly and the British were not. The president states that "the war has been waged on our part with scrupulous regard to all these obligations. . . ."⁹² The obligations to which he refers, are that "no principle of justice or honor, no usage of civilized nations, no precept of courtesy or humanity, have been infringed."⁹³ But Madison continues: "How little has been the effect of this example on the conduct of the enemy!"⁹⁴ Because of the preoccupation of this address with honor in war, it is concluded that it does reflect the socio-political thinking of its era.

⁹² Ibid., p. 25.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

President Madison's second inaugural -- policy

forecast. The address is a condemnation of the British and glorification of the Americans. No suggested diplomatic or military avenues are given -- except to win. He states "they (the British) have not, it is true taken into their own hands the hatchet and the knife, . . . but they have let loose the savages (Indians) armed with these cruel instruments. . . ." ⁹⁵ They are "eager to glut their savage thirst with the blood of the vanquished and to finish the work of torture and death on maimed and defenseless captives." ⁹⁶ On the other hand, the President's applauding of the American troops is as follows: "The patriotism, the good sense, and the manly spirit of our fellow citizens are pledges for the cheerfulness with which they will bear each his share of the common burden." ⁹⁷ He concludes his address saying that "flashes of heroic enterprise assure us that nothing is wanting to . . . triumph, . . . but the discipline and habits which are in daily progress." ⁹⁸ Therefore, only praise and blame can be discovered in this address; therefore, it is concluded that President Madison's second inaugural address does not forecast

95

Ibid.

96

Ibid.

97

Ibid., p. 26.

98

Ibid.

future presidential policy.⁹⁹

President Monroe -- socio-political ideologies.

James Monroe became President of the United States on March 4, 1817. He is described as a Jeffersonian, philosophically, but lacking the intellectual brilliance of Jefferson; and still possessing ability in the execution of routine affairs.¹⁰⁰ He also surrounded himself with highly competent advisors. John Quincy Adams, William H. Crawford, William Wirt, and John C. Calhoun were members of his Cabinet.

After being elected without substantial opposition, James Monroe was destined to lead the nation through years of peace and prosperity. His inaugural address is imbued with the socio-political thinking of his time. It speaks of the success of the Constitutional form of government -- which was only twenty-eight years old at this inauguration, the freedom of its peoples, a warning against allowing corruption to creep into this new system of government, and national honor. Speaking of the success of the Constitution, the

⁹⁹ Further insight into the Madison administration is gained through the following quotation: "Madison . . . was so completely the prisoner of Congress that he could scarcely have been less a factor in the government if he had spent the eight years of his presidency at home on his plantation." It is not surprising, then, that his declarations had little relationship with administrative policy. Binkley, p. 293.

¹⁰⁰ Ogg, op. cit., p. 232.

President states: "To whatever object we turn our attention, whether it relates to our foreign or domestic concerns, we find abundant cause to felicitate ourselves in the excellence of our institutions."¹⁰¹ Continuing on this topic, he says that "During a period fraught with difficulties and marked by very extraordinary events the United States have flourished beyond example."¹⁰² Concerning the freedom of the people, he states:

"And if we look to the condition of individuals what a proud spectacle does it exhibit! On whom has oppression fallen in any quarter of our Union? Who has been deprived of any right of person or property? Who restrained from offering his vows in the mode which he prefers to the Divine Author of his being? It is well known that all these blessings have been enjoyed in their fullest extent. . . ."¹⁰³

After making the preceding statement, he speaks on the subject of corruption, "While. . .the constituent body retains its present sound and healthful state everything will be safe. It is only when the people become ignorant and corrupt, when they degenerate into a populace, that they are incapable of exercising the sovereignty."¹⁰⁴ The President's thoughts are summarized in only three sentences. "National honor is national property of the highest value. The

¹⁰¹ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 27.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 28.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

sentiment in mind of every citizen is national strength. It ought therefore, to be cherished."¹⁰⁵ It is possible to conclude on the basis of these four examples, that the address does reflect the socio-political ideologies of the early 1800's.

President Monroe -- policy forecast. It would be inaccurate to state that this inaugural does not indicate forthcoming policies. It does foreshadow general broad areas within which the President will channel his directives. The method of presenting the proposed policies is to first restate the "venerated examples" before him, the "great causes" of our existence, and the "happy condition of the nation. Then he states that these items" will best explain the nature of our duties and shed much light on the policy which ought to be pursued in (the) future."¹⁰⁶ In his inaugural address, President Monroe presents a policy which would pursue in regard to the Indians:

"With the Indian tribes it is our duty to cultivate friendly relations and to act with kindness and liberality in all our transactions. Equally proper is it to persevere in our efforts to extend to them the advantages of civilization."¹⁰⁷

Then two years later -- 1819 -- he gave General Jackson, of

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 31.

fame since the Battle of New Orleans during the War of 1812, orders to go after the Indians in Spanish Florida, thus preventing the Indians from renewing their burning, pillaging, and murdering of the people in the border towns of the United States.¹⁰⁸ He (Monroe) gave Jackson permission to go into Spanish Florida after them, if necessary.¹⁰⁹ President Monroe has denied ever giving Jackson further orders, even though Jackson maintains that he did have additional instructions.¹¹⁰ As far as Monroe's orders were given (according to Monroe), he was guarding those American citizens' lives and rights who lived along the border. Therefore, it is concluded that this address does indicate forthcoming presidential policy -- even though it is suggested in general terms.

President Monroe's second inaugural -- socio-political ideologies. James Monroe delivered his second inaugural address on March 5, 1821. He speaks on a great variety of subjects, making one of the longest inaugurals on record. Within its four thousand, four hundred and sixty-six words, three broad topics are discussed. First, a history of many of the events which have occurred during the administration of

108

Bailey, p. 169.

109

Ibid.

110

Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 35.

his predecessors. Second is a presentation of certain philosophical points of view; and third, some general information concerning forthcoming presidential policy, is provided.

Approximately half of the address is a historical account. Within this part are discussed such topics as the "gallant and patriotic citizens"¹¹¹ who responded during the War of 1812, a method of arming the Atlantic coast of this country to forestall future attacks so they could not reach inland, observance of economy in establishing such a system of defense, and continuance of peace and good will with all nations. In addition, President Monroe makes a statement saying this government will "adopt such measures respecting it as their honor and interest may require"¹¹² in case of future interference by European powers with American neutrality, and later speaks of the importance of the newly-acquired Florida:

"But to the acquisition of Florida too much importance can not be attached. It secures to the United States a territory important in itself, and whose importance is much increased by its bearing on many of the highest interests of the Union. It opens to several of the neighboring States a free passage to the ocean, through the Province ceded, by several rivers, having their sources high up within their limits. It secures us against all further annoyance from powerful Indian tribes. It gives us several excellent harbors in the Gulf of Mexico

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 37.

for ships of war of the largest size. It covers by its position in the Gulf, the Mississippi and other great waters within our extended limits, and thereby enables the United States to afford complete protection to the vast and very valuable productions of our whole Western country, which find a market through these streams.¹¹³

The variety of information mentioned in connection with this Florida purchase, as well as the previously mentioned issues, indicates that the address reflects the socio-political thinking contemporary to President Monroe's second inauguration.

President Monroe's second inaugural -- policy forecast.

Investigation of historical data indicates that the second inaugural address is not an indicator of Presidential policy. Two examples are presented. They are, first, Monroe's policy concerning the Indian population; and second the Monroe Doctrine.

In his inaugural President Monroe states that our Indian policy "has not been executed in a manner to accomplish all the objects intended by it."¹¹⁴ He states that the Indians have been treated as independent nations and the progress of our settlements westward, supported as they are by a dense population, has constantly driven them back, with almost the total sacrifice of the lands which they have been

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 38.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 40.

compelled to abandon."¹¹⁵ Madison suggests the following change in the Indian policy:

"Their sovereignty over vast territories should cease, in lieu of which the rights of soil should be secured to each individual and his posterity in competent portions; and for the territory thus ceded by each tribe some reasonable equivalent should be granted, to be vested in permanent funds for the education of their children. . . and to provide sustenance for them until they could provide it for themselves."¹¹⁶

In practice, this plan would have meant a kind of assimilation of the Indian population into the white population since the "right of soil (would) be secured to each individual."¹¹⁷

In fact, the opposite occurred. The Indians were driven to the western side of the Mississippi and beyond. Statesmen in charge of Indian relations adhered to the idea that "if the Indians could all be moved west of any possible white settlement, racial frictions would be at an end and the Indian problem would be solved."¹¹⁸ In regard to the Indian question, the Presidential pronouncements in the inaugural address, do not correlate with the policies of his administration.

Concerning the Monroe Doctrine, there is no indication in the inaugural address that the administration would adopt

115 Ibid.

116 Ibid.

117 Ibid.

118 Robert E. Riegel, America Moves West (New York, 1958), p. 305.

this type of policy. It is stated that if necessary this country will "adopt such measures, . . . as (our) honor and interest may require,"¹¹⁹ but this is in essence a defensive policy. The Monroe Doctrine states that "the American continents, . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."¹²⁰

One author notes that the Monroe Doctrine was really the work of John Quincy Adams,¹²¹ thus making any foreshadowing in the inaugural address increasingly remote.

President John Quincy Adams -- socio-political ideologies. President John Quincy Adams' inaugural was delivered on March 4, 1825. Sufficiency of the military, economy in the military, aid to the American Indians, and internal expansion and national unity are the major themes expressed.

Although it had been over eleven years since the burning of the national Capitol, the event had not yet passed from the minds of the American public. President Adams states that the United States should "provide and maintain a school of military science," "improve the organization and discipline of the Army," and "cherish peace while preparing

119 Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 37.

120 Riegel, op. cit., p. 309.

121 Ibid., p. 312.

for defensive war."¹²² The President further says: "the defense of the country (has been aided) by fortifications and the increase of the Navy."¹²³ These statements of purpose indicate the interest of the President in making the armed forces adequate to the defense of the nation. Concerning economy in the military, the President says "the regular armed force has been reduced and its constitution revised and perfected," maximum "efficiency (in) the military force" has been established, or attempted; as well as "accountability for the expenditure of public moneys has been made more effective."¹²⁴ He speaks of the Indian problem by stating that "progress has been made in. . .alluring the aboriginal hunters of our land to the cultivation of the soil and of the mind."¹²⁵ The topic of expansion is expressed as the President says the "population of four millions has multiplied to twelve. A territory bounded by the Mississippi has been extended from sea to sea. The people of other nations, inhabitants of regions acquired not by conquest, but by compact, have united with us. . . ."¹²⁶ The extent of national unity is mentioned

122 Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 47.

123 Ibid.

124 Ibid.

125 Ibid.

126 Ibid., p. 44.

when he states: "Ten years of peace, at home and abroad, have assuaged the animosities of political contention and blended into harmony the most discordant elements of public opinion."¹²⁷ Harmony did exist before the Presidential campaign of 1824, even though it ceased following President Adams' election. However, President John Quincy Adams' address does reflect the socio-political ideologies present in the early eighteenth hundreds.

President John Quincy Adams -- policy forecast.

President Adams spoke in favor of promoting the "civilization of the Indian tribes," increasing the Navy, suppression of the slave trade, and development of natural resources; but he was ineffectual in accomplishing his goals. First, he appointed Henry Clay as Secretary of State. As a result, Jackson's supporters labelled the appointment a political "deal."¹²⁸ Second, the position of Secretary of State was regarded as the "steppingstone" to the presidency.¹²⁹ To the Jacksonians, Clay's becoming President was undesirable. Third, as a result of these first two points, party "fervor" and antagonism reached heights of viciousness which have been

127

Ibid., p. 46.

128

Bailey, op. cit., p. 191.

129

Ibid.

rare in all of American history.¹³⁰ Authors Nevins and Commager state that, as President, "he was able to accomplish little, for the virulent hostility of the Jacksonians. . . thwarted him at every turn."¹³¹ So intense was partisan spirit that the President confided to his diary the following statement: "The skunks of party slander have been squirting around the House of Representatives. . . ."¹³² The President called Representative John Randolph -- a Jacksonian -- a "frequenter of gin lane and beer alley."¹³³ Consequently, Adams' hopes for vast internal improvements were lost.¹³⁴ Therefore, it is concluded that the inaugural address does not foreshadow policy.

¹³⁰ Allan Nevins and Henry Steele Commager, The Pocket History of the United States (New York, 1958), p. 167.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

THE JACKSONIAN PERIOD

Historical background. The Jacksonian Period is essentially the period of the rise of the common man. "Jacksonian Democracy" appealed to those who were not of the highest socio-economic status. The people, who supported Jackson, were concerned with peace and prosperity. Jackson was concerned with the means of accomplishing those ends.¹³⁵

President Jackson -- socio-political ideologies.

Andrew Jackson, the first President from the western slope of the Appalachian Mountains, delivered his inaugural address on March 4, 1829. President Jackson's address reflects the nation's socio-political thinking in four major areas.

First, he speaks in favor of peace: "With foreign nations it will be my study to preserve peace and cultivate friendship on fair and honorable terms. . . ." ¹³⁶ Second, the President refers to economy in the operation of the government, stating that "under every aspect in which it can be considered, it would appear that advantage must result from the observance of a strict and faithful economy."¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 175.

¹³⁶ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 49.

¹³⁷ Ibid., pp. 49, 50.

Third, the contention that large standing armies are dangerous in a democracy, is expressed. Dependence is placed on state militias. In this regard, the President states: "Considering standing armies as dangerous to free governments in time of peace, I shall not seek to enlarge our present establishment, nor disregard that salutary lesson of political experience which teaches that the military should be held subordinate to the civil power."¹³⁸ And finally, the fourth reflection of socio-political thinking is the President's intention to proceed in a path of reform. He states that where governmental patronage conflicts with free elections, and when "the rightful course of appointment"¹³⁹ places incompetent persons in positions of power, corrective action should be inaugurated. Therefore, it is demonstrated that President Jackson's first inaugural address reflects the socio-political ideologies prevalent at the time of its delivery.

President Jackson -- policy forecast. Because of the following reasons, Andrew Jackson's inaugural does not foreshadow forthcoming Presidential policy. First, in the inaugural address, Jackson states that he will "regard. . .

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 50.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 51.

the rights of the separate States"¹⁴⁰ and "be animated by a proper respect for those sovereign members of our Union. . .

"¹⁴¹ When the Congress passed the "Tariff of Abominations", South Carolina -- which was predominantly agricultural, was understandably restive. High tariffs are traditionally aimed at helping industry,¹⁴² but unavoidably ruinous to agricultural commerce with foreign nations; since other nations erect retaliatory tariffs which "shut off" trade because prices of commodities become disproportionate to the peoples' buying power.¹⁴³ This crisis faced South Carolina in 1832. The State's administrators reasoned that since the States established the national government and limited its powers, they could nullify any action exceeding those powers.¹⁴⁴ It was thought (by South Carolinians) that this tariff was outside of the power granted to the national government; therefore, they should have the right to nullify the Federal law. President Jackson sent a naval force to Charleston to force compliance with the law. The conclusion is, then, that this action was less than "proper respect to those

¹⁴⁰ Inaugural addresses, op. cit., p. 49.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 174.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Van Deusen, op. cit., p. 39.

sovereign members of our Union"¹⁴⁵ and "regard to the rights of the separate States."¹⁴⁶

The President's Indian policy will suffice as the second evidence that his (Jackson's) address does not foreshadow forthcoming policy. He states: "It will be my sincere and constant desire to observe toward the Indian tribes within our limits a just and liberal policy, and to give . . . humans and considerate attention to their rights and their wants. . . ."¹⁴⁷ If Jackson had followed this high principle, he would have followed different policies. But instead, he removed the Indians from their homes along the Mississippi River and forced them¹⁴⁸ to live in the unsettled areas farther west.¹⁴⁹ Also, the Black Hawk War and Cherokee "Trail of Tears," which occurred during Jackson's administration, would not have existed. Therefore, it is concluded that Jackson's inaugural statements concerning policy were not carried out and the address does not, as a result, foreshadow forthcoming policy.

¹⁴⁵ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 49.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 50.

¹⁴⁸ Nevins and Commager, loc. cit.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 183.

President Jackson's second inaugural address -- socio-political ideologies. "Old Hickory" delivered his second inaugural on March 4, 1833. The first hypothesis -- concerning socio-political ideologies -- is decided at the beginning of this address. President Jackson states: "The foreign policy adopted by our Government soon after the formation of our present Constitution, . . . has been crowned with almost complete success, and has elevated our character among the nations of the earth."¹⁵⁰ He continues: "In the domestic policy of this Government there are two objects which especially deserve the attention of the people and their representatives, and which have been and will continue to be the subjects of my increasing solicitude."¹⁵¹ Jackson then names the two objects of domestic policy to which he will give his attention. They are, first, "preservation of the rights of the several States"¹⁵² and second the "integrity"¹⁵³ of the Union."¹⁵⁴ The remainder of the address is devoted to a discussion of these two issues. It should be

¹⁵⁰ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 52.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ The word "integrity" is used here to indicate unity or inseparability of the nation; not as an indication of honor or righteousness.

¹⁵⁴ Inaugural Addresses, loc. cit.

noted that the problem which caused this address to be concerned with the area of domestic policy, is the nullification of the "Tariff of Abominations" by the State government of South Carolina. However, the problem developed into one of the succession of South Carolina from the Union. It is concluded then, that Andrew Jackson's second inaugural address does reflect the socio-political ideologies of this period.

President Jackson's second inaugural address -- policy forecast. Hypothesis two is concerned with whether or not the inaugural address foreshadows policy. Jackson speaks of the "partial sacrifices which. . . must unavoidably (be made) for the preservation of a greater good."¹⁵⁵ Although the President was hopeful that the South would make the major sacrifices, he, himself, finally agreed to the Compromise Tariff of 1833 which would, over a period of ten years, lower the tariff to a level which would be agreeable to both Andrew Jackson and South Carolina.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, it is concluded that this second inaugural address does foreshadow forthcoming Presidential policy.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 52.

¹⁵⁶ Van Deusen, op. cit., p. 77.

President Van Buren -- socio-political ideologies.

The "little magician" or "silver fox," as Martin Van Buren is alternately known, gave his only inaugural address on March 4, 1837. President Van Buren wanted to have the opportunity of participating in another inaugural, but he failed. He was defeated in the election of 1840 and again in 1848,¹⁵⁷ making him the only President to be defeated twice after having held the office of President of the United States.

Hypothesis one concerns the socio-political thinking of the nation. President Van Buren speaks on slavery, foreign alliances, and neutrality. All of these three topics were of foremost importance to the people in 1837.¹⁵⁸

Concerning slavery, the address states: "I must go into the Presidential chair the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of every attempt on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. . .and interference with (slavery) in the States where it exists."¹⁵⁹ On the topic of foreign alliances, Van Buren says: "We decline alliances as adverse to our peace."¹⁶⁰ Enforcement of the policy of neutrality is found as the President says "we disclaim all right to meddle in disputes, . . .and (are) preserving a

¹⁵⁷ Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 203.

¹⁵⁸ Bailey, op. cit., p. 198.

¹⁵⁹ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 60.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 61, 62.

strict neutrality in all their (Europe's) controversies."¹⁶¹
On the basis of these excerpts it is concluded that the address does reflect socio-political ideologies contemporary to President Van Buren's inauguration.

President Van Buren -- policy forecast. Van Buren's address does indicate forthcoming policy. Beyond the discussion of slavery, the President does not extend his discussion of forthcoming domestic policy. But in foreign affairs, he lists four broad areas of policy. First, he advocates friendship with all nations;¹⁶² second, he says we will "decline alliances"¹⁶³ with foreign nations; third, he promises to conduct our international affairs with "openness and sincerity;"¹⁶⁴ and fourth, he proposes that we follow a course of "strict neutrality."¹⁶⁵

As far as is practicable to discuss these four principles of foreign policy, they were carried out. Two instances are presented. First, is the United States steamship Caroline which was burned and sunk by Canadians in American water. It should be pointed out that the Caroline had been shipping guns

161 Ibid., p. 62.
162 Ibid., p. 61.
163 Ibid.
164 Ibid., p. 62.
165 Ibid.

and ammunitions to Canadian rebels who wished to overthrow that government. When the ship was sunk, one American was killed and the Americans in the States along the Canadian border called for war. President Van Buren refused to fight, preserved Canada and friendship, and kept the peace.¹⁶⁶ The second instance in which the President carried out his inaugural statements, was a United States-Canadian border dispute in Maine. The President sent General Winfield Scott to negotiate a settlement. He succeeded, thus carrying out his pledge to conduct open and sincere negotiations, when necessary.¹⁶⁷ Therefore, the conclusion is that the address does foreshadow future policy.

¹⁶⁶ Bailey, op. cit., pp. 202, 203.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 200.

CHAPTER V

THE "LOW-WATER MARK" PERIOD

Historical background. The "Low-Water Mark" Period is given this title because during this period of twenty years, the United States' Presidents generally accomplished their tasks on a mediocre level. During this period, the advocates of slavery and abolition did their greatest attempts to convince the nation of the wisdom of their arguments. At the conclusion of this period, the United States had ceased to be united -- seven States succeeded at that time, marking the start of the Civil War. The inaugurals of Presidents William Harrison, Polk, Taylor, Pierce, and Buchanan are considered in chapter five.

President William Harrison -- socio-political ideologies. Tippecanoe, otherwise known as General William Henry Harrison, delivered his inaugural address on March 4, 1841. After winning an election for which his campaign pictured him as having lived in a log cabin -- he was really the son of a wealthy southern planter -- his inaugural address champions honesty. By far the longest of all inaugurals, Harrison spoke for nearly two hours. He delivered a total of eight thousand, five hundred and seventy-eight words. As well as achieving the distinction of delivering the longest inaugural address,

Harrison was also the shortest-lived President. Realizing that the climate in Washington, D. C. in early March is frigid, it may be considered poor judgment for Harrison to stand on the platform in front of the Capitol and speak for two hours without a hat, gloves, or topcoat.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, he rode to the Capitol before the speech; then following it, he remounted his horse and led the inaugural parade to the White House¹⁶⁹ -- all in freezing weather without hat or coat. He contracted pneumonia and died within a month.

This is the second inaugural, analyzed thus far, that does not reflect the nation's socio-political ideologies. In fact, it seems to reflect very little except Harrison's individualism. Daniel Webster, whom Harrison appointed Secretary of State, revised the inaugural somewhat. Webster told a friend, Peter Harvey, that the address was "inappropriate."¹⁷⁰ Webster said the address "had no more to do with the affairs of the American government and people than a chapter in the Koran."¹⁷¹ Although Webster apparently accomplished a creditable

¹⁶⁸ "Inaugural Talks Give Few Quotes," New York Times, January 20, 1957, p. 50; and James Morgan, Our Presidents, Brief Biographies of Our Chief Magistrates from Washington to Eisenhower (New York, 1958), p. 86.

¹⁶⁹ Morgan.

¹⁷⁰ Henry Steele Commager and Allan Nevins, editors. The Heritage of America, Readings in American History (Boston, 1949), p. 623, quoting Peter Harvey, an associate of Daniel Webster's.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

amount of revision, the address remains out of touch with basic national issues -- slavery for example. It is largely a discourse on the proper role of the President, the Congress, the electorate, and other processes of government including a statement of nearly one thousand words on the proper use of the vote. Since current issues¹⁷² are not discussed, it is concluded that this inaugural does not reflect the nation's socio-political ideologies.

President William Harrison -- policy forecast. Because President Harrison died soon after his inauguration, there is no basis for a discussion of the second hypothesis, which concerns policy.

President Polk -- socio-political ideologies. President James K. Polk delivered his inaugural on March 4, 1845. This address reflects the socio-political thinking of its era. Substantial attention is given in this lengthy address to five topics which are pertinent to the discussion of the first hypothesis, which concerns socio-political ideologies. They are (1) growth of the nation, (2) slavery, (3) tariff, (4) Texas, and finally (5) Oregon.

Concerning national growth, the President says "our

¹⁷²

Current issues refers to the period contemporary to this address.

population has increased from three to twenty millions."¹⁷³

He continues saying that "multitudes from the Old World are flocking to our shores to participate in its blessings."¹⁷⁴

The President defends slavery by stating that slavery "existed at the adoption of the Constitution and (was) recognized and protected by it."¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, he states that "a contin-

uance of. . .devotion (to) the compromises of the Constitution must. . .be preserved."¹⁷⁶ Polk's tariff policy is in favor

of revenue tariffs instead of protective tariffs. He states that "the raising of revenue should be the object (,) and protection the incident."¹⁷⁷ Texas is discussed, also. The

President states that "it only remains for the two countries (the United States and Texas) to agree upon the terms to consummate an object so important to both."¹⁷⁸ Concerning

Oregon, Polk says our "title to the country of Oregon is 'clear and unquestionable,' and already are our people preparing to perfect that title by occupying it with their wives and children."¹⁷⁹ Because these issues, which were

173 Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 83.

174 Ibid.

175 Ibid., p. 84.

176 Ibid., p. 85.

177 Ibid., p. 86, emphases are textual.

178 Ibid., p. 87.

179 Ibid., p. 89.

contemporary to the delivery of this address are presented; it is concluded that this address does reflect the socio-political ideologies prevalent in the mid-nineteenth century.

President Polk -- policy forecast. President Polk's inaugural address does forecast future policy. Growth of the nation physically was vigorously pursued during this administration. Texas was annexed. Then President Polk "picked" a war(?)¹⁸⁰ with Mexico and succeeded in obtaining the vast section of the continent known as the Mexican Cession, which today "houses" the States of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, and part of Colorado. This is the second largest acquisition of territory in all of United States' history.¹⁸¹

Slavery continued unimpaired by the Polk administration. The "compromises of the Constitution (were) preserved."¹⁸² In addition to annexation of Texas which has been discussed, the Oregon territory was acquired by the United States only one year after Polk's inauguration. It is noticeable that

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Whether or not Polk "picked" the fight is a matter of opinion. Author Thomas A. Bailey writes that United States' claim to the disputed territory was weak, thus concluding that the President probably did cause the War. Bailey, p. 257.

181

The Louisiana Purchase, 1803, was the largest land area ever acquired by this country by a single treaty, while the Polk acquisitions were under a series of treaties.

182

Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 85.

under the Polk administration, the greatest total land area addition to this country was made. These land additions include all of the area from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, plus Texas. These were annexed during this one four-year term. In view of this information, it is concluded that Polk's inaugural address does foreshadow forthcoming policy.

President Taylor -- socio-political ideologies.

Zachary Taylor delivered his brief inaugural on March 5, 1849. The March 6, 1849 edition of Boston's Daily Evening Transcript, the day after the inauguration, states that "President Taylor had already set one good example. . . . He has given us a short concise message, in which he has used just as many words as he wanted to express himself, and no more,"¹⁸³ His address is the third shortest on record.

In his address, Taylor advocates efficiency in the military, freedom from "entangling alliances,"¹⁸⁴ peace, "extinguishment"¹⁸⁵ of the national debt, and harmony in the

¹⁸³ "By Magnetic Telegraph," The Daily Evening Transcript, Boston, March 6, 1849, p. 2.

¹⁸⁴ Taylor states: "We are warned by the admonitions of . . . the voice of our own beloved Washington to abstain from entangling alliances. . . ." Inaugural Addresses, p. 92. In the analysis of Thomas Jefferson's inaugural it is noted that it was not Washington, but Jefferson, who gave currency to the "no entangling alliances" phrase.

¹⁸⁵ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., pp. 92, 93.

sectional dispute over slavery. Remembering former President Polk's use of the armed forces in acquiring territory -- with phenomenal success, one realizes that efficiency in the armed forces, lack of alliances and peace are issues which are definitely contemporaneous with the delivery of the inaugural. Because of the cost of purchasing the vast tracts of land during the Polk administration,¹⁸⁶ the national debt became sizeable and of popular interest at the time of Taylor's inauguration. During the entire first half of the nineteenth century, slavery was an issue of constant and intense discussion. Therefore, it can be concluded that this inaugural address does reflect the socio-political thinking of its period.

President Taylor -- policy forecast. It is not possible to establish whether or not the inaugural address of President Taylor is an indicator of forthcoming policy. President Taylor died sixteen months after his inauguration. Authors Nevins and Commager assert that Taylor probably would not have carried out his inaugural statement on harmonizing the sectional differences.¹⁸⁷ But there is little value in speculation. Therefore, as this writer treated William Henry Harrison's address, no further discussion will be presented,

¹⁸⁶ Land costs totalled more than \$28 million, Bailey, p. 862.

¹⁸⁷ Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 205.

concerning policy.

President Pierce -- socio-political ideologies.

President Franklin Pierce delivered his inaugural address on March 4, 1853. It is, in this writer's opinion, one of the outstanding inaugurals thus far considered.

The address reflects the socio-political thinking of its period. Success of the nation, peace, security of our hemisphere from European imperialism, administrative integrity, and slavery are discussed. Concerning our national success, President Pierce states that the early confidence in future success "was not a presumptuous assurance, but a calm faith, springing from a clear view of the sources of power in a government constituted like ours."¹⁸⁸ He continues eloquently: "It is no paradox to say that although comparatively weak the new-born nation was intrinsically strong."¹⁸⁹ On the topic of peace, Pierce says "We have nothing in our history or position invited aggression; we have everything to beckon us to the cultivation of relations of peace and amity with all nations."¹⁹⁰ Moving to the topic of foreign colonization within the Western Hemisphere, the President states that this country rejects "the idea of interference or colonization on this side of the

¹⁸⁸ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 95.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 97.

ocean by any foreign power. . . ."191 This is a reiteration of the Monroe Doctrine. Although the President speaks at considerable length on the subject of administrative integrity, his philosophy is summed up in the following assertion: "I intend that my Administration shall leave no blot upon our fair record."¹⁹² Pierce treats the topic of slavery toward the conclusion of his address; in greater length than any of the previous issues. In consideration of this, the following statement is sufficient:

"In expressing briefly my views upon an important subject which has recently agitated the nation to almost a fearful degree, I am moved by no other impulse than a most earnest desire for the perpetuation of that Union which has made us what we are. . . ."193

It is concluded from the preceding excerpts, that this inaugural does reflect the socio-political ideologies of its period.

President Pierce -- policy forecast. Hypothesis two concerns inaugural addresses as indicators of forthcoming Presidential policy. Author Bailey asserts that Pierce inaugurated his vigorous foreign policy deliberately so the attention of the American people would be diverted from the

191 Ibid., p. 98.

192 Ibid., p. 97.

193 Ibid., p. 100

intensifying seccionalism.¹⁹⁴ His policy succeeded. As a matter of fact, history books for this period are not concerned as much with slavery and the danger of the break-up of the Union, as they are with the expansionist-imperialist policies of the national administration.¹⁹⁵ One inaugural statement that foreshadows the vigorous international policy is: "the policy of my Administration will not be controlled by any timid forebodings of evil from expansion."¹⁹⁶ Another statement in this regard is Pierce's assertion that

"Our attitude as a nation and our position on the globe render the acquisition of certain possessions not within our jurisdiction eminently important for our protection, if not in the future essential for the preservation of the rights and peace of the world."¹⁹⁷

As a result, various attempts were made to acquire Cuba,¹⁹⁸ Venezuela,¹⁹⁹ Nicaragua,²⁰⁰ and the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands.²⁰¹ In addition to these internationalist ventures, it was during the Pierce administration that Commodore Perry

¹⁹⁴ Bailey, op. cit., p. 292.

¹⁹⁵ Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 215 and Bailey, op. cit., pp. 285 to 298.

¹⁹⁶ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 97.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Bailey, p. 294.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., pp. 277, 278.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 278 and Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 215.

²⁰¹ Ibid., p. 295.

succeeded in opening Japan for trade with the United States.²⁰²
 The conclusion is that President Pierce's inaugural does contain statements that do foreshadow his administrative policy.

President Buchanan -- socio-political ideologies.

James Buchanan, this nation's only bachelor President, delivered his only inaugural address on March 4, 1857. From this date and continuing for the following four years, the nation was in a kind of "count down" leading toward disunion. Political parties, churches, Congress and public opinion began dividing into "northern" and "southern" organizations.²⁰³

The address does reflect the socio-political thinking of the nation. Nearly half of the address is a discussion of slavery. Buchanan, who was in league with Southern modes of thinking, declares that "Congress is neither 'to legislate slavery into any Territory or State nor to exclude it therefrom. . . .'"²⁰⁴ Expressing general approval of the newly-passed Kansas-Nebraska Act, the President states that the Congress is to "leave the people. . . perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way."²⁰⁵

²⁰² Ibid., p. 309.

²⁰³ Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 215.

²⁰⁴ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 103.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act stated that each territory would decide whether or not it would be slave or free when it became a state. It is indicative of the looming spectre of disunion to point out the unpopularity of this Act. It was introduced by Senator Douglas of Illinois -- recently famous as a result of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. Fiercely hated by Northerners because of the Act, Douglas himself confessed that he could travel from "Washington to Chicago by the light of fires" built to burn him in effigy.²⁰⁶ After reaching Chicago -- in his home State, Douglas tried to speak one Saturday night in his own defense; but the flags in the harbor were lowered to half mast, church bells tolled for an hour, and a group of ten thousand people "hooted and groaned" until Douglas -- after midnight -- finally gave up and exclaimed: "It is now Sunday morning. I am going to church and you can go to hell."²⁰⁷ But the President approved the Act and referred to it in the inaugural. It is concluded, therefore, that this address reflects the socio-political thinking of the Nation just before the Civil War.

President Buchanan -- policy forecast. The address does foreshadow forthcoming policy. The slavery question was decided by each territory, Union was preserved -- until the

206 Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 208.

207 Ibid.

end of his administration, and peace with other nations was maintained. All of these issues are discussed in Buchanan's inaugural. Although it is true that the slavery question continued to be decided by individual territories only because a majority of Congress was unable to agree on a better solution, and peace with other nations maintained only because of our preoccupation with the domestic crisis; it also follows that the policies were enunciated and executed during President Buchanan's administration.

CHAPTER VI

THE LINCOLN PERIOD

Historical Background. The Lincoln Period includes only the addresses of President Lincoln, for two reasons. First, these two addresses are generally considered to be the finest, or among the finest, inaugural addresses. Second, this eight-year era is considered separately because it is a period which is unique in United States history -- the Civil War.

As President Lincoln delivered his inaugural speech, the Union was already divided. Seven southern States had seceded from the Union.

President Lincoln -- socio-political ideologies.

Mr. Lincoln delivered his first inaugural address on March 4, 1861. The nation was probably nearer collapse on the date of this inauguration than it has ever been -- before or since this inauguration.

Some historical data is of value in presentation of the discussion of the first hypothesis. First, it is noted that Mr. Lincoln wrote the speech for his inauguration during a period of time when it "did not seem likely that the North would go to war to preserve the Union."²⁰⁸ Second, as if this

general public attitude were not sufficiently discouraging. Horace Greeley, in his New York Daily Tribune, denounced the thought of maintaining a Union which would be "pinned together by bayonets."²⁰⁹ The Northern sentiment was that the "erring sisters (the Southern States) go in peace."²¹⁰

Third, in addition to this political outlook, office-seekers, and curiosity-hunters made Springfield, Illinois -- Lincoln's hometown -- their headquarters. One historical account speaks of the "tiny prairie village (resounding) with the foot beats of big-time politicians"²¹¹ and that "metropolitan newsmen dogged his steps, (and) office seekers fell across his path at every turn. . . ."²¹² Mrs. Lincoln helped by serving tea in Springfield State House to the "motley line of guests."²¹³ Mr. Lincoln got away from these "hangers-on" and found space and quiet in a room on the top floor²¹⁴ of the State House and proceed to write his first inaugural address. In its preparation, the President-elect referred to Clay's "Speech of 1850," Jackson's "Proclamation Against Nullification,"

209 Bassett, op. cit., p. 12

210 Ibid.

211 Earl W. Wiley, "Lincoln: His Emergence as the Voice of the People," A History and Criticism of American Public Address (New York, 1943), p. 866.

212 Ibid.

213 Ibid.

214 The State House had three floors. Ibid.

Webster's "Reply to Hayne," and the Constitution.²¹⁵ In addition to the benefit of referring to these documents, Mr. Lincoln showed his draft of the forthcoming address to William H. Seward, who was to become Secretary of State; Senator-elect O. H. Browning, Stephen A. Douglas, Francis P. Blair, and a Judge named David Davis.²¹⁶ Mr. Lincoln's purpose in submitting the address to these men was to obtain suggestions for revision. William Seward gave the most extensive suggestions.²¹⁷

With the Union all ready shattered,²¹⁸ Abraham Lincoln stepped to the rostrum and declared: "You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it!'"²¹⁹

The entire address--without exception--is devoted to the problem of secession and slavery. To make a conclusion on the first hypothesis, which concerns the socio-political thinking of the nation, one brief paragraph is presented: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with

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Ibid.

216

Wiley, op. cit., pp. 867, 868.

217

Ibid., p. 868.

218

Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 218.

219

Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 116, emphases are textual.

the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe that I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."²²⁰ The remainder of the address is a presentation and clarification of the terms or policies that he planned to pursue. It is concluded, therefore, that Abraham Lincoln's first inaugural does reflect the nation's socio-political ideologies.

President Lincoln -- policy forecast. Before beginning the discussion of the second hypothesis, which concerns policy, it is interesting to quickly notice the reaction in the Western section of the country to this inaugural address. The Daily Alta California, which was the most reputable newspaper on the West Coast during the last half of the nineteenth century,²²¹ states -- in response to receiving the address by the new telegraph system²²² -- that "The result of the present grave difficulties of the Federal Government must depend to a considerable extent, upon the personal character of the head of the nation."²²³ The writing continues: "if

²²⁰ Ibid., p. 109.

²²¹ Opinion which was communicated to this writer by the librarians at the California State Library, Sacramento, California on December 27, 1962.

²²² It took fifteen days to transmit the inaugural address from Washington, D. C. to San Francisco. "The Inaugural of the New President," Daily Alta California, San Francisco, March 19, 1961, p. 2.

²²³ Ibid.

he be cool, wise, kind, brave and determined, the Union may yet be preserved; if he be hasty, unwise, harsh, weak or unsteady, (we may) become a byword and a reproach among the nations of the earth."²²⁴ This appraisal seems completely accurate.

Mr. Lincoln's theme for his inaugural was the preservation of the Union. He states it in many ways. Perpetuity of the government, the "national fabric," and Union, are modes used by Mr. Lincoln to express his desire for unity. It is common knowledge that he worked with meritorious skill and success to make Union a fact.

Earlier in this writing, the New York Times article titled "Inaugural Talks Give Few Quotes" was cited. It stated that inaugural speeches "have not contributed more than a half-dozen memorable phrases to the language."²²⁵ Furthermore, the article states that it is a "safe bet" that the "average citizen cannot remember more than two" ²²⁶ It has all ready been shown that a third phrase is remembered: "entangling alliances with none" from Thomas Jefferson's first inaugural. Three familiar phrases date back to this one inaugural. First: "Can aliens make treaties easier than

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ "Inaugural Talks Give Few Quotes," New York Times, January 20, 1957, p. 50.

²²⁶ Ibid.

friends can make laws?"²²⁷ Second: "You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it.'"²²⁸ Third is a fragment of a complete thought. The well-remembered phrase is: "the better angels of our nature."²²⁹ Therefore, it is concluded that inaugural addresses have contributed "memorable" phrases to our language.

President Lincoln's Second Inaugural -- socio-political ideologies. Father Abraham,²³⁰ as Mr. Lincoln had come to be known, delivered his second inaugural address on March 4, 1865 -- just forty days before his death.²³¹ This second inaugural is one of Mr. Lincoln's most effective speeches²³² and was his last "great literary and oratorical triumph."²³³ According to one author, both the Gettysburg Address and the Second Inaugural are considered by "nearly every modern critic"

²²⁷ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 114.

²²⁸ Ibid., p. 116, emphases are textual.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Wiley, op. cit., p. 873.

²³¹ Joseph H. Choate, Abraham Lincoln and Other Addresses in England (New York, 1910), p. 42. From an address delivered before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, November 13, 1900.

²³² Bassett, p. 37.

²³³ Warren C. Shaw, History of American Oratory (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1928), p. 399.

as being "literary gems that will live as long as the language that he spoke or the nation that he served."²³⁴ Carl Schurz, himself an orator, states that the address "poured out the whole devotion and tenderness of his great soul."²³⁵ The following statement made by Mr. Schurz develops his thought more fully:

"It had all the solemnity of a father's last admonition and blessing to his children before he lay down to die No American President had ever spoken words like these to the American people. America never had had a President who found such words in the depth of his heart."²³⁶

When the British statesman and later Prime Minister, William Ewart Gladstone, read the second inaugural, he responded: "I am taken captive by so striking an utterance as this. Lincoln's words show that upon his anxiety and sorrow have wrought their full effect."²³⁷

The President's speech reflects the socio-political ideologies of the nation. At one point in his address, speaking of the North and South, he states:

"Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we may not be

234

Ibid.

235

Ibid., p. 401.

236

Ibid.

237

Shaw, op. cit., p. 402.

judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been fully. The Almighty has his own purposes."²³⁸

This single excerpt is sufficient to substantiate the conclusion that the address reflects the nation's socio-political thinking on inauguration day, 1865.

President Lincoln's Second Inaugural -- policy

forecast. The address does not forecast forthcoming policy. While it is true that Mr. Lincoln died only a little more than a month later, and could not, therefore, have executed the policies; it is also true that none are included in the address. A California newspaper, published three days after the inauguration, states that the address "is absolutely barren of suggestion. . .of the future."²³⁹

238

Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 118.

239

"The Inaugural," Daily Alta California, San Francisco, March 7, 1865, p. 2.

CHAPTER VII

THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD

Historical background. The Reconstruction Period includes the inaugural addresses of Presidents Grant, Hayes, and Garfield. Authors Nevins and Commager have concluded that "the most significant thing about the politics of the postwar years was their insignificance."²⁴⁰ Continuing their derision of Grant's era, these authors write that the administrations of Pierce and Buchanan were "dull and incompetent," but "it was reserved for the Grant administration to be incompetent and corrupt."²⁴¹ Beginning with President Hayes, corruption lost the advantage of having a chief executive who trusted people too much. President Hayes made vigorous attempts in an effort to end corruption in government.

President Grant -- socio-political ideologies. Ulysses S. Grant, who has in recent years been dubbed "useless" Grant, delivered his inaugural on March 4, 1869. It is interesting that one of the two or three most inept Presidents should follow the unfinished term of one of the great Presidents.

240

Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 256.

241

Ibid.

The first hypothesis concerns the socio-political thinking of the nation. Grant's first address does not reflect the people's thinking. One author states; "His political standards were the ideals of the farmers of 1840,"²⁴² Then this author says "these. . . virtues were reflected in his inaugural address."²⁴³ Therefore, it is concluded that the Grant inaugural did not reflect the national thinking contemporary to its delivery.

President Grant -- policy forecast. President Grant's inaugural does not foreshadow future policy. The Daily Alta California newspaper of March 5, 1869, states: "The inaugural address of President Grant. . . does not afford any clew (sic) to a special policy hereafter to be pursued. . . ." ²⁴⁴ The President does, however, make three statements reflective of his appreciation of honesty in the affairs of government. On the basis of these statements one expects to find an administration marked by integrity. But it is common knowledge that the Grant administration was the most corrupt in the nation's history, until that time. The executive office and Congress was not similarly "shamed by corruption" again,

242 Bassett, op. cit., p. 77.

243 Ibid.

244 "President Grant's Inaugural Address," Daily Alta California, San Francisco, March 5, 1869, p. 2.

for "half a century."²⁴⁵ Therefore, it is concluded that the inaugural does not foreshadow forthcoming Presidential policy.

President Grant's Second Inaugural -- socio-political ideologies. Ulysses S. Grant delivered his second inaugural address on March 4, 1873. The address reflects the nation's socio-political thinking. In it, civil rights, economic development, and expansionism are discussed. Because of the subject matter of the second inaugural, it is considered to be reflective of the post-Civil War, Reconstruction Era thinking.

President Grant's Second Inaugural -- policy forecast. The second inaugural address of Ulysses S. Grant does not forecast Presidential policy. The President advocates amalgamation with the Indians -- for their benefit, internal improvements, and civil rights for the newly-freed negroes. The lack of success of the President in these areas -- and others -- is summed up by authors Nevins and Commager when they write that Grant was "a great soldier, but a sorry chief executive"²⁴⁶ Another historical note, which borders on being humorous, is the comment made by Henry Adams -- descendant of John and John Quincy Adams -- after studying

²⁴⁵ Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 260.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 259.

the American Presidents from Washington to Grant. He said that "Grant made evolution ridiculous."²⁴⁷

President Hayes -- socio-political ideologies.

President Rutherford B. Hayes' only inaugural address was delivered on March 5, 1877.

The address reflects the nation's socio-political ideologies in the areas of civil rights, economics, civil service, and foreign affairs.²⁴⁸ In the area of civil rights, the President makes the statement that "universal suffrage should rest upon universal education."²⁴⁹ Speaking on economics, he says "the sweeping revolution of the entire labor system (to support the war effort and then back to a peacetime economy). . . could not occur without presenting problems of the gravest moment. . . ." ²⁵⁰ Civil service reform is promoted and the President states that the founders of the nation intended that an official "should be secure in his tenure as long as his personal character remained untarnished and the performance of his duties satisfactory."²⁵¹ Finally, the President, on the subject of foreign relations,

247

Ibid.

248

Ibid., p. 238

249

Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 127.

250

Ibid., p. 126.

251

Ibid., p. 127.

says that our "traditional rule of non-interference in the affairs of foreign nations. . .ought to be strictly observed."²⁵² In view of the subject matter presented, it is concluded that the address does reflect the socio-political ideologies of the Reconstruction Era.²⁵³

President Hayes -- policy forecast. The address forecasts forthcoming Presidential policy. President Hayes encouraged formation of local governmental units in the South which would be fair to whites and negroes. To allow this to take place, Hayes recalled the federal army garrisons and thereby caused the collapse of the "carpetbagger" organizations which had been established and protected by the federal forces. Although civil service reforms, twentieth-century style, were not begun until after Hayes left office; civil service reform had begun under Hayes.

The San Francisco press makes the following candid appraisal of the address two days after it was delivered: "the office-hunters. . .will not like the flavor of what he says upon civil-service reform. Whether fit for an office or not, they want the offices, and will not be pleased at the

²⁵² Ibid, p. 128.

²⁵³

The socio-political ideologies were not those of the "carpetbagger" politicians, but rather those of the general United States citizenry. Nevins and Commager, pp. 237, 238.

idea that fitness should be consulted."²⁵⁴ To further describe the importance of the reforms -- because of their difficulty, it is pointed out that in spite of Hayes' successes, "he remained to the end of his term one of the most misunderstood, most underestimated Presidents, the Republican leaders hating him as an apostate and the Democrats despising him as a fraud."²⁵⁵ Therefore, it is concluded that even in the face of formidable opposition, President Hayes did execute many of the policies enunciated in his inaugural address.

President Garfield -- socio-political ideologies.

President James A. Garfield delivered his inaugural address on March 4, 1881 -- a nearly historic date: "It is now three days more than a hundred years since the adoption of the first written constitution of the United States -- the Articles of Confederation. . . ."²⁵⁶

The address reflects the socio-political thinking of Americans in three major areas. First is slavery. Second is the importance of civil service reform; third is preservation and protection of the rights of our peoples. Concerning

²⁵⁴ "How It is Received," Daily Alta California, San Francisco, March 7, 1877, p. 2.

²⁵⁵ James Morgan, Our Presidents (New York, 1958,) p. 193.

²⁵⁶ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 131.

slavery, Garfield states: "The elevation of the negro race from slavery to the full rights of citizenship is the most important political change we have known since the adoption of the Constitution of 1787."²⁵⁷ On the subject of civil service reform, the President says that the "civil service can never be placed on a satisfactory basis until it is regulated by law."²⁵⁸ Finally, the President's remarks concerning protection of individual rights, exhibit animosity for the Mormon Church: "The Mormon Church not only offends the moral sense of manhood by sanctioning polygamy, but prevents the administration of justice through ordinary instrumentalities of law."²⁵⁹ The right to the ballot is also discussed. At one point the President says: "There can be no permanent disfranchised peasantry in the United States."²⁶⁰ And he later states: "Bad local government is certainly a great evil. It is a crime which, if persisted in, will destroy the government itself."²⁶¹ On the basis of these excerpts, it is concluded that the address reflects the nation's socio-political ideologies.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 132.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 136.

²⁵⁹ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 136.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 133.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

President Garfield -- policy forecast. In view of the fact that President Garfield died less than seven months after his inauguration -- exactly two hundred days after it -- no conclusions can be reached concerning whether or not this address foreshadows forthcoming policy.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PRE-TWENTIETH CENTURY PERIOD

Historical background. The Pre-Twentieth Century Period covers the years from 1885 until 1901. It includes Presidents Cleveland, Harrison, and McKinley. The major problems of concern during this period were international relationships and domestic prosperity.

President Cleveland -- socio-political ideologies.

President Grover Cleveland, who had never been in Washington until going there to be inaugurated, delivered his first inaugural address on March 4, 1885. Although he served two terms, they were not in succession. President Cleveland is the only Chief Executive who has ever been re-elected after having been defeated. Cleveland's two terms of office were interrupted by Benjamin Harrison's single term.

Cleveland's inaugural reflects the nation's socio-political thinking of this country in two broad areas. First in his discussion of governmental economy, and second in his contempt for foreign minorities who would undermine this nation's standard of living.

Concerning governmental economy, Cleveland says "we should never be ashamed of the simplicity and prudential economies which are best suited to the operation of a

republican form of government. . . ."262 He continues by stating that government officials "may do much by their example to encourage. . . that plain way of life which among their fellow-citizens aids integrity and promotes thrift and prosperity."²⁶³ He suggests that the national government guard against collecting surplus monies, thus "preventing the accumulation of a surplus in the Treasury to tempt extravagance and waste."²⁶⁴

On the topic of minority races and the American way of life, the President is vague, but his meaning is, nevertheless, discernible. With reference to the Mormon church, Cleveland states that "polygamy in the Territories, destructive of the family relation and offensive to the moral sense of the civilized world, shall be repressed."²⁶⁵ Apparently referring to Oriental immigrants, Cleveland states: "the laws should be rigidly enforced which prohibit the immigration of a servile class to compete with American labor, with no intention of acquiring citizenship, and bringing with them and retaining habits and customs repugnant

262 Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 141.

263 Ibid.

264 Ibid.

265 Ibid.

to our civilization."²⁶⁶ In view of the President's statements on economy in government, and standards of morality and living; it is concluded that President Cleveland's address does reflect the socio-political ideologies contemporary to its delivery.

President Cleveland -- policy forecast. Hypothesis two concerns forthcoming policy. His inaugural statements concerning economy in government for example, were vigorously carried out. One author states that "Cleveland was ever fighting against extravagance."²⁶⁷ On the issue of foreign affairs, Cleveland also carried out the policy presented in his inaugural. In his address, Cleveland advocates "the policy of Monroe and of Washington and Jefferson -- 'Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none.'"²⁶⁸ Author Bailey states that "he brought to the administration of foreign affairs a rough-hewn honesty and a deep seated opposition to imperialism, protectorates, and other foreign entanglements."²⁶⁹

266

Ibid.

267

Bassett, op. cit., p. 169.

268

Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 141. It is noted that President Cleveland is quoting a phrase from President Jefferson's first inaugural.

269

Bailey, op. cit., p. 402.

President Benjamin Harrison -- socio-political ideologies. President Benjamin Harrison delivered his inaugural address on March 4, 1889. Harrison's inaugural reflected a great sense of national pride and the need for strict observance, and enforcement, of individual rights.

On the subject of national pride, Harrison states:

"We have not attained an ideal condition. Not all of our people are happy and prosperous; not all of them are virtuous and law abiding. But on the whole the opportunities offered to the individual to secure the comforts of life are better than are found elsewhere and largely better than they were here one hundred years ago."²⁷⁰

Later, Harrison speaks with approval of our international paternalism:

"We have not sought to dominate or to absorb any of our weaker neighbors, but rather to aid and encourage them to establish free and stable governments resting upon the consent of their own people."²⁷¹

Furthermore, he says "no other people have a government more worthy of their respect."²⁷²

Speaking on the necessity of preserving individual rights in our interpersonal relationships, Harrison says:

"The community that by concern, open or secret, among its citizens denies to a portion of its members their plain rights under the law has severed the only

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Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 144.

²⁷¹

Ibid., p. 148.

²⁷²

Ibid., p. 151.

safe bond of social order and prosperity."²⁷³

Expanding his thought, Harrison says "the evil works from a bad center both ways. It demoralizes those who practice it and destroys the faith of those who suffer by it in the efficiency of the law as a safe protector."²⁷⁴ The conclusion is, then, that Harrison's inaugural does reflect the socio-political ideologies prevalent in 1889.

President Harrison -- policy forecast. In two major policy areas, President Harrison's administration did not follow the pronouncements of the inaugural. First, Harrison advocates full support of the civil service law of 1883:

"Heads of Departments, bureaus and all other public officers having any duty connected therewith will be expected to enforce the civil-service law fully and without evasion. Beyond this obvious duty I hope to do something more to advance the reform of the civil service."²⁷⁵

The historical record indicates that he did not enforce this law. One author writes that "although Harrison had promised to enforce civil service reform, he was no sooner in power than he was beset by troops of office seekers."²⁷⁶ They were

²⁷³ Ibid., p. 146.

²⁷⁴ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., pp. 146, 147.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 148.

²⁷⁶ Bassett, op. cit., p. 149.

not disappointed.²⁷⁷ The second area of policy that is stated in the inaugural, but not carried out, is the methodology for carrying out international diplomacy. The inaugural states: "calmness, justice, and consideration should characterize our diplomacy."²⁷⁸ Harrison expands his thought by saying that "the offices of an intelligent diplomacy or of friendly arbitration in proper cases should be adequate to the peaceful adjustment of all international difficulties."²⁷⁹ The offices of "intelligent diplomacy," as provided by Cleveland, were insufficient in the dispute over sealing in the Bering Sea. As a matter of fact the major arguments of the United States in this dispute were rejected by the British, and this country was charged nearly one-half million dollars in damages.²⁸⁰ The offices of "intelligent diplomacy" were also inadequate when Italy accused this country of being incapable of protecting Italian citizens living here. The United States eventually paid the Italian government twenty-five thousand dollars in an effort

²⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 149.

²⁷⁸ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 148.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Bailey, op. cit., p. 413. The "damages" were incurred against the United States because of its policy of seizing Canadian schooners involved in sealing.

to reduce its rancor.²⁸¹ The conclusion is that "calmness" and "consideration" did not characterize the diplomacy of the Harrison administration. Therefore, the address is not construed as being of value in foreshadowing future Presidential policies.

President Cleveland's Second Inaugural -- socio-political ideologies. President Grover Cleveland delivered his second inaugural address on March 4, 1893, eight years after his first inaugural. President Cleveland is the only United States Chief Executive who has been re-elected after having been defeated. His address concerns three broad areas of interest: (1) integrity, (2) economy, and (3) reform.

The three subject areas discussed in Cleveland's address make it easily recognizable as being reflective of the socio-political ideologies of the latter part of the nineteenth century. After the administrations of some of his predecessors, integrity in governmental affairs was a much-needed commodity.²⁸² Cleveland says that "while every American citizen must contemplate with the utmost pride and enthusiasm the growth and expansion of our country, . . . it behoves us to constantly watch for every symptom of insidious

281

Ibid., p. 415.

282

Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 260.

infirmity that threatens our national vigor."²⁸³ He also speaks of the "conditions and tendencies among our people which. . .menace the integrity. . .of their Government."²⁸⁴ The startling statement that Cleveland makes on economy follows. It is "triggered" by the excessive (Cleveland's opinion) grants made by Congress to Civil War veterans: "the people should patriotically and cheerfully support their Government (but) its functions do not include the support of the people."²⁸⁵ Reform is the subject on which Cleveland expresses himself at the greatest length. It is subdivided into three sections: (1) civil service reform, (2) business and industrial trusts, and (3) tariff reform. First, he states that "civil-service reform has found a place in our public policy and laws"²⁸⁶ to "remove from political action the demoralizing madness for spoils. . . ."²⁸⁷ Second, Cleveland says "the existence of immense. . .combinations of business interests formed for the purpose of limiting production and fixing prices is inconsistent with the fair field which ought to be open to every independent activity."²⁸⁸

283 Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 153.

284 Ibid.

285 Ibid., p. 154

286 Ibid., p. 155.

287 Ibid.

288 Ibid.

Concerning tariff reform (lowering), Cleveland states that "we proclaim that the necessity for revenue to support the government furnishes the only justification for taxing the people. . . ." ²⁸⁹ In other words, the President is opposing protective tariffs and supporting revenue tariffs. On the basis of these three broad areas of discussion, it is concluded that President Cleveland's second inaugural reflects the socio-political ideologies of its era.

President Cleveland's Second Inaugural -- policy forecast. President Cleveland's inaugural does foreshadow forthcoming policy. Authors Nevins and Commager state that Cleveland "had strength of character, unyielding courage, and a program of reform in the public interest." ²⁹⁰ Further evidence that the inaugural foreshadows further policy lines in their following statements:

"He reformed the Federal departments, reclaimed vast areas of public land from corporation control, fought pension grabs and other special legislation, invigorated the civil service, and even forged through Congress a reduction of the tariff. . . ." ²⁹¹

In view of this information, it is apparent that the address does forecast Presidential policy.

289

Ibid., p. 156.

290

Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 369

291

Ibid.

President McKinley -- socio-political ideologies.

William McKinley delivered his first inaugural address on March 4, 1897 while the nation was in an economic depression. This inauguration climaxed the most colorful Presidential campaign in all of the nation's history, up to that time. William McKinley, a republican, was opposed by the democrat, William Jennings Bryan. The republican party had an early "lead" in the campaign in all respects except in its candidate, where the democratic party had a man of formidable capabilities.²⁹² Bryan was the vigorous showman-candidate and arresting orator who, for nearly half a century overwhelmed his audiences with the topics of free coinage of silver (a "nightmare" to businessmen),²⁹³ agricultural reform, and other issues generally attractive to all but the monied interests of the country. This may be a contributory factor in the relative size of Bryan's and McKinley's campaign budgets. Bryan's is reported to have been less than one-half million dollars,²⁹⁴ while McKinley's budget may have reached seven million dollars.²⁹⁵

The first hypothesis concerns the address and its reflection of national socio-political ideologies. McKinley's

²⁹² Bassett, op. cit., p. 194.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 352.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

address is reflective of the socio-political thinking of the nation. The outstanding mode of thinking is the economics of the period. After saying that the nation is in an economic depression, McKinley states: "the only relief that can come must be from decreased expenditures."²⁹⁶ Following this trend of thought, he says "the Government should not be permitted to run behind or increase its debt in times like the present."²⁹⁷ It is concluded that the address reflects the socio-political ideologies of its era.

President McKinley -- policy forecast. President McKinley's inaugural does not foreshadow future policy. The President states in his inaugural that the Republican party "has supported 'such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to the Market' This purpose will be steadily pursued. . . ."²⁹⁸ Reference here is to trusts and tariffs, but it is interesting to note that five years later, on the day before McKinley's assassination, he delivered a speech in which he "shook off party bonds and declared for the

²⁹⁶ Inaugural Addresses, p. 160. This is in contrast

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 163.

modification of the tariff. . .: 'The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem,'²⁹⁹ Apparently he did not fight against the "undue charges" on "their supplies." If he had, "expansion of our trade" would not have been, after five years, "the pressing problem."

In addition to the preceding discussion which shows that McKinley did not carry out his inaugural statements on the topic of tariffs, there is still another issue: peace or war. President McKinley states: "We have cherished the policy of non-interference. . .keeping ourselves free from entanglement, either as allies or foes, content to leave undisturbed with them the settlement of their own domestic concerns."³⁰⁰ He continues: "We want no wars of conquest; we must avoid the temptation of territorial aggression."³⁰¹ Before the end of this "no-wars-of-conquest" administration, the United States had acquired more separate pieces of territory than at any other time in the nation's history, under any President. They include: the Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Puerto Rico, Guam, Wake Island, and Samoa,³⁰²

299 Bassett, op. cit., p. 213.

300 Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 164.

301 Ibid.

302 Bailey, op. cit., p. 862.

in addition to the liberation of Cuba from Spain. The conclusion is evident. President McKinley's inaugural address does not foreshadow his Presidential policies.

President McKinley's Second Inaugural -- socio-political ideologies. President McKinley's second inaugural was delivered on March 4, 1901. McKinley died approximately six months later, on September 14, 1901, eight days after having been shot by an anarchist.³⁰³

The nation's socio-political ideologies are reflected in this address. President McKinley speaks on the topics of sectionalism, Cuba, and the Philippine Islands. The conclusion is that the address reflects the socio-political thinking of its period.

President McKinley's Second Inaugural -- policy forecast. It is not possible to determine whether or not this address foreshadows forthcoming policy since McKinley's death prevented him from making conclusive policy declarations and decisions. Therefore, no conclusion can be reached on the second hypothesis.

CHAPTER IX

THE EMERGING PERIOD

Historical background. The Emerging Period has been given this name because this is the period in which the United States emerged from isolationism. This period includes Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson. It includes the "trust-busting" of Roosevelt and Taft, the internationalistic ventures such as the Panama Canal in Central America, reforms, and the start of the first World War in Europe.

President Theodore Roosevelt -- socio-political ideologies. The man who stated that McKinley "had no more backbone than a chocolate eclaire,"³⁰⁴ succeeded him to the Presidency on September 14, 1901. Nearly three and one half years later, this same man stood in front of the Capitol to deliver his first (and final) inaugural address. His name: Theodore Roosevelt. Known first as "His accidency," Roosevelt came to be remembered as the President who advocated "speaking softly, and carrying a big stick."³⁰⁵ He advocated such a great amount of vigor in governmental affairs

³⁰⁴ Shaw, op. cit., 590.

³⁰⁵ Marie Kathryn Hochmuth, A History and Criticism of American Public Address, Vol. III (New York, 1955), 355.

that he later (1916) said "President Wilson spoke bombastically and carried a dishrag."³⁰⁶ It is noted that Roosevelt's inaugural address is not considered to be one of his outstanding rhetorical accomplishments.³⁰⁷ The following "rank" and titles of his speeches are interesting:

"His best: The Romanes lecture at Oxford. Gave him national importance: 'The Strenuous Life.' Greatest impact culturally: 'The Man with the Muckrake.' Greatest audience reaction: Speech at the Progressive Convention and the Cooper Union address of 1916."³⁰⁸

The socio-political ideologies of the period are reflected in the address in two ways: (1) power and (2) internationalism. Regarding power, Roosevelt states: "No weak nation that acts manfully and justly should ever have cause to fear us, and no strong power should ever be able to single us out as a subject for insolent aggression."³⁰⁹ Concerning internationalism, he says that "toward all other nations, large and small, our attitude must be one of cordial and sincere friendship."³¹⁰ Because of the President's statements in these two areas, the conclusion is that the address is reflective of the nation's socio-political ideologies.

306

Ibid.

307

Ibid., p. 360.

308

Ibid., pp. 359, 360.

309

Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 174.

310

Ibid., p. 173.

President Theodore Roosevelt -- policy forecast. The address does indicate future action of the President. It is common knowledge that during his administration, this country was both powerful and peaceful -- qualities which are advocated in the inaugural.

President Taft -- socio-political ideologies. William Howard Taft, the personal choice of retiring President Theodore Roosevelt, delivered the second-longest inaugural address in Presidential history.

The issues enunciated on that afternoon of March 4, 1909 reflected the thinking of the nation -- socially and politically. It is pro-Rooseveltian and liberal in scope. Taft advocates programs ranging from establishing a parcel post system, to "trust busting." Evidence that the people of this country concurred, is found in the statement of one writer who states: "He (Roosevelt) was at the height of his popularity and could doubtless have had another term for the asking."³¹¹ But, rather than try to break the two-term tradition, Roosevelt chose Taft as his successor, because he would carry out "my policies."³¹² Since the people elected Taft on the basis of the Rooseveltian policies, it is apparent that when he restates these policies, he is

³¹¹ Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 374.

³¹² Ibid.

reflecting the thinking of the people.

President Taft -- policy forecast. Whether or not the address foreshadows future policy is answered, in part, by the following review of Taft's policies while in office:

"He stepped up the prosecution of the trusts; strengthened the Interstate Commerce Commission; established a postal-savings bank and a parcel post system; expanded the merit system in the civil service; and sponsored the enactment of two amendments to the Federal Constitution -- one providing direct election of Senators, another authorizing an income tax."³¹³

All of these policies which were carried out are indicated in the inaugural address. Therefore, it is concluded that the address foreshadows forthcoming policy.

President Wilson -- socio-political ideologies.

Woodrow Wilson delivered his first inaugural address on March 4, 1913. It is regarded as "the finest speech of (its) period."³¹⁴ Wilson himself is classed as "the most thoroughly realistic and adroit political leader since Lincoln."³¹⁵

President Wilson's address reflects the socio-political thinking of the nation by expressing the need for social and political reform. In his inaugural, he speaks on subjects ranging from banking to conservation of natural resources.

³¹³

Ibid., p. 375.

³¹⁴

Dayton David McKean, A History and Criticism of American Public Address (New York, 1943), p. 176.

³¹⁵

Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 395.

For all of the areas in which he urges reform, he says: "We know our task to be no mere task of politics but a task which shall search us through and through. . . ." ³¹⁶ His thought is expanded as he states: "The great Government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people." ³¹⁷ It is concluded that President Wilson's remarks reflect the thinking of the people.

President Wilson -- policy forecast. The address proposes several areas of reform. They were carried out. Wilson had Congress lower tariffs, revise the monetary system, legislate against trusts, and provide credit for farmers. ³¹⁸ Therefore, "in three years Wilson had pushed through more important legislation than any President since Lincoln." ³¹⁹ The conclusion is fortified. He did follow the policies set forth in the inaugural address.

President Wilson's Second Inaugural -- socio-political ideologies. The second inaugural address given by President Wilson, on March 5, 1917 resembles, in thought and structure,

³¹⁶ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 192.

³¹⁷ Ibid., p. 190

³¹⁸ Nevins and Commager, op. cit., pp. 397 to 399.

³¹⁹ Ibid., p. 400.

the first inaugural. However, the second address is greatly international in its outlook; while the first was largely domestic.

Evidence of the address' reflection of the national socio-political ideologies, is found when Wilson says "all nations are equally interested in the peace of the world;. . .that peace cannot securely or justly rest upon an armed balance of power; . . .(and) that the seas should be equally free and safe for the use of all peoples. . . ." ³²⁰ The conclusion is that the address reflects the socio-political thinking of the American people.

President Wilson's Second Inaugural -- policy forecast.

Wilson's address does foreshadow future policy. Two major themes are present in the speech. First is unity of thought among Americans to stay out of the war. Second is the hope that by our being united, that the war will end. However, knowing that if the war does not end, this country may be drawn into it. Wilson states: "We may even be drawn on, by circumstances, not by our own purpose or desire, to a more active assertion of our rights as we see them and a more immediate association with the great struggle itself." ³²¹ In view of the fact that this country's government did later join in "the struggle itself," it is concluded that the address foreshadows Presidential policy.

320

Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 195.

321

Ibid., p. 194.

CHAPTER X

THE PRE-DEPRESSION PERIOD

Historical background. The Pre-Depression Period includes the years from 1921 until 1929. The inaugural addresses of Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover are discussed in chapter ten. The three phases which are characteristic of this period are "normalcy," business prosperity, and depression.

President Harding -- socio-political ideologies. The man who would have preferred to remain in the United States Senate where he could "continue to be a member of the world's most exclusive club,"³²² delivered his inaugural address on March 4, 1921. Warren G. Harding thus began an administration in sharp contrast to the preceding Wilson administration. Wilson was in firm command of the administration's policies. Harding wanted only to "do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with (his) God."³²³

His address is concerned with reconstruction after the World War, tariffs, and getting back to "normalcy."³²⁴ But the address does reflect the socio-political ideologies of

³²² Commager and Nevins, op. cit., p. 1,098.

³²³ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 204.

³²⁴ Ibid., p. 201.

the American people in three ways. First, there should be no military alliances with other countries (stay out of the League of Nations). Second, raise the import tariffs to protect American manufactures. Third is normalcy: "where Mothers (are) freed from . . . toil beyond their own doors . . . and the cradle of American childhood (is) rocked under conditions so wholesome and so hopeful that no blight may touch it. . . ." ³²⁵ It is concluded that Harding's inaugural does reflect the socio-political thinking of his era.

President Harding -- policy forecast. The address forecasts forthcoming policy strongly. This was an administration which was free of alliances. It was isolationistic, (in comparison with Wilson's) and was not led by a vigorous executive -- indicated in the inaugural address by Harding's statement on his role as President: to "do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with (his) God." ³²⁶ Furthermore, the World Court is given support -- a policy Harding advocates in the inaugural.

President Coolidge -- socio-political ideologies. After being President for about a year and a half, Calvin Coolidge delivered his first inaugural address. Although

³²⁵ Ibid., p. 203

³²⁶ Ibid., p. 204.

President Coolidge is often referred to as "Silent Cal," he had a not inconsiderable amount of training in public address.³²⁷

His inaugural address indicates a continuation of normalcy in government. Encouragement of business, but no encouragement for labor; low taxes for the businessman, and tariffs for the farmer; as well as peace, without entangling alliances are the major themes of the address. Thus, Coolidge reflects the socio-political ideologies of the people who elected him to office -- those who opposed "Wilsonian idealism."³²⁸

President Coolidge - policy forecast. The address forecasts Presidential policy: "Under this Republic the rewards of industry belong to those who earn them."³²⁹ "The policy of public ownership of railroads and certain electric utilities met with unmistakable defeat"³³⁰ in the preceding election. Coolidge is, therefore, advocating private ownership. He further states: "The method of raising revenue ought not to impede. . .business; it ought to encourage

³²⁷ Arthur F. Fleser, "Oratory in History," Quarterly Journal of Speech, Volume XLIX, No. 1 February, 1963, 46, 49.

³²⁸ Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 420.

³²⁹ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 210.

³³⁰ Ibid.

it."³³¹ And this is the policy during his administration. Benefits for businessmen, private ownership, and individual initiative are its major characteristics. Therefore, the conclusion is that the address foreshadows Presidential policy.

President Hoover -- socio-political ideologies. The inaugural address of Herbert Hoover is dated March 4, 1929. The same day, a telegram arrived from New York: "Please let me extend to you the felicitations and good wishes of the people of New York on your inauguration. Mrs. Roosevelt and I also send you and Mrs. Hoover our personal congratulations and good wishes."³³² The sentiment expressed by Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt was appropriate, but not prophetic of good wishes. Six and one-half months after the inauguration, on the twenty-fourth of October, the New York Stock Exchange skidded downward,³³³ and five days later the "crash" occurred. In this atmosphere the words of Hoover's inaugural had a hollow ring: "we have reached a higher degree of comfort and security than ever existed before in the history of the world."³³⁴ It should be noted at this point that historians ranked

331

Ibid., p. 211.

332

"Roosevelt Sends Greeting of New York to Hoover," New York Times, March 5, 1929, P. 1.

333

Nevins and Commager, p. 426. Twelve million shares of stock were traded in a single day.

334

Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 215.

Mr. Hoover as a President of considerable ability, "but in four years he made more serious errors of judgment than any President since Grant."³³⁵

His inaugural address reflects the socio-political ideologies of the period. The New York Times lists nine major themes in the address: (1) back the eighteenth amendment, (2) stop violators of the amendment, (3) Court reforms by placing certain cases under the Justice Department instead of the Treasury Department,³³⁶ (4) create a commission to study ways of improving criminal justice procedures, (5) carry out Republican party promises, (6) reduce tariffs to aid farmers, (7) aid world peace through support of World Court, (8) do not join the League of Nations, and finally (9) opposition to government ownership of business.³³⁷ In view of the fact that the eighteenth amendment is the Prohibition amendment, it is concluded that these nine points do reflect the thinking of the American people.

President Hoover -- policy forecast. This address forecasts Presidential policy. Protective tariffs were

³³⁵ Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 420.

³³⁶ Hoover did not include this third point in his address, but it appeared in the advance copy which was given to the press. He later said he agreed with this idea.

³³⁷ James A. Hagerty, "Address Backs Dry Law," New York Times, March 5, 1929, p. 1.

encouraged, the Great Depression was not eased, and the eighteenth amendment was not repealed, but enforced -- as much as possible. Furthermore, the United States stayed out of the League of Nations. These areas of Presidential action indicate that his policies were foreshadowed in the inaugural.

CHAPTER XI

THE TRANSITION PERIOD

Historical background. The Transition Period includes the inaugural addresses of Franklin Roosevelt. Since he delivered four inaugurals and they spanned two distinct eras of United States history, they are discussed in this separate chapter. When President Roosevelt first took office as President of the United States, he worked with the problems of the Great Depression. The latter years of his administration were concerned with the problems of World War Two.

President Franklin Roosevelt -- socio-political ideologies. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the nation's only four-term President, delivered his first inaugural address on March 4, 1933. At the beginning of his writings on Franklin Roosevelt, one author makes the following comment: "One of the most heartening things about American democracy is that it has always managed to find great leaders in time of crisis."³³⁸ This leader whom many regard as great, was an effective speaker: "No previous American President placed as much faith and importance in the spoken word as did Roosevelt."³³⁹ One writer quipped: "If Hoover had spoken

338

Nevins and Commager, op. cit., p. 429.

339

Hockmuth, op. cit., p. 459.

the same words into the microphone. . .the stock market would have fallen another notch and public confidence with it."³⁴⁰

On the day of Roosevelt's inauguration, most of the banks were closed and many people found it difficult to pay for food and hotels, but the new Chief Executive inspired confidence in the people with the phrase, "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself -- nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance."³⁴¹

To state that the inaugural reflects the socio-political ideologies of the people, is to make an understatement. The people understood him perfectly. The New York Times, in a front page news article stated: "The President in his address told the people that they were at war with the forces of depression and offered them leadership and action" ³⁴² Roosevelt, however, did not use the word "depression", but his words were so completely to the point, that the people understood. For example, the President said: "Our . . . task is to put people to work," ³⁴³ and he would

³⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 520, quoting Lew Sarett William Foster, Basic Principles of Speech (New York, 1936), p. 193.

³⁴¹ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 225.

³⁴² Arthur Crock, "Roosevelt Inaugurated," New York Times, March 5, 1933, p. 1.

³⁴³ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 226.

expend "efforts to raise the values of agricultural products" ³⁴⁴ exercise "strict supervision of all banking. . . and investments. . . ." ³⁴⁵ as well as "spare no effort to restore world trade. . . ." ³⁴⁶ It is concluded that this address reflects the socio-political thinking of Americans.

President Franklin Roosevelt -- policy forecast. This inaugural does foreshadow Presidential policies. To enumerate a few, the following list is provided: (1) the Good Neighbor policy for Latin America, ³⁴⁷ (2) redistributing families -- farmers in particular -- to areas of employment, ³⁴⁸ (3) raising the value of agricultural products, ³⁴⁹ and (4) government supervision of banking. ³⁵⁰ It is concluded that the address does foreshadow President Roosevelt's policies.

President Franklin Roosevelt's Second Inaugural -- socio-political ideologies. According to the recorded version of the second inaugural, it is an extremely brief

344

Ibid.

345

Ibid., p. 227.

346

Ibid.

347

Ibid.

348

Ibid., p. 226.

349

Ibid.

350

Ibid., p. 227.

address.³⁵¹

Because of a change in the date of inauguration, this address was delivered on January 20, 1937, approximately a month and a half earlier in the year than previous inaugurations. Like the first address, it reflects the thoughts of the people: a great deal had been accomplished, but there was still much more to do.

President Franklin Roosevelt's Second Inaugural --
policy forecast. The address forecasts the future policies of the President. Roosevelt experienced a major defeat when he attempted to "pack" the Supreme Court, shortly after this address, but the address does, nevertheless, indicate a vigorous policy when the President states that "we will not listen to Comfort, Opportunism, and Timidity. We will carry on."³⁵²

President Franklin Roosevelt's Third Inaugural --
socio-political ideologies. The third inaugural address of Franklin Delano Roosevelt is different than the first and second inaugurals. The address is not reflective of the socio-political thinking of the nation. The address is "a

³⁵¹ The recorded version, released by Washington Records, Inc., 1340 Connecticut Avenue, Washington 6, D. C., contains only 350 words, compared with 1,800.

³⁵² Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 232.

philosophic dissertation on the status and strength of (our) free institutions. . . ." ³⁵³

President Franklin Roosevelt's Third Inaugural -- policy forecast. There are no suggestions of future policy. There are, however, no statements revoking any preceding policies; so it may be concluded that the address is "a simple, solemn declaration that the President would carry out a program already evident. . . ." ³⁵⁴

President Franklin Roosevelt's Fourth Inaugural -- socio-political ideologies. The temperature is only one degree above freezing. The setting is the front portico of the White House. There are approximately five thousand people standing in fresh-fallen snow from the night before. The subject of their gaze peers off and over their heads toward the towering Washington Monument, and says: "We Americans of today, together with our allies, are passing through a period of supreme test." ³⁵⁵ The man is Franklin D. Roosevelt who for the fourth time, delivers an inaugural

³⁵³ "Roosevelt Inaugurated for the Third Time," New York Times, January 21, 1941, p. 1.

³⁵⁴ "Inaugural Strides Away from the Past," New York Times, January 21, 1941, p. 2.

³⁵⁵ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 237.

address. It takes him only six minutes,³⁵⁶ and he steps away from the podium. Two and one half months later he is dead.

His address reflects the socio-political thinking of the people. They are in war, wanting peace, and hoping for victory.³⁵⁷

President Franklin Roosevelt's Fourth Inaugural --
policy forecast. There are no suggestions of forthcoming policy that are not already familiar to the people. It does not foreshadow forthcoming policy.

³⁵⁶ Information concerning the setting is from "Roosevelt Sworn In For Fourth Term," and "Roosevelt Takes Fourth-Term Oath," New York Times, January 21, 1945, p. 1.

³⁵⁷ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 237.

CHAPTER XII

THE MODERN PERIOD

Historical background. The Modern Period includes the inaugural addresses of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy. These three Presidents' addresses are grouped together because of their sharing in a similar era: the Cold War.

President Truman -- socio-political ideologies.

Harry S. Truman, successor to Franklin Roosevelt, delivered his only inaugural address on January 20, 1949. Mr. Truman acquired his title "Give 'em Hell Harry" during the preceding Presidential-election campaign. It is interesting that he begins his inaugural with the somewhat "soft" statement that follows: "In performing the duties of my office, I need the help and prayers of every one of you. I ask for your encouragement and your support."³⁵⁸ This speech was a significant one for Mr. Truman. The Richard Nixon-Alger Hiss-Whittaker Chambers investigation had "broken wide open" only two months before the inauguration. Truman was strongly accused of being "soft" on Communists. At this some time (even during the inaugural address itself) the Communists had blockaded Berlin, Germany. The city was being sustained by the phenomenally

³⁵⁸

Ibid., p. 239.

expensive -- but successful -- airlift. Also, two important questions were being negotiated with the European nations: (1) should there be any additional "conditions" placed on the appropriations for the second year of the European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan); and, (2) is there anything serious behind the Soviet "peace offensive."³⁵⁹

The socio-political ideologies of the period are evident in the inaugural: (1) vigorously anti-Communist, (2) help rebuild Europe, and (3) preserve peace. After calling Communism a "false philosophy,"³⁶⁰ Truman denounces it, saying that Communism "holds that. . .war is inevitable,"³⁶¹ "maintains that social wrongs can be corrected only by violence,"³⁶² and people under its influence are subject to "deceit. . .mockery. . .poverty and tyranny. . ."³⁶³ It is concluded that this strong position against Communism is what the people wanted to hear from their Chief Executive.³⁶⁴

³⁵⁹ "Speech Seen As Aid To Western World," New York Times, January 21, 1949, p. 7.

³⁶⁰ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 240.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Ibid.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Conclusion based on the preceding historical background information.

President Truman -- policy forecast. President Truman lists four policies that he will attempt to carry out: (1) support of the United Nations, (2) continue the European Recovery Program, (3) "strengthen freedom-loving nations against the dangers of aggression,"³⁶⁵ and (4) help other nations to develop by sharing our technological abilities with under-developed countries. It is concluded that President Truman did a "better-than-average" job of carrying out his proposed policies -- particularly points one, two, and four. Therefore, Truman's address foreshadows Presidential policies.

President Eisenhower -- socio-political ideologies.

The hero of World War Two -- European Theatre -- delivered his inaugural address on January 20, 1953. Dwight David Eisenhower became the fourth President to be inaugurated while the United States was engaged in war.³⁶⁶

Evidence that President Eisenhower's inaugural address reflects the socio-political ideologies of its era, is not difficult to locate. First, the San Francisco Chronicle states: "The new President's words demonstrated a profound

³⁶⁵ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 242.

³⁶⁶ The other three Presidents who have been inaugurated while the country was at war are: James Madison, 1813; Abraham Lincoln, 1865; and Franklin Roosevelt, 1945.

understanding of the nature of the world today. . . ."367

Writing about the inaugural, the New York City Herald-Tribune

states: "It was a picture of responsibilities that cannot be shirked. . . ."368

The New York Times, states: "His speech. . . was interpreted by many as one of the most

internationalistic ever delivered to the country -- not

excluding the addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S.

Truman."369 Justification for these news comments lies in

the fact that of the "forty-eight paragraphs in the prepared

text. . . forty-one. . . (were devoted) to foreign affairs. . .

."370 Furthermore, the article continues saying "he had

words of assurance for the British, the French, the Latin

Americans, the alliances of all free nations, the United

Nations -- indeed for everybody but the isolationists, who

got nothing but words of solemn criticism."371 It is

concluded then, that the address reflects the socio-political

367

"Excerpts from Editorial Comment on President Eisenhower's Inaugural Address," New York Times, January 21, 1953, p. 20, quoting the San Francisco Chronicle.

368

"Editorial Comment," op. cit., p. 20, quoting New York City's Herald-Tribune.

369

"'Internationalist' Inaugural Acclaimed in Both Parties," New York Times, January 21, 1953, p. 1.

370

"Inaugural is held to Extend U. S. Commitments to World," New York Times, January 21, 1953, p. 17.

371

Ibid.

thinking of the nation.

President Eisenhower -- policy forecast. The major policy forecast is, to phrase it simply, peace. President Eisenhower lists nine points for attaining peace, among which are: (1) reliance on statesmanship instead of war to settle international differences, (2) end of appeasement -- because as he states, "in the final choice a soldier's pack is not so heavy a burden as a prisoner's chains,"³⁷² (3) strength militarily and economically, and (4) support of the United Nations. It is common knowledge that these policies of President Eisenhower's were, in all respects, fully executed. Therefore, it is concluded that this address forecasts Presidential policy.

President Eisenhower's Second Inaugural -- socio-political ideologies. President Eisenhower's second inaugural was delivered on January 21, 1957. This is the only inaugural in Presidential history to have a title -- other than its being the inaugural address. The title: "The Price of Peace." To this single subject, the whole address is devoted.

Like the first inaugural, this address is greatly international in scope. Evidence of its being reflective of

³⁷² Inaugural Address of Dwight D. Eisenhower,
(Washington, D. C., 1953), p. 3.

socio-political ideologies is found in the following statement:

"In the heart of Europe, Germany still stands tragically divided. So is the whole continent divided. And so, too, is all the world.

"The divisive force is international communism and the power that it controls."³⁷³

It is concluded that the inaugural does reflect the thinking socially and politically, of the American people.

President Eisenhower's Second Inaugural -- policy forecast. Since the address is wholly concerned with peace, and since the nation was at peace for the full four-year term of office, it is concluded that the address forecasts Presidential policy.

President Kennedy -- socio-political ideologies.

President John F. Kennedy delivered his inaugural address on January 20, 1961. As a person, Mr. Kennedy represented a great change: (1) the youngest man ever to be elected to the Presidency, (2) the first President who is a member of the Roman Catholic church, and (3) he defeated a well-known opponent (Richard Nixon) who had the backing of a highly popular President -- Dwight Eisenhower.

Mr. Kennedy's address is not -- in script -- a great change, however. This writer recalls that the address evoked

³⁷³

Ibid., p. 2.

great enthusiasm in those who listened; but there is little that is new in its text. According to the articles published in the New York Times, the address borrows heavily from the first inaugurals of Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt.³⁷⁴

In this writer's opinion, the address borrows most heavily from the first inaugural address of President Eisenhower.

After reading Mr. Kennedy's address, one becomes inclined to view it as a kind of "warmed-over" version of previous inaugurals which have been delivered over the past fifty years.

The following information illustrates the degree to which President Kennedy's address is derived from preceding inaugurals. Woodrow Wilson's first inaugural states: "It (the election) means much more than the mere success of a party."³⁷⁵ Kennedy states: "We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom. . . ."³⁷⁶ On the subject of military strength -- and particularly nuclear power, Mr. Eisenhower's first address states: "Science seems ready to confer upon us, as its final gift, the power to

³⁷⁴ "A Time of Change Facing Kennedy," New York Times, January 21, 1961, p. 9; and "Editorial Comments Across The Nation on President Kennedy's Inauguration," New York Times, January 21, 1961, p. 10.

³⁷⁵ Inaugural Addresses, op. cit., p. 189.

³⁷⁶ "First Words as President," U. S. News and World Report, January 27, 1961, p. 66.

erase human life from this planet."³⁷⁷ Kennedy states: "Man holds in his mortal hands the power, . . .to abolish all forms of human life."³⁷⁸ Concerning the poor people of the world, Mr. Eisenhower's address states: "For the impoverishment of any single people in the world means danger to the well-being of all other peoples."³⁷⁹ Kennedy states: "If the free society cannot help the many who are poor, it can never save the few who are rich."³⁸⁰ Speaking about the United Nations, Mr. Eisenhower's address states: "We shall strive to make it not merely an eloquent symbol but an effective force."³⁸¹ Kennedy states: "We renew our pledge. . .to prevent its becoming merely a forum for invective. . . ."³⁸² There are more instances of dependency upon preceding addresses, but those all ready cited demonstrate the point conclusively.

The preceding discussion of President Kennedy's inaugural reveals that it is concerned with the success of the United Nations, underprivileged peoples of the world, and control of nuclear power in the interest of world peace.

³⁷⁷ Inaugural Address of Dwight David Eisenhower, op. cit., p. 2.

³⁷⁸ "First Words as President," op. cit., p. 66.

³⁷⁹ Inaugural of Eisenhower, op. cit., p. 4.

³⁸⁰ "First Words as President," loc. cit.

³⁸¹ Inaugural of Eisenhower, loc. cit.

³⁸² "First Words as President," loc. cit.

These issues are those of the people of the United States. Therefore, it is concluded that the address reflects the nation's socio-political ideologies.

President Kennedy -- policy forecast. It is, admittedly, too early to arrive at firm and responsible conclusions concerning the policies of the Kennedy administration. However, three major themes appear to be present in the policies of this administration, none of which is forecast in the inaugural address.

First, is the administration's tendency toward greater expenditures for various domestic welfare or aid-to-the-needy programs. This has been called -- at least by some Republican opponents -- as a trend toward the "Welfare State." There is no indication of this trend in the inaugural address.

Second, is the trend toward great amounts -- for peacetime -- of deficit spending. In other words, fiscal policies which require the national government to disburse more monies than it receives. There is no indication, in the inaugural that this kind of policy will be followed.

The third point is inverted. The first two issues have occurred and were not foreshadowed in the address. This point concerns whether or not policies which are mentioned in the inaugural, are being carried out. President Kennedy states in his inaugural that "to those old Allies whose

cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends."³⁸³ First, there is an important separation today between the United States and France. Second, the United States government -- Department of State³⁸⁴ -- has caused the Canadian national government to be dissolved; thus calling for another election,³⁸⁵ in which the existing regime was repudiated. Third, this country nearly "toppled" the British government when it cancelled the "Skybolt" air-to-ground missile program.³⁸⁶ It appears that these incidents with France, Canada, and England can not be regarded as the result of the "pledge (of) the loyalty of faithful friends." Therefore, it is concluded that this address waivers from forthcoming Presidential policy.

³⁸³ "First Words as President," loc. cit.

³⁸⁴ Criticism of Canadian nuclear armaments policies "triggered" a controversy which forced the Canadians into an election, Spring, 1963.

³⁸⁵ This was the second national election in ten months and the fourth in six years.

³⁸⁶ It is interesting to recall that after Mr. Kennedy made his decision to cancel "Skybolt," a "Skybolt" missile was successfully fired from a B-52 bomber; but the President did not reverse his decision.

CHAPTER XIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary. The whole study includes forty-four inaugural addresses. According to the individual discussions on each speech, forty-one reflect the socio-political ideologies of the country at the time the address was given. Three inaugurals do not reflect the social and political thinking of the nation. The three are: George Washington's second inaugural, William Harrison's inaugural, and Franklin Roosevelt's third inaugural.

The results of the study on the second hypothesis, which concerns policy, are less conclusive than for the first. Twenty-six out of the forty-four inaugural speeches are listed on Table III as being indicators of future Presidential policy. Eighteen addresses are not indicators of future policy. Two Presidents died³⁸⁷ thus preventing any conclusion concerning the policy forecasting value of their address.

Conclusion. If there is a paramount characteristic of the inaugural address it may well be that they reflect the somewhat quixotic and paradoxical political history of the

³⁸⁷ More than two Presidents have died while in office, but the deaths of Presidents Garfield and McKinley were the only ones which prevented making some conclusion for the second hypothesis, which concerns forecasting policy.

TABLE III
A COMPARISON OF THE RESULTS
OF THE HYPOTHESES

President	Hypothesis One*	Hypothesis Two**
George Washington.	X	O
George Washington.	O	O
John Adams	X	X
Thomas Jefferson	X	O
Thomas Jefferson	X	O
James Madison.	X	O
James Madison.	X	O
James Monroe	X	X
James Monroe	X	O
John Q. Adams.	X	O
Andrew Jackson	X	O
Andrew Jackson	X	X
Martin Van Buren	X	X
William Harrison	O	O
James Polk	X	X
Zachary Taylor	X	O
Franklin Pierce.	X	X
James Buchanan	X	X
Abraham Lincoln.	X	X
Abraham Lincoln.	X	O
Ulysses Grant.	X	O
Ulysses Grant.	X	O
Rutherford Hayes	X	X
James Garfield	X	Died
Grover Cleveland	X	X
Benjamin Harrison.	X	O
Grover Cleveland	X	X
William McKinley	X	O
William McKinley	X	Died
Theodore Roosevelt	X	X
William Taft	X	X
Woodrow Wilson	X	X
Woodrow Wilson	X	X
Warren Harding	X	X
Calvin Coolidge.	X	X
Herbert Hoover	X	X
Franklin Roosevelt	X	X
Franklin Roosevelt	X	X
Franklin Roosevelt	O	X

TABLE III (continued)
 A COMPARISON OF THE RESULTS
 OF THE HYPOTHESES

President	Hypothesis One*	Hypothesis Two**
Franklin Roosevelt	X	O
Harry Truman	X	X
Dwight Eisenhower.	X	X
Dwight Eisenhower.	X	X
John Kennedy	X	O

*For the first hypothesis, an "X" indicates that the address reflects the socio-political ideologies.

**For the second hypothesis, an "X" indicates that the address forecasts future Presidential policy.

United States. Although the following concerned another time and another place it is applicable to the present. The British Novelist Charles Dickens wrote:

"It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair. . . ."388

Some questions that have been raised but remain for others to consider are:

- (1) is it possible to determine at the time an inaugural address is delivered whether or not its policies will be followed?
- (2) are there indicators in inaugurals that forecast the "worth" of a President?
- (3) are inaugural addresses becoming more important or less important in the national life of the United States?

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"A Time of Change Facing Kennedy," loc. cit.

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