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A Critical Analysis of Charles H. Percy's Speech to the City Club of Chicago on October 10, 1966

Betty Jane Cromwell

Eastern Illinois University

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A Critical Analysis of Charles H. Percy's Speech
to the City Club of Chicago on October 10, 1966
(TITLE)

BY

Betty Jane Cromwell

THESIS
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
Master of Arts
IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS

1967
YEAR

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THIS THESIS BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING
THIS PART OF THE GRADUATE DEGREE CITED ABOVE
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply indebted to Dr. Jon Hopkins for guidance and supervision. Any accomplishment I have made has been the direct result of his kindness, time and effort. I would also like to express my gratitude to Mr. John Henry Altorfer, Mr. Elroy Sandquist, Jr., and Senator and Mrs. Charles H. Percy for allowing me to interview them.
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CHAPTER I

NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

In ten years, Charles Harting Percy rose from a summer training job to the presidency of Bell and Howell Company, a large Chicago manufacturer of camera equipment, business machines and electronic instruments. Close to many of the businessman-politicians of the Eisenhower administration, Percy was chosen to head the platform committee at the 1960 Republican National Convention. Many Republicans, including former President Eisenhower, consider him one of the brightest young lights in the party.¹

The role of Charles Percy's ability as a speaker in his rise from a part-time employee to an outstanding businessman-politician provided the subject of this study.

ORIGIN OF THE STUDY

The name Charles Harting Percy was unfamiliar to this writer until she enrolled at Eastern Illinois University in September of 1966. At that time, Mr. Percy was conducting what would become a successful race for the United States Senate. Only two months before the election, Percy was the topic of conversation in the classroom, in the halls.

between classes and in the Union. The writer's interest in Charles Percy was first stimulated by Miss Judy Mather, who was campaigning for Percy and exuding praises of his qualities and his abilities at every opportunity. After his election, Percy remained in the limelight and was described by the Chicago Daily News as "the hottest political item on the Washington and national scene, . . . one of the most talked about of the possible Republican candidates (for President) after only three months in office."2

The national prominence of Mr. Percy and his numerous speaking engagements pointed to the possibility of a rhetorical study of the speaking methods of Charles Percy as a master's thesis. This idea was approved by Dr. Jon Hopkins and other members of the Graduate committee in the Speech Department at Eastern Illinois University. With their endorsement of the topic, this writer turned her attention to the now familiar name of Charles Percy and began to work.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A review of the literature was necessary to determine the originality of the thesis topic. If a review of previous studies reveals that exactly what you had in mind has been done, you will usually be

advised to select a new subject or to modify your original topic in some way to emphasize an aspect not previously studied. To discover this, *Dissertation Abstracts* from 1964 to 1966 were checked as well as the thesis subjects listed in *Speech Monographs* for 1964 to 1966. The articles indicated that there has never been a thesis written on any phase of Charles Percy's speaking. This fact was further reiterated by Mr. Calvin Fentress, a member of Percy's staff in Washington. He stated to the writer: "To the knowledge of this office, you are writing the first thesis on Charles Percy as a speaker." Thus, the originality of the topic was guaranteed.

**SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

A child is not born with the ability to speak well; he must learn how. He must learn how to speak effectively for research reveals that seventy-five percent of that is speaking and listening as compared with reading and writing.

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5 Reported by Calvin Fentress during a telephone conversation with this writer on May 9, 1967.

One method for developing effective speech is to analyze the speaking of good models. Charles Percy has established himself as a good model, for as a businessman and as a politician, he has demonstrated that he can communicate successfully, not only to large audiences but to individuals as well. Therefore, to improve her speaking ability, the author will study the speaking of Charles Percy.

There is another significant reason for this study. Democracy is government by the people. The will of the majority is made known primarily through speech. It is the American orator who keeps the freedom of speech and our democracy alive today. Men such as Charles Percy who are not afraid to take a stand and to remain there even though his ideas may be against the opinions of the majority. The improvement of her speech participation as a responsible citizen is, thus, the desire of the author.

THE WORKING HYPOTHESIS

The hypothesis provides an assertion which will serve as a guide in investigating the problem. For a study to be successful, this assertion must finally be accepted or rejected. This study will establish as its hypothesis the prediction that Charles H. Percy was an effective speaker at the City Club of Chicago on October 10, 1966. The purpose of this paper will now be devoted toward ascertaining the validity of that statement.
DIVISIONS OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The critical approach has been selected as the method to be used in studying this speech by Mr. Percy. The reason for applying the critical method was explained by Dr. Elton Carter and Dr. Ilene Fife when they stated: "If you want your conclusions to be composite critical judgments of any speech phenomenon, or any combination of phenomena, then the chances are that you should employ the critical method."

In assuming the role of a critic, several procedures are required. These compose the minimum requirements of the critical method: (1) select the phenomena of speech to be evaluated or criticized and state the research problem; (2) orient the problem and establish the need for the study; (3) design the research by adapting or creating appropriate criteria and by planning how to use them; (4) control the factors involved in assembling and studying the relevant data; (5) evaluate the phenomena by observing them in relation to the criteria; and (6) draw conclusions from the data as evaluated.

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8Carter and Fife, p. 83.
Since these six steps will be used throughout this study, the critical method was the most logical choice to follow in writing the thesis.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This study will consist of six chapters. A brief description of each chapter will be provided as a concise synopsis of the thesis.

Chapter I establishes the nature and purpose of the study and includes the criteria to be used in analysis.

Chapter II is a rhetorical biography of Charles Percy the man, the businessman, the politician and the speaker.

Chapter III emphasises the audience which heard Mr. Percy's October 10, 1966, speech and an examination of the occasion.

Chapter IV provides a picture of the salient factors of the international and national scene during the week of October 9-15, 1966. Special emphasis will be placed upon the events which occurred on October 10, 1966, which may have influenced the thinking of the audience.

Chapter V is a critical analysis of the speech "Where I Stand" delivered by Charles Percy.

Chapter VI draws conclusions regarding the validity of the hypothesis and summarizes the conclusions of the study.
CRITERIA FOR RHETORICAL ANALYSIS

The criteria for the rhetorical analysis of this study was abstracted from American Speeches by Wayland M. Parrish. 9

I. The basic question: Has the speaker discovered and employed in this case the available means of persuasion?

II. Specific questions to be answered:
A. Is there evidence in the speech that the speaker possessed persuasive personal qualities—virtue, intelligence, and good will?
   1. Did he establish his own authority with the audience?
   2. Did he have a sympathetic understanding of their way of life, their thoughts, and their problems?
   3. Did he impress his audience as being well-informed on his subject?
   4. Was he given to dogmatism, exaggeration, and overstatement?
   5. Did he have a sense of humor?
   6. Was he sincere, friendly, fair-minded, modest, self-respecting, respectful, courteous, and tactful?

B. Analysis of the content:
   1. Did the speaker choose the right things to say?
      a. Did he seem to be acquainted with all the pertinent facts bearing on his subject?
      b. Did he use those that were most significant and persuasive?
         1) Were these really facts or only guesses, opinion, hearsay?
         2) Did he draw valid inferences from the evidence?
         3) Did he arrange the evidence and inferences into a coherent logical structure that could satisfy the understanding and win conviction?
   2. What was the speaker’s proposition or central thesis?
   3. What were the issues with which he dealt?
   4. What were the main supporting ideas?

5. Was the speech organized in general?
   a. Was the Introduction designed to win an intelligent, sympathetic, and attentive hearing?
   b. Did the Discussion proceed step by step in conformity with the need, the mood, and the expectation of the audience?
   c. Did the Conclusion sum up what had been said and make a final appeal?

6. To which "motives" did the speaker appeal?

7. What was the nature and quality of the speaker's style?
   a. Was his style "immediately clear" to his audience?
   b. Were the vocabulary, allusions, illustrations, and sentence structure suited to the speaker, the audience, the occasion?
      1) Did he use concrete wording, effective descriptions, and flights of imagination?
      2) Was there conciseness of statements, economy of style, and brevity of utterance?
   c. Were there occasional passages of sustained nobility and beauty?

C. Delivery
   1. What was the nature and quality of the speaker's posture, movement, gesture, pronunciation, articulation, voice quality and use (pitch, rate, force)?

CONCLUSION

Chapter one has provided an explanation of the nature and purpose of the study. This has been accomplished through the following divisions: (1) Introduction; (2) Origin of the Study; (3) Review of the Literature; (4) Significance of the Study; (5) The Working Hypothesis; (6) Divisions of the Research Design; (7) Organization of the Study; (8) Criteria for Rhetorical Analysis; and (9) Conclusion.
CHAPTER II

A RHETORICAL BIOGRAPHY OF CHARLES HARTING PERCY

"There's been a great many boys begin as low as you, Dick, that have grown up respectable and honored. But they had to work pretty hard for it."
"I'm willin' to work hard," said Dick.
"And you must not only work hard, but work in the right way."
"What's the right way?"
"You began in the right way when you determined never to steal, or do anything mean or dishonorable, however strongly tempted to do so. That will make people have confidence in you when they come to know you. But, in order to succeed well, you must manage to get as good an education as you can. Until you do, you cannot get a position in an office or counting-room, even to run errands."
"That's so," said Dick, soberly. "I never thought how awful ignorant I was till now."
"That can be remedied with perseverance," said Frank. "A year will do a great deal for you."
"I'll go to work and see what I can do," said Dick energetically. 10

Horatio Alger used imaginary characters in his stories about 

Ragged Dick. If he had been writing his tales on today's personalities, however, he could easily have entitled it, Chuck's Luck; or a Boy of the Great Depression. 11

The biography of Charles H. Percy

portrays a perfect example of the "rags to riches" which is typical of the Algeresque hero.

Charles Harting Percy was born September 27, 1919, in Pensacola, Florida. His ancestors arrived in America from England and became prominent members of their society. One relative was one of the first governors of the Jamestown Colony in Virginia, and his great-grandfather served as a drummer boy in General Robert E. Lee's headquarters during the Civil War. Charles's mother, Elizabeth, was a talented concert violinist who met Edward Percy in Florida while on tour with a string quartet. They left the South and moved to Rogers Park in Chicago's North Side when Charles was six months old.

The early life of Charles Percy was characteristic of his life as a man. Always a curious and observant boy, he applied himself, never avoided hard work, persevered, and by dint of luck and pluck became a wealthy, successful man. 12

Charles once remarked, "I've worked all my life," 13 and the record of his background proved this to be true. As a young boy, Charles understood the value of a dollar and when only five

12 Time, p. 33.
year• old, he began to sell magazines and to earn his first regular income. Through his energy and ambition, Chuck was soon running the largest school boy magazine route in Chicago. This accomplishment won him his first accolade. Charles received a plaque honoring him for selling "more Country Gentlemen to city people than any other urban salesman in the United States."\(^{14}\)

The Depression bit the United States in 1931, and like so many other Americans, Edward Percy lost his job as a bank cashier when his employer’s bank failed. In true Alger tradition, misfortune dimmed the road to success as the Percy family was forced to go on relief. The difficulties of those years made a deep impression upon twelve year old Charles, and were a strong influencing force in the building of his character which was to become one of his persuasive factors in later life. Although he described that period as “the toughest times,”\(^{15}\) Charles was also able to picture benefits among adversities as he stated: “Living through those years was the best thing that ever happened to me. What had been fun before became a strong necessity.\(^{16}\)

For four years, the family survived through faith, welfare, and the few jobs Edward Percy could find. Charles’ clarinet was

\(^{14}\)Time, p. 34.


\(^{16}\)Time, p. 34.
repossessed. The family moved to a three-room apartment, and everyone did his share in providing an income.

His father's steadiest job was that of a night clerk in a run-down Chicago hotel. "He used to work fourteen hours a night, seven nights a week, for thirty-five dollars, and the family never saw him," recalled Percy. Mrs. Percy helped support her family by playing the violin in a WPA orchestra for ninety dollars a month.

Luck seemed to be with the hardworking family, for on one occasion, the welfare truck dropped off an extra one hundred pounds of sugar and flour. A family council was called to decide what to do with it. A very religious family, Mrs. Percy felt that God's ways were often mysterious and since He had seen fit to leave them the sugar, it was their obligation to make the most of His generosity. The ingredients were then used to make cookies which Percy sold from door to door in the neighborhood. The money was utilized in buying supplies to bake more cookies, and the family went into a prosperous baking business. During this same period, Charles got up every morning at three-thirty a.m. to deliver newspapers.

17 Trombley, p. 38.

18 Furlong, p. 140.
It was Mrs. Percy's music and her Christian Scientist religion which boosted the spirits during those years. She organised family prayer sessions, insisted on Bible readings at breakfast and saying grace before every meal.\(^{19}\) These customs became so dominant in Charles's life, that he continues to practice them today. His father's experience provided young Percy with the determination to never lack for money.\(^{20}\)

The formal education of Charles Percy was begun at Armstrong Grammar School and Sullivan Junior High School in Chicago. While attending New Trier High School in Winnetka, Illinois, Charles held four jobs simultaneously. His boundless energy and slavish devotion to work which Percy was to use so successfully in his later life was obvious during these high school years. Charles rose early each morning to stoke furnaces before going to school, worked in the registrar's office for thirty cents an hour in between classes, delivered newspapers in the afternoon and ushered at a local movie theater every single night and all day Saturday and Sunday.\(^{21}\)

\(^{19}\)Furlong, p. 81.

\(^{20}\)Trombley, p. 38.

What free time Charles had during those busy years was devoted to helping his father find a better job. A fruitful venture appeared when Percy's Christian Science Sunday school teacher, Joseph McNabb, president of a small camera company called Bell and Howell, offered Edward Percy a job as an accountant. Chuck was employed there during the summers and it was under Mr. McNabb's supervision that he found his star.

By receiving a part-tuition scholarship, Percy was able to enroll in the University of Chicago. He majored in economics and maintained a B average in his major, although he graduated with an over-all C average because of his strenuous extra-curricular pace. It was during his college years that Charles began to emerge as a leader for he served as president of his fraternity, the interfraternity council, and captain of the water polo team. He was named University Marshall his senior year which is the highest honor awarded by the University.

Even though Percy was involved in the social and academic aspects of college, he continued working. By organizing an inter-fraternity food-buying service, Chuck grossed annually an estimated $150,000 giving him a profit of $10,000 by his senior year.  

This amount still did not seem to satisfy his desire and need for money for Charles also assumed management of the libraries.

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22 Furlong, p. 140.
in the men's dormitories. By recruiting students for an association of small colleges, Percy received five cents for the name of every student submitted and ten dollars for each one who actually enrolled. Business again prospered and Chuck subcontracted the job to fellow students by paying them three cents a name and five dollars an entry.23

The University Chancellor, Robert Hutchins, once admonished Percy for his average grades by stating: "You're exactly the kind of student I'm trying to keep out of the University." However, several years later, Hutchins recalled Percy as the "richest boy who ever worked his way through college."24

Charles Percy graduated from college in 1941 with a A.B. degree and immediately began working fulltime with Bell and Howell. He assumed the responsibilities of director of the defense-contracts department and when only twenty-three was elected to the board of directors.

The next years of Percy's life provided difficult experiences for he was forced to share success with tragedy. In February, 1943, Charles joined the Navy. Recently married to Jeanne Dickerson, they had twin daughters and a son when she became critically ill. "I was glad to have the Navy helping with the bills," he said.25

23Time, p. 34.
24Time, p. 34.
25Furlong, p. 142.
But, he indirectly paid for it, as the constant hammering of guns left him with a hearing impairment in both ears. His young wife died in 1947 and Percy became father and mother to his three small children.

In August, 1950, Percy married Loraine Guyer, and they had two children, Gail and Mark. Once again, Percy's life was filled with happiness. His family life strongly reflects his penchant for organization. The Percys are devout Christian Scientist and they weave their religion into their family home environment. Together they made "the dining-room table the most exciting place in the house." It served as a church, chapel and family forum. Percy occasionally introduces a new interest which involves the entire family. Once it was speed reading. An avid reader, Percy tries to read at least one deep-think book a week.

Mr. Percy continued to rise with Bell and Howell at a phenomenal rate. After the war, he became corporate secretary for the industrial relations and foreign manufacturers. In 1947, Joe McNabb died and left a corporate will which recommended his prodigy as his successor. At the age of twenty-nine, Charles Percy became president of Bell and Howell with a salary of $40,000. This promotion further supported his association with Horatio Alger for Charles proved that it was possible to rise from the depths of

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26 Furlong, p. 142.
poverty to the fortunes of a business executive. The first Christmas after becoming president, Percy toured the plant and shook the hand of each surprised employee, thanking him for doing a good job. This practice was continued each year and established a close, happy relationship between boss and employees. Percy diversified Bell and Howell soon after assuming the presidency and introduced electronics and business machines to his company which was given credit for the growth of its annual sales from 13 million dollars to 171 million dollars in 1964. He served as Chairman of the Board from 1961-1966.

Mr. Percy became a spokesman for the broad social responsibilities of business and of those interests which involved Bell and Howell. One of his special speaking concerns was that of education. This fascination developed during his college years when he worked his way through the University of Chicago. He served as chairman of the Fund for Adult Education of the Ford Foundation. The Foundation established forty-five educational television stations across the country. On the initiative of Mr. Percy, Bell and Howell sponsored a series of "serious" television programs on subjects of major contemporary and controversial issues. These shows proved to Mr. Percy that television could be used for public enlightenment and to aid the American people.

In 1965, a program entitled the New Illinois Committee or Call For Action was instigated and headed by Charles Percy. This has successfully started new projects in education, slum housing, community development, job opportunities and research. It has been very useful, especially in badgering slum landlords to live up to building codes. Call For Action consists of a six man staff which is financed by Percy and his political supporters. It not only aids his state of Illinois, but also provides Chuck with an out-of-office political platform to fight for.

Because of his strong ideas and leadership ability, Mr. Percy has been recognized numerous times as an outstanding businessman. The Junior Chamber of Commerce elected Percy one of the ten outstanding young men of 1947. His abilities have also resulted in other honorary awards and positions. He was the recipient of the World Trade Award and the National Sales Executive Management Award, served as director of the Chase Manhattan Bank and was Co-Chairman of the National Conference for Christians and Jews. One of his most outstanding distinctions was made in 1962 when The Saturday Review named Charles H. Percy "The Businessman of the Year." Their basis for selection explained

why the "Boy Wonder" of Bell and Howell deserved this honor.

Through his manifold activities in education, politics, public service and business, in which he has sought with considerable success to harmonize the public interest with his private corporate responsibilities, Mr. Percy has consistently and effectively fulfilled the new image of the businessman-citizen in our society, an image that Saturday Review regards not only as that of the Businessman of the Year but of any business leader concerned with a viable future for this country.

His professional career and activities have prepared Charles Percy for the political recognition of his abilities and contributions which have paved the way for his bright future with the Republican Party.

Remarking that he had always been fascinated by politics, Charles became involved when, as he states, "I found I was reading the political columns of the newspapers ahead of the business page."

The Republican Party of Illinois also realized his interest for they elected him president of the United Republican Fund of Illinois in 1955, and Charles proved his competency by raising four million dollars.

President Eisenhower was another Republican who respected the accomplishments of Percy. Often referred to as Ike's "fair-
haired boy," Percy was called upon for special assignments. On one of his missions, Percy served as the special ambassador and personal representative of the President to the presidential inaugural ceremonies in Peru and Bolivia. During the Eisenhower Administration, in 1959, he was named head of the 42-man committee entitled "Program and Progress." Their efforts to devise a blueprint of Republican party goals resulted in a widely published pamphlet called "Decisions for a Better America." At the 1960 Republican National Convention, Mr. Percy was chairman of the resolutions committee which drafted the party platform. This major political assignment saw Percy emerge "with a reputation for goodwill and hard work and, more important, with the urging of important Republicans that he seek office at the first opportunity."

The opportunity arose in 1964 when Percy jumped into the Republican race for governor of Illinois. To overcome his handicap of an unknown, Percy chucked his family into a bus named the "Chuck-Wagon." They descended en mass on the Illinois county-fair circuit. According to Chicago newspapers, "Mr. Percy visited 44 county fairs, shook 80,000 hands, went after a quota of 1,850

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32 Higdon, p. 30.


34 Trombley, p. 39.
votes a day, and covered 100,000 miles by air, bus, car and foot.”³⁵

Percy exuded dynamism and talked about the issues of his campaign at every opportunity. Although he won the Republican primary, his opposition for the general election was seasoned politician Governor Otto Kerner. Percy had a disadvantage, though, "while widely admired for his intelligence, integrity, and initiative, few consider Percy an endearing figure. 'Lord knows, Chuck is able enough,' one Republican leader has said, 'but he is so damn self-sufficient, so cocksured, so righteous. There are a lot of people who would like to see him fall on his face.'”³⁶ His fall came when he was defeated in the general election for governor, giving Charles Percy the only setback in his career.

His setback merely whetted Percy's desire to re-enter politics. In 1966, he threw his hat into the political ring once again. This time, Percy ran for United States Senator against Paul Douglas, his former economics teacher at the University of Chicago. Percy is a politician of "consensus - a man who samples opinion and then moves in the direction of the majority."³⁷ In fact, Mr. Douglas once complained that Percy has been "on both sides of every issue"


³⁶Fentress, p. 20.

³⁷Trombley, p. 39.
and that "running against this guy is like punching a big feather pillow." However, one of the Republican House leaders observed: "Percy is dignified without being stuffy. He knows how to listen, and he keeps his staff digging all the time. He works with historians, educators, editors, and others. He sits in on a lot of discussion groups, and picks up ideas. He uses the technique like the Kennedys." 

Charles Percy is a speaker who believes in preparation. His speeches, therefore, are well researched before he delivers them. Even though Percy does a great deal of the preliminaries involved with a speech, time does not permit him to research and to write every one. For this reason, he has a staff of men who devote their energy to creating appropriate speeches. These men do the "home work" before giving the subject to Mr. Percy for his reactions and ideas. Martin Hoffman, the legal counsel in Percy's office, commented, "Percy's energy in terms of generating ideas generally is involved all along the line, with a blizzard of notes or personal comments suggesting ideas or investigations to be pursued." In the end, as Calvin Fentress, Percy's "speech-writer," puts it,
"the positions and speeches are a blend of many people's research and ideas, and mostly Percy's ideas." 41

Though Percy often refers to his manuscript when speaking, there are occasions when he speaks extemporaneously. Often during his campaigns, Percy would speak simultaneously to one group in person and to another group through a telephone loud-speaker device. Today, Percy is in great demand as a speaker. Perhaps modesty keeps him from mentioning that he is speaking from New Hampshire to California, at a rate of better than once a week. Most of his speeches are aimed at Republican groups. 42

The issues discussed in his speeches range from international to national to local affairs. Some examples of his topics are as follows:

Speeches delivered during the campaign for Governor of Illinois:

"Education and the Constitution" - delivered at Roosevelt University, September 7, 1961.


"Economy and Government" - delivered to an audience of businessmen in Chicago, February 24, 1964.

"The Quality of State Government" - delivered at the Legislative Nominating Convention, June 1, 1964.


"Freedom in International Trade" - delivered at the Midwest Chapter of the American-Israel Chamber of Commerce and Industry, June 4, 1964.


Speeches delivered during his campaign for United States Senator from Illinois:

An address delivered at the Leadership Conference on Preserving the Democratic Process, Loyola University, June 10, 1965.

"The Practical Idealist" - delivered to the Los Angeles Junior Chamber of Commerce Prayer Breakfast, November 2, 1965.

An address delivered at the University of Illinois, January 4, 1966.

An address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Young Men's Jewish Council in Chicago, January 18, 1966.


An address to the Mississippi Council on Human Relations in Jackson, Mississippi, February 17, 1966.


"Where I Stand" - delivered to the City Club of Chicago, October 10, 1966.


These are but a few of the many topics and speeches given by Charles Percy. However, they represent a sampling of his wide-spread interest and his ability to communicate on practically any topic. He has spoken so much during the last years, that according to a favorite family anecdote, "Percy sat up in his sleep and began to give, for perhaps the six thousandth time, his speech about bringing new industry to Illinois. 'Chuck, lie down,' his wife Loraine, told him. 'Not yet,' said Percy, groggy but still orating. 'I'm not finished.'"43 And, he certainly is not, for his future speaking career looks bright.

A review of these many aspects of Percy's life enable one to recognize and appreciate his growth in integrity, his desire to achieve and his willingness to work diligently to accomplish a goal. This background of experience has directly influenced the development of his firm beliefs which have made Percy an outstanding man of the twentieth century.

43Higdon, p. 31.
The review of the early influences and life of Charles Harting Percy point to several conclusions which are of interest to this thesis.

1. Even though he lived in poverty during his early years, he never feared working to complete a desired objective.

2. His desire for learning provided him with the strength to put himself through school and to later become a spokesman for its cause.

3. He early showed the traits of honesty and ambition.

4. He early showed that he possessed the ability to think logically and to succeed in any job undertaken.

5. He demonstrated certain characteristics that were to be a definite part of his later personality, namely:
   a. Ambition, curiosity, a dynamic personality.
   b. A personality that is fun-loving, self-disciplined and perfectly organized.

6. The ability to prove that it is possible for a person to rise "from rags to riches."

We have constructed a rhetorical biography of Charles Harting Percy in order to better understand the speaker as a man and the man as a speaker.
CHAPTER III

AN ANALYSIS OF THE AUDIENCE AND THE OCCASION

One of the oldest civic organizations in Chicago is the City Club, founded in 1897. The members volunteer their time and energy toward the study and criticism of timely civic activities. They accomplish this task through committee reports and through weekly forums in the form of luncheons held every Monday from September to June. Speakers, who discuss the vital issues of the day, are invited to the weekly meetings.

The club is especially interested in political campaigns and has developed the policy of selecting several of the most important campaign offices and inviting the candidates of both parties to speak. Although the candidates are requested to speak together, they seldom do. Such was the case in 1966 when Paul Douglas and Charles Percy were running for the United States Senate. They were invited and asked for separate forums to address the group.

Percy was scheduled to speak on October 10, 1966. He accepted the invitation before the September 18, 1966, murder of
his daughter Valerie. When his campaign came to a sudden halt, it was feared that Mr. Percy would be unable to fulfill his promise to speak to the City Club. However, Percy kept his promise, and this speaking engagement marked his first public appearance after the death of his daughter.

For this momentous occasion, the City Club moved from their regular meeting place in the Sherman House's Starlight Room to the larger Old Chicago Room. This spacious room was filled to capacity with the club members, television crew and interested spectators to form a total of between 350 to 400 people. Approximately thirty tables were used for the luncheon. They were staggered around the room and each held ten people. Guests were encouraged to attend the meeting and they lined the back and sides of the room to hear the speech. The speaker's table was opposite the entrance and was elevated by means of a platform. Three columns divided the room and two television cameras were located in the center between the pillars.

Mr. Elroy Sandquist, Jr., President of the City Club, presided at the noon meeting. He introduced the speaker's table, which consisted of the officers and members of the board, before welcoming Percy. Since Mr. Percy did not attend the luncheon,

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44 Chicago Tribune, October 11, 1966, p. 12; and an interview by the author with Mr. Elroy Sandquist, Jr., Chicago, Illinois, July 13, 1967.
he was met at the elevator by Mr. Sandquist and escorted down the hall, which was also crowded with photographers and curious people, to the chamber where he was to speak. Mr. Percy was described as "slightly stooped when he walked to a table and sat next to a dozen microphones." He appeared "somber as he entered the room, but smiled in response to applause as he was introduced."46

In introducing Mr. Percy, Mr. Sandquist temporarily discarded his title of president and assumed the position of chairman of the day. He mentioned briefly that he had been a running mate with Mr. Percy in the 1964 election. There he had the opportunity to become acquainted with this man and to know what he stood for. Thus, he was honored to present, Mr. Charles Percy.47 In the question and answer period following the speech, Mr. Percy appeared poised as he answered the written questions directed to him by Mr. Sandquist.

Mr. Percy faced an enthusiastic audience. However, they were somber and sympathetic in keeping with the mood of their speaker. The audience was composed of businessmen and professionals such as lawyers, architects and members of boards of


46 Chicago Tribune, p. 12.

47 Interview with Mr. Elroy Sandquist, Jr.

48 Chicago Tribune, p. 12.
education. They were a mixture of male and female although the male sex dominated. The ages ranged from approximately forty-four to sixty with the average of late fifty and early sixty. Though basically nonpartisan, their political affiliations tended to be more Democratic than Republican. They were very well informed on the topic selected by Mr. Percy and were favorable toward both the speaker and his subject.
CHAPTER IV

SALIENT FACTORS OF THE WORLD

"The present seems more and more to be some kind of turning point for the United States, to be a period of changing problems and of changing attitudes." This remark represents the state of the nation as it prepared for the week of October 10, 1966.

The war in Vietnam was the same, unchanged as far as a settlement was concerned. General Curtis E. Le May, former Chief of Staff, United States Air Force, stated:

Through one fateful strategic decision after another, we have backed into a nasty and confusing kind of war in Vietnam. The fact that we have become entangled in the struggle, however, is water over the dam. What we must realize is that, stated or not, we are now fully committed to halt aggressive Communism in South Vietnam.

What had been done to accomplish this mission? The action centered around the Marine's battle for Hill 400. They were victorious as


50 U. S. News and World Report, p. 36.
were the United States Navy planes which shot down two Communist MIG-21 planes and destroyed a third in an air battle over North Vietnam. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara left for Saigon on October 10 to review the course of the war and any possible increase in the manpower and material requirements. A desire for peace, however, still remained as the common objective for Adam Molik, Indonesian Foreign Minister, stated in Tokyo that "both sides in Vietnam have asked his government to serve as a mediator to obtain peace."  

President Lyndon Johnson was formulating his efforts for peace in Asia as he prepared for the Manila conference which would be held October 23-27. There he and leaders of other nations would assist in seeking paths for an honorable peace in Vietnam. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, was not as anxious for a Vietnamese peace treaty. Soviet Foreign Minister, Andre Gromyko, rejected a request from Foreign Secretary George Brown of Great Britain that the two nations set up a new Geneva conference to negotiate peace for Vietnam. However, Gromyko met with President Johnson on October 10 to discuss a proposed treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries, East-West trade possibilities and European problems.

In France, President de Gaulle was still stirring up trouble as he cut all links with the Atlantic Alliance by repudiating the North Atlantic Treaty. Meanwhile, NATO was making arrangements to move its office from Paris to Brussels.

Red China was also in a state of turmoil. Free China's Defense Minister, General Chiang Ching-kuo, explained the problem when he stated; "Mao Tse-tung is in a major crisis... He has lost control of the Communist Party and the Communist Youth Corps. In reality he began to lose control of the Communist armed forces after his purge of Peng Teh-huai (former Defense Minister)." The Red Guards, who were aroused in an attempt to eliminate the anti-Mao elements and to spread the ideas of the "cultural revolution," were responsible for most of China's inner havoc.

In the United States, the week of October 10 revealed a quickening in the political pace as candidates realized they only had a month before election day. The Republicans hoped that the "changing attitudes" of the American people would offer encouragement to their office seekers. Questions as "Will 1966 mark a comeback for Republicans?" and "Does the drop in Johnson's popularity indicate trouble for the Democrats?" reflected the importance of this major election year. This spirit was dimmed at times by the fear of the sting in the white backlash. Polls indicated a shift of voters away

from candidates who were moderate toward civil rights and toward those candidates who opposed integration. The real impact of the white backlash upon the nation would not be felt until the November election.

A new round of Negro rioting erupted in San Francisco, once believed to be a city of model tolerance toward racial minorities. Nightly demonstrations by Negroes also occurred in St. Louis. This was accompanied by sporadic vandalism and looting which produced a police crackdown on the city.

The weather made the headlines as Hurricane Inez released her rampage upon the coast of the United States. A skipper of a Cuban refugee boat was rescued after Inez swamped his boat killing his forty-four passengers. She slashed into Mexico and threatened Brownsville, Texas, with winds ranging up to 135 miles per hour with eight foot tides.

In Congress, the Senate and House of Representatives passed separate versions of an education bill. Both contained several million dollars more in federal aid to schools than requested by President Johnson. Inflation, however, continued to be the dominant trend in Congress. This was emphasized when housewives were told to try the cheaper European dishes to cut the rising food prices. Furthermore, they were informed to leave their impulsive husbands at home when shopping.
The world of sports also occupied a dominant position in the news. The big topic was the World Series with the Baltimore Orioles scoring the winning run over the Los Angeles Dodgers to become the national champs.

The changing problems and attitudes of the American people, as reflected by the news, were emphasized by Charles Percy as he voiced his opinion on the major national and international problems in his speech "Where I Stand."
CHAPTER V

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECH "WHERE I STAND"
DELIVERED BY CHARLES H. PERCY

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECH

Our purpose here is to analyze Mr. Percy's speech of
October 10, 1966, using the criteria reported in Chapter I in order
to evaluate what he did and to formulate a judgment as to how well
Mr. Percy used the available means of persuasion in this occasion.

The organization of the chapter follows the classical pattern
of (1) invention, (2) arrangement, (3) style, and (4) delivery. 53

INVENTION

Invention involves the attempt on the part of the orator to
find out what he should say.

It is an investigative undertaking, embracing a
survey and forecast of the subject and a search for
the arguments suitable to the given rhetorical effort.
It includes the entire investigative undertaking, the
idea of the 'status', and the modes of persuasion -
logical, emotional, and ethical - in all of their
complex interrelationships. 54

53 Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism

54 Thonssen and Baird, p. 79.
The primary sources of the ideas presented in this speech were a strong desire for peace and the settlement of the many problems cited in it and a comprehensive knowledge of these problems gained through twenty-five trips abroad since World War II and years of experience as head of Call For Action in Chicago.

Mr. Percy's general end was to convince. His specific purpose was to offer "a composite speech, a summation of my position on a number of issues" in order to get the listeners to vote for him and to secure their support for the improvements of his advocacy.

Mr. Percy based this speech on the major national and international issues current in the 1966 campaign period. His central thesis was that present conditions are most unsatisfactory and specific improvements are desirable.

LOGICAL PROOFS

"While the Rhetoric surely gives emotional and ethical proof due consideration, Aristotle held to his conviction that the most important ingredient of a speech is rational demonstration through severe argumentation." 56

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56 Thonessen and Baird, p. 371.
Our purposes in this section are to determine how fully Mr. Percy's speech enforces his central idea; how closely that enforcement conforms to the general rules of argumentative development; and how nearly the totality of the reasoning approaches a measure of truth adequate for purposes of action.

The basic line of argument is cast into three parts: (1) I am dissatisfied with things as they are; (2) There are improvements I would like to see; (3) There are ways and means for affecting these suggested improvements.

The assertion that he was dissatisfied with things as they are was developed with seven specific examples:

(1) I am not satisfied when little children are bitten by rats in the slums of Chicago and East St. Louis.

(2) I am not satisfied when the war in Vietnam drags on without discernible progress.

(3) I am not satisfied when our children's schools are over-crowded and understaffed.

(4) I am not satisfied when the dream of equal opportunity for all Americans is unfulfilled.

(5) I am not satisfied when crime and corruption are the hallmarks of city life.

(6) I am not satisfied when leaders assert that prosperity excuses rising prices.

(7) I am not satisfied when our lakes and rivers are becoming cesspools of sewage and industrial waste.
The second section of his argument contained the fourteen improvements he desired:

(1) A prosperous economy which is not stimulated by war or dissipated by rising prices.

(2) The legitimate rights of every citizen.

(3) The enforcement of civil rights legislation.

(4) The establishment of universal pre-school education for all children beginning at age four.

(5) The broad improvement of elementary and secondary education.

(6) Legislation to provide tax credits for parents supporting children in school.

(7) Efficient administration of the War on Poverty.

(8) The rehabilitation of slum neighborhoods.

(9) The availability of home ownership for low-income families.

(10) A clarification of the Administration's objectives and strategy in Vietnam.

(11) An end to allied trade with North Vietnam.

(12) A greater effort to unify non-Communist elements in South Vietnam.

(13) New approaches toward seeking an honorable settlement of the war.

(14) A deliberate foreign policy which is directed toward the reduction of tensions between nations.

The third section proposed ways and means for affecting those suggested improvements which are:

(1) To extend the nuclear test ban treaty to include underground testing.

(2) To negotiate a nuclear non-proliferation treaty.
(3) To cooperate fully with the United Nations in settling international conflicts.

(4) To work toward cooperative exploration of space.

REASONING

Mr. Percy's three contentions contained in his basic line-of-argument are developed with argument by example. "Argument from example is the process of inference by which a conclusion is drawn from one or more cases or instances in point." 57

The first generalization is drawn from his dislike of seven specific undesirable conditions. The second generalization is based upon the fourteen improvements he desires. The four suggested solutions constitute his ways and means proposal.

Although each of the three parts of his basic argument is developed by example, the three contentions form an enthymeme with the conclusion only suggested. "These proposed solutions merit your support."

EVIDENCE

Mr. Percy used some of the forms of verbal support 58 in the development of some of his thoughts, but depended upon mere

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assertion to win agreement for them. As we noted above, the three parts of his enthymeme were supported by specific instances. He used statistics when he referred to the number of United States military commitments, "By treaty, we are already committed to the military defense of 42 nations. In fiscal 1966, we extended military aid to 55 nations." Explanation was used at least five times. For example, in explaining his reasons for running for the Senate, Percy said,

I run for the Senate because I believe fresh voices are needed in Washington. I run because I believe the next decade will require vigorous and effective leadership in Congress. And I run because I am not satisfied with things as they are.

Mr. Percy tries to use restatement and repetition in each of his speeches. The three phrases, "the risk of . . .," "I am not satisfied . . ." and "I stand for . . ." were used repeatedly for emphasis before the City Club of Chicago.

For reasons of his own, Mr. Percy offered no explanation or other development for better understanding of his proposed solutions.

An examination of Mr. Percy's use of logical proofs, reveals that his basic line of argument is clear, developed by three stated and one implied premises, and supported by specific instances.

Statement by Mr. Percy in the interview.
statistics, explanation, restatement and repetition. The members of the audience should have had no quarrel with his reasoning; they should have found the evidence he used appropriate; but they should have had reservations about accepting the four solutions which were more undeveloped assertions.

ETHICAL PROOF

Aristotle believed success in persuasion depended upon three things and the most effective of those is the personal credibility of the orator, viz. sagacity, high character and good will. 60

Intelligence and a knowledge of the subject are two of Percy's dominant qualities. Mr. Elroy Sandquist, Jr., told this writer, "Mr. Percy has a knowledge of the subject he is speaking on. He is also able to warm up to his audience because he knows about his listeners ahead of time." 61 Mr. John Henry Altorfer, candidate for Lt. Governor of Illinois in 1964, also testified in an interview with this critic that Percy knows his subject. Mr. Percy himself reported that the ideas appearing in "Where I Stand" were derived, at least in part, from his 25 trips abroad and his experience as head of Call For Action. What man without considerable intelligence could rise from office boy to Chairman of the Board of Bell and Howell in ten years?

60 Thonssen and Baird, pp. 383-384.

61 Interview with Mr. Elroy Sandquist, Jr.
The desire to serve his fellowmen in legislative office and his willingness to resign from lucrative industrial power in order to serve reflect high moral character. Within the speech, the evils he sees, the goals he seeks to achieve, and the means he selects to accomplish these goals also reflect high character.

The ladies and gentlemen of the Chicago City Club must have been reasonably receptive to the ideas of such a man.

EMOTIONAL PROOF

"Pathetic proof includes all these materials and devices calculated to put the audience in a frame of mind suitable for reception of the speaker’s ideas."62 In the speech "Where I Stand", Percy framed his motive appeals in a manner which would produce favorable human action. He did this by appealing mainly to the emotions of loyalty to the nation, pride, fear and shame.

The introduction was written after the tragic loss of his daughter which temporarily stopped the campaign. Because this speech of October 10, 1966, marked the reopening of his campaign, the audience was very sympathetic toward Percy. However, his statement appealed not for sympathy, but for courage, faith and the moral sensitivity of the audience when he quoted the Bible in saying:

62 Thonssen and Baird, p. 358.
The Bible tells us that 'there is a time for every purpose under the heaven ... a time to be born, and a time to die ... a time to mourn, and a time to dance ... a time to keep silence, and a time to speak ...'.

Percy named seven conditions with which he was dissatisfied. Each of these was very emotionally loaded and should have stirred feelings of shame as he told his listeners of the tragic state that our nation was in.

Pride was appealed to as Percy stated, "I stand for the legitimate rights of every citizen, whatever his color, his creed, his cause." This remark told the audience of his respect and pride for all people.

As the speech moved to the international scene, Percy employed the motive appeal of fear as he informed the people of the dangers facing the United States.

I am deeply concerned by the continual escalation of the war. The risk of expanding the war beyond the borders of Vietnam could outweigh any possible gains.

I continue to be deeply concerned about aiding countries that continue to trade with our enemy. We should do more to persuade our allies to join us in economic and technical assistance to South Vietnam.

Instead of it being their war, with United States assistance, it is becoming our war.

Again the sense of fear was stimulated as the risks of the war were described. He concluded with an appeal to patriotism and pride in our servicemen.
The risks of this war increase daily: the risk of Chinese
intervention, the risk of enemy escalation, the risk of
still more casualties among innocent people. If we must
accelerate the war - as the Administration believes we
must - then let us also accelerate the pursuit of peace.
American soldiers must not be left to fight and die in
Vietnam interminably.

Percy asked for loyalty to the nation when he requested that
the United States pursue peace with as much vigor as they pursue war.

In the conclusion, Mr. Percy again requested that people remain loyal
to their nation for it will face many new problems which will require
new solutions.

The speech ended with another motive appeal. This one
attempted to unify the audience toward working for a desired goal. He
used the appeals of loyalty and pride as he stated:

For we must also attend to the soul of our nation - to its
character and spirit. Amid the uproar of history, let us
not forget the quiet ideals which lend the world its decency
and dignity.

The key factor of attention employed by Mr. Percy was The
Vital for this discourse was based upon topics which affected the lives
of every member of the audience. The people were interested in
these timely problems and the methods which Mr. Percy proposed
to correct the evils.

"Where I Stand" is loaded with appeals designed to arouse
the emotions of the listener. Those appeals, coupled with the profound
feeling of sympathy for this man even as he arose to speak, created an unusually powerful hour of human experience.

ARRANGEMENT

The speech "Where I Stand" by Charles Percy was well organized and followed the basic three divisional outline of introduction, body and conclusion. This procedure is followed in all of Percy's speeches for as Percy stated, "I include three points in all of my speeches. This involves a good beginning, a good middle and a conclusion which are as close together and as related as possible." 63

An examination of this speech revealed two introductions. The first was more of a statement and was written after the death of his daughter. Its main purpose was to reopen the campaign as exemplified by the statement, "Now, with so little time and so much to do, I think it is time to speak once again." The original introduction to the speech which followed his new opening explained the purpose of the speech and Mr. Percy's reasons for running for Congress.

The first introduction captivated the complete attention of the audience as they waited to hear what references Mr. Percy would make toward the tragedy. As he proceeded into the original opening, he explained the background of the speech. The audience was reminded

63 Statement by Mr. Percy in the interview.
that they would go to the polls in four weeks to vote and that he was a candidate for the office of United States Senator. This opening also engaged the audience's good will when Percy explained why he was running for the Senate.

The discussion or body proceeded in topical order. It can be divided into three divisions which were explained in detail: (1) "I am not satisfied with things as they are"; (2) "You deserve to know what I am for and where I stand"; and (3) "We can (pursue peace) in many ways." Since the City Club requested Mr. Percy to speak on his campaign stands, the address conformed to the need and expectations of the listeners.

The conclusion summarized the body of the speech and restated Percy's opening remarks. He opened and closed his speech by stating that he would like to represent Illinois as their United States Senator, and appealed for their support in his election.

STYLE

Style may be looked upon as a medium used by the speaker to secure a response. 64 Hugh Blair described it as a "picture of the ideas which rise in the mind." 65 Thus, style becomes a function of

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64 Thounsen and Baird, p. 430.

the speaking situation, an instrument through which ideas are made meaningful.

Charles Percy selected a middle style of speaking in his address to the City Club. As a political candidate, he was aware that what he said would not only be heard by the immediate audience but would also be included in the news media of radio, television, and newspapers. His speech was obviously written so the common man as well as the highly educated could understand it. Therefore, he leaned toward simplicity and conciseness as he selected words that were largely poly-syllabic. The sentences were a combination of simple and compound.

Percy chose words which were powerful and expressive. He combined them skillfully to provide such effective phrases as:

"hallmarks of city life", "our lakes and rivers are becoming cess-pools of sewage and industrial waste", "dissipated by rising prices", and "an obsession with military commitments". Imagery was used sparsely and only for descriptions as "gleaming cities", "glowing riches", "the soul of our nation", "the uproar of history", and "quiet ideals".

The rhetorical device of repetition was employed expertly to state the increase in the risks of war:

The risk of Chinese intervention, the risk of enemy escalation, the risk of still more casualties among innocent people.

Percy also repeated the phrase "deeply concerned" to show his anxiety
over the United States Foreign Policy. The phrase "I stand for"
echoed through-out the address and in the summation it reiterated
Percy's positions expressed in the title of the speech "Where I Stand."
He stated:

I stand for government which is responsive to the individual's
needs without destroying the individual. I stand for government
which is both sensible and sensitive. I stand for government
which strives for national excellence.

He referred to the Bible in the introduction with the quote,
"there is a time for every purpose under the heaven . . . a time to be
born, and a time to die . . . a time to mourn, and a time to dance . . .
a time to keep silence, and a time to speak . . ."

The speech reached a climax as Percy told his audience,

If we do not become more selective in our military commitments,
if we do not decide wisely what and where to defend - then
we are going to be drawn into one war after another. I do
not believe that the United States should be unilaterally
committed to police the entire world.

The style chosen by Charles Percy reflected a mastery of the
language and his ability to express his key ideas in words that were
"spoken" rather than "written." There were several passages which
possessed an element of nobility and a new interpretation of an old idea.

DELIVERY

"Without clearly developed substance, you will have nothing
to say; without effective delivery, you cannot clearly and vividly convey
your thoughts to others. This idea expresses the importance that delivery plays in rhetoric. Charles Percy has demonstrated that he has the ability to express himself clearly and vividly for he has been described as a forceful, articulate speaker by many sources. The purpose of this section will be to measure Percy's persuasion with the requirements established by Monroe for a speech to convince which are: "a straightforward, energetic presentation that suggests enthusiasm without seeming overemotional."67

Percy gives the impression of being a professional announcer as he stands before his audience. His posture is relaxed but Percy still maintains his dignity. John Altorfer was describing Mr. Percy's platform posture when he stated, "Chuck stands on the toes of his right foot when he speaks. This gives him a physical awareness and enables him to live up to the old saying, 'get on your toes.'"69 Percy does not move when he speaks and uses few gestures. He does, however, emphasize certain words and phrases with a chopping motion of the right hand and pointing with the index finger of his left hand.

66Monroe, p. 48.
67Monroe, p. 422.
69Interview with Mr. John Henry Altorfer.
His facial expressions are animated and convey the enthusiasm he feels for his subject.

An Illinois Republican leader once observed: "Chuck Percy comes across to his audience, either live or on television." This idea was supported by numerous other comments on his delivery.

The most descriptive are as follows:

In 1964, Hal Higdon remarked: "The boy wonder of Bell and Howell is a handsome, and articulate man of 44 with a voice that crescendoes like the bass speaker of a stereo set." William Trombly stated: "An articulate, forceful speaker, he has the rare ability to transmit his enthusiasm and ideas to different kinds of audiences." Stewart Alsop observed that Percy's "articulateness is dismissed by some politicians and reporters as mere glibness, but on the television scene - more and more the make-or-break test for any politician - it is most effective."

The New York Times also commented on Percy's delivery: "A sampling of his news conferences and platform work showed him nimble, sure-footed, persuasive and well-received."

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70 U.S. News and World Report, p. 41.
71 Higdon, p. 29.
72 Trombley, p. 38.
Arthur Edson noted: "His words are weighed carefully as they flow articulately and copiously."\(^{75}\)

An admiring friend, John Henry Altorfer, summarized Percy’s delivery when he told this writer: "Overall, Percy is probably as good a public speaker as I have ever heard. His delivery is flawless. He has a well modulated voice with excellent pronunciation and diction. These traits, coupled with an obvious knowledge of the subject, makes Percy an outstanding speaker."\(^{76}\)

On July 23, 1967, this writer had the opportunity of hearing Mr. Percy speak. The impression of his delivery matches those enumerated in the above section. He was dynamic, had perfect articulation and a sincerity that captivated the entire audience. His cadence was measured and resonant.

Unfortunately, his normal delivery techniques were not employed by Mr. Percy in presenting his speech of October 10, 1966. As Mr. Elroy Sandquist remarked, "This was not the best speech I have ever heard Percy deliver, but knowing the emotional background behind it, it was a most effective job."\(^{77}\) John Zakarian of the Lindsay-Schaub News Service in Chicago, attended the October 10, 1966, meeting at the City Club. He reported that "Percy was solemn-faced as he


\(^{76}\)Interview with Mr. John Henry Altorfer.

\(^{77}\)Interview with Mr. Elroy Sandquist, Jr.
recited a prepared speech. . . . There was little trace of emotion as he spoke and almost no animation. "78

In answer to the question, "how do you prepare the final draft of your speech?", Mr. Percy answered that he likes to think his subject out as he goes. He outlines the majority of the speeches and is often forced to write his notes on the back of envelopes or during a meal. However, the major addresses may require months of research and preparation. He organizes the research in logical order, gives the speech to someone for editing and then he rereads it before delivery. Percy commented that "I ask the audience to do something in every speech and include action rather than vague rhetoric."

He limits the speech to fifteen to twenty minutes and stated that when he was tired it took longer to give a speech than when he was rested. Clarence Randall, past president of Republic Steel, once told Percy to never memorize a speech. He follows that advice and speaks extemporaneously on most occasions. His use of the extemporaneous style was first developed in high school. There he had a half year of speech and was a member of the debate team. Mr. Percy feels that it is important for anyone in public life to express himself clearly. 79

78 Zakarian, p. 1.

79 Interview with Senator Charles Percy.
The tragic circumstances immediately proceeding his appearance before the Chicago City Club on October 10, 1966, of necessity, dampened Charles Percy's normal enthusiasm, nevertheless, this was a highly persuasive speech.

CONCLUSION

Chapter five provided a rhetorical analysis of the speech "Where I Stand" delivered by Charles H. Percy on October 10, 1966. The analysis included: (1) invention, (2) arrangement, (3) style and (4) delivery.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The study of "Where I Stand" delivered by Charles H. Percy to the City Club of Chicago on October 10, 1966, is now completed. It is the purpose of this chapter to focalize the rays of information which have been presented and to make a final summary of the conclusions derived from this study.

THE PROBLEM

The problem studied in this thesis was to discover if the available means of persuasion had been used in this occasion.

THE WORKING HYPOTHESIS

The thesis was based upon the hypothesis that Charles H. Percy was an effective speaker in this speech delivered at the City Club of Chicago on October 10, 1966. The research and evaluations used in this paper were directed toward ascertaining the validity of that statement.

In drawing conclusions, it was discovered that Mr. Percy was persuasive despite the fact that he did not employ all of the available means of persuasion. His success was due to the
emotional problems surrounding the occasion. Thus, the hypothesis was only partially established.

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The critical approach was selected as the method to be used in studying this speech by Mr. Percy. This procedure was employed because the conclusions would lead to a critical judgment of this speech phenomenon. The requirements of the critical method which were followed are: (1) select the phenomena of speech to be evaluated or criticized and state the research problem; (2) orient the problem and establish the need for the study; (3) design the research by adapting or creating appropriate criteria and by planning how to use them; (4) control the factors involved in assembling and studying the relevant data; (5) evaluate the phenomena by observing them in relation to the criteria; and (6) draw conclusions from the data as evaluated.

MAIN CONCLUSIONS

RHETORICAL BIOGRAPHY

In order to study Mr. Percy as a speaker, it was necessary to know the influence which dominated his life in the years during which his traits, his habits and his character were being formed.

The environment in which Mr. Percy lived during his childhood affected his character as a man. Born into a "rags to riches" environment, Percy proved that through determination,
perseverence, hard work and luck that it was possible to become a wealthy, successful man. He worked all of his life and held his first job when only five years old.

At the age of twelve, Percy and his family assumed the difficulties produced by the Depression. Charles devoted his time to assisting in providing the income, and it was because of his ambition that his family was able to discard the shackles of relief. Joseph McNabb, president of Bell and Howell and Percy's Christian Scientist Sunday School teacher, offered Edward Percy a full time job and employed Charles during the summers. It was under Mr. McNabb's supervision that Charles Percy developed and prospered. He received a good education including some speech and debate training, and was employed at Bell and Howell after his graduation. There Charles demonstrated that he was responsible, organized and ambitious—traits which were a dominant part of his character. Percy's phenomenal rise with Bell and Howell illustrated his ability to succeed and to reach the top. His political career has also been successful. When Percy was defeated in his race for governor of Illinois, his determination to succeed was so stimulated that today he is not only a favorably publicized Senator but a presidential possibility.
SETTING OF THE SPEECH

The speech analyzed in this thesis was delivered to the City Club of Chicago on October 10, 1966. This occasion marked the first public appearance of Mr. Percy since the tragic murder of his daughter which temporarily halted his campaign for United States Senator. The audience of approximately 400, which filled the Old Chicago Room of the Sherman House, consisted of the club members, television crews and interested guests. They were an enthusiastic group, were well informed on the topic selected by Mr. Percy and were very favorable toward both the speaker and his subject.

RHETORICAL ATMOSPHERE

The atmosphere in the United States for the week of October 10, 1966, was one of conflict and problems. The news on the international scene was dominated by reports on the war in Vietnam and the attempts to find a peaceful settlement. One hopeful effort was the Manila conference which President Johnson was preparing for. France and Red China also made news with their internal turmoil. In the United States, the election predominated with the Republican candidates attempting to make a comeback in '66. Negro rioting continued to erupt. Congress was busy with education bills and the problems of inflation. Hurricanes and the World Series also stole headlines in the news. These events, which revealed a nation of changing
problems and attitudes, were much in the minds of his listeners and were emphasized by Charles Percy in his speech.

THE SPEECH OF OCTOBER 10, 1966

An analysis of the speech "Where I Stand," delivered by Charles Percy, disclosed several conclusions that are of importance to this thesis.

An examination of the logical proof indicated that Mr. Percy employed clear basic arguments. His speech was centered around three stated and one implied premises which were supported by specific instances, statistics, explanation, restatement and repetition. The evidence in the speech was appropriate. However, the audience should have had reservations about the four solutions because they were merely underdeveloped assertions.

The emotional proof was constructed to arouse the emotion of the listener. Patriotism, pride, fear and shame were the major motive appeals used. These appeals and the sympathy felt by the audience for the speaker, produced a powerful impact in the audience.

Charles Percy possessed a great deal of ethical appeal. He was intelligent and obviously well-informed on the subject. His desire to serve his fellow Illinoisians reflected high moral character. Within the speech, the evils observed, the goals he seeks to accomplish, and the means to achieve these goals also indicated high character.
Percy employed the three divisional outline of introduction, body and conclusion in this speech. His discussion proceeded in topical order and produced three main divisions: (1) "I am not satisfied with things as they are"; (2) "You deserve to know what I am for and where I stand"; and (3) "We can (pursue peace) in many ways."

The style chosen by Charles Percy reflected a mastery of the language. He used several rhetorical devices such as repetition, imagery and rhetorical climax. He followed a middle style of speaking that would appeal to all audiences.

In most cases, Percy is an articulate, forceful, enthusiastic speaker who can communicate successfully to his audience. Although the emotional situation surrounding his October 10, 1966, decreased Percy's normal effectiveness, he was still persuasive.

Later speaking engagements indicated that Mr. Percy was still a forceful speaker. Therefore, there are many possibilities for future studies of Charles Percy as a speaker which could produce additional favorable results. Because of his success in Congress, Charles H. Percy is a man on the way up and a man who will be constantly studied and evaluated.

All in all, Mr. Percy is an outstanding individual. The New York Times summarized his position when they stated soon after his election as Senator:
Though a scant two months in public office, Mr. Percy has already been found by some Republicans to possess Presidential qualifications outweighing his lack of experience: youth, good looks, ideas, successful business background, personality, speaking ability. 80

With these characteristics in mind, this study of Charles Harting Percy, the man, the businessman, the politician, the speaker, is concluded.

80 Weaver, Sec. 4, p. 4.
Thank you. I'm glad to be back.

The Bible tells us that "there is a time for every purpose under the heaven. ... a time to be born, and a time to die. ... a time to mourn, and a time to dance. ... a time to keep silence, and a time to speak. ..."

Now, with so little time and so much to do, I think it is time to speak once again.
WHERE I STAND

a speech by Charles H. Percy to
The City Club of Chicago
October 10, 1966

Four weeks from tomorrow, the American people go to the polls. The citizens of Illinois will be asked to choose a United States Senator. I am a candidate for that office, and I need your support.

Four weeks leaves little time in which to discuss the problems and opportunities confronting our nation in the 1960's and 1970's. But in those four weeks, I am going to travel as much of this state as I possibly can, discussing the issues as clearly as I can. And I am going to lend every support that I can to my capable running mates for Congress, for state and county offices, and for the state legislature.

I run for the Senate because I believe fresh voices are needed in Washington. I run because I believe the next decade will require vigorous and effective leadership in Congress. And I run because I am not satisfied with things as they are.

I am not satisfied when little children are bitten by rats in the slums of Chicago and East St. Louis.

I am not satisfied when the war in Vietnam drags on without discernible progress.

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I am not satisfied when our children's schools are overcrowded and understaffed.

I am not satisfied when the dream of equal opportunity for all Americans is yet unfulfilled.

I am not satisfied when crime and corruption are the hallmarks of city life.

I am not satisfied when leaders assert that prosperity excuses rising prices.

I am not satisfied when our lakes and rivers are becoming cesspools of sewage and industrial waste.

Dissatisfaction, however, is not enough. You deserve to know what I am for and where I stand.

I stand for a prosperous economy which is not stimulated by war or dissipated by rising prices. Every housewife feels the pressure of higher prices. Those on fixed incomes are suffering since their money doesn't increase even though prices do. Wage earners suffer, too, for their paychecks are buying less and less. The harsh fact is that today prices are going up faster than wages. I reject the Johnson Administration's arguments that the farmer is to blame, that businesses should not expand, and that housewives should buy cheap cuts of meat.

The Administration must establish priorities and reduce non-essential, non-humanitarian spending. It must do so now.
I stand for the legitimate rights of every citizen, whatever his color, his creed, his cause. All Americans deserve equal opportunities in voting, housing, medical care, education and employment.

I stand for the enforcement of civil rights legislation, just as I stand for the enforcement of all our laws. I have worked closely with the underprivileged for many years. I have actively supported and will continue to support their aspirations. But all progress must be made within the law.

I stand for the establishment of universal pre-school education for all children beginning at age four. Today this head start in education is available only to the rich and to the very poor, a few of whom can send their children to Poverty Program classes. I would like to see early education made available to all children, regardless of their parents' income.

I stand for broad improvement of elementary and secondary education, including better paid teachers, smaller classrooms, and more individual attention. It would be meaningless to enrich a child's early years, only to send him on to schools which offer inadequate opportunity for further development.

I stand for legislation to provide tax credits to parents supporting children in college as well as to working college students. Similarly, tax deductions should be made available to teachers who take post-graduate courses to sharpen their teaching skills. Teacher salaries
must be sufficient to attract highly qualified personnel.

I stand for efficient administration of the War on Poverty, so that more of this investment in the poor will actually reach the poor. As a Senator, I would work to end the waste, extravagance, and mismanagement which is marring this much needed program. I favor expanding Project Head Start, which is working, and overhauling the Job Corps, which is not.

I stand for the rehabilitation of slum neighborhoods. I am opposed to legislation which calls for the continued destruction of neighborhoods and the construction of high-rise housing projects. My own experience as head of Call for Action in Chicago has convinced me that these policies have failed.

I stand for making home ownership available to low-income families in our cities. The experiences of local groups in such cities as Tulsa, St. Louis and Philadelphia have proved the feasibility of this idea. The time has come for a national program in which government and the private sector cooperate to help people move from slum housing into their own apartments or homes. Such a program would not only contribute to the restoration of declining urban areas, but would create a new spirit of independence and initiative among low-income families.

But it is not enough to concern ourselves with what is happening in Chicago and Champaign, in Springfield and Washington. We must
be equally sensitive to what happens in Cuba and the Congo, in Santo
Domingo and Saigon.

Here's where I stand on foreign policy.

In Vietnam, I am opposed to the withdrawal of American troops
until a satisfactory settlement of the war has been achieved. At the
same time, I am deeply concerned by the continual escalation of the
war. The risk of expanding the war beyond the borders of Vietnam
could outweigh any possible gains.

I stand for a clarification of the Administration's objectives
and strategy in Vietnam. So far, the Administration seems highly
uncertain of its objectives and inconsistent in its strategy.

I stand for an end to allied trade with North Vietnam. I
continue to be deeply concerned about aiding countries that continue to
trade with our enemy. We should do more to persuade our allies to
join us in economic and technical assistance to South Vietnam.

I stand for greater efforts to unify non-Communist elements
in South Vietnam so that the South Vietnamese can carry their fair
share of the war. Instead of it being their war, with U. S. assistance,
it has become our war.

I stand for new approaches toward seeking an honorable
settlement of the war. The risks of this war increase daily: the risk
of Chinese intervention, the risk of enemy escalation, the risk of still
more casualties among innocent people. If we must accelerate the war -- as the Administration believes we must -- then let us also accelerate the pursuit of peace. American soldiers must not be left to fight and die in Vietnam interminably.

The Johnson Administration’s foreign policy indicates an obsession with military commitments. By treaty, we are already committed to the military defense of 42 nations. In fiscal 1966, we extended military aid to 55 nations. In some cases, we have inadvertently and shortsightedly armed countries to wage war against each other.

If we do not become more selective in our military commitments, if we do not decide wisely what and where to defend -- then we are going to be drawn into one war after another. I do not believe that the United States should be unilaterally committed to police the entire world.

I stand for a foreign policy more deliberately directed toward the reduction of tensions between nations. In the nuclear age, can there be any more important goal? We must pursue peace with at least as much vigor and invention as we now pursue war.

We can do this in many ways.

We can extend the nuclear test ban treaty now, and we can seek agreement on nuclear-free zones in Africa, the Middle East and Latin America.
We can cooperate more fully with the United Nations in seeking settlements of international conflicts, and we can work to strengthen the peace-keeping machinery of the U. N.

We can push for cooperative exploration of space and for a treaty to keep outer space free of military activity.

Clearly there is a need for more imagination in American foreign policy: after more than 25 trips abroad since World War II, I would hope that I might be able to help provide some of it in the United States Senate.

My friends, the next decade will not always be easy. There will be tough, trying questions to be answered by this nation -- questions that cannot always be answered by spending another billion dollars or by sending in a division of Marines. We are going to face entirely new problems which will require new solutions. Your government must respond to these problems honestly, intelligently, compassionately.

I stand for government which is responsive to the individual's needs without destroying the individual. I stand for government which is both sensible and sensitive. I stand for government which strives for national excellence.

By excellence, I mean something more than gleaming cities or growing riches. For we must also attend to the soul of our nation
Amid the uproar of history, let us not forget the quiet ideals which lend the world its decency and dignity.

If I am chosen by the people to serve Illinois in the United States Senate, it is this decency and dignity for which I will strive.

Thank you.
May 25, 1967

Miss Betty Jane Cromwell  
1532 First Street  
Charleston, Illinois

Dear Miss Cromwell:

I apologize for this tardy reply to your letter of May 9.

Enclosed are a number of Senator Percy's speeches from last year's campaign. In several cases, I am sending you our last remaining copy. I beg you, therefore, to please return them all to me as soon as you possibly can. Thanks.

As for your questions regarding preparation, etc., I think the best way of handling this is for you to call me at your convenience, and I will answer your questions as best I can for 15 minutes or so. I think this would probably save us both a lot of time.

Again, please return all the speeches.

Sincerely,

Calvin Lentress/dp
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