KENNETH BURKE'S CONCEPT OF IDENTIFICATION AS APPLIED TO
SELECTED SPEECHES OF EDMUND SIXTUS MUSKIE

APPROVED:

Vicki C. Stappe
Major Professor

Paul M. Suller
Minor Professor

R. V. Holland
Chairman, Department of Speech Communication and Drama

Robert B. Pauley
Dean of The Graduate School
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SELECTED SPEECHES OF EDMUND SIXTUS MUSKIE

THESIS

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Linda J. Giggleman, B. F. A.
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The purpose of this study has been to determine the ways Edmund S. Muskie used identification in five speeches which he delivered during his campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1971. Kenneth Burke's rhetorical concepts of indentification and consubstantiality are used to analyze the speeches.

Chapter II includes an introduction to Muskie's political life and an examination of the basic principles of Burke's rhetorical philosophy of indentification. Chapter II delves into the nature of Muskie, the man. Chapter III examines the texts of the speeches and reveals the strategies of identification which he used. Chapter IV summarizes Muskie's use of Burkeian identification in relation to himself and the times.
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"There is an element of nostalgia in the appeal of Edmund Sixtus Muskie\textsuperscript{1} in a time when nostalgia seems to be in vogue. "Like the Mr. Smith who went to Washington and the Mr. Deeds who came to town, he seems to many people to represent the old American virtues of fortitude, independence, plain speech and rocklike integrity."\textsuperscript{2} He is very much a representative American. "He looks like the way most of us look only more so--taller with a face that is less than pretty. His accent is New England, but the slow country-man's tempo causes Negroes in the South to ask Muskie if he didn't grow up among them. Just because he is so much like other Americans, Muskie can make the most radical declarations, the most sharply focused positions sound comfortable and familiar."\textsuperscript{3} As he himself has said: "I can talk to people who can't talk to each other."\textsuperscript{4}

According to a statement in the \textit{National Review}, Muskie's style and substance are the embodiment of
reasonableness, tolerance, and a quiet passion for justice. He seems to possess a crowd pleasing flair for communicating. A Muskie associate, Fritz Mondale, has said, "He can say anything and it will sound reasonable." Furthermore, he is a leader of moderation, taste, and sensitivity, a man of character who attacks problems, not people. A political reporter was quoted as saying, "I fell in love with this guy when he first ran for governor. He was the small-town lawyer living in a ticky-tacky veteran's home, eating baloney and Wonder Bread sandwiches for lunch. He had no dough, and the odds were against him. But somehow--and it sounds corny--he gave me back my faith in America . . . that decent, honest men could still make it." These qualities of Muskie, Stewart Alsop called "charismatic." However, J. F. Richard said that although Muskie occasionally verged on charisma, he seemed deliberately to step back.

Whether he did or did not have "charisma" seemed to depend upon the perception of his listeners. The fact remains, however, that he was a speaker to whom people listened and with whom people identified. In 1969 alone, he earned over $74,450 in fees for public speaking engagements.

Because of his popularity as a public speaker and his apparent ability to identify with diverse groups such
as Blacks, women, the elderly, and the audiences made up of people from all levels of the social, economic, and educational strata of our society, a study of Muskie's rhetoric should furnish some insight into the methods he used to accomplish such identification.

Statement of Purpose


These particular speeches were chosen from over thirty available texts not only because these audiences represented specific interest groups which are microcosms of our society but also because they occurred during Muskie's campaign for his party's nomination for president.
Method and Procedures

The method in this study is taken from Kenneth Burke's concept of identification which was mainly described in his *A Rhetoric of Motives*. Identification is a process through which the speaker attempts to achieve togetherness with his audience. The procedure consists of applying Burke’s concept of identification to selected speeches by Edmund S. Muskie. Although Muskie's audiences were heterogeneous as individuals, they represented certain segments of society which gave them certain homogeneous properties. Additionally, Muskie's perception and consequent appeals to the audience give insight into the speaker's view of his audience.

In the application of the Burkeian idea of identification, a thorough understanding of this concept is necessary. In the *Philosophy of Literary Form*, Burke established man as an actor and introduced his concept of identification: "Since man is specifically a symbol-using animal who expresses himself symbolically primarily through linguistic structures, the main way that he acts is verbally, or through the medium of language." Burke said that any verbal act can be considered as symbolic action. The symbolic act is the "dancing of an attitude"; that is, man reveals his attitudes through his language. A body ailment may be a symbolic act on the part of a body which can, in
turn, dance a corresponding state of mind that "reorders the glandular and neural behavior of the organism in obedience to mind-body correspondence," much in the same way that a professional dancer "reorders his externally observable gesturing to match his attitudes." In other words, the whole body becomes involved in the act, dancing internal attitudes together with external gesturing.

Added to this, Burke indicated that there is a very precise relationship between identification and persuasion as ends of rhetoric. Yet, identification goes beyond persuasion "in covering the whole field of motivational language, conscious and non-conscious, in the rhetoric of confirmity and appeal." Burke further stated, "A speaker persuades an audience by the use of stylistic identification; his act of persuasion may be for the purpose of causing the audience to identify itself with the speaker's interests; and the speaker draws on identification of interests to establish a rapport between himself and his audience." Moreover, Burke redefined rhetoric when he replaced persuasion with identification: "If I had to sum up in one word the difference between the 'old' and the 'new' rhetoric ... I would reduce it to this: The key term for the old rhetoric was persuasion and its stress upon deliberate design. The key term for the new rhetoric would be identification which can include a partially un-
conscious factor in appeal." This concept of identification is based upon the assumption that the beliefs and judgments of a person are in many ways similar to that of his fellow man, "because all men have patterns of experience which are universal, permanent, and recurrent." In a sense identification is a source of persuasion, for it enables the speaker and the listener to regard each other as equals. A speaker who asks his audience to identify with him is not persuading them to change but making them aware that identification has always existed. As Burke observed, "identification deals with what is, not with what should be. It is not concerned with specific acts of doing, but with the universal act of being." An excellent example of this is Adlai Stevenson's campaign speech to farmers in Minnesota in 1952: "I am grateful for the opportunity to talk with you about national farm politics. I won't waste your time this afternoon telling you . . . all about how I am myself a farmer. I own farm land in Illinois, and I come from a family that has lived in the heart of the Corn Belt for over a hundred years. . . . My first venture into public service was in Washington in the old Agricultural Adjustment Administration. . . ." Stevenson was not trying to create an identity; he was not trying to change an identity; he was merely pointing out what was there.
The significance of identification as a key concept is that, as Burke affirmed, men are at odds with one another, or because there is "division... If men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity." Identification ranges from the politician who, addressing an audience of farmers says, 'I was a farm boy myself' through the mysteries of social status, to the mystic's devout identification with the source of all being." At its simplest level, identification is a speaker relating his interests with those of his audience known as common ground. But at the most complex level, it is transcendence of ideas to the audience through consubstantiality. Identification is the source of a desired consubstantiality or acting together; that is, it is the process of establishing a common interest, value, or form with others through the use of symbols. Burke stated, "To identify A with B is to make A consubstantial with B." He considered things to be consubstantial if they were united or identified in a common interest, if they partook in some way of the same "substance." It is in his concept of "substance" that the philosophical basis for his concept of identification can be found. With regard to the notions of "substance" and "consubstantiality" he wrote, "Substance in the old philosophies was an act; and a way of life is an acting together; and in acting together, men have common sensations, concepts, images,
ideas and attitudes that make them consubstantial." 28

Identification takes many forms. A salesman may identify himself and his product with the client's interests. 29 An orator may seek to have his audience identify themselves with his ideas. 30 An unsuccessful political candidate may seek to identify himself with every other unfortunate person who is not "getting the breaks." Consequently, the critic must locate the "whatness" or "substance" of a situation or thing so that he may show it to be identical or not identical with the "whatness" or "substance" of the interests of the audience. 31 Burke felt that this concept of substance was essential to a theory of rhetoric. He asserted that the critic should understand the substance or the nature of man. In A Grammar of Motives, Burke discussed a theory of substance and said that verbal action is the substance of man. 32 In other words, it is through language as a symbolic action that men can become consubstantial.

Burke's concepts of identification, substance, and consubstantiality depend upon properties. Burkeian properties can be comprised of both material or physical properties, which encompass such things as a need for love or food, and intellectual properties, which encompass such things as status, education, and citizenship. Any sensation.
image, or attitude which we use to identify "substance," Burke called a property. All people share both common and differing properties, and it is finding those shared or common properties that allows people to become consubstantial. For example, two people are teachers. One is a teacher of English, and the other is a teacher of Speech. They have an argument. The English teacher tells the Speech teacher that the discipline of Speech really does not contribute anything academically because the method that is utilized is inconsequential. The teachers have different properties--one property being the specialization of Speech and the other being the specialization of English. But both of them are interested in the area of communication, and even though they have different methods of going about it, they share the common property for the desire of better communication. They may be able to overcome their differences through the common goal they share by means of identification which does not deny their distinctness.

The notion of property is derived from Burke's theory of the social development of man. He held that "man's moral growth is organized through properties, properties in goods, in services, in position or status, in citizenship, in reputation, in acquaintanceship and love." He maintained that to achieve persuasion the speaker must
identify his "properties" with his hearers' "properties." To do this he must give his hearers the appropriate "signs" in his speech. Burke said that "persuasion . . . involves communication by the signs of consubstantiality, the appeal of identification." He added, "you persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language [language being the symbol through which man expresses himself], by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your ways with his." In other words, he would have the critic "use all there is to use."

In summary, Burke's concept of identification occurs when

One identifies himself with others by establishing his relationship to groups; by selecting or naming the essence of an act, as a man is named a saint if he does an act for the glory of God, or named a sinner if he does the same act for self-aggrandizement. One identifies himself with another if he joins interests with him, or if he assumes their interests are joined, or if he is persuaded to believe their interests are joined. One identifies himself with others by talking their language in speech, gestures, tonality, order, image, attitude, and by showing the agreement of his ways with theirs. One identifies himself with others by sharing some principle in common; by showing that his conduct is like the conduct they admire; by participating in those specialized activities which make one a participant in some social or economic class; by the use of stylistic devices; by aligning oneself with the universal, permanent, or recurrent patterns of experience which one's group has experienced, by using titles either imaginal or ideiological which accord with the bias of one's intentions and the opinions of
one's audience. Speaking philosophically, one achieves identification by surrounding himself with properties which establish his identity. These properties would be in goods, in services, in position, or status, in citizenship, in reputation, in acquaintance-ship, and in love.37

Muskie's speeches will be analyzed according to the concept of identification in order to locate and name the properties to which he appealed in his effort to achieve identification. Specifically, what these properties are cannot be known until they are located. In the Philosophy of Literary Form, in the chapter entitled "Hitler's Battle," Kenneth Burke gave an example of the method applied. In this selection Burke named the strategy of identification as that of unification and said the device had the following features:

(1) Inborn dignity. In both religious and humanistic patterns of thought, a 'natural born' dignity of man is stressed. And this categorical dignity is considered to be an attribute of all men, if they will but avail themselves of it, by right thinking and right living. But Hitler gives this ennobling attitude an ominous twist by his theories of race and nation, whereby the 'Aryan' is elevated above all others by the innate endowment of his blood, while other 'races,' in particular Jews and Negroes, are innately inferior.

(2) Projection device. The 'curative' process that comes with the ability to hand over one's ills to a scapegoat, thereby getting purification by disassociation. This was especially medicinal since the sense of frustration leads to a self-questioning. Hence, if one can hand over his infirmities to a vessel, or 'cause,' outside the self, one can battle an external enemy instead
of battling an enemy within. And the greater the amount of evils one can load
upon the back of the 'enemy.' This device is furthermore given a semblance
of reason because the individual properly realizes that he is not alone responsible
for his condition.

(3) Symbolic rebirth. Another aspect of the two features already noted. The projective
device of the scapegoat coupled with the Hitlerite doctrine of inborn racial superiority,
provides its followers with a 'positive' view of life. They can again get the feel of
moving forward, towards a goal.

Like Kenneth Burke, I have looked for clusters and attitudes which Muskie has selected in these speeches that would evoke patterns of experience suasive to his cause in order to motivate audiences to come together with the speaker in word and deed.

Summary of Design

This study is divided into four chapters. Chapter I includes an explanation of the Burkeian concept of identification with its counterparts—consubstantiality, substance, and property, and its principles of application. Chapter II contains an examination of the man, Muskie, for it is necessary to know something of the background and experiences that he brings to any speaking situation in order to determine the ways in which he identifies with his audience. Chapter III includes an analysis of the five selected speeches in order to determine how the concept of
identification applies to each. In order that the various political and/or social nuances could be known, each speech has been put into the context of the time, the occasion, and the audience. This made it possible for me, the critic, to understand with what Muskie had to contend. Chapter IV offers a summary and conclusions about the use of identification in Muskie's speeches.

2Reichley, p. 76.


4Kraft, p. 13.


15Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form*, p. 11.


18 Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 56.


22 Mader, p. 65.

23 Mader, p. 65.


27 Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 21.


29 Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 22.

30 Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 46.

31 Holland, Counterpoint, p. 61.


33 Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 23.


35 Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 62.

36 Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 55.

CHAPTER II

THE MOLDING OF MUSKIE'S PERSONALITY

Introduction

According to Burke, men possess both material and emotional properties. These properties would be in goods, in services, in position or status, in citizenship, in reputation, in acquaintanceship, and in love. All people have properties which are shared as well as those which are different, and it is the discovery of shared or common properties which allows people to become consubstantial. Therefore, it is when a speaker identifies his "properties" with his audience's "properties" that persuasion, or identification, takes place. Edmund S. Muskie is a speaker who sensed his audience's properties and, thus, adapted his speeches accordingly. However, in order to determine the process of Muskie's audience identification, it is necessary to understand the shaping forces of his personality which motivated him to speak as he did.

Influences in Early Years

Edmund Muskie was born of immigrant parents in the
textile mill town of Rumford, Maine, on March 28, 1914. He was the second of the six children of Stephen Marciszewski, a Polish tailor, and Josephine Czarnecki Marciszewski, a native of Buffalo, New York. Muskie's father had fled to the United States in 1903 to escape Czarist tyranny in Poland. At that time immigration officials at Ellis Island, unable to spell Marciszewski, shortened the name to Muskie.

A key element in formulating Muskie's personality was the shyness that he suffered throughout his childhood. In grade school Muskie was a quiet, somewhat timid boy whom some people expected to become a priest. His natural timorousness was intensified by the anti-Catholic, anti-Polish sentiments that were prevalent in Maine after World War I. He has recalled being greeted at school by cries of "dumb Polack" and has had vague recollections of crosses burning and Ku Klux Klan activities in Rumford during this time. In a speech he delivered to a high school graduating class in June 1971, he said, "As a child, I felt the slights of an immigrant's son. But I also felt the respect my father earned as he made a place for himself and his family. The quiet, reserved citizens of Maine know how to overcome prejudice and bring people together." Due in part to his shyness, Muskie had few boyhood friends. His sister, Irene, described him as a loner. Mulling it over one day, Muskie said, "I don't think our family ever under-
stood the agony I went through in overcoming shyness." 

Muskie's acute interest in learning as well as his development through debating experiences ultimately led to the maturation of his intellectual properties. As a young man, he was a voracious reader, favoring books about biography, travel, and history. Muskie's father kindled in him an intense interest in politics and affairs of state and served as a potent force in shaping his personality. It was also from his father that he inherited an almost insatiable thirst for knowledge. This inquisitive mind and keen interest in current events stood him in good stead later as a star debater at Stephens High School, where he also became Student Council President as well as valedictorian of the class of 1932. At Bates College in Lewiston, Maine, a school long known for its prestige in debate, Muskie further refined his debating skills. It was his debate experience which gave him a structured form for escaping his shyness.

Accordingly, Muskie's properties of keen intelligence and perseverance seemed to have served him well. With the help of a scholarship, summer jobs as a dishwasher and a bellhop, and a school-year job waiting on tables, Muskie graduated cum laude from Bates in 1936 with a major in history. While at Bates he was class president for two
years and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa.\textsuperscript{12} He was also active in many college organizations, particularly the politics club. He was known on campus as "the only Democrat--a significant label for one destined to win a Republican State."\textsuperscript{13}

Politics Beckon

After graduating from Bates, Muskie entered Cornell Law School on another scholarship and earned his law degree in 1939. He returned to Rumford as a substitute teacher while waiting to take the Maine bar examination.\textsuperscript{14} Subsequently, he was admitted to the Massachusetts Bar later in the year and to the Maine Bar in 1940.\textsuperscript{15} It was also in 1940 that he bought a deceased lawyer's estate, a small law practice in Waterville, Maine, which was largely a collection agency. According to Muskie's biographers, Muskie said, "That was important to me because it meant that some money would be coming in while I was waiting to get established. It isn't a particularly attractive way to practice law but it does pay the bills."\textsuperscript{16} World War II, however, interrupted his efforts at building up his law practice, and he entered the Navy in 1942 as a junior officer on destroyer escorts in the Atlantic and Pacific.\textsuperscript{17}

Returning to Waterville in 1945, Muskie found clients
scarce. When local Democratic leaders approached him because they were hunting for fresh candidates for the state legislature, he quickly accepted. In reference to this acceptance, Muskie said, "I was interested because of my father's general interest in public affairs. And the whole New Deal period had coincided with my own personal life and problems. But it never occurred to me to get into politics until Harold Dubord came to my office and asked me." Subsequently, Muskie won and was apparently captivated by politics as evidenced by his perserverance in the political arena.

His early political experiences served as an excellent apprenticeship for his metamorphosis from an introverted child into an aspiring presidential contender. Following the 1947 session of the legislature, Muskie ran unsuccessfully for the office of Mayor of Waterville. Undaunted, he ran for and won reelection to the state legislature in 1948 and became Democratic floor leader of the Maine House of Representatives. Three years later while serving his third term as a state representative, he resigned to become district director of the Maine Office of Price Stabilization. In 1952 he resigned from the O.P.S. to become a Democratic national committeeman "just in time to preside over the near collapse of the state's shaky party."
Persuaded by friends, Muskie entered the race for the governorship of Maine against the Republican incumbent, Burton M. Cross. Restive after twenty years of Republican rule, the voters elected Muskie by a margin of about 22,000 votes. Actually, Maine knew very little about its new governor. According to Senator Mike Mansfield: "State politicians recall finding Yankee Protestants astonished to learn they had voted for a Catholic of Polish descent." Muskie had become the first Catholic Governor ever elected in the state, the first Polish-American Governor ever elected in the country, and the first Democrat to be elected Governor of Maine in twenty years.

Subsequently, Muskie established himself solidly with the voters during his two two-year terms. Taking a non-partisan approach in emphasizing economic and educational problems, he maneuvered most of his programs through the Republican legislature. Almost certainly he could have won a third term as governor but chose instead to run for the United States Senate. Overcoming seemingly insurmountable odds, Muskie defeated the Republican incumbent, Frederick G. Payne, by a vote of 172,000 to 112,000, or sixty per cent of the vote, to become the first popularly elected Democratic Senator in Maine's history.

Not long after Muskie took his seat in the Eighty-
sixth Congress in January 1959, he found himself out of favor with Lyndon B. Johnson, who was at that time Senate Majority Leader. Johnson had tried to enlist Muskie's support in defeating a liberal attempt to change the Senate rules so that filibusters could be cut short. When Muskie sided with the liberals, Johnson retaliated by assigning Muskie his last committee choices—Government Operations, Public Works, and Banking—and pointedly excluded him from the Foreign Affairs Committee which had been his first choice.27 "I was frustrated, lonely, disillusioned, and discontented," Muskie said of his early days in Congress.28 In time, however, the committee assignments that seemed second-rate gave Muskie his chance to make his mark on Washington and, in turn, the nation and caused Stewart Alsop to comment in his book, *The Center,* "Muskie is one of the few members of the Congressional ruling class, who, without heading big committees, or winning exalted standing in the hierarchy, makes it for reasons of personality, intelligence, energy, or absorption in the affairs of Congress."29

Muskie's devotion to duty compelled him to attack with fervor even the most seemingly menial of tasks. He immersed himself in pollution control and the problems of federal-state relations that came under the jurisdiction of his committee. As chairman of the Air and Water Pollution Sub-
committee, he wrote the 1963 Clean Air Act which was the initial major federal statute curbing air pollution. Then, in 1965, he wrote the Water Quality Act which established the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration and created a water quality standards program that later gained him the title of "Mr. Clean" conferred by his Senate colleagues.

In 1966 Muskie saved President Lyndon B. Johnson's Model Cities program from Senate defeat "by an exercise of homespun eloquence." His perspicacity caused Senator Albert Gore to remark that Muskie spoke "with clarity, elocution, and grammatical perfection that few Senators possess" and prompted Mike Mansfield to say, "It is rare for a Senator to win any votes by a floor speech, but Ed did and pulled the bill through." Consequently, this strategy finally ingratiated Muskie into Johnson's good graces. Johnson later described Muskie as a "real powerhouse . . . one of the few liberals who's a match for the Southern legislative craftsmen."

By reason of his established record as a vote-getter, his reputation as a "fair-minded liberal" among his colleagues, his interest in ecological and urban problems, and his acceptance by all factions of the seriously
splintered Democratic Party, Muskie was selected as the Democratic vice-presidential candidate in 1968. Furthermore, Hubert H. Humphrey, the Democratic presidential nominee, needed as a running mate someone who could attract some of Senator Eugene McCarthy's disenchanted liberal supporters while pacifying Southern Democrats who were thought to be leaning toward the candidacy of George C. Wallace, the presidential nominee of the American Independent Party. According to the Wall Street Journal, Muskie, with friends in the McCarthy wing of the party, also had a "reputation for dealing fairly with his Dixie colleagues in the Senate." For the most part Muskie concentrated in his campaign on national and international problems rather than on the shortcomings of his opponents, except for his open censure of Wallace.

Almost immediately after his nomination, Muskie became the favorite candidate of many columnists and editorial writers. James Reston of The New York Times called him "the most refreshing figure in the American campaign" and asserted that because of his integrity "he stands out among all the clever men, the confused men, the cunning and cynical men in the Presidential race today." Also, James A. Wechsler observed in the New York Post, "In his own fashion Muskie has imported a Lincolnesque note to the
squalid, strident sound of contemporary debate. His performance has achieved a certain special distinction because of the blunders of Mr. Agnew, but that is hardly its sole merit. Almost alone, he has sounded as if he had deliberately chosen to address himself to the better instincts and intelligence of the nation."39

Subsequently, Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew defeated the Humphrey-Muskie ticket by only a narrow margin in the national elections of November 5, 1968, and the day after the elections "Muskie partisans were already suggesting that he ought to head the ticket in 1972."40 Although the Democratic ticket was defeated, Muskie had been catapulted into national prominence. Prior to 1968, he often complained that no one ever paid any attention to him. This all changed, however, during the campaign and caused him to remark, "I felt unleashed! liberated! during that campaign. I could say what I really thought and felt without straining or shouting, and still be listened to. That felt damned good."41

During three terms in the United States Senate, Muskie voted steadfastly in favor of most of the bills providing for anti-poverty programs, civil rights, and Medicare. He fought for years for programs that guaranteed older Americans a peaceful, dignified life as well as for equal opportunity for all Americans.42
Influence of Maine Origins

An analysis of Edmund Muskie's properties would be incomplete without considering the tremendous effect that his Maine origins had on shaping his personality. In character and temperament, Muskie is an extension of what is often thought to be the composite Maine citizen. The people of Maine are known to value judgment since "it is a country where the consequences of poor judgment can be serious" because the winters are cold and interminable and the income is low. They are also known to value endurance, caution, attention to detail, and doing things as they should be done. As Muskie's biographer, David Nevin wrote:

They [the people of Maine] have a strong sense of propriety--for a man should follow a proper course and one who does not understand propriety is deemed unsound by definition. Their wisdom appears in country homilies that apply good sense to immediate things, their humor turns on good sense deflating urban puff. This humor suggests a caustic quality but in encounters they emerge as calm, pleasant, courteous, and slow to take offense. Independent, hardworking, usually plainspoken, they find virtue in making do and being glad with what there is. They care about balance and fair play and modesty and do not admire men who promote themselves unduly. Maine is practical, pragmatic, interested in what works.

Muskie apparently always accepted these values as his own.

A man of deep emotion, with a quick, fiery temper, he once told a startled reporter, "I'm always boiling on the
inside, but it doesn't often show." These qualities of temperament penetrate his Maine aloofness from time to time. His reputation for irascibility, however, might be increased by the fact that he is often irritable, as his family and associates have attested often. Loye Miller, Jr. of the Knight Newspapers once mistook an invitation to ride on Muskie's campaign plane in Maine as an opportunity to interview him. When they were airborne, Miller, a very pleasant man, said: "Senator, could we discuss the ingredients that will go into your decision as to whether you will run for President." Muskie replied, "Oh, it'll depend on how I feel the morning I decide." Miller paused and then with an obligatory smile said, "Well, could we discuss the factors involved in how you'll feel that morning?" "Sure," said Muskie, "It'll depend on what I had for breakfast." There was not another word spoken on the flight.

The Maine influence of propriety has had a significant impact on Muskie's personal life and political career. He seems to interpret his standards very strictly, for he once said, "Our way of being tough in my part of the country is to do so without name-calling or recrimination but to develop clear ideas of what we stand for and to press for them as hard and as effectively as we can. We think there are ways to be tough that are sometimes silent, that are sometimes restrained. I can't be something I'm not. I can't change
the way I am. I come from my region. I reflect its attitude. That doesn't mean we don't get things done. We do. 47

Consequently, the Maine attitude helped explain why Muskie was often not the first to speak on vital issues as well as why his national campaigning had a soft note which was disturbing to people who preferred more exciting language. It also explained the quality that kept him from thrusting himself into various situations. Furthermore, it explained the note of balanced and reasonable, often lengthy, good sense in his answers to questions. It explained, too, why he often refused the urgings of his staff to do things in order to elicit attention. 48

Likewise, consonant with the Maine attitude was Muskie's emphasis on thoroughness and hard work. James R. Calloway, who was staff director of the Public Works Commission, remembers Muskie this way: "The first time I ever dealt with Muskie he was a freshman senator and he was handling some very minor bill. He asked me such detailed questions that I wound up preparing a sixty-page memorandum for him. I gave it to him and the next morning he not only had read and digested it, he had prepared a memo of his own critiqueing my memo." 49 As evidenced by his rise from such humble beginnings to aspiring presidential candidate, the hard work and thoroughness obviously paid off. All he is,
he credits Maine with giving him and he has often remarked, "Everything I am and everything I hope to be is due to Maine." 50

Regardless of his success, Muskie has remained an unpretentious man who does not seem to find marks of status appealing. When he was preparing for his 1970 campaign in Maine, the initial radio advertising was prepared in a New York studio and included an announcer saying reverently, "Edmund Muskie is a great man." Muskie listened with predictable irritation and rejected it. "Why can't we just say, 'Ed Muskie is a good senator,'" he said. "That's the truth. I am a good senator. That's what we're trying to get over. And let's say Ed, not Edmund; Edmund is an odd name, it's hard to say. I like plain Ed." 51 His unpretentiousness led his biographer, David Nevin, to write about him:

He does not flee to secret hideaways. He drives his own car. He goes to regular restaurants and gets on and off planes with everyone else. He readily stops on the street to talk government to anyone who questions him and sees it as a duty to do so. . . . He often seems uncomfortable in social situations that are not also political and usually refuses small talk that is not in a political context. He has a wide spectrum of friends who do not seem to mean much to him, and the number of people with whom he is genuinely easy is small. His tastes are essentially modest, more rural than urban, more solid than chic. He has little taste for wines or fine foods, for the theater or great restaurants. His sense of art is active and true
but unlettered. His clothes are good but utilitarian. . . . He likes bird hunting and is an avid though not very good golfer. He swims in the sea off the Maine coast, going far out despite the chill. . . . He reads eclectically, watches television occasionally, follows professional sports lazily.52

These modest tastes have been reinforced by the fact that Muskie always has been frugal. He seems to care little for the pursuit of money, although he has often been frustrated by a shortage of funds.

One never knows how Muskie will receive a comment because he is often a defensive and prickly man. A friend who was thinking of the dangers inherent in unstable crowd situations asked him if he had considered the risks involved in giving someone like young Rick Brody his platform during a speech as he did in 1968. Muskie, who was a star debater both in high school and in college and who is considered one of the ranking debaters in the United States Senate, threw back his head with an irritated look and said: "Well, I didn't imagine that he would demolish me in debate. Instances of one debater destroying another one are very rare, you know. I thought I could hold my own."53

Although an intensely private man, Muskie's candor and willingness to talk freely have led people to imagine quickly that they knew him, when, in actuality, they did not. Journalists have had trouble understanding him. As a Senator he has protected himself with a heavy, often impenetrable barrier of staff members, sometimes to the
annoyance of his colleagues. His candidness is a quality not often found in public figures. "Candor is as much a part of Edmund Muskie as his easy grin and his sincere visage," stated a *Time* editorial writer. Muskie has talked to people and to the press in an open and often introspective and self-revealing way. On September 27, 1971, he made a statement in Los Angeles that suddenly brought his candor to everyone's attention in a most controversial manner. He said he did not believe a ticket which included a black vice-presidential candidate could be elected in the climate of that time. The black leaders to whom Muskie made the statement did not appear offended; however, when the statement went out on the news wires, there was strong reaction around the country. Many black leaders were affronted. Almost everyone in politics knew the statement was true although many said it was not. The real question, however, was not the truth of the statement but whether Muskie should have said it. When Berl Bernhard, staff director of Muskie's campaign, heard about it, he said, "Well that's what happens when you've got an honest candidate." In Muskie's judgment people wanted to hear the truth and were willing to accept it, and dealing with problems openly was the best way to start solving them. John McEvoy, his administrative assistant, once summed up Muskie's thought processes this way:
I think he's at his best in terms of problems. He devours alternatives. He rejects an a priori argument, rejects things that are not factually based, not founded on data, that one can't explain and defend. Many public men prefer not to have alternatives, you know. They prefer to have a staff they trust to develop a course of action which they then approve or disapprove, and in the latter case the staff rethinks the problem. Muskie is always interested in alternatives, and usually has some of his own. I noted immediately an ability to break a conclusion into its parts and examine each part. He is very fast, and seems to do this in a reactive way. He deals with mirror images of ideas; that is, he sees the backside, the opposite side; which means he sees the whole idea and thus the fragments into which it can fall and the effects it can have. Often enough he asks questions as if they appear as part of the problem when in fact he has gone through to the conclusion and broken it into fragments and now his questions are tracking back from the fragments. So you see, he takes an idea and splits it, as if he perceives immediately that it is not just one but perhaps five ideas, which is another way of saying that he sees the complexities that are hidden from many people who see only the vague outlines of the idea.

Certainly the Maine influence on Muskie has been evident. Throughout his political career, he has conducted himself in ways consistent with the ways of Maine. In July 1971 he remarked to a group of graduating seniors, "What is important is to care and act in the tradition of Maine." His conversations and speeches abound with references to "my part of the country," and "up where I come from." Undoubtedly, he recognizes that this role like that of the twangy Hoosier or the drawling Texan appeals to many. He has projected the quality of the self-
confident captain of one of the old Yankee clippers whose passengers trusted him to bring them through stormy waters. "It's not just that he's competent and reasonable," said Senator Philip Hart of Michigan. "The most important thing about Ed Muskie is that he is a man you would turn to if you were in trouble."  

Audience Identification

Muskie appears to have the capacity to sense common denominators of human experience and feelings and then cast the issues that trouble people in those terms. In such a framework issues become understandable and real, something which people can deal with. In his vice-presidential acceptance speech to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago on August 29, 1968, he said, "To make a society such as ours work is not easy. It means learning to live with, to understand and to respect many different kinds of human beings of different colors, or different cultural levels, of different tastes and intellectual capacities, of different educational attainments, or different social backgrounds, personalities, and dispositions and to accept them all as equals." With these statements, Muskie demonstrated his capacity to understand and to empathize with his fellow countrymen and to recognize their differing properties.
Another ability Muskie seems to possess is an uncanny instinct to handle people, which accounts for part of his success over the years. He recognizes quickly where the real interests of the various sides lie and seemingly maneuvers with those interests. He has often supplied some guidance long before the other fellow sees where the situation ultimately leads. One of his staff said,

He has a very uncanny ability to say just the right things to bring the other guy along. [When he is not in a temper—as on the airplane]. He sort of leads him up to the precipice and then induces him to jump. It takes great patience. He's willing to listen to the other fellow a long time before he starts talking, but then what he says brings the man along, usually unaware, until the guy finds himself doing what Muskie wants him to do. It doesn't always work, of course, if the other guy sees where he's being taken, or if it's someplace he really doesn't want to go, but lots of times it's just that he hasn't thought it through and Muskie has, so Muskie can shape it as he goes along and see that it all falls out where he wants it to.62

The theme that Muskie strikes, which has been a guiding force in his whole career, is simple and natural, and that is "to give everyone an equal chance to improve their lives."63

Summary

In order to discover Muskie's properties, it was necessary to examine the factors that contributed to the formation of these properties. His Polish immigrant father, as well as his Maine origins had a tremendous influence in making him the person he is. From this back-
ground he developed such properties as extreme shyness, a thirst for knowledge, an intense interest in politics and affairs of state, a frugality, a belief that hard work was the key to success, a strong sense of propriety, an almost pragmatic philosophy, an unpretentiousness, a candid approach to answering questions and speaking, and an intense love of country and family. Because of these influences, Muskie acquired properties which enabled him to identify with varying audiences from May through November 1971 and, ultimately, to achieve consubstantiality with them.
FOOTNOTES


4Moritz, p. 276.


9Nevin, p. 55.


11Moritz, p. 276.


13"Why Muskie Was Chosen for No. 2 Spot," p. 44.

14Lippman and Hansen, p. 43.
15Moritz, p. 277.

16Lippman and Hansen, p. 43.


18See A. J. Reichley's article "Muskie's Problem Is How to Keep from Being Himself," Fortune, June 1971, p. 79 in which he stated Franklin Roosevelt was the hero of Muskie's youth.

19Lippman and Hansen, p. 46.

20Moritz, p. 276.

21U. S. Congress, Senator Mansfield, Congressional Record, 10 April 1967, 8850.


23U. S. Congress, Senator Mansfield, Congressional Record, 10 April 1967, 8850.


25U. S. Congress, Senator Mansfield, Congressional Record, 10 April 1967, 8850.

26Lippman and Hansen, p. 97.


28"Why Muskie Was Chosen for No. 2 Spot," p. 44.


32Nolan, p. 46.
33U. S. Congress, Senator Mansfield, Congressional Record, 10 April 1967, 8850.

34Moritz, p. 277.

35"Why Muskie Was Chosen for No. 2 Spot," p. 44.

36Moritz, p. 277.


39Moritz, p. 278.

40Sheehan, p. 127.

41Sheehan, p. 127.


43Nevin, p. 35.

44Nevin, p. 35.

45Nevin, p. 36.

46Nevin, p. 53.

47Nevin, p. 190.

48Sheehan, p. 128.

49Nevin, p. 11.

50U. S. Congress, Senator Eagleton, Congressional Record, 27 July 1971, 7913.

51Nevin, p. 43.

52Nevin, p. 44.

53Nevin, p. 54.
54 Moritz, p. 278.


57 Nevin, p. 50.

58 Nevin, p. 64.

59 Reichley, p. 77.

60 Roberts, p. 141.


62 Nevin, p. 65.

CHAPTER III

EDMUND S. MUSKIE AND THE CONCEPT OF IDENTIFICATION

Introduction

Edmund S. Muskie spoke to an America in flux, an America of crumbling security in which "ideas that had long been accepted were directly challenged, political and economic theories once regarded as untouchable were torn up and reversed." Heading into an election year in 1972, it was an America in which "there was scarcely a man or woman who felt confident about where it was all going." To this America of confusion and change, Muskie "appeared calm, reasonable, and straightforward, exhibiting his own 'peculiar brand of low-key charisma.'" However, Senator Muskie's appeal rapidly was to fade. In late October 1971, he was "still regarded as the frontrunner" in the race for the Democratic nomination for the presidency. By April 1972, only six months later, "Muskie announced that he would skip future primaries. . . . His decision came in the wake of disappointing primaries and his losses in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts."
This study deals with the "frontrunner" Muskie of 1971 and focuses on an analysis of five speeches which he delivered between May 2 and November 30 of that year. The analysis reveals Muskie's methods of identification as defined by rhetorical critic and philosopher Kenneth Burke. Virginia Holland, a student of the Burkeian concept of rhetorical criticism, commented that "the critic who would persuade effectively (achieve identification . . .) must know the nature of persuasion. He must evolve a theory of philosophy of rhetoric which defines its essence and explains its principles systematically. He must know how to utilize these principles and make them the basis for his rhetorical methods and specific kinds of rhetorical strategies. A physician could not cure a person's illness if he did not know the human body. . . . In the same manner, the critic cannot persuade others if he does not know the nature of man." Therefore, by studying Muskie's principles and methods of identification, insight can be gained into his perception of the nature of man.

Muskie's rhetorical philosophy can best be seen by discovering the strategies, or plans of attack, he used in the speeches analyzed in this study, and, at the conclusion, arriving at a designation of the clusters and attitudes by which he chose to identify himself with his audiences.
As a result of analyzing the strategies Muskie used in the aforementioned speeches, the following elements of his rhetorical philosophy emerged: self-image, varietal use of forms, ability to create an atmosphere conducive to identification, and offensive and defensive rhetorical devices. Also, it should be noted that all of the speeches in this study showed a constant approach to these four areas.

The Self-Image

As a possible contender for the Democratic nomination for President, Muskie's conveyance of a desirable self-image was always primary. When speaking, however, to those who would be more directly responsible for his receiving the nomination, the Democratic "high command," the importance of self-image was magnified. Elements of self-image were apparent in all of the speeches analyzed in this study. However, the Democratic unity speech presented on November 9, 1971, in San Francisco, California, perhaps best demonstrated Muskie's development of this element.

It is important to note the judgmental quality of this particular audience. The nature of this audience made Muskie's definition of self the focal point of the speech as evidenced by his statement, "This event is billed as a Democratic unity dinner. But everyone here in this room realizes that there is more to our meeting than that."
Most of you are here to size up three of us as presidential contenders."9 Muskie's opening remarks recognized the purpose of the audience and unified them as a judgmental force. The San Francisco Examiner defined the purpose of the gathering in similar but more detailed terms: "The state Democratic high command gathered at the Fairmont last night to look over the national talent, to applaud the local chieftains and to reaffirm its fealty to that mystical entity, the Party."10 Again, the judgmental quality of the audience was stressed, as well as the importance to the speaker of making an impression on the "high command."

The physical nature of the audience was important as well. The San Francisco Chronicle described the size of the audience as having been "925, ten television cameras, and scores of reporters from throughout the country."11 The price of admission was one hundred dollars per plate.12 This confirmed the importance of the speech—a presentation of self to a large, influential, and wealthy group, as well as to national news coverage. Muskie's speech provided the definitive analysis of the occasion: "The rules are very simple, we are supposed to talk—you are supposed to respond—and the reporters are supposed to decide who won."13

Since one of the major purposes of this particular audience was to pass judgment, Muskie realized the importance
of presenting a favorable image. When divided into its composite parts, the image consisted of the particular properties with which Muskie chose to identify himself. They encompassed the spheres of physical properties, mental properties, emotional properties, and spiritual properties. The impact of the properties of position and status were found throughout the Democratic unity speech.

One of Burke's primary definitions stated that "men enact roles. They change roles. They develop modes of social behavior. They establish identification by relating to groups." In the Democratic unity speech Muskie presented himself in several roles of varying importance. At the onset he defined himself as a "presidential contender." In stating that "the Democratic Party may be headed for serious trouble in 1972, and I believe the fault is not in others, but in ourselves," he defined himself as a critic and a Democrat. His role as critic of the administration was constant. Statements which referred to the action of Washington as "always too late, and often too little" were common in all of the speeches referred to in this study. The strategic reason for the constancy of this role was that it was the means through which the projection device, the corruption of the present administration, was effected. His role as critic of the Democratic Party was much more selective. The only other speech studied here which contained
such a criticism was his address to the Freedom Forum. The mild reproval indicated that "in the Democratic Party, we must do better"\textsuperscript{18} in eliminating sex discrimination. This reproval was used as a minor unification strategy, hence, the contrasting selectivity of this critical role as opposed to the role of critic of the administration.

In the address to the Freedom Forum Muskie categorized himself and his audience as "citizens"\textsuperscript{19} and "Americans."\textsuperscript{20} This not only added a patriotic element to his self-image but also served as a unification strategy. This patriotic image emerged as a major definitive key to Muskie's self-image. The importance of this image was reflected in its use. It served as the basis of his chief unification strategy--spiritualization. "This dramatistic notion of human substance as action of a verbal kind places man as a social being. Life becomes an acting together with other men. When men act together, they have common sensations, concepts, images, ideas, and attitudes which make them consubstantial with each other. When they participate in common sensations and interests, they become unified; no longer do they feel their generic divisiveness. Linguistically, or dialectically speaking, they are of the same substance, or are consubstantial with one another, for they have achieved identification."\textsuperscript{21} Thus, this identity which appeared in all of the speeches was used to unify and in-
spire action. A good example of this was in the N.A.A.C.P. address when Muskie said, "the fate of America depends on our fight for racial justice."22

By naming the Democratic party in the Democratic unity speech, "the first political party ever founded in this country," Muskie identified himself with an involvement in politics and, at the same time, made himself appear knowledgeable in history. He further defined his role as "politician" as being a juxtaposition of two elements--practicing politics and being a politician. Muskie defined his identity as being knowledgeable in politics as an asset to identification. This also was demonstrated in his speech to the elderly in which he stated, "I understand the politics of that psychology." This gave a positive note of confidence and intellect to Muskie's image.

The negative inference of being a "politician" was dealt with through the use of irony in the N.A.A.C.P. address. Muskie defined himself ironically as a "white senator" and a "white politician." This showed he viewed the role of "politician" as being a source of negative identification. Through this use of irony, he satisfied audience expectation of his acceptance of a political role and at the same time rejected this manipulative self-seeking identity in order to form a union with the audience.

In his role as historian, Muskie supported several
strategies of identification. In speaking to the elderly, Muskie's stand on the wage/price spiral was given the impression of solidarity by his conclusion that his position "should have been done in 1969." Here, historical reference gave the illusion of factual substantiation which encouraged support and identification.

In Muskie's third of May speech, he used history to create another image--Muskie, the immigrant. The importance of his childhood as a Polish immigrant's son directly influenced this speech. His opening prayerful invocation, "my thoughts right now go back to my grandparents and parents . . . carrying dreams on trains and on foot to Pittsburgh, Detroit, Omaha, and Chicago," not only served as historical substantiation of the plight of the immigrant but also as a unifying strategy of spiritualization.

In the Democratic unity speech, Muskie appealed to "join again with Martin Luther King in the affirmation that we have a dream . . . and . . . believe again with Robert Kennedy that we can seek a newer world . . . . Now let us build the right real majority." Muskie combined in this speech the emotional strategies of "get on the band-wagon" and prayer to create the image of a crusader, a worker, and a reformer. This role was portrayed in all of the speeches analyzed. Strategically, Muskie used this
image as the basis for his calling for a symbolic rebirth. This was demonstrated in the N.A.A.C.P. address through the strategy of get-on-the bandwagon when he appealed, "Our task--your task and my task--is to turn those beginnings into a lasting coalition of interest." Through this image the same purpose was achieved in the third of May speech. Muskie outlined the possible future of peace and plenty through the repetition of the phrase "I'd like to see...". This repetition emphasized the connection of this element of his self-image to stylistic and ideological strategies which evoked symbolic rebirth.

Thus, Muskie appealed to most levels of human identification, from the physical roles of worker and reformer, to the mental roles of critic and historian, to the emotional implications of a crusader, to the spiritual evocation of the mystical families of the Democratic Party and the American nation. Economically, his appeal remained neutral but concerned. He supported the poor and middle classes with strategies of vindication and hit the "millionaires that pay less tax than their secretaries" with strategies of rebuke.

Muskie's enactment of roles, however, did not stop here. He used a defensive tactic which asserted the positive nature of his position. This defense launched an offensive strategy for the purpose of making "others
identify with his program of action."34 The image he had hoped finally to achieve through identification was that of a "possible presidential contender,"35 but even more importantly, a leader.

Muskie assumed many of the leadership qualities which were natural extensions of the numerous roles he had presented. For example, his role as critic and historian implied awareness: "Far too long we have seemed ready to stand or fall on a single issue."36 It also showed insight as evidenced by his statement, "The Nixon effort will fall short."37 As a worker and a reformer, he was associated with experience and concern, for he said, "I receive invitations from party audiences across the country,"38 and "as a Democrat and American, we would wrong our party and our country by overemphasizing economic appeals in the months ahead."39 This image of critic and intellectual with a strong historical background was most probably a natural extension of the Stephens High School debating star with an "insatiable" thirst for knowledge. This constant image would seem to point to a sincerity of approach rather than to a desire to create a public persona who was sellable on the political marketplace.

This smooth transition from defensive to offensive positions gave Muskie an authority which was evidenced by a change of tone. In the Democratic unity speech Muskie
began with light, defensive notes such as "each of us hopes to impress you." Many phrases were qualified with a humble "I think" or "I believe." Again, remarks like these are reminiscent of the humility and shyness born from his immigrant background and painful childhood. As this speech progressed and the offensive strategies began to emerge, declarations and even strategic reprovals and rebukes surfaced. Muskie said, "These are real and painful realities--but, in recent years, America's people and America's politicians have been reluctant to face them. Deep down, I suspect that many of us have been afraid to take another chance on change."43

For this authoritative tone to be accepted by his audience, Muskie tempered his statements with one of his most frequently used elements of self-image and unification--the inborn nobility of the human spirit. His effortless transition from a defensive pose to an offensive stance demonstrated this image which juxtaposed humility with authority tempered with nobility of vision. "Some commentators think that this is what Americans want--a careful consolidation of the present and a prolonged post mortem of the past. I wish those commentators had traveled with me in recent months. For I have seen the mood of this country changing. I have sensed the stirrings of a renewed faith
that the work of our hands can shape a more decent future." In his evaluation of the status quo, his combination of reproval, humility, and desire for a partisan victory identified him with the qualities of honesty and loyalty. This was illustrated when he said, "We can say words that may lead to applause. But the blunt truth is that economic appeals which still draw cheers may not win enough votes next November." By his reappraisal of accepted goals with an emphasis on morality, he was associated with those moral qualities. The entire context of the Democratic unity speech was pointed toward Muskie's humanity. One of the many examples of his humanity was his indictment of statistical inhumanity when he stressed, "there are people behind the numbers and ... they are suffering." The Democratic unity speech was unique for reasons other than its definitive revelation of Muskie's image. It also contained what was, perhaps, Muskie's personal speculation of what effect he had hoped his image would have on his audience. If the evaluation were sincere, then one can assume that he intended to "impress ... the audience ... to stir [their] enthusiasm and to secure [their] support." This showed the intent to promote inspiration, trust, and unity which concurred with Muskie's self-image of leadership with nobility to achieve a partisan victory in 1972.

An important aspect of Burkeian criticism is an aware-
ness of the symbols of authority at the time, either actual or created by the speaker. The speaker, then, must decide to accept or reject these symbols. As a critic of the Democratic party and the administration, Muskie had separated himself from existing structures of political authority. It appeared that this strategy was used by Muskie to break away from the anonymous image of a "party mouthpiece" and to be recognized as an independent agent, a free thinker, or a reformer. In Burkeian terms, this could be associated with "the need of rejecting the reigning symbols of authority" which demonstrated a leaning toward a strategy of alienation. In Muskie's case he alienated himself from the authority of a self-proclaimed leader of the Democratic party and the nation in favor of joining with his audience as an equal and eventually being proclaimed by them as their leader.

Did Muskie succeed in identifying with his audiences? One can only speculate as to the outcome. Muskie was well out of the running for the Democratic nomination by the time California went to the polls in the June 6, 1972 primaries. The only indication of the evening's result was in the San Francisco Chronicle on November 9, 1971. "When the evening ended it appeared the audience of Democratic faithful might be happy to accept either candidate next year [Hubert Humphrey also spoke] --or perhaps someone else instead of either of them."
The valuable evidence which the Democratic unity speech contained was that it demonstrated Muskie's rhetorical ability. Through his spoken word, he wished to convey the image of a political leader who was knowledgeable, with keen insights into the human and political situation; strong in honesty and morality; compassionate and noble; and loyal to his convictions, his party, and his country. Taken to another extreme, "Muskie was generally conceded to be a nice guy, but, as the saying goes, nice guys finish last; the Democrats were looking for someone to finish first."54

The Varietal Use of Form

One of the classic colloquialisms fostered by our American culture is the axiom, "It's not what you say but how you say it." Kenneth Burke, no doubt, would have parsed the depth and range of this utterance and, yet, in its simplistic way, it stresses the vital importance of form. "Forms satisfy man's desire for order and the agent [speaker], thus, is able to persuade an audience to accept his course of action."55 Burke expanded upon this definition of form in his book, Counter-Statement. "Form in literature is an arousing and fulfillment of desires. A work has form insofar as one part of it leads a reader to anticipate another part, to be gratified by the sequence."56 Thus, the connection of
emotional contexts to formal elements is made by the energy of an audience participating in the act of listening to a speech.

In Burkean terms there are essentially "five aspects of form, or five ways that a critic can lead an audience or reader from one part of a work to anticipate and desire another part." Virginia Holland outlined these five aspects of form:

(1) Syllogistic progression. Speakers use this type of progression when they conduct an argument, advancing step by step demonstratively from A to E through steps B, C, and D.

(2) Qualitative progression. A speaker uses a series of illustrations charged with dramatic quality anticipating the quality of the conclusion.

(3) Repetitive form. Burke means the restatement of a theme by new details.

(4) Conventional form. The appeal of form as form. Conventional form differs from the other strategies of form which Burke mentions in that it may be anticipated before one becomes a member of the audience, while strategies of progressive forms, i.e. Syllogistic and Qualitative progressions and repetitive forms arise in the minds of the audience during the actual process of listening, reading, or observing.

(5) Minor or incidental forms. Those individual strategies within a work which may be analyzed and enjoyed as formal events, but not because of their functional use, but because of themselves.

Burke maintained that "the explanation of a proposition in one or another of these rhetorical forms involved identification, first by inducing the audience to participate in the form as a universal locus of appeal and next by trying to
include a partisan statement within the pale of assent." Muskie's ability to create complex, interwoven, and subtly effective forms was clearly presented in his speech of June 4, 1971, at the annual "Fighting For Freedom" dinner of the N.A.A.C.P. in Chicago. This *tour de force* of formal structure carried various motifs through the repetitive and syllogistic formations with counterpoints in the emotionality of the qualitative progressions as if in a symphony.

Development of Forms Through Themes

Although there is no definite conventional form for a partisan address, there seems to exist an indefinable expectation toward such a speech. Muskie recognized this expectation in the Democratic unity speech when he said, "Most of you are here to size up three of us as possible presidential contenders. . . . We are supposed to talk. . . . You are supposed to respond." This audience attitude could be defined as an alerted skepticism blended with a desire to be convinced. Muskie's first formatic strategy was to break the expectations of an anticipated form. He was the key speaker at this fifty dollar per plate dinner which was attended by more than one thousand persons. Through the act of approaching the podium, he obtained the sole focus of the audience's energy and, thus, was established
as an authority figure, commanding the central position of the group. To have assumed an alienated position would have resulted in rejecting this authority—which Muskie did. Muskie's thematic use of the strategy of alienation was a reflection of his formal strategy of breaking conventional or anticipated form. These principles were established by the ironic opening themes of his address to the N.A.A.C.P.: "After years of practice, white politicians know the right things to say to an audience of black people." Muskie's opening transferred the position of authority and judgment to the audience just as in his Democratic unity speech. The result of this tactic was two-fold. The rejection of conventional form reversed expectations, replacing skepticism with surprise. From this rejection arose defensive strategies. By alienating himself from authority positions, such as Senator and Democratic spokesman, which he attached to the administration, he was able to construct a credible partisan offensive attack. This attack was built on innuendo and implication in statements such as: "They have left us with eloquent pleas and detailed plans for equity in America. But defining the solution is no longer the problem." This subtlety grew into an overt declaration of purpose late in the speech: "In the economy, in our cities, and in medical care, a coalition of interests could transform our lives and our politics." Generally speaking, the strategy of
rejecting anticipated or conventional form for the purpose of directly establishing defensive tactics and indirectly laying the groundwork for offensive tactics could be cited as a definite rhetorical strategy used by Muskie and is found to some degree in all of the speeches analyzed in this study.

Thematically, the address to the N.A.A.C.P. was divided into six parts. In the first part Muskie tried to remove the impediments between himself and the audience which was chiefly a defensive strategy. He did this through ironically defining himself as a "white politician and a white senator" and contrasting this with sincerity in stating "I am with you now as I have been in the past." In the second step an appeal to unity was made which was represented in his slogan "coalition of interest." This segment contained the transition between defensive and offensive strategies. This transition was handled similarly in the Democratic unity speech. The opening shift of authority established Muskie as an opponent to authority or the administration. By appealing for unity, which was associated with "prosperity," "power," and "health" he regained an authoritative leadership position which was evidenced by a change to a declarative tone: "They want jobs—and they want them now." This offensive position coupled with his previous defensive stand reflexively attached an anti-adminis-
tration aspect to the call for unity. Thus, the strategy established the administration as an opponent to this "Coalition." In the third thematic step, Muskie presented a vision of rebirth in the slogan "coalition of interest." The fourth area exposed that "some Americans are pulling against a coalition of interest," making them enemies of such a rebirth. The fifth segment dealt with two combined offensive strategies. It established the life or death scale of the conflict and generated an attack aimed at those opponents who made "repeated attempts to divert our people from the pursuit of common interest." The final area of the speech was, in contrast, emotionally cool and more matter-of-fact and returned the authority to the group as evidenced by Muskie's statement, "I am hopeful that with leadership like yours we will get there in the 1970's." This final defensive pose gave the speech a pleasing overall sense of symmetry.

Interwoven throughout these six themes were three formal strategies of Burkeian identification. These varying forms gave the speech interesting developments which held the attention of the audience, underscored the idea of rebirth (syllogistic formation), contrasted emotional builds for emphasizing the partisan strategies (qualitative formation), and developed a smooth rising and falling structure.
which, from its constancy, gave the speech a foundation from which to grow (repetitive formation).

The syllogistic progression followed the development of Muskie—the visionary. Muskie used a syllogistic formation for the same purpose in his address to the Freedom Forum. In that case the metamorphosis showed Muskie growing from a "biased" male to a reformed leader of the women's liberation movement who wanted to "make women's rights a reality not just a rallying cry." The most dramatic use of the syllogism, however, occurred in the N.A.A.C.P. address. From humble and defensive beginnings, Muskie almost apologized for his presence. In calling himself a "white politician," he stressed a role implicating a racially polarized position. The second step of the syllogism developed Muskie's fellowship with his audience which correlated to the theme of the second movement—unity. Here, Muskie used demarcating pronouns such as "we must build" and "they have left us" to further identify himself as part of a specific group rather than having used an indefinite "we" which would refer to all humanity. This progression correlated with the second objective of this theme—the beginning of offensive strategies.

The third and final step of the syllogism occurred mid-way through the speech in the third thematic movement—the projection of a rebirth. Here, Muskie attained his
final role, the visionary, the leader into the messianic future. He spoke in definite judgmental tones as if a sage, outlining the benefits of the "coalition" and declaring that "there is nothing in public life more powerful than fifty-eight million urban citizens of every race demanding their due." Fellowship and the use of "we" was replaced by a declarative third person. The progression both climaxed and ended here. This was the heart of his partisan message—the falterings and failings of the Republican administration.

Muskie used a qualitative formation which conveyed these failings as well as overlapped the syllogistic build. This overlap of the emotional qualitative formation and the logical syllogistic progression was one of the major contributing factors to the intensity of the syllogism. The basis of this structural formation was the mounting frustration of the status quo. This tide of frustration was built on varying indictments of the present system. It grew in emotional intensity from a "lack of sensitivity" to the use of deceptive tactics to pull "our people from the pursuit of common interests by appealing to groundless fears" and to the use of "law and order as a code word for prejudice instead of a keynote for crime control." Hence, the qualitative formation carried the crux of the
offensive attack. The use of the qualitative formation seemed to be Muskie's means of carrying offensive strategies in all of the speeches studied. In the third of May speech this growing emotional tide conveyed the force which Muskie claimed "took the shine off our dreams." This force was indirectly defined as being responsible for continuing the "war in Indochina"--the force being the administration. More directly, the qualitative formation carried an overt assault on the government in the speech to the elderly. Muskie used this emotional format to portray an administration characterized as feebly trying to cover "the neglect of the past." In the address to the Freedom Forum the qualitative formation was also used to carry a direct assault. Muskie climaxed this series of building emotional indictments by flatly declaring the "administration in Washington has not been leading in the fight for civil rights or women's rights." From this it could be concluded that there was an immediate connection between the use of qualitative formation to develop Muskie's offensive strategies and the generation of a projective device, such as the creation of a scapegoat.

Repetitive structure was used as a basis for the N.A.A.C.P. address. This through-line served to carry the thread of purpose in this intense and fluctuating speech. In *Counter-Statement*, Burke viewed the use of this form as
the only means anyone had of "talking on the subject." The subject of this address was on three different levels. The first and most apparent level was the appeal for unity. Intertwined with the qualitative formation and couched in highly emotional, identifying images, the second level was a partisan appeal aimed at future elections. The third and deepest layer existed only by the authority implicit of Muskie acting as speaker. As Burke pointed out in A Grammar of Motives, "The agent [speaker] is an author of his acts." Thus, this level of purpose searched for support for Muskie, the man, the Democrat, the Senator, the possible presidential nominee.

The climax of the repetitive form occurred simultaneously with the climax of the qualitative progression which, structurally, gave extraordinary emphasis to the demand that "the burden of reform [be put] where it belongs." This climax ended the qualitative formation and marked the beginning for the downward curve of the repetitive motif. These falling tones led to the emotionally withdrawn conclusion. With the syllogistic and qualitative progressions having played their stylistic part, the conclusion was formed purely from the steady pulsings of the speech's purpose. With this ending, the emotional cycle of the speech had gone full circle.

Muskie also used a central repetitive structure as
the foundation of the other four speeches analyzed in this study, although repetition was not as pronounced in them. In each speech the repetitive form carried the underlying theme. The third of May speech had the "tradition of immigrants" as a constant undercurrent. This theme indirectly connected with the strategy of spiritualization and, hence, the unification of the audience. Unification was again the purpose of repetition in the address to the Freedom Forum where the theme was the family of America extending beyond sex and politics. The family of America was evoked again in the speech to the elderly just as the family of Democrats was evoked in the Democratic unity speech. Unity was the subject of these repetitive themes. Hence, Muskie's use of repetitive formations and the strategy of spiritualization led to the unification of the listeners.

Muskie used minor and incidental forms in two major ways in all of the speeches studied. First, they connected the syllogistic and/or the qualitative progressions to the repetitive formation. Next, they served to create dynamics within the major forms. In the N.A.A.C.P. address the first was accomplished by sloganizing the overt theme of the repetitive formation, unity. Along with the title of the speech, "A Coalition of Interests: Blacks and Whites Together," a slogan which involved the word "coalition" appeared twenty-
one times. Major variants of this slogan were coalition of interest, coalition of change, coalition of conscience, and coalition of frustration. Muskie used a variety of alliterations, themes, and ironies to form these slogans. When used, they seemed to carry calmly the purpose of the speech through a myriad of images and forms. In addition, one must not overlook Burke's contention that "one identifies by using titles either imaginal or ideological which accord the bias of one's intentions and the opinions of one's audience." Minor or incidental forms also were used in this speech to build dynamics into larger structural devices. Thus, the even-toned repetitive formation was inflected by repetition of internal phrases which built intensity into the statement of purpose not unlike the old gospel pattern, "It's me, it's me, it's me, O Lord, standin' in the need of prayer." In the conclusion of the speech, Muskie's use of this method was marked. Like the old gospel preacher, he declared "I do not think that white racism is the greatest stumbling block. . . . I think the barrier is superstition and fear," or "our task--your task and my task," and again in "nothing could better fulfill . . . nothing could bring us closer." This use of minor or incidental form was characteristic of Muskie as a speaker.
Internal repetitions and sloganizing such as his portrayal of the administration as playing "the politics of choice," in the speech to the elderly are found throughout his speeches. These structural devices have formed stylistic stepping-stones which served to capsulize issues—a "coalition of interest" versus the "politics of choice." This capsulization could be said to play a key role in Muskie's image as a speaker. He was thought of as "the slow country man" who spoke with the simplicity and drive reminiscent of the old Negro gospel preachers.

Were the effects felt of this imaginative use of form? When used in as varied and as dynamic a way as the N.A.A.C.P. address one would have to say "yes." On the basis of newspaper reports of the speech, the areas emphasized by Muskie's forms were used as headlines and/or leads into the story. One of them read: "Muskie Calls For Black-White Coalition." These headlines were drawn, of course, from the well integrated use of the slogan "coalition" which united syllogistic and qualitative formations to the repetitive formation. Chicago Today carried the headline "People's Coalition Urged By Muskie." Here, again, the importance of the identifying use of titles was stressed. And, finally, another headline stated "Muskie Urges Link of Blacks, Hard Hats." Yet, despite the use of emotional stereotype in this headline, the purpose of the speech was still perceived and reported.
The headlines from all of the speeches had one common denominator; they implied an urgent tone—a call for action. This was true in the third of May speech in Chicago where headlines read, "Muskie Stirs Crowd With Poetic Touch," and in Schenectady where the Schenectady Gazette observed, "Muskie Makes Pitch in City For Feminine Votes." Much of this urgency was created through the varied peaks and valleys which were dynamically constructed through the formal structure of identification. This structure formed the skeleton of a rhetorical body which was built for inducing action in order "to make the American dream a reality for every American." 

The Creation of an Atmosphere Conducive to Identification

The speech which best represented this element of Muskie's rhetorical philosophy was the speech to the elderly on September 19, 1971. What composed this atmosphere? To answer this question one must look to the foundations of the theory of identification. Burke summarized that the end of rhetoric was "to form an attitude or to induce actions." More specifically, its purpose was "the manipulation of men's beliefs for political ends." The process by which this manipulation was accomplished was referred to as identification. Virginia Holland, in Counterpoint, further defined the Burkeian term, identification as two fundamen-
tally different definitions. One was identification referring to the end product, the state of consubstantiality, and the other was the reference to identification as a process, a methodology, or a means to that end.

In a sense, the purpose of this area of the study would be the latter—the means used to reach an atmosphere conducive to a state of being consubstantial with an audience. The N.A.A.C.P. address was characterized by the newspapers as having an urgency. Thus, Muskie was able to create a mood or an atmosphere which would induce one to act.

A possible theory on the nature of this atmosphere could be likened to an elementary physics principle, the natural tendency to equalize pressures. The pressurized atmosphere created by Muskie's sense of urgency in the N.A.A.C.P. address or his desire for victory in the Democratic unity speech formed a displacement of balance which caused the audience to attempt to stabilize or counterbalance Muskie's output of energy. The counter energy from the audience stimulated by the speech through Muskie's use of various strategies was what seemed to supply the power for the fusion of identification. How did Muskie create this energy, this atmosphere, which impelled identification? The answer lay primarily in Muskie's choice and use of strategies.

On September 19, 1971, Muskie spoke through the afternoon heat to a standing-room-only group of four hundred
senior citizens in St. Petersburg, Florida. The response to the fifteen-minute speech was "predictably enthusiastic" and frequently "interrupted by applause." Apparently, Muskie had reached a certain level of consubstantiality with this audience.

At the onset, the audience, which represented the Senior Citizens Group of the Springfield Condominium Village, was unified by age. Muskie chose to solidify this union in two ways. He employed the strategy of spiritualization "in order to merge, unify, and socialize individuals, and make them appreciate their consubstantiality rather than their divisiveness." In addition, he created these images of spiritualization by associating the audience with the "real America" and the real human community. The second unifying tactic was a unification through age when he appealed to the pride of his audience by having said they had led "the real lives of the elderly."

The speech began with a contrast of circumstances by Muskie. He stated that his purpose was to leave "the semantic confusion of Washington" to come back to the "real America." In doing so, he had disassociated himself from an authority position through the strategy of alienation, as well as joined the spiritualization of his audience. This was the same rhetorical approach Muskie used in the Democratic unity speech and the N.A.A.C.P. address. Again
he had coupled a defensive and an offensive strategy through his combination of alienation/spiritualization. By having shifted authority to the audience by spiritualization and having disassociated himself from the authority symbol of government by alienation, he had become united with his audience, which, in turn, gave him back an authoritative stand from which to launch offensive strategies. This union with the audience had become his transition by a further unionizing strategy, "the common bond of humanity," growing old. Thus, Muskie identified with his audience by "making clear the commonality of their point of view."  

Through these opening identification tactics, Muskie created an atmosphere of expectation. This atmosphere was reminiscent of the opening of the N.A.A.C.P. address. There, the reversal of conventional forms and the use of irony created an air of surprise which left one waiting to see what would happen next.

The second step Muskie took in creating an atmosphere of assent was to define the relationship of himself to the audience. This relationship was approached through the assigning of emotional properties which created a world of "selective reality" for the audience to inhabit. Burke speculated on the possible effects that selective property realities could have on a group in A Rhetoric of Motives.
He commented that "however ethical such an array of
identification may be when considered in itself, its
relationship to other entities that are likewise forming
their identity in terms of property can lead to turmoil
and discord." Consequently, the group would desire
change from this state of "turmoil."

Muskie's property strategy pictured the audience as
facing "tough human problems" and "the despair which
older Americans feel when their country turns its back on
half a century of productive service and contribution." As a group they were "forgotten" and felt the "barriers
[of] loneliness." They lacked "political power" and
because of it they were forced to "pay the price." They
were threatened by inflation which had "stolen the value of
their money and with it the chances for a decent standard
of life." And yet they were beautiful. This beauty
was born from having "shared with this land far darker
hours." From this strength of spirit had come the wisdom
of age for they had "seen so much and . . . learned so much." In short, they had an "authority born of pain and hunger, of
growth and laughter, of knowledge and wisdom." Muskie
painted a picture of his listeners as the unjustly oppressed,
gifted minority—in a word, the victims. They were the vic-
tims of the "politics of choice."

The "politics of choice" represented the slogan device
used by Muskie to paint his "dragon." More than just the administration, the "politics of choice" was enigmatically referred to as "Washington." The synonyms for this monster were "semantic confusion," "wealth," "power," "bureaucracy," and "negligence" of the problems of the oppressed. "Washington" had supported the "hundred billion dollar war in Southeast Asia" and inflation, and had viewed the problems of the oppressed as only a game of "playing the politics of choice." The strategy here was the same as in the N.A.A.C.P. address, the Democratic unity speech, and the address to the Freedom Forum. By disassociating himself from the "powers that be," Muskie was free to attack them.

As clearly demonstrated in the speech to the elderly, Muskie created sensitive and constructive victims, and then he pictured an ineffectual, misguided, and even cruel tyrant. Yet, the effect of these attacks was one in the same; it created the second atmospheric condition—a desire for liberation which was born from fear of this harsh world of unbalanced values. The key to unlock this distorted world was reform. Because of the conditions involved, the yoke of oppression would have to be removed by an individual aware of the problems of the victims and, at the same time, well versed in the workings of the tyrant.

Muskie answered the call for help that he, himself, had
stimulated. This salvation created the third atmosphere for action. In contrast to the previous fears established, Muskie developed a climate for hope by declaring that the time had come "for this country to do more for them." His self-image contained all of the necessary properties for him to become the savior of the oppressed. His knowledge of the political scene enabled him to see the problematic present situation. His image as a patriotic American raised him above petty partisanship. His energy to crusade and work for reform made him the audience's leader. Hence, through Muskie, rebirth was possible. He became equated with hope. The title, "The Elderly in America's Destiny," pointed toward the end of the speech and Muskie's purpose—to gain support.

Muskie's identification with the audience became fused through two major strategies. He showed that "his situation overlapped their situations," which resulted in his audience "agreeing with his strategy of encompassment and feeling identified with him." His second strategy was to create a shift of allegiance by using symbols of authority which created an unbalanced property situation. Burke pointed out that "it is men's natural tendency to make peace with their world, to 'accept' it, they are forced into some measure of alienation by the inadequacy of its property structure. Men must then throw off old and deceptive modes of identification and take on new ones."
Muskie created through images three contrasting climates for action, three atmospheres conducive to con-substantiality. Through strategies of alienation and spiritualization, he charged the air with expectancy. He attacked the audience's eagerness with offensive strategies which created fear. By using the strategy of selective reality, Muskie presented a world of unbalanced property structures for the audience to inhabit which created the desire for liberation. The final mood Muskie created was one of hope for the future. He planted the inspiration for action which established his position as the leader into the age of rebirth and reform.

Muskie's Rhetorical Characteristics

In examining the texts of these five speeches, a certain consistency in Muskie's use of language could be seen and categorized. He defined himself as a man of knowledge and insight, keenly aware of the human situation with its problems and rewards. His character was tempered with humility. While being both a worker and a loner, Muskie engendered a nobility of spirit and a deep concern.

Muskie's speeches took on the aspect of a crusade for reform, intent on developing new perceptions to solve old problems. Consequently, the circumstances under which the speeches were given carried emotional and spiritual connections which evoked an aspect of the American dream.
The audiences consisted of a group of noble-spirited fellow Americans victimized by the oppression of a misdirected minority in power. Muskie's intention was to unify the audience by gaining their trust and to show them a way to rebirth. Moreover, he sought to gain their support and become their leader. In order to bring this about, Muskie used eight major strategies. Through the use of the strategies of emphasizing common properties and spiritualization, he attempted to achieve unification of the audience. He joined this unity through the strategy of alienation. His partisan message was born through a transitional tactic of shifting authority to the audience. Through the strategy of creating a selective reality, Muskie launched an offensive which led to the formation of a scapegoat. He contrasted the image of the scapegoat to the possibilities of rebirth. The speeches concluded with a call for action which retransferred authority to the groups.

This analysis represented Muskie's rhetorical philosophy in its pure state. These rhetorical criticisms remained constant with minor variation throughout the text of his speeches. In constructing a rhetorical criticism of Senator Muskie, it should be observed to what extent his objectives and his positions were reached and under what conditions.
The Use of Rhetorical Strategies

It would be difficult to imagine two more diversified scenes in which Muskie's rhetorical philosophy had to work than in his third of May speech to the Polish National Alliance and his address to the Freedom Forum. On one hand there was the throng of Polish-Americans, fifty thousand strong, standing outside in the rain and the mid-thirty degree temperature at Humboldt Park in Chicago. They were awaiting a twenty-minute address from another Polish-American son, Edmund Sixtus Muskie, the front-runner for the Democratic nomination for the presidency. The air itself was charged with excitement. This event commemorated the third of May, a Polish holiday, and was filled with the same patriotic and emotional connotations as the American Fourth of July.

On the other hand there was the heterogeneous audience inside the Schenectady, New York, Freedom Forum on the evening of November 30, 1971. Although this audience was described as "large and receptive" it in no way could be compared to the massive "family" at Humboldt Park. In Schenectady the patrons of the Forum bought season subscriptions, modestly priced, to hear several speakers that year. Muskie was one of these speakers. The purpose of the Freedom Forum was not one of celebration, as was the Polish gathering in Chicago, but rather was "to disseminate accurate informa-
tion regardless of how controversial, in order to promote free discussion of issues."

Muskie's topics varied as well. In Chicago he had a free hand. His subject of patriotism and pride and his strategy of spiritualization and rebirth were well suited to the audience. In Schenectady his topic was women's liberation, a delicate issue of the times. The awkwardness of the situation was compounded by Muskie's identity as a politician rather than as an authority on his topic.

Because of the great dissimilarity of circumstances surrounding these two speeches, it was significant that the specific strategies used were so similar. Of equal significance were the occasions where Muskie chose to use different strategies. This variation of tactics showed Muskie's perception of what the specific situation required.

In Chicago, Muskie inspired rounds of applause and, at one juncture, stirred perhaps one hundred men to burst into spontaneous song in their native Polish. The Chicago Sun-Times stated "Muskie Stirs Crowd With Poetic Touch." In Schenectady, Muskie received fairly negative responses from the press in attendance such as "Muskie Makes Pitch in City For The Feminine Voters" and "Senator Edmund Muskie ... reached out with both lanky arms last night for the women's vote." Despite this almost mocking report of
the event, Muskie's purpose was the same as in his other speeches--to unify the audience, to gain their trust, to show the way to rebirth, to gain their support, and to be their leader. Both speeches contained a defensive and an offensive strategy to attain these ends.

In the third of May speech Muskie began with the use of the strategy of spiritualization in order to unify his audience. He evoked their common heritage with "the tradition of immigrants who brought to this land their skills and thirst for freedom." This evocation was enough to establish a strong unifying relationship. In the address to the Freedom Forum, Muskie tried a more complex but similar unifying strategy. He began by trying to unify the audience with the strategy of spiritualization by excluding himself. This was, perhaps, an attempt to make the group consubstantial and in so doing to join them under one banner which would accomplish his first purpose, unity.

He opened by stating "I understand that you hear from a number of speakers every year. And it is fitting for this Freedom Forum to meet frequently because we must meet such frequent challenges to the future of freedom. For a society like ours, change is the condition of survival--change to counter new outbreaks of intolerance--to push out the frontiers of justice--to build a country equal to the full meaning of liberty. And so it has been throughout our his-
Here, the strategy of spiritualization was built on five major tiers. Muskie sought to unify the audience by evoking the familial substance of being a member of the audience, of being a member of the Freedom Forum, of being a freedom fighter and a reformer, of being bound by a common heritage and, finally, by belonging to the family of America.

Next, his strategy of properties came into play. In Chicago he bestowed upon his audience the emotional properties of supplying the energy that "strengthened and reinvigorated the American spirit" and of having faced the hardships of "poverty," "prejudice," and "hunger." In Schenectady his strategy of properties consisted of three sub-strategies. This triad of property sub-strategies could very well have delivered the damaging blow to Muskie's address to the Freedom Forum. Women were pictured as victims of a culture which "withholds self-respect" from them as well as forces them to suffer "the devastating impact of sex discrimination." Men assumed the role of scapegoat by taking on the properties of the creators of a "male-dominated society" who "dismiss [women's] complaints and deride [women's] tactics" and who have made "a conscious decision to deny full freedom to more than half of our fellow Americans." Muskie told that he "inherited and accepted a cultural bias" but now he had reformed and de-
sired to make "women's liberation a reality and not just a rallying cry." 170

The results of this combination of property strategies were intended to lead into the offensive strategy of selective reality to cause a transfer of allegiance. By using the emotional strategy of vindication through oppression, the women in the audience would have desired liberation. Muskie created a desire for the men in the audience to change their distasteful image and kill the scapegoat by using tactics of admonishment, reproval, and rebuke. By creating a self-image which covered the entire range of experience presented, from bias to liberation, he served as a bridge for the men to follow and as an image for the women to admire. He would have been their leader; however, by his having used such a strategy, two adverse effects probably occurred. First of all, the audience which was previously unified by spiritualization was subjected to sexual polarization by the unbalanced property structure. Secondly, the unifying forces meeting the polarizing forces severed trust with the speaker and thus blocked the second goal of his purpose. It must be pointed out that the nature of the conflict could well have been a natural resultant of speaking on women's liberation. The liberation movement, at that time, was still in its infancy. Much confusion
and ambiguity surrounded the movement's principles and tactics because "of the diversity of the groups involved." A polarization of opinion was a probability if not a certainty on such a subject. Muskie was aware of this probability and tried to counter a possible rejection by creating a polarization for the purpose of eliminating it. He tried to achieve this through his transitional strategy of shifting authority to the audience.

The transitions between defensive tactics and offensive tactics were subtle and swift. Muskie's rhetorical facility handled such rapid changes in strategy almost effortlessly. If the news sources were accurate in the third of May speech, Muskie must have achieved consubstantiality when the crowd burst into applause and song at the conclusion of his second sentence. In building a transition, Muskie first established a pride in being an American of Polish descent. Then, he interposed a threat to that pride: "Seven years of war and death in Indochina have cut deeply into the American soil, into our pride, and into our confidence." Through this threat, he created a sense of loss and a desire for liberation. Muskie then completed the transition by dropping a partisan note in passing: "There is a world beyond Viet Nam. This war with all its horrors will end--more quickly perhaps than even
some men in government like to believe is possible."

This strategy created the transition without undue partisan involvement which would endanger the spiritualized unity.

The transition in the address to the Freedom Forum was, again, a study in complexity because of the fact that Muskie had already created a unity and then a polarization. In the transition, he worked from the latter. After polarizing, he reassigned authority to the audience. This reassignment attacked the previous polarization. Then Muskie delivered a call to action which gave the audience another either/or situation in which to react. He gave them the choice of ending sex discrimination "at every level of government and every part of our private lives." Muskie seemed to have an excellent sense as to what effect his rhetoric would have. He constantly called for change of an audience perspective which he had generated. Thus, the transition was completed by juxtaposing conflicting defensive strategies, shifting authority, and implying government reform in the process.

The objective of Muskie's offensive strategies fell into two major categories. He wished to uphold the intentions of his party and to cast a dubious light upon the achievements of the present administration. The offensive attack sprang directly from the transition; hence, it bore
the same emotional quality. In both speeches Muskie's chief offensive tactic was the strategy of selective reality--creating an unbalanced perception of existing property structures and forcing a change of allegiance in order to return to a stabilized situation.

In the third of May speech, Muskie chose to create this situation indirectly through implication. The reason for this indirection could well have been the intimate emotional tone of the opening reminiscences: "My thoughts right now go back to my parents and grandparents. I have images of frightened immigrants, huddled together below the decks of ships. I have a picture in my mind of thin, palefaced boys, carrying suitcases and dreams. I see those ancestors of mine and yours carrying these dreams on trains and on foot to Pittsburgh, Detroit, Omaha, and Chicago." An overt partisan statement probably would have broken trust with this audience. Muskie's motives would have appeared more political than Polish--the basis of his original identification.

The focus of this offense was aimed more in the direction of Muskie's first goal--to uphold the intentions of his party. Muskie used a series of personal declarations to hold the attention of his audience. These declarations assumed the emotional strategy of prayer. He used the old gospel form of repetition when he sermonized that he would "like to see the United States (1) make a commitment to a
world under law; (2) make a commitment to work with all
other nations to keep the world's oceans free from poison;
(3) make a commitment to the protection of the world's re-
sources; (4) commit all its moral power to the idea that
conditions of sanity and safety can be created on earth;
and (5) make inspiring commitment to a planet made safe and
fit for the human family." In this one bold formatic
approach, Muskie identified himself with commitment, concern,
and leadership, as well as strengthened the original identi-
fication and spiritualization with the "human family." At
the same time he implied that none of these conditions
which existed in the "prayer" were being employed currently
in the United States. This technique indirectly indicted
the administration for supporting anarchy, squandering
natural resources, polluting the environment, promoting
violence, and perpetrating an unconcerned lack of humanity
through ignorance and negligence. Through these strategies,
Muskie accomplished his purposes by inspiring trust, gaining
support, and assuming leadership. His indirect partisan
offense was so effective that at the conclusion of his speech
the president of the Polish National Alliance stood up and
"told the Maine senator that he hope[d] he [would] achieve
his goal to be President of the United States. Muskie smiled
and the crowd burst into cheers."
In Schenectady, Muskie chose to use two offensive strategies which stressed his second goal--an exposure of the "three years of failure under this [Nixon's] administration." The reason for this approach was basically the same as in Chicago--to submerge his partisan motives beneath the guise of neutral criticism. This second offensive method could be effective only insofar as Muskie was able to shed his political image.

After polarizing and shifting authority to the audience, Muskie tried to reunite himself with the group by stating, "This is our task--yours and mine," and thus shared their responsibility and their commonality of purpose. Once this unity of purpose was established, he was free to attack the administration as an accepted member of the audience, a freedom fighter whose aim was not partisan but rather "to expand the scope of liberty." Under this guise, Muskie attacked sexism in the family, in the "schools and universities," and in "business and industry." This tactic formed a transition into the straight partisan attack. The attack began with the emotional strategy of prayer with an invocation to "moral leadership--at the highest level--that John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson provided." This brief point fulfilled Muskie's first offensive goal of supporting his party. Contrasting this idea, he began his assault on
Nixon and the present administration. He used emotional strategies of indignation and rebuke to carry this offense. He criticized Nixon's "three years of failure"\textsuperscript{187} in stopping sex discrimination. He supported this statement with statistics which emphasized the justice of the attack.\textsuperscript{188} In closing Muskie also mildly criticized the Democratic party when he told them they should "do better as well"\textsuperscript{189} which gave the impression of non-partisanship.

In the conclusion of this speech, Muskie returned to his opening premise when he stressed the possibilities of unity by challenging prejudice or polarization, by continuing to support sexism, and by urging that action and responsibility be taken by the audience.\textsuperscript{190} He characterized his audience when he said this is "more than just a political speech."\textsuperscript{191} Yet, by severing trust early in the speech, Muskie lost the confidence of the audience, and thus was unable to gain new support and achieve his purpose. Even though this speech demonstrated a relative failure of Muskie to reach consubstantiality, his "appeals were not to fear but to faith in our fellowmen and hope in the future."\textsuperscript{192} Therefore, Muskie's self-image of honesty, concern, and nobility of character remained intact.

These speeches, given under vastly different circumstances, bore the same strategic approach. Muskie opened with the defensive strategies of spiritualization, of unification, and of alienation in order to set the groundwork
for an offensive. He followed with a transition in which he joined the unity of the audience and, thus, established a neutral position from which to attack. His offense was based on two goals. First of all, he wanted to support the intentions of his party and, secondly, expose the failings of the present administration. His major offensive strategy was to create a selective property reality which forced a natural change of allegiance. Muskie closed these speeches with a return to the neutral pose of his transition. Here, he rejoined the unity of the audience and shared the responsibility of reform and the promise of rebirth.

In two major ways the address to the Freedom Forum varied in strategy from the third of May speech and the three other speeches analyzed in this study. First, because of the extreme heterogeneous nature of his audience, Muskie's initial unifying strategy of spirituzliation contrasted sharply with the nature of his topic. It appeared that Muskie anticipated this probability because he altered his strategy. He excluded himself from the initial spiritualization. This enabled him not to be caught in the rapidly changing audience identity when he effected a polarization. Muskie's second change in strategy came in his offensive. The world of selective reality which he had created was not divided into the usual camps of the audience versus the administration. In this case the selective reality
formed a rift in the audience itself. These two changes in strategy created a rhetorical jarring effect which could have resulted in a severance of trust and, hence, a failure to reach consubstantiality.

Clusters of Attitudes

The heart of Muskie's principles for identification can be found in his clusters of images and ideologies. It is "from the clusters of attitudes surrounding the object [subject that] he [the speaker] emphasizes only those which will evoke the pattern of experience he desires to recall to the mind of the listeners." Therefore, Muskie's rhetorical philosophy can further be seen by naming the major clusters of attitudes by which he chose to identify himself with his audiences.

Three major clusters of attitudes were contained in the speeches analyzed in this study. The first of these was inborn dignity. It was cited that Muskie's "appeals were not to the lower, but to the higher instincts of his listeners; not to fear but to faith in our fellowmen and hope in the future." The second cluster was a projection device. This cluster was developed primarily through the strategy of spiritualization. Muskie interpreted the status quo as a balance between the inborn dignity of his listeners and the self-interested corruption of the Nixon administration which had "deprived and pressured and ignored" the majority of
nobly minded public. The emotional intensity of the qualitative formation was used to convey this cluster. The final cluster was symbolic rebirth which Muskie employed to unify and induce action as in the Democratic unity speech when he stated, "our heritage and our ideals can draw strength to stay together--and, then, we can change America." Here, he called upon the inborn dignity of his listeners to serve as a unifying device to overcome the present governmental situation and, ultimately, to create a new world.

Summary

Altogether, these speeches represent the relative range of success and failure Muskie achieved. At best he was a leader who was able to use rhetoric to stir massive crowds with high ideas while he made his political point. At worst he was "another politician" seeking votes. His rhetoric though, in tone and content, showed an eloquence and sincerity rarely seen in the turbulent political waters. His consistent view of himself as a rhetorician and his sensitivity to groups and their problems demonstrated the workings of a sound rhetorical philosophy and the highest Burkeian motive—the betterment of mankind.
FOOTNOTES


2Reston, p. 23.


6Hereafter referred to as the Democratic unity speech, the N.A.A.C.P. address, the speech to the elderly, the third of May speech, and the address to the Freedom Forum.


9Democratic unity speech, p. 1.


12Harris, p. 1.

13Democratic unity speech, p. 1.

15 Democratic unity speech, p. 1.
16 Democratic unity speech, p. 1.
17 Democratic unity speech, p. 1.
18 Address to Freedom Forum, p. 10.
19 Address to Freedom Forum, p. 2.
20 Address to Freedom Forum, p. 3.
21 Holland, *Counterpoint*, p. 34.
22 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 1.
23 Democratic unity speech, p. 6.
24 Speech to the elderly, p. 2.
25 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 1.
26 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 1.
27 Speech to the elderly, p. 3.
28 Third of May speech, p. 1.
29 Democratic unity speech, p. 8.
30 Democratic unity speech, p. 8.
31 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 12.
32 Third of May speech, p. 4.
33 Democratic Unity Speech, p. 6.
35 Democratic unity speech, p. 1.
36 Democratic unity speech, p. 1.
37 Democratic unity speech, p. 2.
38 Democratic unity speech, p. 2.
39 Democratic unity speech, p. 3.
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Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, p. 264.
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Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 68.
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N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 2.
64 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 1.
65 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 1.
66 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 1.
67 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 3.
68 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 6.
69 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 7.
70 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 4.
71 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 6.
72 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 9.
73 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 11.
74 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 10.
75 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 11.
76 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 5.
77 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 2.
78 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 2.
79 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 6.
80 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 6.
81 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 6.
82 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 10.
83 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 10.
84 Third of May speech, p. 2.
85 Third of May speech, p. 2.
86 Speech to the elderly, p. 4.
87 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 7.
88 Burke, Counter-Statement, p. 25.
89 Burke, A Grammar of Motives, p. 16.

90 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 11.

91 N.A.A.C.P. address, pp. 2, 3, 6.

92 Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 86.

93 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 12.

94 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 12.

95 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 13.

96 Speech to the elderly, p. 3.


100 Coates, p. 25.


103 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 2.

104 Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 442.

105 Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, p. 41.

106 Holland, Counterpoint, p. 28.

107 Holland, Counterpoint, p. 27.

108 Holland, Counterpoint, p. 36.


110 Ryan, 1-A.

112 Speech to the elderly, p. 1.

113 Speech to the elderly, p. 1.

114 Speech to the elderly, p. 1.

115 Speech to the elderly, p. 1.

116 Speech to the elderly, p. 1.


120 Speech to the elderly, p. 1.

121 Speech to the elderly, p. 1.

122 Speech to the elderly, p. 1.

123 Speech to the elderly, p. 1.

124 Speech to the elderly, p. 3.

125 Speech to the elderly, p. 3.

126 Speech to the elderly, p. 3.

127 Speech to the elderly, p. 9.

128 Speech to the elderly, p. 8.

129 Speech to the elderly, p. 8.

130 Speech to the elderly, p. 9.

131 Speech to the elderly, p. 1.

132 Speech to the elderly, p. 1.

133 Speech to the elderly, p. 2.

134 Speech to the elderly, p. 2.
135 Speech to the elderly, p. 2.
136 Speech to the elderly, p. 4.
137 Speech to the elderly, p. 4.
138 Speech to the elderly, p. 3.
139 Speech to the elderly, p. 3.
140 Speech to the elderly, p. 3.
141 Speech to the elderly, p. 6.
142 Holland, Counterpoint, p. 67.
144 Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form, p. 265.
146 Killian, p. 1.
147 Fitzpatrick, p. 1.
149 Walker, p. 23.
151 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 1.
152 Valentine, p. 1.
156 Walker, p. 1.
158 Third of May speech, p. 4.
159 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 1.
160 Third of May speech, p. 1.
161 Third of May speech, p. 1.
162 Third of May speech, p. 1.
163 Third of May speech, p. 1.
164 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 4.
165 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 5.
166 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 4.
167 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 5.
168 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 5.
169 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 5.
170 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 5.
171 Mandel, p. 128.
172 Mitchell, p. 20.
173 Third of May speech, p. 2.
174 Third of May speech, p. 2.
175 Third of May speech, p. 3.
176 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 5.
177 Third of May speech, p. 1.
178 Third of May speech, pp. 4, 5.
179 Fitzpatrick, p. 1.
180 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 7.
181 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 5.
182 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 5.
183 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 6.
184 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 6.
185 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 6.
186 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 7.
188 Address to the Freedom Forum, pp. 7, 8, 9.
189 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 10.
190 Address to the Freedom Forum, p. 11.
192 Litfin, p. 10.
193 Holland, Counterpoint, p. 35.
194 Litfin, p. 9.
195 N.A.A.C.P. address, p. 3.
196 Democratic unity speech, p. 1.
CHAPTER IV
CONCLUSIONS

According to Kenneth Burke, a speaker must be aware that his audience is "a composite of attitudes which may be said to constitute their individual egos. The speaker desires so to identify these audience attitudes with his own that the audience will accept his remedy."¹ It has been shown that Senator Edmund S. Muskie, either consciously or unconsciously, has used this Burkeian principle of identification to stir audiences with the ills of the status quo and to offer his partisan remedies.

The America of 1970-71, the America which gave Muskie his greatest popular following, sought its remedy in another four years of the Nixon administration. The confusions and revolutions which gave birth to women's liberation, long hot summers of racial unrest, and predominantly empty shouts of campus protests, also brought Muskie his following and, eventually, Nixon back to the White House. Muskie stands as an historical example of a victim of the double-edged sword of change. "In 1968, his voice was calm reflectiveness amidst hysteria. In 1972, that same calm reflectiveness
was soporific. He had not changed. The times had changed."\(^2\) Because Muskie has never reached the national polls, there is no way other than through speculation to appraise what effect his use of Burkeian strategies of identification had. He always was well received. Yet, his image was not one of a leader but rather one of a "nice guy" to have around.

The Democratic unity speech presented clearly this image of Muskie—the man. This image dominated all of the speeches analyzed in this study to a point reminiscent of Emerson's epigram, "What you are stands over you the while, and thunders so that I cannot hear what you say to the contrary."\(^3\) It was the image of a lone nobleman, a St. George seeking out the dragons of Washington and slaying them, thereby saving the people. This image, concretized by conviction and sincerity, gave Muskie, the speaker, the qualities of urgency and excitement. The headlines he received in Chicago for his third of May speech and his N.A.A.C.P. address were evidence of these qualities.

By the same token, there is another quality of Muskie's self-image which pervaded his use of formal structures of identification and which formulated the particular strategies that drummed through these structural channels. This quality was the image of Muskie the messiah.
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and offensive. The central strategy which Muskie employed to meld these two realms was the strategy of spiritualization. This tactic facilitated the bond of unity capable of supplying support as well as provided the strength for the attack. It was through this strategy of spiritualization that Muskie achieved his first rhetorical principle—the establishment of the inborn dignity of his listeners.

Muskie used two major defensive strategies to begin all of his speeches analyzed in this study. These were the shifting of judgmental authority to the audience and then the alienating of self from all forms of authority. Perhaps this defensive buttressing was the result of Muskie's painful early years. The social hostilities he faced in his childhood as well as his shyness and introversion built up strong defensive devices in him. From this environment grew a desire to rise out of this circle of oppression. His rhetorical visions of rebirth almost parallel his own boyhood wish to escape his tormentors.

As a prefix to his offensive strategies, it has been shown that Muskie chose to join the family he had verbally established. In the role of patriotic American, he rose above the image of a grasping politician. Then while in a neutral position he readied himself for the attack. He used three major offensive strategies in all of his rhetorical efforts. First, he used a property strategy
which created a selective reality which identified the audience as the oppressed, the administration as the oppressor, and himself as the savior. The second strategy was the creation of a scapegoat. This strategy was channeled through a qualitative progression. He then offered his audience a possible rebirth through himself as the messiah figure and which, also, satisfied the third element of his rhetorical principles. The last step which this process developed was a call for action in which the final stage of consubstantiality should have been reached.

The reactions to Muskie have been mixed. The reasons, perhaps, have been because of two contradictions inherent in his rhetorical philosophy which created negative identification. The first dealt with the concept of unity through spiritualization. When the audience was taken beyond personal divisiveness to a point of spiritualized unity with the family of America and the family of man, it was discordant for Muskie to force an identification with the administration as a personal enemy. For this enemy to be created, its unpatriotic and inhuman aspects such as bias, political preference, and unconcern had to be stressed. This tactic was contrary to the basis of the initial identification of a spiritualized family which Muskie had established. The second area of conflict in Muskie's rhetorical philosophy was the contrast of his purpose and his self-image. It
appears inconsistent for a loner and a self-proclaimed opponent to authority to seek consubstantiality with an audience which placed him in an authoritative leadership position. Both of these contradictions underlined Muskie's partisanship. Yet, his sincere appeals to the nobility of his audience through humility made him seem, at worst, a political reformer—not a presidential contender but a "nice guy" to have around.

How does this overall image explain the fate of Muskie in 1972? At a time when "political and economic theories once regarded as untouchable were torn up and revised," the image of an idealistic and honest loner in self-imposed exile was a flattering prospect for public identification. In this way Muskie offered a refuge to people in the throes of rapid change and cultural shock. The same fear which drew the public to Muskie's "calm reflectiveness" may have caused them to support the re-election of President Nixon. In the Democratic unity speech Muskie showed his perception of this ironic situation: "In November of 1968, our people voted for the safety of standing still. . . . We reached back to Richard Nixon—to an image of what happened even before we tried to move our country forward." Because of his consistent conviction and sincerity, it is doubtful that the public will see the image of a "new Muskie."
Muskie's approach was always to cast off the image of a self-proclaimed leader in favor of becoming one of the people and, in turn, being proclaimed by them as their leader. This philosophy echoes that of the Biblical Messiah when he proclaimed that "the meek shall inherit the earth."

The simplicity of Muskie's image does not correspond to the nation's expectations of public figures who are supposed to offer panaceas for all problems. Yet, perhaps the tide of change which created this national attitude is again altering public perspective. There is evidence of this with the explosion of Watergate and the loss of confidence in the present administration. Possibly this new-found cognizance will bring the public the personal security necessary to support the Senator from Maine, Edmund Sixtus Muskie.
FOOTNOTES


5Democratic unity speech, p. 4.
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