Naval War College Review

Volume 23
Number 7 *September*

Article 9

1970

Duty, Honor, Country

Richard A. Behrenhausen

DUTY, HONOR, COUNTRY

General of the Army Douglas MacArthur was not only a successful military officer, but was also one of his generation's most talented orators. One of his most eloquent speeches was "Duty, Honor, Country"—an impassioned patriotic appeal to the values of the officer corps—delivered at West Point in 1962 on the occasion of his acceptance of the Sylvanus Thayer Award. In the following article the author analyzes and evaluates this address in the light of contemporary standards of rhetorical excellence.

A research paper prepared

by

Major Richard A. Behrenhausen, U.S. Army

School of Naval Command and Staff

MacARTHUR OF WEST POINT

> Duty, honor, country: those three hallowed words reverently dictate what you ought to be, what you can be, what you will be.

On 28 February 1962 the U.S. Military Academy announced that General of the Army Douglas MacArthur had been selected to receive the Sylvanus Thayer Award.

The award, first presented in 1958, is named for Sylvanus Thayer, known to generations of cadets as "The Father of the Military Academy." As Academy Superintendent from 1817 to 1833, Thayer instituted academic and military principles "based upon integration of character and knowledge" that remain today virtually unchanged.[1] The award is presented annually to a distinguished U.S. citizen "whose record of service to his country, accomplishments in the national interest, and manner of achievement exemplify outstanding devotion to the principles expressed in the motto of West Point—Duty, Honor, Country."[2]

On 12 May 1962, General MacArthur made his final journey to West Point. On that day he was to be presented with the award—"a handsome gold medal, a beautiful hand-painted scroll, and a citation."[3] It was a perfect day for a parade. A brilliant sunshine highlighted the spring beauty of the Hudson Valley as the Corps formed on "The Plain" in honor of the general. The ancient parade field was surrounded by more than 30,000 spectators who broke into spontaneous applause as the Old Soldier trooped the line once again.[4]

Following the parade, the award presentation was made in the cadet messhall. Maj. Gen. William C. Westmoreland, the Academy Superintendent, opened the program with a few brief remarks. Next, Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves, President of the Association of Graduates, recalled some of the highlights of General MacArthur's career. Following these momentary reminiscences, General Groves then read the award citation. At the conclusion of this reading, the audience, which consisted of 70 distinguished military and civilian guests, more than 300 Academy graduates and the entire 2,400 man Corps of Cadets, rose in a standing ovation as the award was presented. Then, speaking from his heart "without reference to notes or script," General MacArthur "delivered the inspiring address which will occupy forever a prominent niche in the history of West Point."[5] (See appendix I.)

This "moving and inspirational farewell speech"[6] would come to be called "Duty, Honor, Country" and would take its place alongside of "Old Soldiers Never Die" as the most famous public addresses of General MacArthur.

The purpose of this paper is to conduct a rhetorical critique of "Duty, Honor, Country." This criticism will include investigation in the following areas: a brief sketch of the background of General MacArthur and his methods of speech preparation; an examination of the organizational structure of the speech and of the means of proof employed within the speech; an analysis of the style and delivery of the speech; and, finally, an overall evaluation of the effectiveness of "Duty, Honor, Country" as well as an interpretation of its communicative situation.

No attempt will be made to recount in detail the many and varied highlights of the career of Douglas MacArthur. Called "the greatest front line general of the war,"[7] his daring exploits with the famous Rainbow Division during World War I are included in even the most basic history texts. Equally as familiar is his rapid rise within Army ranks to Chief of Staff. His subsequent records as Special Military Advisor to the Philippines, Commander in Chief U.S. Army Forces in the Far East, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers for the occupation of Japan, and Commander in Chief, United Nations Forces in Korea are, again, both well known and well documented. Yet, because a speaker's "background may well contribute to his ultimate product,"[8] certain facets of General MacArthur's life and career merit reinvestigation.

Douglas MacArthur was born in his father's Army headquarters at Arsenal Barracks, Little Rock, Ark., on 26 January 1880.[9] If, indeed, "the military officer raised in such a milieu since childhood might be influenced on a particular issue in a very positive way,"[10] then most certainly Douglas MacArthur would have been so influenced. Though he would not officially join the Army until his entrance to West Point in 1899, he "was in and of the Regular United States Army from the day of his birth."[11] He was fond of saying "the first recollection I have is the sound of Army bugles."[12] "His first books had to do with soldiering; his playmates were the children of other soldiers on the post, and like young Douglas their first playground was an Army square."[13]

Douglas' father, Arthur MacArthur, a professional soldier of considerable renown,[14] conducted an early education of his son. In addition to the three R's, he instilled in him "a stern sense of obligation." Douglas learned that he must "always do what was right and just" and that his country "was to come first" in his heart.[15] A frequent topic of conversation between father and son during these early years was "the glories of West Point." As far back as he could remember, his father had expounded on the virtues of the Academy. He fre-

quently brought to his home "some recently graduated young shavetail to tell his son of the customs and regulations of the Academy."[16] Many years later his father would say that "he started Douglas towards West Point the day he was born."[17] General MacArthur likewise recorded in his memoirs "always before me was the goal of West Point, the greatest military academy in the world."[18]

Douglas MacArthur achieved "the fulfillment of all my boyish dreams"[19] when he entered West Point on 13 June 1899. As the son of a famous soldier, he was singled out in advance as a target for hazing. He quickly gained the respect of both his classmates and the upperclassmen by meeting a very rough summer camp hazing "like a man, with fortitude and dignity." In fact he emerged from the camp "with flying colors" and "showed himself a true soldier, easily mastering the military training."[20]

With the rigors of summer camp behind him, MacArthur began to pursue "with direct, unwavering purpose his self-set goal of surpassing his classmates." Militarily he progressed from corporal in his 2d year to company first sergeant in his 3d year. In his final year he achieved the peak of West Point military aptitude—First Captain of the Corps of Cadets. Academically he ranked number one his first 2 years, dropped to fourth in his 3d year, but returned to the top his senior year. His final 4 year average of 98.14 was the highest in the history of West Point.[21] Although not an outstanding athlete, he was proficient enough to win a starting position in the outfield of the Army baseball team and twice earned his "A." (He would wear it on his cadet bathrobe until his death in 1964.)[22] He was particularly proud of scoring the winning run against Navy in 1901 by "stretching" a base on balls into a homerun as a result of shoddy fielding by the midshipmen.[23]

Douglas MacArthur, "a tall, slender, handsome cadet, glitteringly immaculate with maroon silk sash, plumed dress hat, glinting sword, and four gold stripes of chevrons"[24] was graduated from West Point on 11 June 1903 as a second lieutenant of Engineers "prepared to live—or to die—in upholding the oath. Duty, Honor, Country."[25] Sixteen years later he would return, as the youngest Superintendent in its history, with the mission to revitalize an Academy that was "forty years behind the times."[26]

"West Point in 1919 was sorely in need of a leader of energy and vision."[27] Due to wartime demands for Army officers, the normal 4-year curriculum had been shortened to 1 year, leaving the institution in a state of disorder and confusion. In Congress and across the Nation the popular opinion seemed to be "Why have a West Point at all?" Critics of the Academy argued if World War I "was the war to end wars, the war to save democracy for all time, why go on training, at great expense, officers who would never have to fight?"[28] As MacArthur noted in his memoirs, "Even the proud spirit of the Academy had flagged."[29]

The new Superintendent lost no time in beginning his "fight for the very life of the Academy."[30] He immediately went to Washington to plead the Academy's case before Congress. He reminded the legislators that "West Point, together with the United States Naval Academy, represents the apotheosis of the public school system" and called for "that spirit of generous foresight that has marked the educational system of the nation for the past century." Much to his relief, Congress supported his views and the Academy was returned to a 4-year curriculum.[31]

General MacArthur then turned his attention to the internal problems that were plaguing the Academy. He bluntly asked the Old Guard of traditionalists, "How long are we going on preparing

for the war of 1812?"[32] Although frequently opposed by many academic members of this Old Guard, MacArthur was relentless in his purpose—"to change the objective of the United States Military Academy from its hidebound and traditional lines to the specialized preparation needed for modern soldiering."[33] In 3 short years he completely rehabilitated the Academy's administrative procedures; revitalized its academic, tactical, and physical training; and laid the long-range plans for the expansion of its physical plant and facilities.

Under General MacArthur's leadership the academic departments, formerly "isolated, tight little islands," were drawn together. Instructors were sent to colleges and universities throughout the land to take courses and observe their educational procedures. At West Point, military courses were adapted to modern needs; scientific courses were brought up to date; classical courses were instituted to be used as cultural foundations; and liberal arts courses received new and greater emphasis.[34]

As Superintendent, MacArthur was also responsible for reviving forgotten or ignored Academy traditions. Under his hand the fourth class system was reestablished, but without the brutality of physical hazing. The old customs of the Corps were not changed, instead, "Plebes would learn them in a decent soldierly way, without arrogance or abuse."[35]

MacArthur also eliminated the frivolous world of the cadet summer camp. In its place he substituted a rigorous military training system. Included in the new system was a program of sending cadets to Regular Army posts as a part of their summer training. In this way he insured that the prospective officers would receive training in the handling of modern weapons and would also encounter realistic field experiences.[36]

Cadet physical training was completely revamped during MacArthur's tour as Superintendent. The old program of optional athletic participation by interested cadets was discarded. He directed that every cadet would engage in an active athletic program and thus established West Point's now famous program of intramural athletics.[37]

Douglas MacArthur gave to and demanded from the Corps the highest standards of honor. He felt such standards were "the only solid foundation for a military career." "A code of individual conduct" was established to maintain "the reputation and well-being of the whole." To Douglas MacArthur this code was a West Pointer's "personal responsibility to his mates, to his community, and above all to his country." It was MacArthur's professed view that "In many businesses and professions the welfare of the individual is the chief object, but in the military profession the safety and the honor of the state become paramount."[38]

Douglas MacArthur's aims as Superintendent of West Point are best described in the Academy code which he wrote. This code begins "To hold fast to those policies typified in the motto of the Academy—DUTY, HONOR, COUNTRY."[39] It is not possible to cite here all of his accomplishments and triumphs as Superintendent in support of these aims. It is significant to note, however, that when he departed the banks of the Hudson in 1922 "the new objective of West Point had been firmly established. A new spirit had been instilled that was to grow and thrive—a new spirit that can be positively identified with MacArthur."[40] No graduate of the U.S. Military Academy would challenge William Ganoe's appraisal, "If Sylvanus Thayer was the Father of the Military Academy then MacArthur was its Savior."[41]

Douglas MacArthur did not like to talk extemporaneously. On those few occasions when someone pushed a microphone in front of him, he most likely had already "carefully rehearsed

in his own mind just what he would say." MacArthur was most articulate in carefully prepared speeches. His normal working habit was to write out his speeches in longhand on lined legal-sized yellow paper. While writing he would edit and reedit until satisfied that his finished product would contain the message he wished to convey to his listeners.[42] In a foreword to *A Soldier Speaks,* a textbook prepared for use at the Military Academy, Vorin E. Whan noted, "He often wrote his speeches in longhand in order to collect his thoughts, and then delivered them almost verbatim without using his text."[43]

The general seldom introduced his speeches or attempted to embellish them with any "that reminds me" stories. Normally, his speeches were devoid of any humor. On those occasions when he spoke, his speeches were serious.[44]

General MacArthur's speeches were his own. He never used a ghostwriter.[45] His close friend Carl Mydans observed, "No one ever wrote a line for him . . . and no one ever added a word to or deleted one from anything he had written for the public record." Mydans also recalled observing MacArthur "preparing the communiques, a steady, unhesitant flow of words written in pencil on a pad of lined legal-sized paper, as though it had all been written before and was now only being copied."[46]

In preparation for his famous "Old Soldiers Never Die" address to Congress in 1951, General MacArthur followed his normal habits of speech prepartion. He worked "through the long day and into the night" honing the speech.[47] Yet, incredibly, "Duty, Honor, Country" does not fit this pattern. It appears to be a remarkable, extemporaneous speech spoken from the heart without any formal preparation. In commenting on the occasion, MacArthur stated simply, "I had no prepared address."[48] Dignitaries who were seated at the head table that day unanimously concur that the speech was delivered "without reference to notes or script."[49] The professional opinion of the editors of the text, *A Soldier Speaks,* that "Duty, Honor, Country" "was delivered extemporaneously and had not been written out by General MacArthur prior to its delivery at West Point"[50] remains unchallenged.

THE SETTING

> The long, gray line has never failed us. Were you to do so, a million ghosts in olive drab, in brown khaki, in blue and gray, would rise from their white crosses, thundering those magic words: duty, honor, country.

West Point is awe inspiring. "It is situated between the lofty Crow's Nest of New York's Bear Mountain and the venerable Storm King Mountain of the Highlands." Flowing below its "noble heights" is the majestic Hudson River, guarded since Revolutionary days by historic Fort Putnam, a familiar haunt of generations of cadets and their ladies.[51]

But the inspiration of West Point is not derived just from its magnificent physical setting or its genuine ascetic beauty. In time, the cadet, exposed to these on a daily basis, comes to regard them more with pride than awe. It is, instead, the incessant, never heard yet never silent, footsteps of the Long Gray Line which stir the heart and quicken the pulse of the cadet. "For West Point is not battlements; not ivy and cloistered halls; not parades; those things are stage-setting."[52] West Point is the joy and despair, the triumph and defeat of that ever-lengthening Long Gray Line.

Cadet parades on "The Plain" seem to be joined by those ubiquitous spirits from another day. The cadet, passing under the long, mournful shadow of Battle Monument which commemorates the Civil War, hears again the rollcall,

"Grant, Lee, Jackson, Early, Sheridan, Sherman . . . all present and accounted for, sir!" There is no escape from tradition at West Point. The Long Gray Line is that tradition. The West Point cadet eats in a messhall faithfully guarded by Sylvanus Thayer. He sleeps in the same room, organized in the same manner, as did "Black Jack" Pershing. He studies under the watchful eye of George Patton—who guards the library as a lone sentry, binoculars draped jauntily around his neck, pearl-handled pistols at his side. On those few occasions when the rigors of West Point are momentarily forgotten, the cadet enjoys a limited social life within the confines of staid old Cullum Hall—on whose walls are inscribed the names of every single graduate who has ever given his life in defense of his country.

Although every graduate of the Military Academy is considered a member of the Long Gray Line, few, if any, ever truly join its ranks until their death. Douglas MacArthur was one of those few. Returning to West Point on that lovely spring day, he was not just a graduate, albeit a distinguished one. He was one of "them" Douglas MacArthur was a living part of the tradition of West Point which is so zealously passed to each succeeding fourth class. His portrait stood guard over the stone portals of the gymnasium, saluting each cadet as they passed through or paused to read the maxim he had had carved in the stone:

> Upon the fields of friendly strife,
> Are sown the seeds that,
> Upon other fields, on other days,
> Will bear the fruits of victory.

If a cadet stopped to view the long line of official portraits of former Academy Superintendents, one striking figure of a soldier, wearing a crushed cap and proudly displaying the Rainbow Division shoulder patch, seemed to tower above all others. Much of the modern-day lore of West Point is centered about Douglas MacArthur. His deeds and words are legend at West Point and in many cases a part of the "required" tradition. Even the newest cadet knows verbatim the text of his "Beat Navy" telegram of 1949: "From the Far East I send you one single thought, one sole idea—written in red on every beachhead from Australia to Tokyo—there is no substitute for victory."

A ripple of laughter must have passed along the Long Gray Line that day when he began his speech: "As I was leaving the hotel this morning, a doorman asked me, 'Where are you headed for General?' And when I replied 'West Point,' he remarked 'Beautiful place. Have you ever been there before?'"

In analyzing a speech "to unearth the nature of the occasion is also a task of the critic."[53] Correct identification of the occasion can lead to "influences on the subject, the speaker, and the speaker's purpose."[54] Occasions can be categorized into such types as ceremonial, required, routine, or perhaps spontaneous. But "whatever the occasion it is significant in rhetorical analysis and evaluation."[55]

Although the presentation of the Thayer Award was made to Douglas MacArthur at the end of a day of ceremonies, the occasion was not truly ceremonial. It was more than that; it was parochial. The award, named for "The Father of the Military Academy," was presented to an individual commonly called "The Savior of the Military Academy." The selection of the awardee had been made by a committee of seven distinguished Academy graduates.[56] The actual presentation was made in the historic cadet messhall before an audience of 2,800 cadets and graduates of the Academy. Finally, the award presentation, normally made in early March, was postponed until May in order to include a traditional Corps review in the occasion. (The first time this had ever been done.)[57] It would

have been heresy for General MacArthur to have selected any topic other than West Point for his acceptance speech.

The occasion does not alone "mold the speaker's ideas," so too does the audience. There are four simple categories of audience reaction: completely favorable, completely opposed, apathetic, and uncommitted. "Very seldom, however, can the critic find a pure reaction in any one audience."[58] Audiences neither come from a vacuum nor assemble in one. They come with preestablished systems of values, conditioning their perceptions."[59]

These learned opinions are probably true in the large majority of rhetorical analyses, but they seem somehow out of tune with the audience that was assembled at West Point on 12 May 1962. This was an entirely homogeneous audience, tightly packed in the artfully conceived vacuum that is West Point. Together with the speaker, they formed an integral part of the day's activities. They stood tall and proud as the old general passed by their ranks to the tune of "those treasured chants of World War I . . . 'Tipperary,' 'Smile Awhile,' 'K-K-K-Katy,' and 'My Buddy.'"[60] Then, as the nostalgic sounds of "The Official West Point March" flooded The Plain, General MacArthur stood tall as the cadets passed in review. Later, as the Corps gathered in the messhall for the noon meal, they knew that that withered old man in the dark business suit had once been "the handsomest cadet that ever came into the Academy."[61]

The values which were dominant in that group were obvious. They were the values of "duty, honor, country"—the motto of West Point. Both General MacArthur and his audience shared these same values. Douglas MacArthur's farewell speech was not designed to introduce any new values. It was intended to reinforce the cadets' preestablished values of "duty, honor, country."[62] The effectiveness of "Duty, Honor, Country" in accomplishing this task was significantly increased as a result of the cadet identification with MacArthur.

ORGANIZATION AND MEANS OF PROOF— "DUTY, HONOR, COUNTRY"

> Yours is the profession of arms, the will to win, the sure knowledge that in war there is no substitute for victory, that if you lose, the nation will be destroyed, that the very obsession of your public service must be duty, honor, country.

A well-organized speech should be divided into three distinct parts: introduction, discussion, and conclusion. Each of these parts should fulfill certain specific requirements.[63]

The introduction of the speech should serve to (1) gain attention; (2) present a clear statement of the speaker's purpose; and (3) provide a thesis which suggests the main point of the speech. These three points may be usefully summarized by the terms: attention-getter, orientation, and thesis statement.[64]

The empathy between General MacArthur and his West Point audience was so strong that an attention-getter, as such, probably was not necessary in "Duty, Honor, Country." However, as a speech perfectionist, General MacArthur did choose to use an attention-getting step. The technique he employed was "reference to the occasion." Following his opening anecdote, the general began, "No human being could fail to be deeply moved by such a tribute as this. . . . " He continued by interpreting the award as "not intended primarily to honor a personality but to symbolize a great moral code." MacArthur then characterized the code as "an expression of the ethics of the American soldier" while expressing his pride and humility at being thus integrated into such a noble ideal.

The orientation and thesis statement are frequently confused. The orientation should tell the audience what a speaker is going to do while the thesis statement does it. The thesis statement "is the assertion of an idea or an opinion. It is in effect a one-sentence summary, the one statement in your speech which all others support, either directly or indirectly."[65] In "Duty, Honor, Country," General MacArthur reversed the normal speech procedure, by first stating his thesis and then explaining his purpose (orientation).

After completing his reference to the occasion, MacArthur stated his thesis, "Duty, honor, country: those three hallowed words reverently dictate what you ought to be, what you can be, what you will be." Following the statement of his thesis, the general explained the purpose of "Duty, Honor, Country." This orientation was extremely effective, because, despite the general's well-known speech talents, he chose to explain his purpose in a negative manner. "Unhappily, I possess neither that eloquence of diction, that poetry of imagination, nor that brilliance of metaphor to tell you all that they mean." In this manner MacArthur completed his rhetorically sound introduction and proceeded on to the discussion portion of "Duty, Honor, Country."

In examining the discussion or body of a speech, a first consideration is whether or not the speaker supported the idea suggested in the introduction.[66] In "Duty, Honor, Country," General MacArthur never wavered from his initial thesis statement. Four different times within the body of the speech he made specific reference to his thesis. Each time the technique of repetition and restatement was used:[67] "Always for them: duty, honor country. . . . the very obsession of your public service must be duty, honor, country. . . . Your guideposts stand out like a tenfold beacon in the night: duty, honor, country. . . . thundering those magic words: duty, honor, country."

Although restatement was his primary rhetorical tool in supporting the thesis of "Duty, Honor, Country," MacArthur also effectively employed other means of verbal support. The general was "a conscious speech stylist" who sprinkled his speeches with liberal use of imagery and metaphor.[68] In "Duty, Honor, Country" he made frequent use of both and in one stirring passage combined the two:

> From one end of the world to the other, he has drained deep the chalice of courage. As I listened to those songs, in memory's eye I could see those staggering columns of the First World War, bending under soggy packs on many a weary march, from dripping dusk to drizzling dawn, slogging ankle-deep through the mire of shell-packed roads; to form grimly for the attack, blue-lipped, covered with sludge, and mud, chilled by the wind and rain, driving home to their objective, and, for many, to the judgment seat of God.

The powerful effect of MacArthur's use of metaphor and imagery to create and recreate is unmistakable in that passage and throughout the speech.

An additional technique of verbal support used by General MacArthur in "Duty, Honor, Country" was comparison. Using this technique he explained to the cadets what the words "duty, honor, country" could do for them, ". . . they teach you to be proud and unbending in honest failure, but humble and gentle in success. . . ."

To complement his very skillful use of verbal support, MacArthur employed one additional principle of rhetoric within the body of the speech. He began his discussion by immediately refuting any opposing points of view of his thesis. To do this he resorted to parallel-

ism[69] to dispense with "the unbelievers" who might say that duty, honor, country "are but words, but a slogan, but a flamboyant phrase." He further warned, "Every pedant, every demagogue, every cynic, every hypocrite, every troublemaker, and, I am sorry to say, some others of an entirely different character, will try to downgrade them, even to the extent of mockery and ridicule." This identification of a very different view of duty, honor, country was used by MacArthur to begin his discussion. Having thus admitted that some persons might challenge his concept of duty, honor, country, he pushed the thought aside and began his impassioned defense of that concept. Throughout the remainder of his discussion, the general artfully applied a variety of verbal support in reenforcing his thesis statement. As with the introduction, the discussion was a model of rhetorical organization.

"An effective conclusion generally consists of two parts: a summary and a direct indication of how the speech may be used."[70] The conclusion of "Duty, Honor, Country" does not fit the classical mold of "telling them what you told them," but it is effective nonetheless. The start of the conclusion was unmistakable as the general spoke, "The shadows are lengthening for me;" as with the discussion, the conclusion is rich in imagery and metaphor. "I listen vainly, but with thirsty ear, for the witching melody of faint bugles blowing reveille, of far drums beating the long roll. In my dreams I hear again the crash of guns, the rattle of musketry, the strange mournful mutter of the battlefield." As the speech neared its denouement, MacArthur injected a very brief summary by the use of restatement—"... always I come back to West Point. Always there echoes and re-echoes: duty, honor, country." The aged general then ended with an emotional personal intention, "I want you to know that when I cross the river, my last conscious thoughts will be of the Corps, and the Corps, and the Corps."

It was not necessary for General MacArthur to include in his conclusion how "Duty, Honor, Country" could be put to use by the assembled audience. Throughout the discourse, its usefulness was unmistakable. It would stand, from that moment on, as an eloquent defense of the West Point motto—duty, honor, country.[71]

"Duty, Honor, Country" proved to be an excellent example of how a good speech should be organized. It follows the established pattern of introduction, discussion, and conclusion. Both the introduction and the discussion are models of textbook accuracy in their application of rhetorical principles of organization. While the conclusion deviates somewhat from this type accuracy, it is still superb in its impact and adds to rather than detracts from the overall effectiveness of the speech.

"Whatever end the speaker has in mind, his specific purpose is to speak with persuasive effect toward that end."[72] There are three methods available to a speaker to achieve his specific purpose. These methods are usually referred to as means of proof and are categorized as ethical, logical, and emotional.

"Ethical proof refers to the observable references in a speech that tend to indicate the character and the integrity of the speaker."[73] In employing the techniques of ethical proof, or ethos, the speaker is simply saying "listen to me because of who I am."[74]

Unquestionably MacArthur "enjoyed high ethos with the cadets."[75] To those young men who accepted the rigors of West Point for the sole purpose of embarking on a military career, Douglas MacArthur was the epitome of the military profession.

It would be impossible to say whether West Point or the Army was closer to General MacArthur's heart. "He lived in and for the Army" and

"for the abstractions in the West Point motto—Duty, Honor, Country."[76] Most likely he himself could not truly have made such a judgment. He spoke eloquently of both. "No West Pointer had more loudly acclaimed or more forcefully demonstrated his love for his Alma Mater than did Douglas MacArthur."[77] MacArthur was also always lavish in his praise of the soldier, "the noblest development of mankind."[78] In his autobiography he would describe his "faithful men-at-arms" as "the driving soul of Americanism."[79] Such a judgment is not necessary. A cadet is a soldier. A West Pointer's first oath of allegiance is to the Army and his country. When MacArthur spoke of "the soldier" in "Duty, Honor, Country" he was speaking of those in the messhall, those they would lead and those they would follow.

The dominant ethical proof in "Duty, Honor, Country" is credibility of source.[80] The general, whose personal integrity and sincerity were unchallenged by the audience, "was fully aware of ethos factors."[81] He used his credibility throughout the speech, and in this passage it is classic: "In 20 campaigns on a hundred battlefields, around a thousand campfires, I have witnessed that enduring fortitude, that patriotic self-abnegation and that invincible determination which has carved his statue in the hearts of his people."

General MacArthur further strengthened his ethos with the audience by using the ethical appeal of reference to the Deity. He reminded the cadets that in war many drive home not only "to their objective" but "to the judgment seat of God." Later, in describing "the soldier" he spoke these words, "In battle and in the face of danger and death he discloses those divine attributes which his Maker gave when he created man in his own image. No physical courage and no brute instinct can take the place of the divine help, which alone can sustain him."

Emotional proof, "to convince and stimulate through appeals to emotion"[82] is a second means of proof. Here the speaker is saying "listen to me because, as a human being, I share certain motives, certain emotions, certain ambitions, with you."[83] A speech needs emotional appeal if it is to stir its audience. The speaker is able to develop this proof "by using words which refer the hearers to specific emotion or by describing and/or suggesting the emotions, moods, and feelings he wishes his audience to feel."[84]

In "Duty, Honor, Country" both types of emotional proofs are evident. In the introduction MacArthur admitted, "no human being could fail to be deeply moved by such a tribute." Again he struck an early emotional chord with the declaration, "it fills me with an emotion I cannot express." As he described the values of duty, honor, country, MacArthur included the phrase, "a vigor of the emotions." The general also clearly spelled out those emotions he wanted the audience to feel, "they create in your heart the sense of wonder, the unfailing hope of what next, and the joy and inspiration of life."

As discussed earlier, the conclusion of "Duty, Honor, Country" is overwhelming in its emotional impact. When the legendary Old Soldier soliloquized, "My days of old have vanished tone and tint. They have gone glimmering through the dreams of things that were. Their memory is one of wondrous beauty watered by tears and coaxed and caressed by the smiles of yesterday" both he and his audience reached the emotional breaking point. Many in the audience were moved to tears.[85]

"Duty, Honor, Country" was delivered in an emotion-packed atmosphere. It was spoken from the heart and with unabashed sentiment. It would not be a mistake to conclude that every single word of the speech was touched by emotion.

Even though a speech is strong in

ethical and emotional proofs, a speaker should not neglect "the logical presentation of facts, using sound modes of support." Such logical support "gives credence to the thesis of the speech" as well as adding to audience acceptance.[86] When a speaker employs logical proof he is telling an audience "listen to me because of what I know."[87] Common types of logical support include events, statistics, examples, comparisons and contrasts, definitions, and testimony.[88]

"Duty, Honor, Country" contains several good examples of logical proof. The general used comparison in defining what duty, honor, country can do, "They teach you . . . to learn to laugh, yet never forget how to weep. . . ." Metaphors, short, compressed comparisons, were used throughout the speech by MacArthur. "You are the leaven which binds together the entire fabric of our national system of defense." Also used frequently by General MacArthur were imagery or hypothetical examples. In "Duty, Honor, Country" it is sometimes difficult to determine where imagery ends and empirical evidence begins. Both, however, are examples of logical proof. A final example of MacArthur's use of logical support is his continual definition and redefinition of the concept of duty, honor, country during the speech.

"Duty, Honor, Country" is replete with correct examples of rhetorical means of proof. The speech is primarily ethical and emotional in its appeal, but General MacArthur also effectively interspersed logical proof. The worth and validity of these proofs are exceptional in "Duty, Honor, Country."

STYLE AND EVALUATION

> —always victory, always through the bloody haze of their last reverberating shot, the vision of gaunt, ghastly men, reverently following your password of duty, honor, country.

Two additional rhetorical aspects remain to be examined before determining the final evaluation of "Duty, Honor, Country." They are style and delivery.

"Delivery is concerned with two areas of evaluation: voice and bodily action."[89] "Duty, Honor, Country" was delivered in 39 minutes. During a large majority of this time, General MacArthur spoke from behind a lectern making only an infrequent hand gesture.[90] This was his normal speaking pattern. "His voice is never loud but there is a pulse in it that holds the listener far more effectively than heavily accented perorations or gestures. MacArthur never gestures."[91] It should be pointed out that MacArthur did not need to resort to gestures to make his speeches effective for he possessed that great quality of charisma. Although "he grew, eventually, physically weak, his powers were undiminished, his august presence unmistakable."[92] Even at age 82 he was still capable of producing a "throat-catching sense of excitement."[93]

General MacArthur spoke slowly and deliberately without an accent to mark him as a native of any particular part of the country.[94] His voice had a "low, compelling resonance."[95] The general was twice gassed during World War I. His larynx never recovered from these gassings, and, as a consequence, although its tone was sonorous, his voice had a "curious tremolo, a manner of delivery which those who did not understand the background would wrongly attribute to affectation."[96]

MacArthur's voice was clear and distinct as he began "Duty, Honor, Country." He related the doorman anecdote with a tone of levity. (Such use of humor was extremely uncharacteristic of MacArthur's normal speech pattern.) When the laughter had subsided, however, his voice turned serious. The general now spoke slowly and deliberately without inflection. As he spoke his

thesis statement he emphasized the words, "duty-honor-country" pausing slightly between each as if for strength.

MacArthur then continued in a slow and deliberate manner. He departed from his monotone when he warned with rising inflection that some "unbelievers will say they are but words." As he continued "pedant," "demagogue," "cynic," "hypocrite," and "troublemaker" all received speaker emphasis. His voice then trailed off, becoming somewhat hoarse and faint with the words "officer and gentleman."

The general's voice took on renewed vigor as he told the cadets of the troops they would one day command. The phrases, "American man-at-arms," and "that invincible determination" both received powerful emphasis in a resonant, rich voice. Listening to this portion of the speech is like hearing the Douglas MacArthur of an earlier, more glorious day.

When MacArthur began to paint his vivid imagery of "those staggering columns," his voice wavered almost as if he himself was "bending under soggy packs." At this point he appeared to be saving his emphasis for the words, "duty, honor, country." Each time he spoke them his voice was resonant, his enunciation clear. Once, midway through his address he paused, an inexplicable 12-second pause, apparently grouping for the phrase, "the Divine help." As the general neared the end of the discussion, his voice became strong again and his enunciation particularly clear. Once more, the words, "duty, honor, country" were heavily emphasized and then suddenly in dramatic, whispered tones "Only the dead have seen the end of war."

Pausing once more, "General MacArthur stepped to the side of the lectern, his hand resting on it."[97] After 18 seconds of unearthly silence, he began the emotional conclusion in a low, almost hushed, voice. As Douglas MacArthur uttered the words, "duty, honor, country," for the last time, it was as if he had lovingly caressed each with his voice. Then having pledged his "last conscious thoughts" to "the Corps, and the Corps, and the Corps," General of the Army Douglas MacArthur whispered softly, but with an unmistakable tone of finality, "I bid you farewell."

The delivery of "Duty, Honor, Country" was masterful. It was a perfect complement to a well-organized, emotion-packed speech. To have expected anything less than an extremely effective delivery would have been foolish for "MacArthur understood the uses of theater; as he once put it, it is sometimes good to be 'a bit of a ham' in order to convince large audiences."[98]

"Style is intrinsically woven to the effect the speaker desires."[99] Definitions of style run the gauntlet from Jonathan Swift's "proper words in proper places" to Buffon's "Style is the man himself." For the purpose of this discourse, style will be defined as an individual's "unique way of using the resources of the English language."[100] However, regardless of its definition, to be effective, a speaker's style must be clear, appropriate, and vivid.[101]

It has been said of Douglas MacArthur that "fancy language came to him as readily as Cherokee to a Cherokee."[102] MacArthur possessed an extraordinary vocabulary. He also had a gift for making impressive phrases into slogans that would be remembered. The MacArthur speeches had "a touch of poetic phraseology and rhythm."[103] In "Duty, Honor, Country" such language and phrases are abundant. "They give you a temper of the will . . . a freshness of the deep springs of life, a temperamental predominance of courage over timidity. . . . "

When the general spoke "there were no 'uhs' or 'ohs' to halt or clog his almost classical sentences, which flowed steadily like a smooth river without the

splash or splatter of rapids."[104] Douglas MacArthur enjoyed talking to the degree that he monopolized most conversations. John Gunther referred to him as "an old-fashioned monologist, par excellence." Gunther admitted, however, "I have seldom met anybody who gives such a sense of the richness and flexibility of the English language; he draws out of it—like Winston Churchill—as out of some inexhaustible reservoir."[105]

The MacArthur style, as with the man himself, was not without its critics. Charles Marshall believes "Words often got out of hand." He also writes that MacArthur "was prodigal with such terms as insurmountable, unsurpassed, eternal and supreme—where strong, good, long-lasting and high would have served better." It is Marshall's judgment that "the Byronic streak needed curbing."[106] It should be noted, however, that a style that uses such words as divine, eternal, supreme, etcetera, adds to the ethical appeal of the speech.

Unlike Marshall, most critics of the MacArthur style fail to realize the fact that his style never varied. Whether he was delivering a prepared address or simply engaging in polite conversation it was "always an experience to hear MacArthur talk." Even in his private talks the general was "a spellbinder" who "used archaic words and terms as one might a rare spice—for extraordinary flavor."[107] Tommy Davis, aide and confidant to MacArthur for over a decade, remembers numerous instances of the general's "spontaneous grandiloquence." Once, surprising an unauthorized dalliance, MacArthur ordered, "Eject that strumpet forthwith." Davis recalls on another occasion the general sent a bewildered subordinate scurrying to the dictionary by informing him, "You have given me umbrage."[108] The MacArthur style was very apparent when he "faded away" in his speech to Congress. His critics accused him of "hamming," "but in truth he was simply using the legitimate postures of oratory to express what he himself felt."[109]

The text of "Duty, Honor, Country" illustrates the fact that, indeed, "MacArthur was a conscious speech stylist." Throughout the speech, "imagery, metaphor and elegance of language are pronounced."[110] For many speakers, "the eloquence of a Churchill may not be appropriate."[111] For MacArthur such speech eloquence was both in character and fitting for the occasion. Douglas MacArthur would never have said, "I can still remember the noise of the battlefield." The MacArthur description would be, "In my dreams I hear again the crash of guns, the rattle of musketry, the strange, mournful mutter of the battlefield." That was the MacArthur style. Without it, "Duty, Honor, Country" would have long since been deposited in some forgotten repository of forgettable speeches.

In a critique of "Old Soldiers Never Die," Craig Baird, a noted evaluator of rhetoric, observed that "General Douglas MacArthur will be ranked as one of America's outstanding military orators. . . . He is an orator by temperament, by habit, and by long exercise." Baird also concluded that despite its logical texture, "Old Soldiers Never Die" was primarily personal and ethical.[112] That same comment is entirely applicable to "Duty, Honor, Country." The general's limitations were also essentially the same in both speeches. MacArthur's delivery was sometimes too sonorous. On occasion, his phrasing was more volatile than meaningful.[113] But these few shortcomings did not detract from the manifold skills Douglas MacArthur brought to the lectern on 12 May 1962. Such minor defects could not penetrate the empathy that existed between the general and his audience nor could they break the spell that his manner and eloquence created. "In manner and bearing he went back to principles symbolized by aspiring young

men, flashing swords, and the shiver of bugles in the air." "A man of eloquence he spoke words like Honor, Courage, and Country without embarrassment."[114]

Many of the thoughts and much of the same verbiage of "Duty, Honor, Country" can be found in earlier MacArthur speeches and communiques. In a 1936 speech in Manila, General MacArthur eulogized "the soldier" in much the same manner and with similar words as he did in "Duty, Honor, Country." At one point the general used the exact same phrase, "I do not know the dignity of his birth, but I do know the glory of his death."[115] This phrase had first appeared in his lexicon during a speech given to the 1935 reunion of the Rainbow Division. It would be used again in posthumously decorating Capt. Colin Kelly in 1941[116] and at Punchbowl National Memorial Cemetery, Honolulu, in 1951 while delivering an address en route to Washington. (Most likely General MacArthur first came upon the words in his wife's hometown of Murfreesboro, Tenn., where they are engraved on a battle memorial.)[117]

MacArthur liked to tug at the strings of emotion by announcing he was in "the twilight" of his life. As early as 1941 he wrote to a friend that he was fortunate to have had a son "in the twilight period of my life." Ten years later the general informed Congress, "I address you with neither rancor nor bitterness in the fading twilight of my life."[118] In "Duty, Honor, Country" he spoke simply, "the twilight is here."

It would be fallacious to expect Douglas MacArthur not to repeat or paraphrase old familiar thoughts and utterances on an occasion so fraught with emotion as was the presentation of the Thayer Award. MacArthur's love and devotion for West Point never wavered. In a 1951 Academy Sesquicentennial message he stated, "And as I near the end of the road, what I felt when I was sworn in on the Plain so long ago, I can still feel and say—that is my greatest honor." Again, in a 1953 address commemorating Founder's Day, MacArthur said, "This anniversary stirs many poignant memories in me—memories which in many respects are common to all graduates of the Military Academy. They take each one back to that ceremony on The Plain at West Point when he entered the military service and dedicated himself to duty, honor, country."[119] His mind must have been flooded with these and many more memories when he accepted the Thayer Award, the highest accolade of his beloved alma mater.

"Duty, Honor, Country" had a profound effect on those who were privileged to hear it. The speech was intended to reenforce cadet values which occasionally become hazy as a result of the strain placed on the cadet by the normal rigors of the military Academy. The organization, style, and delivery of the address were all exceptional. Each in its own way contributed mightily to the extraordinary effectiveness of "Duty, Honor, Country." Douglas MacArthur was eminently successful in imbuing the cadets with renewed and positive determination to devote their lives to the motto of West Point—Duty, Honor, Country.

On 15 October 1969, a Boston television channel simultaneously broadcasted a recording of "Duty, Honor, Country" against a backdrop of the day's Moratorium events. To the casual viewer this may have seemed a rather quixotic gesture done, perhaps, solely for artistic merit. Such is not the case. In evaluating "Duty, Honor, Country" it becomes apparent that Douglas MacArthur was speaking not just to his West Point audience but to all.

In 1962 the United States had not yet become mired in the quagmire of Vietnam, but, as in any peacetime situation, critics of the military were numerous.[120] Answering the old charge of warmonger, General MacArthur sound-

ed "the ominous words of Plato . . . 'Only the dead have seen the end of war.'" Three decades earlier MacArthur had performed his duties as Chief of Staff in a similar climate of public opinion. In 1933 he warned the graduating seniors of West Point, "Pacifist habits do not insure peace nor immunity from national insult or aggression." The general also decried the "unabashed and unsound propaganda" produced by the "muddled thinking" of "peace cranks."[121]

It is not possible to evaluate the effect that "Duty, Honor, Country" had on the 1969 viewing audience. However, its potentially significant effect on an audience of an entirely different bent than the cadets of West Point should not be discounted. This potentially powerful impact has already been demonstrated. Less than one month after his impassioned defense of duty, honor, and country, General of the Army Douglas MacArthur was honored as the "outstanding American military leader" of the 20th century. The selection was made as a result of a vote of 8,000 college students across the nation.[122] The meaningfulness of "Duty, Honor, Country" was not limited solely to West Pointers or even the Army; its effect was felt by all Americans. As such, it stands as a model of rhetorical excellence.

CONCLUSIONS

> But in the evening of my memory always I come back to West Point. Always there echoes and re-echoes: duty, honor, country,
>
> Abraham Lincoln, Douglas MacArthur, John Brown, Joseph McCarthy, Mark Anthony, Norman Thomas, Frederick Douglass, Thomas Jefferson—we know these men for their different political, social, and military roles. But . . . they share a similar role, that of the advocate, the man who has a point to make and a desire to persuade his fellow man and hence turns to rhetoric to discover the means of persuasion available to him.[123]

During the course of his distinguished career, "General MacArthur proved to be one of the Army's most articulate spokesmen and one of his generation's most talented orators."[124] "Duty, Honor, Country" did not receive the immediate nationwide publicity or subsequent critical investigations of "Old Soldiers Never Die." This is understandable since one was delivered to the Congress and the Nation, while the other was spoken in the closed atmosphere of the Military Academy. Yet, in retrospect, "Duty, Honor, Country" seems to tower far above "Old Soldiers Never Die."

The hurt was too great when the Old Soldier mounted the congressional rostrum. On that day Douglas MacArthur was a practitioner of the rhetoric of self-defense.[125] The center of his speech was himself. "Rarely indeed have the American people heard a speech so strong in the tone of personal authority."[126] This uncharacteristic devotion to self was not the true Douglas MacArthur. To him devotion to duty was always "of the highest importance."[127] Throughout his lifetime he placed duty, honor, and country above self. "He was required to reach further than one man can reach, to bear the strain of decision, to accept the isolation of command, to undergo the rigors of living a moral code and personifying the spirit of dedication."[128] His abrupt departure from this creed tempers the worth of "Old Soldiers Never Die."

The converse is true in "Duty, Honor, Country." It too was emotional and ethical. Its tone of personal authority was strong. Yet, that day the center of Douglas MacArthur's speech was not Douglas MacArthur, it was the

country he fought for and loved so well. In his eloquent farewell speech, Douglas MacArthur was reminding us all, private citizen or soldier, that it is every man's birthright and obligation to dedicate himself to this Nation, to defend its honor, and to perpetuate its greatness.

Douglas MacArthur was, above all, a patriot. To him, "the highest encomium you can still receive is to be called a patriot, if it means you love your country."[129] Today, when "strange voices are heard across the land, decrying this old and proven concept of patriotism"[130] the true meaning of "Duty, Honor, Country" is more significant than ever before.

In an envoi to the career of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, William F. Buckley, Jr., wrote:

> MacArthur was the last of the great Americans. It isn't at all certain that America is capable of producing another man of MacArthur's cast. Such men spring from the loins of nations in whose blood courage runs: and we are grown anemic. That is why so many have spoken of an age that would die with MacArthur. An age when occasionally, heroes arose, acknowledging as their imperatives the Duty, Honor and Country which MacArthur cherished, but which the nation that rejected him has no stomach for, preferring the adulterated substitutes of the Age of Modulation, approved by the Pure Food and Drug Act, and adorned by the seal of *Good Housekeeping Magazine*.[131]

It was not the purpose of this paper to examine or even comment on the social and political pressures at work in the Nation today. But such is the greatness of "Duty, Honor, Country" that one cannot help but reflect on it as each day's events unfold in this troubled land. From a rhetorical standpoint, "Duty, Honor, Country" will withstand even the most "searching analysis and interpretive acumen,"[132] and emerge as greatness. It exceeds every rhetorical criteria demanded for excellence in speech. But it is more than just an academically superb speech, it is indeed a "credo for all Americans"[133] and in this role may one day achieve its ultimate greatness.

BIOGRAPHIC SUMMARY

Maj. Richard A. Behrenhausen, U.S. Army, graduated from West Point in 1961. Since then he has served in a variety of armored and infantry assignments, including a tour of duty with the 101st Airborne Division in Vietnam. A graduate of the 1970 Class of the School of Naval Command and Staff at the Naval War College, Major Behrenhausen is presently assigned to the Armor Branch, Officer Personnel Operations, Department of the Army, Washington, D.C.

FOOTNOTES

MacARTHUR OF WEST POINT

1. "General MacArthur Honored," *The New York Times*, 1 March 1962, p. 13:1.
2. "Duty, Honor, Country," *Sperryscope*, 6 June 1962, p. 2.
3. "Sylvanus Thayer Award Presented to General MacArthur," *Assembly*, Summer 1962, p. 12.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 12-13.
5. *Ibid.*

6. Wil A. Linkugel, et al., eds., *Contemporary American Speeches* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1965), p. 153.

7. Clarke Newlon, *The Fighting Douglas MacArthur* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1965), p. 94.

8. Albert E. Grzebien, "Research in Communicative Arts," *Naval War College Review*, February 1969, p. 51.

9. Douglas MacArthur, *Reminiscences* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 14.

10. Grzebien, p. 51.

11. Robert P. Knapp, Jr., "Of War, Time, and Generals," *The Reporter*, 13 January 1966, p. 50.

12. Clark Lee and Richard Henschel, *Douglas MacArthur* (New York: Holt, 1952), p. 9.

13. Frank Kelley and Cornelius Ryan, *MacArthur: Man of Action* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1950), p. 41.

14. Arthur MacArthur, known as the "Boy Colonel of the West," was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for his heroism at Missionary Ridge on 25 November 1863. Later, as a lieutenant general, he became the senior officer in the Army. MacArthur, p. 1-37.

15. Frazier Hunt, *The Untold Story of Douglas MacArthur* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1954), p. 11.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

17. Peyton C. March, quoted in Hunt, p. 18.

18. MacArthur, p. 18.

19. Vorin E. Whan, Jr., ed., *A Soldier Speaks* (New York: Praeger, 1965), p. 253.

20. Robert E. Wood, "An Upperclassman's View," *Assembly*, Spring 1964, p. 4.

21. Lee and Henschel, p. 29-31.

22. "Although the ribbons and decorations of his war days are without parallel, he never wears them. His uniform is unadorned but that plain black "A" never leaves its place over his heart on his lounging-robe—because from it he gains the inner spiritual strength needed to guide him over difficult times." Courtney Whitney, *MacArthur, His Rendezvous with History* (New York: Knopf, 1956), p. 316. (Note: The last photograph ever made of General MacArthur shows President Johnson visiting him in his hospital suite. The general is wearing his familiar cadet bathrobe with varsity "A.")

23. MacArthur, p. 26-27.

24. William A. Ganoe, *MacArthur Close-up* (New York: Vantage Press, 1962), p. 22.

25. Lee and Henschel, p. 31.

26. Newlon, p. 96.

27. Gavin Long, *MacArthur as Military Commander* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1969), p. 34.

28. MacArthur, p. 77.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Douglas MacArthur, quoted in Earl Blaik, "A Cadet under MacArthur," *Assembly*, Spring 1964, p. 8.

31. MacArthur, p. 78.

32. Douglas MacArthur, quoted in Robert B. Considine, *General Douglas MacArthur* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, 1964), p. 29.

33. Jacob L. Devers, "The Mark of the Man on USMA," *Assembly*, Spring 1964, p. 18.

34. Robert M. Danford, "USMA's 31st Superintendent," *Assembly*, Spring 1964, p. 14.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Devers, p. 19.

37. *Ibid.*

38. MacArthur, p. 80.

39. Kelley and Ryan, p. 84.

40. Devers, p. 19.

41. Ganoe, p. 167.

42. George C. Kenney, *The MacArthur I Know* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1951), p. 136-138.

43. Whan, ed., p. xix.

44. Kenney, p. 136.

45. Charles B. Marshall, "An Old Soldier's Rhetoric," *New Republic*, 20 November 1965, p. 26.

46. Carl Mydans, "Memento of 25 Years," *Life*, 17 April 1964, p. 25.

47. Considine, p. 97.

48. MacArthur, p. 423.

49. "Sylvanus Thayer Award Presented to General MacArthur," p. 13.
50. Whan, ed., p. 352.
51. MacArthur, p. 18.
52. R. Ernest Dupuy, *Men of West Point* (New York: Sloane, 1951), p. 4.
53. Anthony Hillbruner, *Critical Dimensions: the Art of Public Address Criticism* (New York: Random House, 1966), p. 31.
54. Grzebien, p. 51.
55. Hillbruner, p. 32.
56. "Sylvanus Thayer Award Presented to General MacArthur," p. 12.
57. *Ibid.*
58. Hillbruner, p. 29.
59. Jane Blankenship and Robert Wilhoit, *Selected Readings in Public Speaking* (Belmont, Calif.: Dickenson, 1966), p. 238.
60. Considine, p. 123.
61. Wood, p. 4.
62. Linkugel, et al., eds., p. 151.
63. Jane Blankenship, *Public Speaking: a Rhetorical Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 76.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 76-78.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
66. Grzebien, p. 51.
67. Linkugel, et al., eds., p. 299.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 299.
70. Blankenship, *Public Speaking,* p. 90.
71. Linkugel, et al., eds., p. 151.
72. Blankenship, *Public Speaking,* p. 51.
73. Grzebien, p. 52.
74. Blankenship, *Public Speaking,* p. 51.
75. Linkugel, et al., eds., p. 151.
76. Marcus Cunliffe, "A Long Gray Line," *Commentary,* December 1964, p. 68.
77. "MacArthur of West Point," *Assembly,* Spring 1964, p. 2.
78. Douglas MacArthur, quoted in Newlon, p. 13.
79. Douglas MacArthur, *Duty, Honor, Country: a Pictorial Autobiography* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), p. 121.
80. Linkugel, et al., eds., p. 151.
81. *Ibid.*
82. Grzebien, p. 52.
83. Blankenship, *Public Speaking,* p. 51.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
85. Considine, p. 123.
86. Grzebien, p. 52.
87. Blankenship, *Public Speaking,* p. 51.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
89. Grzebien, p. 52.
90. "Sylvanus Thayer Award Presented to General MacArthur," p. 13.
91. Kenney, p. 136-137.
92. William F. Buckley, Jr., "Douglas MacArthur, RIP," *National Review,* 21 April 1964, p. 310.
93. *Ibid.*
94. Kenney, p. 137.
95. Ganoe, p. 27.
96. Army Times, *The Banners and the Glory* (New York: Putnam, 1965), p. 43.
97. Considine, p. 126.
98. John Chamberlain, "The Verdict of History," *National Review,* 15 December 1964, p. 1112.
99. Grzebien, p. 53.
100. Blankenship and Wilhoit, *Selected Readings,* p. 111.
101. Blankenship, *Public Speaking,* p. 122.
102. Marshall, p. 26.
103. Kenney, p. 142.
104. Ganoe, p. 132.

105. John Gunther, *The Riddle of MacArthur* (New York Harper, 1950), p. 27.
106. Marshall, p. 28.
107. Mydans, p. 28.
108. Tommy Davis, quoted in Marshall, p. 26.
109. Lee and Henschel, p. 97.
110. Linkugel, et al., eds., p. 151.
111. Grzebien, p. 53.
112. Haig A. Bosmajian, *The Rhetoric of the Speaker* (Boston: Heath, 1967), p. 43.
113. *Ibid.*
114. "In Remembrance of MacArthur," *Life*, 17 April 1964, p. 30.
115. Considine, p. 52.
116. Included in the West Point audience of 12 May 1962 was Cadet Colin Kelly, III, the son of the famous wartime hero.
117. Lee and Henschel, p. 94.
118. *Ibid.*
119. Whan, ed., p. 151.
120. Linkugel, et al., eds., p. 151.
121. Douglas MacArthur, quoted in *Banners and Glory*, p. 76.
122. "Students Honor MacArthur," *The New York Times*, 1 June 1962, p. 14:3.
123. Bosmajian, p. vii.
124. Whan, ed., p. xvii.
125. Bosmajian, p. 22.
126. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
127. George W. Cocheu, "Cadet Days, 1899-1903," *Assembly*, Spring 1964, p. 6.
128. "MacArthur Memorial Dedicated," *Assembly*, Fall 1969, p. 43.
129. MacArthur, *Reminiscences*, p. 415.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 414.
131. Buckley, p. 310.
132. Grzebien, p. 53.
133. "Duty, Honor, Country," *U.S. News & World Report*, 4 June 1962, p. 78.