THE RHETORIC OF UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS ENLISTED RECRUITMENT: A HISTORICAL
STUDY AND ANALYSIS OF THE PERSUASIVE APPROACH UTILIZED

by

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Gary L. Rutledge
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENERAL</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURPOSE AND SIGNIFICANCE</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCOPE</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESEARCH DESIGN</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. 1775 - 1900</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HISTORICAL BACKGROUND</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1775 - 1784</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789 - 1815</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1816 - 1845</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846 - 1860</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861 - 1866</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867 - 1897</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898 - 1900</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSTER ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN ANALYSIS</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iii
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>HISTORICAL BACKGROUND</td>
<td>HISTORICAL BACKGROUND</td>
<td>HISTORICAL BACKGROUND</td>
<td>HISTORICAL BACKGROUND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1916 - 1920</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>POSTER ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>POSTER ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>POSTER ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>POSTER ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AN ANALYSIS</td>
<td>AN ANALYSIS</td>
<td>AN ANALYSIS</td>
<td>AN ANALYSIS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>101</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1941 - 1960</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1961 - 1973</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>181</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similarities in the Rhetorical Approach</td>
<td>182</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differences in the Rhetorical Approach</td>
<td>183</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>184</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUGGESTED FURTHER RESEARCH</td>
<td>188</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A</td>
<td>190</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B</td>
<td>222</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX C</td>
<td>233</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES CITED</td>
<td>243</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>&quot;Drumming up recruits&quot;</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Men for Washington's Army</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Marine Corps Colors</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Captain Reynolds's poster</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Newspaper advertisement, 1864</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>Lieutenant Cochrane's poster</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>&quot;Able Bodied Men Wanted&quot;</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>&quot;Men of Good Character Wanted&quot;</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>An opportunity to see the world</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>&quot;Soldiers of the Sea&quot;</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>&quot;Two-in-One Service&quot;</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Cooperative advertising poster</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Christy's &quot;Honey Girl&quot;</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>&quot;A Good Proposition&quot;</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>&quot;Do Not Join the U.S. Marines&quot;</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>The time and weather poster</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>&quot;Learn to Serve Intelligently&quot;</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>&quot;First to Fight&quot;</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>&quot;Be A Marine&quot;</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>&quot;Spirit of 1917&quot;</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>&quot;The Marines Have Landed&quot;</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>&quot;Walking John&quot;</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.15.</td>
<td>&quot;He Did His Duty&quot;</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.16.</td>
<td>&quot;We Kill or Get Killed&quot;</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.17.</td>
<td>&quot;Tell that to the Marines&quot;</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.18.</td>
<td>&quot;U.S. Marine Sundae&quot;</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.19.</td>
<td>&quot;Soldiers of the Sea&quot;</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.20.</td>
<td>George Landon's calling card</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.21.</td>
<td>&quot;Halt!--Be First&quot;</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.22.</td>
<td>&quot;Aviation photographers wanted&quot;</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.23.</td>
<td>Ride the tiger</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.24.</td>
<td>&quot;Devil Dog&quot; banner</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.25.</td>
<td>&quot;Serve where you see the red star&quot;</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.27.</td>
<td>&quot;The Men of Maine&quot;</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.</td>
<td>&quot;Follow the trail of adventure&quot;</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.</td>
<td>&quot;Served America 150 years&quot;</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.</td>
<td>&quot;Always a better citizen&quot;</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.</td>
<td>&quot;Travel, Education, Career&quot;</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5.</td>
<td>&quot;Land, Sea, and Sky&quot;</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.</td>
<td>&quot;Our Flag&quot;</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7.</td>
<td>Insignia of enlisted ranks</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8.</td>
<td>The Marine Corps emblem</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.9.</td>
<td>&quot;Am I satisfied?&quot;</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.10.</td>
<td>&quot;Traditions&quot;</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11.</td>
<td>&quot;They Shall Not Pass&quot;</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.12.</td>
<td>&quot;Navy Day&quot;</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.</td>
<td>&quot;The Marines Want You&quot;</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2. &quot;Always on the Alert&quot;</td>
<td>141</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3. &quot;Want Action?&quot;</td>
<td>142</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4. &quot;Defend America&quot;</td>
<td>143</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5. &quot;Ten to One&quot;</td>
<td>144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6. &quot;Wake - America's Beach of Bayonets&quot;</td>
<td>145</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7. &quot;They Deliver the Goods too&quot;</td>
<td>146</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8. &quot;So Proudly We Serve&quot;</td>
<td>147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.9. &quot;Semper Fidelis&quot;</td>
<td>148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.10. &quot;Mechanized&quot;</td>
<td>149</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.11. Guadalcanal poster</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.12. &quot;Around the World&quot;</td>
<td>151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.13. &quot;The Marines Keep Fit&quot;</td>
<td>152</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.14. &quot;From the Halls of Montezuma, Land&quot;</td>
<td>153</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.15. &quot;This rifle needs a Man&quot;</td>
<td>154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.16. &quot;Land, Sea, and Air&quot;</td>
<td>155</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.17. &quot;It's the Tradition&quot;</td>
<td>156</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1. &quot;Honor&quot;</td>
<td>165</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2. &quot;It's a Good Career&quot;</td>
<td>166</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3. &quot;Get set, Go&quot;</td>
<td>167</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4. &quot;Always Faithful&quot;</td>
<td>168</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5. &quot;Body, Mind, and Spirit&quot;</td>
<td>169</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6. &quot;We don't promise you a rose garden&quot;</td>
<td>170</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.7. &quot;If everybody could get in&quot;</td>
<td>171</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.8. &quot;Men Wanted&quot;</td>
<td>172</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.9. &quot;Looking for a few good men&quot;</td>
<td>173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.10. &quot;Nobody likes to fight&quot;</td>
<td>174</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.11.</td>
<td>&quot;We teach tough skills&quot;</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-1.</td>
<td>&quot;Egypt, Philippines, and Turkey&quot;</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-2.</td>
<td>Raising the colors</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-4.</td>
<td>&quot;The Marines always first&quot;</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-5.</td>
<td>&quot;Mr. American Citizen&quot;</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-6.</td>
<td>&quot;Chasing the Rainbow&quot;</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-7.</td>
<td>&quot;Two-in-One Service&quot;</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-8.</td>
<td>Map of the world</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-9.</td>
<td>Marines signaling</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-10.</td>
<td>&quot;Soldiers of the Sea&quot;</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-11.</td>
<td>&quot;Join the Marines&quot;</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-12.</td>
<td>&quot;If you earn less than $75 a month&quot;</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-14.</td>
<td>&quot;Notice&quot;</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-15.</td>
<td>&quot;This is Their Emblem - Make it Yours&quot;</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-16.</td>
<td>&quot;First to Fight in France&quot;</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-17.</td>
<td>&quot;Soldiers of the Sea&quot;</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-18.</td>
<td>&quot;Stop! This is the place&quot;</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-19.</td>
<td>Marines in France</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-22.</td>
<td>&quot;Enlist Now&quot;</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-23.</td>
<td>&quot;20,000 men needed&quot;</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-24.</td>
<td>&quot;Your Chance for Active Service&quot;</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-25.</td>
<td>Magazine covers of the period</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-26.</td>
<td>&quot;Devil Dog&quot; billboards</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-27.</td>
<td>&quot;Join the Fighting Devil Dogs&quot;</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-28.</td>
<td>&quot;How ya gonna keep 'em down on th' farm&quot;</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-29.</td>
<td>&quot;Fly&quot;</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-30.</td>
<td>&quot;After you see the circus&quot;</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-31.</td>
<td>&quot;Maine and the Marines&quot;</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-1.</td>
<td>&quot;Let's Go!&quot;</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-2.</td>
<td>&quot;Fly with the Marines&quot;</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-3.</td>
<td>&quot;Hit Hard and Often&quot;</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-4.</td>
<td>Marines praying</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-5.</td>
<td>Iwo Jima poster</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-6.</td>
<td>&quot;Go Places!&quot;</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-7.</td>
<td>&quot;Since 1775&quot;</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-8.</td>
<td>&quot;Serve&quot;</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-9.</td>
<td>&quot;From the Halls of Montezuma, Air&quot;</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-10.</td>
<td>&quot;Join the Marines&quot;</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-1.</td>
<td>&quot;Pride&quot;</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-2.</td>
<td>&quot;Valor&quot;</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-3.</td>
<td>&quot;The Marine Corps Builds Men&quot;</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-4.</td>
<td>&quot;Body, Mind, and Spirit&quot;</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-5.</td>
<td>&quot;Life in the Marines is not without obstacles&quot;</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-6.</td>
<td>&quot;Tough club to get into&quot;</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-7.</td>
<td>&quot;It's a tough team&quot;</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-8.</td>
<td>&quot;We still make 'em like we used to&quot;</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-9.</td>
<td>Marines landing with air cover</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-10.</td>
<td>&quot;Men who want to learn&quot;</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION
Recruiting is of necessity a persuasive task. It involves the inducing of individuals to commit themselves to a military way of life for periods that have varied over the years from one year to as much as five years. The object of recruitment is to maintain a designated strength in the armed forces which defend the national interest. Recruiting must use a rhetorical approach that will accomplish these tasks.

This thesis concerns itself with the rhetorical approach utilized by the United States Marine Corps to persuade men to enlist voluntarily. It is necessary at the outset to define the term "rhetoric" as it is used in this study. There is no need to explore the many definitions that have been proposed by the many scholars from Aristotle to the present. The definition of rhetoric as stated in Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language will suffice:

The art or science of using words effectively in speaking or writing, so as to influence or persuade... (Guralnik and Friend, 1968:1249).

The thesis is a historical tracing of the rhetorical approach used by the Marine Corps in recruitment. This tracing relates the rhetoric to the presence or absence of a national level war and/or the presence or absence of
a conscription system such as the draft. The study is limited to that rhetoric which is aimed at the recruitment of enlisted men and women. This particular limitation was decided upon because preliminary research uncovered an existing historical study concerning officer procurement which had been published by the Historical Branch of the U.S. Marine Corps. Other limitations are discussed later in the thesis; however, one other major parameter should be mentioned at this time. No attempt was or is made to compare the Marine Corps' rhetorical approach to those recruitment approaches used by the other military services.

PURPOSE AND SIGNIFICANCE

With these thoughts in mind, the purpose of this thesis is to answer the following questions:

1. Has the rhetorical approach utilized in Marine Corps recruitment been affected by the presence/absence of a war of national importance?

2. Has the rhetorical approach utilized in Marine Corps recruitment been affected by the presence/absence of a conscription system such as the draft?

3. How and/or has the rhetorical approach utilized in Marine Corps recruitment changed through the years since the birth of the Corps on 10 November 1775 (Heinl, 1965:4)?

It appears that the rhetorical approach used in military recruitment could be influenced to a greater or lesser
degree by many and varied considerations such as the type, quality and quantity of recruits needed, the national atmosphere (war/peace) and the tasks the recruits will be required to perform. In order to answer the aforementioned questions and to consider as many of the influences as possible, an in-depth look at what has occurred in the past is deemed to be necessary. It follows then that the historical research approach is the most appropriate in the accomplishment of the tasks set forth above. This method of research provides the best vehicle to investigate, compare and analyze the overall trends of the rhetorical approaches used in Marine Corps recruitment and the effect, if any, of the many and varied influences on those approaches.

It is expected that this thesis will make the following contributions to the discipline of communications:

1. A historical illustration of the effect of the national atmosphere (war/peace) on military recruitment rhetoric.

2. An indication of the impact of other pressures which play a role in inducing enlistment and their effect on military recruitment rhetoric.

3. Finally, this thesis will provide a historical tracing of the rhetorical approach in recruitment by the United States Marine Corps.
SCOPE

Although the entire chronological span of the Marine Corps recruitment is treated in this thesis, only specific areas in each period are explored. As stated before, this thesis is limited to the rhetorical approach utilized in enlisted recruitment. This is a major limitation, but the enlisted recruitment rhetoric and the audience at which it is aimed is significantly different from that designed to recruit officers and that designed to reenlist individuals. It is therefore a reasonable and logical division of effort.

The historical research will cover the period from 1775 through 1973. This thesis focuses primarily upon the rhetorical approach used in advertising posters/billboards utilized by the Marine Corps recruiter to induce men to come to see him and to enlist. Although other methods have been and are being used, the rhetorical approach in other media was found to be basically the same as that used on posters and billboards.

A study of the selective service system was necessarily included as a part of this thesis. Although an in-depth study was not indicated or accomplished, some research in this field was required in order to determine the impact, if any, that conscription has had on the rhetoric of Marine Corps recruitment advertising. The consensus appears to be that the pressure exerted on the individual by the draft tends to make his resistance to
enlistment lower. Thus, the rhetorical approach of recruitment advertising may be different in the presence/absence of this pressure.

In summary then, this thesis treats the rhetorical approach utilized in United States Marine Corps enlisted recruitment poster/billboard advertising from 1775 through 1973. It also explores the relationship of the rhetorical approach to the presence or absence of war and/or a conscription system.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Historical research methodology was utilized in producing this thesis. Primary sources were sought and used wherever possible; however, due to the time frame covered and the limited availability of primary sources, there was a great reliance on secondary sources with verification.

The research design formulated for this thesis was subdivided into the following four phases:

1. Phase I: Establishing a Chronological History of United States Marine Corps Enlisted Recruitment. This, of course, was the most time consuming of all the phases. It consisted of the following tasks:
   a. A search for and through as many primary and secondary sources as possible to establish the chronology.
   b. A subdividing of this chronology into
definable periods in order to better display the relation of the rhetorical approach utilized to the general historical period.

3. This phase also included research efforts concerning the history of the Marine Corps. That is to say that the missions and tasks of the Corps certainly have a direct relationship to recruitment requirements and hence on the rhetorical approach used.

2. Phase II: Analysis of the Rhetorical Approach Utilized in United States Marine Corps Recruitment During the Different Eras Established in Phase I.

This phase consisted of the following tasks:

a. Isolate the eras and the rhetorical approach associated with each.

b. An analysis of the rhetorical approach in relation to its persuasive content. This analysis was primarily based on material contained in The Process of Social Influences: Readings in Persuasion (Beisecker and Parson, 1972).

3. Phase III: Analysis of the Rhetorical Approach Utilized in Relation to the Presence/Absence of War and/or Conscription. The tasks associated with this phase are the following:

a. Establish a chronology of conscription in the United States. Associated with this
is the determination of whether or not Marine Corps recruitment was supported by the conscription.
b. Determine which conflicts were of sufficient magnitude to create national interest and constitute a wartime atmosphere.
c. Compare and analyze the rhetorical approach used for Marine Corps enlisted recruitment during these periods to determine if there was any discernable effect from these considerations.

4. Phase IV: **Formulation of Conclusions That Can Be Drawn from the Research.** This task, of course, is the final step of this thesis and is based on the discoveries made during the other three phases. It must be understood that these phases were not completely independent and isolated functions during the research work. There was necessarily some overlap and jumping into later phases while the research was being conducted; however, it is not believed that this fact should invalidate the design.

**ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS**

This thesis is organized into a total of seven chapters. Chapters II through VI contain the chronological tracing of the history of Marine Corps recruitment. Chapter II covers the greatest time period (1775 - 1900) because of
the scarcity of concrete evidence concerning the rhetorical approach used on posters for recruitment during that period. The other chapters are divided into twenty year increments for ease of handling.

Each of these five chapters is organized in the following manner:

1. The first portion is devoted to a historical sketch of the period covered. This should give the reader a general knowledge of the national atmosphere at that time, the tasks that Marines were called upon to accomplish and the methods utilized in the recruitment of enlisted men into the Marine Corps.

2. The second section of each chapter contains descriptions and illustrations of the posters/billboards used during the period.

3. The final portion of each chapter contains an analysis of the rhetorical approach used on the posters/billboards of the period.

The final chapter of this thesis contains a summary of the findings concerning the rhetorical approaches used by the Marine Corps throughout its 198 years of existence. This summary describes the similarities, differences, trends, and changes in the enlisted recruitment approach. The chapter also contains the author's conclusions and recommendations for further study.

For purposes of this study, the following conflicts
have been determined to be of sufficient magnitude to create a national wartime atmosphere in the United States:

1. The Revolution; 1775 - 1783.
2. The War of 1812; 1812 - 1815.\textsuperscript{1}
3. The Mexican Wars; 1846 - 1848.
4. The Civil War; 1861 - 1865.
5. The Spanish-American War; 1898.
7. World War II; 1941 - 1945.

(Parker, 1970:133-137)

In summary, the thoughts expressed in the preceding pages should establish in the reader's mind the overall purpose and significance of this thesis. The limitations and parameters have also been established as that rhetorical approach used by the U.S. Marine Corps in poster/billboard advertising to induce men and women to enlist. Finally, the research design and the overall organization of the thesis has been discussed in some detail to give the reader this additional essential background.

With these thoughts in mind, we may proceed with the task at hand: the tracing and analyzing of the rhetorical approach utilized by the United States Marine Corps in

\textsuperscript{1}The peace treaty was signed on 14 December 1814; however, the last battle occurred in the defense of New Orleans in January, 1815 (Parker, 1970:13-14).
enlisted recruitment advertising throughout its 198 year history. The following chapter begins this walk through history with the resolution passed by the Continental Congress on 10 November 1775 (Heinl, 1965:4). The chapter covers one hundred and twenty five years of the Corps' life and is thus necessarily rather long; however, it should be enlightening and hopefully beneficial to the reader.
CHAPTER II

1775 - 1900
Resolved, That two Battalions of Marines be raised consisting of one Colonel, two lieutenant Colonels, two Majors & Officers as usual in other regiments, that they consist of an equal number of privates with other battalions; that particular care be taken that no person be appointed to office or inlisted into said Battalions, but such as are good seamen, or so acquainted with maritime affairs as to be able to serve to advantage by sea, when required. That they be inlisted and commissioned for and during the present war between Great Britain and the Colonies, unless dismissed by order of Congress. That they be distinguished by the names of the first & second battalions of American Marines, and that they be considered a part of the number, which the continental Army before Boston is ordered to consist of.

Continental Congress  
10 November 1775 (Heinl, 1965:4-5)

Thus was formed what is now the United States Marine Corps. It was patterned after the British Royal Marines which was created by King Charles II in 1664 during the Dutch Wars between England and Holland (Heinl, 1965:3). First Lieutenant John Trevett was the first Marine officer appointed. He reported for duty aboard the Columbus during November, 1775. Captain Samuel Nicholas was appointed by a commission dated 28 November 1775 and was the senior officer of the Marines throughout the revolution. Although he did not have the title of "Commandant," he is thought of as the first Commandant of the Marine Corps (Heinl, 1965:5). Captain Nicholas was assigned to the Black Richard (Alfred)

13
which was being outfitted in the Delaware River. A recruiting rendezvous was set up in Tun Tavern, Philadelphia, to recruit the Marine detachment for his ship and the others of the squadron commanded by Commodore Esek Hopkins (McClellen, 1925:8).

Tun Tavern was a prominent hostelry of the time located in Philadelphia near the Delaware River. The proprietor of the Tavern, Robert Mullan, was commissioned a Captain of a Company of Marines and became the leading recruiting officer of the Continental Marines for the greater part of the Revolutionary War (McClellen, 1925:1). Tun Tavern is thus thought of as the birthplace of the U.S. Marine Corps.

Although the recruiting of Continental Marines was under the direction of the various Committees, Boards, and Agents that administered naval affairs during the Revolution, each Marine recruiting officer was left to his own ingenuity in his methods of actually recruiting men for service with the Marines. Inducements used included offers of prize money, advance pay, expense money, bounties, and promises of ample grog rations. Handbills, newspaper advertisements, and broadsides (Posters) were used extensively. The broadsides were cleverly written posters which expounded the many advantages of the naval service and were displayed for the most part in taverns (McClellen, 1925:1-2). Thus Captain Mullan, using the most available means of persuasion, would treat the adventure seeking youth of the time to a view of
several Continental Marines in full uniform taking their ease in the rollicking, informal atmosphere of his tavern (Lindsay, 1956:8). It was usual for the recruiting officer to parade through the streets with his recruiting party preceded by drum, fife, and colors stopping every now and then to speak of the glories and advantages of service with the Marines. The party would eventually wend its way back to the rendezvous. The men that followed were quite well disposed to enlist on the spot (McClellan, 1925:3).

It is not meant to imply that the recruiting officers did not receive some guidance and restrictions from higher authorities. In late 1775, Captain Nicholas was promoted to the rank of Major and gave his recruiters guidance concerning the enlistment of Marines. The Corps' recruiters were directed

not to enlist any deserter from the British Army, or any stroller, negro, or vagabond, or person suspected of being an enemy to the liberty of America. No person who was not American born was to be enlisted unless such person had a wife and family and was a settled resident of the country (McClellan, 1925:2).

Restrictions or not, however, each officer commissioned in the Marines and assigned to a ship would invariably have the task of recruiting the Marine complement of his ship. This was the case for Captain Matthew Parke who was assigned to John Paul Jones' sloop-of-war Ranger in July, 1777. Captain Parke was told to "take 'a Drum, Fife, and Colours' and go recruit his Marines." Acting on these instructions, Parke procured some 22 to 24 Marines for the guard complement aboard the Ranger. This figure was arrived at because a
rule-of-thumb of the day was that the Marine complement aboard ships of the Navy was "a marine for every gun, plus some supernumeraries," and the Ranger was a twenty gun sloop-of-war (Shaw, 1973:4).

Even though uniforms were attractive, patriotic spirit was present, and remuneration was reasonable (six and two-thirds dollars per month plus prize monies, bounties, pensions, food, grog, uniform, etc.), enlistees did not initially come flocking to the banner. In fact, in order to make up the deficit, Congress requested that George Washington transfer suitable soldiers to the Marines. Washington, however, objected to this on the basis of the small size of the Army and the Congress agreed not to effect any transfers (Metcalf, 1939:12).

The Continental Marines participated in many sea and land engagements during the War of the Revolution. However, it is not the purpose of this thesis to trace in any detail the combat history of the Corps. Suffice it to say in this respect that the Marines proved their worth on both land and sea during this war for independence from its first amphibious operation on the island of New Providence in the Bahamas to the end of the conflict. The officers and men of the Marine Corps fought with distinction, but then phased out of existence with the Continental Navy in 1784. The last known record of a Marine serving aboard a ship is that of Private Robert Stout aboard the Alliance on 26 April 1784 (Metcalf, 1939:13-27).
It is necessary to point out at this time that all of the states except Delaware had navies of varying sizes, and that each of the state navies had marines serving aboard their ships (Metcalf, 1939:8). These individual navies and marine units, however, are outside the scope of this thesis since they did not form the base for the present United States Marine Corps.

1789 - 1815

In 1789, the War Department was established to be responsible for the military forces of the nation. This does not mean that the forces existed at the time of its formation for they did not. The navy consisted of a few revenue cutters which performed the duties of a navy. There is a record of one marine officer serving with this Revenue Cutter Service prior to the formal establishment of the Navy Department and the Marine Corps on 27 April 1798 (Metcalf, 1939:28).

The French and the Barbary pirates were playing havoc with the commercial fleet which sailed the high seas at this time in history. Because of these attacks on our commerce, Congress reluctantly passed the Naval Act of 1794 which authorized the building of six frigates, and the recruitment of officers, seamen, and Marines to man them (Heinl, 1965: 9-10). However, a year later, the work on the ships was stopped as a result of a treaty negotiated with Algiers which guaranteed safe passage for our commercial shipping in exchange for the payment of nearly a million dollars in ransoms and bribes to officials. This arrangement did not
last, and in 1796, Congress authorized work to resume on the United States, Constitution, and Constellation, and re-authorized the Marine detachments for these three frigates (Metcalf, 1939:29).

The Corps of Marines was formally authorized by an Act of Congress on 11 July 1798. This Act authorized

one major, four captains, sixteen first lieutenants, twelve second lieutenants, forty-eight sergeants, forty-eight corporals, thirty-two drums and fifes, and seven hundred and twenty privates, including marines who had already been enlisted (Metcalf, 1939:31).

This rebirth of the U.S. Marine Corps had already started with the appointment of Lieutenant Philip Edwards on 16 March 1798. Edwards' appointment is the earliest remaining record of the commissioning of an officer in this new Corps, while the earliest enlistment was that of Stephen Bowden, dated 7 May 1798.

Edwards was appointed to serve aboard the Constellation, and other lieutenants were appointed in May, 1798, to serve aboard the Ganges and the Constitution. These newly appointed officers were then made responsible for the recruitment of the Marine detachments to serve aboard their respective ships. The recruitment was accomplished in much the same manner as it was during the Revolutionary War which was discussed earlier (Metcalf, 1939:30).

On 12 July 1798, President John Adams appointed William Ward Burrows as Major Commandant of the Marine Corps. Burrows established his headquarters in Philadelphia and a Marine camp near the city (Metcalf, 1939:31). Although
Burrows and his officers experienced some difficulty in recruiting men for the Marines because the Army was also building and was allowed to offer bonuses, the ships were manned and the strength of the Corps steadily rose. Major Commandant Burrows was responsible for all matters concerning the Marine Corps which included, of course, recruiting. This responsibility and the way he handled it can best be illustrated by the following correspondence, which consists of excerpts from a letter to the Major Commandant from a newly appointed First Lieutenant John Hall of Charleston, South Carolina, and the Major Commandant's reply.

17 August 1798

By the last post on Tuesday I received with pleasure your esteemed favor of the 30th ulto. The honour you have conferred on me by obtaining the appointment of First Lieutenant of the Marine Corps shall always be remembered with gratitude & I beg that you will accept my sincere thanks for the same & hope that my conduct will be such as will never disgrace your favour.

In the meantime (until the receipt of his commission) I shall engage as many Men as I possibly can in this place. I will thank you to inform me what number of Men it will be necessary for me to recruit in this State.

...(I need no) first Aids for the Undecided...(I do require) Buttons sufficient for the Uniforms, as there are none to be procured in Charleston.

When I receive my Commission I am in hopes it will be in my power to enlist a full company in this State, to effect which you may depend no pains shall be spared, as I feel particularly anxious to lend every aid in support of the Government under which I have the honour to serve.

With sincere regards I am

Dear Sir
Your Obliged and Very Humble Servant
John Hall

(Smith, 1917:8)

In reply to this letter, the Major Commandant wrote:
Lieutenant John Hall, Charleston:

Dear Sir, I hasten to answer yours of the 17th ult., having already answered your last of the 27th. You may enlist as many men as you can and as many drummers and fifers as possible. I do not care what country the drummers and fifers are of, but you must be careful not to enlist more foreigners than as one to three natives. You can make use of blacks and mulattoes while you recruit, but you cannot enlist them. If you can get any smart lads you can have them taught and then enter them as drummers and fifers, but we do not attend to the enlisting them by companies as they will never go, only by detachments.

Marines will be wanted very shortly at Charleston, and I hope you will be successful in raising your men. In your instructions you ordered not to enlist any men under 5 feet 6 inches, but I have thought proper to do away that order, as it is not so essential to have Marines of that size, so that is they are not too diminutive you may enlist of any size. I shall be very happy to hear of your success, and you must know, from the affection I bore your father, how dear you are to me.

Your Ob't sv't,

W. W. B.
M. C.

No commissions are issued yet, but you will see your name in some of the Philadelphia papers of 3d or 4th September, 1798 (Collum, 1890:44).

This direct relationship between the Major Commandant and his recruiting officers existed throughout the period. For example, in a letter to First Lieutenant James Weaver on 29 September 1798, Burrows listed the requirements for recruiting. Other correspondence of the time stated parts of these requirements, but Burrows put them all together for this newly appointed Lieutenant of Marines in Boston.

1. No Mullato, Negro or Indian is to be enlisted.
2. No man under 5 feet 4 inches to be enlisted. Drummers excepted, they are to be enlisted of any size or age if found.
3. Every recruit to be examined by a Physician; if
ruptured or otherwise disordered so as to be unfit for duty, he will be discharged, and the Office obliged to pay all the expenses.

4. Every recruit is to be advanced two dollars out of his Month's pay and every officer shall be allowed two dollars for enlisting such recruit, which is to be in lieu of every expense for swearing in, or treating them with drink at the time of enlistment.

5. At the time of Enlistment every man's height, age, complexion, hair, and any marks he may have are to be noticed, when he was born, when & where he enlisted, and by whom. If he deserts he must be immediately advertised. I wish you success. Marines to be enlisted for 3 years (McClellan, December 1920:12).

The recruiting headquarters of the time was located in Philadelphia, and recruiting rendezvous were opened by Burrows and his Marines in such places as Charleston, Boston, Baltimore, Norfolk, and Providence (McClellan, November 1920:12). The recruiters' lot was not an easy one. He was responsible for arranging suitable housing, laundry service, uniforms, rations, and arms for his new recruits. Some resourceful recruiters were able to enlist the help of the new recruits' wives to perform the laundry tasks of his Marines while living in barracks and consuming Government rations. He also had to train them as there were no recruit training depots as there are today (McClellan, 1925:13-14).

As inducements to persuade the young men of the country to enlist in the Marines, the recruiter offered prize money, exemption from arrest for debts or contracts, six dollars a month, and "more rations than they can normally eat" (as the Major Commandant wrote to one of his recruiting officers). Recruiting was difficult, but it appears that even then one of the major persuasive appeals was based on the uniqueness of the Marine Corps. Recruiting officers
used advertisements in newspapers and attended many public functions with their musics to "drum up enlistments" (McClellan, 1925:13). No money was allowed for cash inducements for enlistment such as bounties; however, due to the great difficulty in obtaining musics, Major Commandant Burrows assessed every officer $10.00 in late 1798 to form a U.S. Marine Band (Heinl, 1965:11), and some of these monies were later made available to recruiting officers to use as bounties to induce enlistments of musics. The limit of this "authorized" bounty paid to the musics was $10.00 or less (McClellan, July 1920:19).

Although the newly enlisted Marines were usually sent to sea or elsewhere soon after they were enlisted and trained, desertion was somewhat of a problem. The Major Commandant had his own ideas about curbing this tendency, and enjoined his recruiting officers to be sure to explain very clearly the meaning of desertion and mutiny to all new recruits and that these offenses would be punished by court martial and probably death. Keeping the recruits busy with drill, roll calls, and marching was another method he advocated recruiters to employ. He finally suggested that the recruiting officers limit the clothing issued to the new recruits to "a shirt and a pair of shoes and socks" for the first few days and withholding some of their pay (McClellan, 1925:14-15).

On 1 May of 1800, the Major Commandant was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel (Collum, 1890:270) and in July of that
year, Colonel Burrows moved the headquarters of the Marine Corps from Philadelphia to Washington in order that the Marines would be near to the Capitol and able to protect it. While riding with President Jefferson in March of 1801, the two men selected the site for the headquarters which was a block bounded by 8th and 9th and G and I Streets. This barracks, which was contracted for at four cents a square foot, is still in use by the Marine Corps, and the Marines stationed there are famous throughout the world for their parades and ceremonies (Heinl, 1965:12).

While these events were taking place, a war was in progress with the French. This conflict, which was basically naval in character, had begun in 1798 and had placed great demands on the naval forces of the new nation. "Marineing" the ships of the United States Navy had been somewhat difficult as has been indicated. The Marines fought in the naval engagements of this conflict as well as in landing parties when needed. Total strength, by the time peace came, was somewhere in the neighborhood of 1,085 officers and men (Collum, 1890:300). The preponderance of these forces were serving with the Navy aboard ships when peace with France was finally negotiated in February, 1801. Although not allowed to pass out of existence as had occurred after the War of the Revolution, the military forces of the United States were significantly reduced by an economy-minded President Jefferson on 21 May 1802. The Marine Corps was reduced to 479 officers and men (Metcalf, 1939:36). A young
officer, Second Lieutenant John Johnson, anticipating this reduction wrote the Commandant of the Corps on 30 October 1801 from his post on the Frigate Philadelphia which was then at Gibraltar. The quoted paragraph below from that letter indicates his concern for the reduction in forces he heard was coming.

I was yesterday informed by Mr. Kean that he had heard that the Marine Corps by orders of the President is to be reduced to 400 men and officers in proportion; if so I fear us 2d Lieutenants will fall victims to Mr. Jeffersons Administration - I have also heard that you were about to resign which I am extremly sorry for if you Remaine in the service it is my Ardent wish to be continued, and, I Flatter myself you as usual will be my Friend on the day of the selection of the officers that is to be continued; But if you decline - I care not how soon my reduction may take place (Smith, 1916:15).

It appears that Lieutenant Johnson's plea had some effect because he was retained, promoted to First Lieutenant on 1 June 1802, and resigned his commission in 1809 after serving for only nine years (Collum, 1890:276).

With the reduction in all the armed forces, the Marine Corps experienced little difficulty in recruiting during the period between 1801 and the War of 1812, and the Marines and the Navy were kept very busy during this period with the Barbary pirates in the Mediterranean. On 14 May 1801, Yusuf Caramanli, Bey of Tripoli, became angry because his demand for larger bribes to leave American commercial vessels alone was refused. He proceeded to cut down the flagpole in front of the American consulate and by doing so, declared war on the United States. This war with Tripoli lasted until June of 1805, and consisted primarily of naval
engagements in the Mediterranean between the United States Navy and the Tripolitan fleet of various ships and gunboats (Miller and Johnstone, 1965:43-46). The Marines, of course, participated in all these engagements, and in one major land engagement involving First Lieutenant Presley Neville O'Bannon and the squad of Marines he commanded. The campaign consisted of a 600 mile march from Alexandria to Derna (Yusuf's capitol) followed by a demand to surrender and a storming of the city under a naval bombardment provided by the U.S.S. Argus, Hornet, and Nautilus. This force consisted of Arabs, Greeks, Marines, and American diplomatic agent, William Eaton. The battle was a success and O'Bannon became the first American officer to raise the Stars and Stripes over a fortress in the Old World (Heinl, 1965:15-16).

A rather humorous recruiting incident occurred elsewhere in the Mediterranean during this war with Tripoli. Just prior to being relieved as the Commandant of the Marine Corps, Lieutenant Colonel Burrows wrote to Captain John Hall aboard the Constitution in the Mediterranean directing him "to enlist 14 good Musicians for the Marine Corps" in Italy. Captain Hall went ashore forthwith in Catania, Sicily, with a sergeant's guard and impressed a band of eighteen strolling musicians, including their families. Hall then wrote to the Commandant of his success at recruiting which was the custom of the day. Somehow, in the changing of Commandants, Burrows' correspondence to Hall had been lost and forgotten, and when the new Commandant, Lieutenant Colonel Franklin
Wharton, receiving Hall's report of success, he was very upset and immediately dispatched a reply which did not hide his displeasure.

I have received your letter....That part of it which relates to a band of music, I cannot comprehend. You observe the Commandant had ordered a band procured....He could not order it for the Corps. You then remark that you have engaged it....This must be equally incorrect. I have never given any orders for the collection of a band in the Mediterranean, and it will not be mentioned as belonging to the Corps. The expenses already arising, I am well assured, will not be paid. The Secretary of the Navy can never assent to two bands for one Corps (Heinl, 1965:16).

Hall and his Sicilians were already on their way back to Washington by this time, so nothing could be done by Hall to alter events. Prior to their arrival in Washington in late 1805, several other events transpired which created more difficulties for the little band and their officer. A new Secretary of the Navy, Robert Smith, had been appointed who was a fanatic for economy; the Marine Band funding had been changed from non-appropriated funding to appropriated funding, thus an illegal over-obligation was created by enlisting Hall's bandsmen; and, finally, Lieutenant Colonel Burrows, who had directed him to enlist the musics in the first place, died prior to Hall's return to Washington. Somehow, though, Hall was able to survive the storm his bandsmen created, was promoted to Major 8 June 1814, and left the Marine Corps at the time of the Peace Establishment Act of 18 April 1817 after nineteen years of service (Collum, 1890:275). The Sicilian bandsmen formed an "Italian Group" of the Marine Band until the band was disbanded in 1806.
One of the Sicilians, a twelve year old clarinetist, served in the Marine Corps for 47 years, finally becoming a sergeant major at Marine Corps Headquarters from 1832 to 1852 (Heinl, 1965:16).

During the period in our history between the wars with the Barbary corsairs and the outbreak of declared hostilities with Great Britain in 1812, Marines were fighting the Spanish and Indians in and around New Orleans and West Florida, and the men of the Corps also served with the Army, Navy, and Georgia volunteers in East Florida. This last expedition was a result of the United States Government's fear that Great Britain would take possession of this territory because of the weakness of the Spanish colonies there (Metcalf, 1939:48-51).

The only real experienced difficulty in recruiting during this relatively peaceful period was created by a rapidly fluctuating Corps strength which required rapid recruitment during periods of growth and practically no recruiting during periods of reductions. In a spirit of economy, President Jefferson would order reductions in strength, then something would flare up around the globe, and vessels of the Navy would need to be "Marined" on short notice. Recruits were not difficult to obtain, but the training of these newly enlisted Marines was another matter. The recruiters were limited in whom they could enlist during this time by certain requirements. The recruit had to be 5 feet 6 inches and foreigners would be enlisted. This
height limit was lowered by one inch when the rapid enlistment of one hundred Marines was required for a campaign in Florida in March, 1804, and at the same time, several ships needed Marines. There was an emphasis on not enlisting men while they were intoxicated, and if a man could prove this to be the case in his enlistment, he could obtain an immediate discharge. Malcontents whose problems stemmed from the distress of their families as a result of their service were also released. In 1805, another expansion was called for when President Jefferson directed the Secretary of the Navy, Robert Smith, to raise the strength of the Marine Corps to its legal limit of about 1,100 officers and men. The recruiting officers immediately set about their task vigorously, but never during this period reached the full legal limit (McClellan, 1925:21-23). As during the previous years of the existence of the Marine Corps, much of this recruiting was done by the Marine Guard Officer assigned to each ship or gunboat; however, recruiting was also a task of all Marine Barracks Commanding Officers such as those in Boston, Norfolk, and Philadelphia. These recruits would then be sent by packet and march to the Headquarters in Washington or possibly to the port where the ship they were assigned to was being readied for sailing (Anon., 1915:15).

On 3 March 1809, in anticipation of war with Great Britain, the Congress raised the authorized strength of the Marine Corps to 1,869 officers and men (Heinl, 1965:17) and increased the period of enlistment from three years to five
years (Miller and Johnstone, 1965:47). The Marine Recruiters went about their task looking for husky men who were American citizens to fill the Corps' rank to this new level. The officer with his drummer, fifer, and a small group of smartly dressed Marines paraded through the streets, stopping now and then so the officer could expound on the benefits of service in the Marine Corps. This was still the primary recruiting method, although newspaper advertisements and handbills were also used as an added persuasive method. Some of Lieutenant Colonel Wharton's recruiters were a little too zealous in their work to attain this new strength level as evidenced by a letter he wrote to Captain Anthony Gale on 17 August 1812 concerning a recruit named Baker enlisted by Gale. The Commandant wrote that "he would return him to Gale's command in order that Captain Gale might possess whatever rare qualities you have discovered in him at enlistment." Baker spoke no English, and the Commandant went on to tell Gale "to take no men who speak not English" (McClellan, 1925:12).

When war with Great Britain began formally on 18 June 1812, the Marine Corps, like the other services, was well under its authorized strength. The strength of the Corps on 30 June 1812, just after war was declared, was 493 officers and men (Miller and Johnstone, 1965:48). Half of this total was at sea with the remainder distributed among the Marine Barracks, in the field in East Florida and at New Orleans, and aboard one warship on Lake Ontario (Heinl, 1965:18).
The Marine Corps fought during the entire War of 1812 at about one third of its authorized strength (Miller and Johnston, 1965:48, 52, 57, and 60). An inducement in the form of a bounty of twenty dollars was authorized to be paid to recruits to spur enlistments, half at enlistment and the other half when the recruit was "mustered in" at Headquarters or when the recruiting officer, using his sound discretion, deemed it advisable. To further stimulate enlistments, the height requirement for recruits was reduced to between 5 feet 4 inches and 6 feet, the enlistment period was dropped back to three years, and foreigners were eligible although American citizens were more desirable. The age limits for recruits at the time were 21 to 45, and each recruit was required to pass a physical examination (McClellan, 1925:13-19).

The recruiting methods used during the War of 1812 did not differ from those already discussed. The Army with its bounties and short-term enlistments (eighteen months) made recruiting for the Marine Corps more difficult for the recruiters than in previous times (McClellan, 1925:18-20). To add to this difficulty, the war was very unpopular, and the nation had not yet developed a national spirit. For the most part, this meant that the people's first allegiance was to their individual states. The price paid for labor was also high which made service life even less attractive. All these went together to make recruiting very difficult. No national service was able to fill its ranks to the authorized
strength during the War of 1812 (Mefcalf, 1939:80). Because of these difficulties in recruiting sufficient numbers of men, the Marines were very thinly spread throughout this war with the British. They were stationed aboard the ships of the Navy and proved their worth in every major naval battle of the conflict, as well as on land when that was called for (Miller and Johnstone, 1965:48-61). The Marines of the United States, under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Franklin Wharton, were over-committed and under strength throughout the War of 1812. McClellan summarizes the performance of Marines during this conflict very well.

There never has been a war when the Marines did more, in proportion to their numbers, than in this war. The credit belongs to Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Franklin Wharton. He solved the problem of placing Marines upon about seventy naval vessels; of providing a strong battalion that participated in several land engagements including the Battle of Bladensburg; of having an efficient company at New Orleans ready for Commodore Daniel Todd Patterson and Major General Andrew Jackson to use in the defense of New Orleans; of developing a seasoned "expeditionary force" to support land operations of the Commodore Isaac Chauncey's Squadron in the Lake Ontario theatre of war; and of maintaining sufficient forces throughout the United States to carry on the usual naval and military mission of the Corps (1925:2-3).

1816 – 1845

The immediate post-war period saw the nation in a mood to reduce all armed forces, and the Marine Corps was no exception. The authorized strength was reduced to 1,000 officers and men on 23 January 1816, and on the following day, Secretary of the Navy Crowninshield directed the Commandant to cease all recruiting. Again in the following year, the authorized strength of the Corps was reduced to
49 officers and 865 enlisted men (Metcalf, 1939:81). This last reduction was accomplished by the Peace Establishment Act of 18 April 1817 (Collum, 1890:270). Many experienced officers and men were lost to the Corps as a result of this Act, but it did establish a permanent staff for the Commandant of the Adjutant and Inspector, the Quartermaster, and the Paymaster (Heinl, 1965:31-32).

In addition to the reductions in the Corps' strength mentioned above, the Commandant found himself in disfavor with both his officers and the President who urged him more than once to resign. The basis for a great deal of the bad feeling among the officers of the Corps was the fact that he had fled Washington with the Marine Corps' paymaster in the face of the British attack on that city, leaving the 114 Marines in the city under the command of Captain Samuel Miller who led them in the Battle of Bladensburg (Heinl, 1965:23-25, 31). Captain Archibald Henderson, after a petition for deposition had failed, preferred charges against the Commandant, and a court-martial ensued. The Commandant was acquitted of all charges on 22 September 1817, and remained in the office of the Commandant until his death on 1 September 1818. The office of the Commandant remained vacant from the death of Wharton until 3 March 1819 (Collum, 1890:270) with Brevet Major Archibald Henderson acting as Commandant while debate about the appointment of a new Commandant ensued. Major Anthony Gale, the senior officer of the Corps after Wharton died, was the subject of this debate.
The fact that he was a hot-head who had been in and out of trouble during his entire career was the cause of the debate; however, he was appointed Commandant on 3 March 1819, but did not change his ways. In no time at all, he was having heated arguments with the Secretary of the Navy, Smith Thompson, and the bad feelings this created and the fact that Gale drank to excess caused him to be cashiered by a Court-martial Board on 17 October 1820 (Heinl, 1965:32). On the same day, Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Henderson was appointed as Commandant and promoted to that rank. He would remain Commandant of the Marine Corps through thirty-nine years of the Corps' history until he died in office in 1859 (Collum, 1890:270).

As far as recruiting is concerned in this period shortly after the War of 1812, there was little, if any, accomplished. During June of 1819, there is evidence that indicates that a recruiting rendezvous was open and operating in Baltimore (McClellan, June 1920:19) and one also in Boston (Donnelly, 1969:4); however, in November, an edict went out from Headquarters stating that all recruiting would cease since the Corps was filled to its authorized strength (Donnelly, 1969:4). The recruiting methods used when recruiting was done were the same as have been discussed earlier.

It is during this period of time that there was a very serious threat made to the very existence of the Marine Corps. On 8 December 1829, President Andrew Jackson recommended to the Congress that the Marine Corps be dissolved and its personnel "be merged in the artillery or infantry." This
was proposed as a method of "curing the many defects in its organization." Hearings were held in the Congress during 1830, but they did not feel that the Marine Corps should be dissolved. On 30 June 1834, the Congress passed "An Act for the Better Organization of the Marine Corps." This Act established the Marine Corps as part of the Naval Establishment, increased the authorized strength of the Corps to 1,287 officers and men, prohibited Marine officers from commanding vessels or Navy yards, and promoted Commandant Henderson to full Colonel. President Jackson signed it into law, and the first serious challenge to the existence of the Marine Corps was ended. The relationships between the Navy and the Marine Corps established by this Act are still in existence today (Heinl, 1965:39-40).

Marine recruiting during the 1830's and 1840's until the outbreak of the Mexican Wars in 1846 was primarily oriented on the Atlantic Coast, and those enlisted were almost all of English descent (Metcalf, 1939:81). There was concern with getting "a few good men" to serve with the Marines, and "men" are what the Corps wanted. The correspondence of the times indicates that there were problems with enlisting minors. So much so, that Commandant Henderson wrote the Secretary of the Navy, M. Dickinson, on 17 March 1835 to request a policy decision. In his reply of 23 March 1835, Dickinson wrote:

Your letter of the 17th instant, as to the enlistment of Minors into the Marine Corps has been considered. In reply I have to remark, that Minors are not to be
enlisted without the consent of their parents, masters, or guardians (McClellan, March 1920:19).

The methods used in recruitment remained basically the same during this period of time with parading drums, fifes, and Marines traveling the streets of the principal cities "Drumming up recruits."

The active duty Marines of the time were busy throughout the world as well as at home. Regular detachments were stationed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Pensacola, Florida, and Norfolk. At home, the Marines aided in Boston during the great fire of 1824, and later that year with the riot in Charleston, Massachusetts. One incident gave the Marines a good deal of publicity for nearly seventy-five years. Thirty Marines led by Major R.R. Wainwright of Marine Barracks, Boston, quelled a riot of 283 inmates in the Massachusetts State Prison with a show of great courage and without firing a shot. The incident was included and described in McGuffey's Reader, which was used in American schools as a reader until just after the turn of the century (Metcalf, 1939:86-87). While these civil affairs were the concern of some of the Marines, others were fighting piracy in the West Indies and Sumatra, participating in exploration in the Pacific with the Wilkes expedition, landing in California, and finally distinguishing themselves under the command of their Commandant in the wars with the Creek Indians in Georgia at first and then with the Seminoles in Florida (Metcalf, 1939:88-105). These last campaigns have given rise to a legend about Colonel Commandant
Henderson. It is said he simply put a note on the front door of the Marine Corps Headquarters stating that he had

Gone to fight the Indians. Will be back when the war is over.

A. Henderson
Col. Comdt.
(Heinl, 1965:40-41)

1846 - 1860

At the outbreak of the War with Mexico in May, 1846, the Marine Corps had about 75% of its total strength assigned to sea duty (Metcalf, 1939:106), and recruiting was continuing in much the same manner as it had in the past. As a result of the war, the authorized strength was increased by 1,112 officers and men by an Act of Congress 2 March 1847 to help Commandant Henderson "Marine" the Navy's ships and to furnish some troops to fight on the land with the Army (Collum, 1890:300). The Mexican War found Marines fighting with both the Navy and the Army in Mexico, California, and Texas, as well as manning the posts of the Corps at home (Heinl, 1965:45-57). With most of the Corps' strength serving outside the United States and as a result of the increased authorized strength, recruiting became very active, and Commandant Henderson became concerned about the quality of the enlisted Marine. As a result, he published the first instructions for recruiters in 1847. These instructions were entitled Regulations for the Recruiting Service of the United States Marine Corps. These instructions began by saying: "No man is wanted who does not come voluntarily to the standard of his country" (Heinl, 1965:63). These
regulations followed very closely those issued in 1798 and listed on pages 20 and 21 of this thesis. They did include a new incentive by offering a two dollar bounty to the recruits' "bringer." The manual went on to state:

The Recruiting Officer will have his hair cut close to his head and cause him to be well washed from head to foot (Heinl, 1965:63, 621).

In relation to requirements, it would appear that only "Native Americans" of a height of at least 5 feet 8 inches were being enlisted in December, 1851, as evidenced by this letter from Brevet Major John G. Reynolds to the Commandant which in part says:

I shall in the future, confine the Enlistment to Native Americans of robust appearance and not under five feet, eight inches in height. I was under the impression the Corps was Short in number, some one hundred and forty Privates (McClellan, March 1920:20).

Captain W.L. Shuttleworth, on recruiting duty in New Orleans, also questioned the Commandant about enlisting aliens during November, 1854 (McClellan, May 1920:15-16). However, he recruited his quota of thirty privates by the 13th of the month and sent them off to Pensacola at a total cost to the Government of $307.00 (McClellan, June 1920:19-20).

Sergeant Major Edward Dunn, Retired, spoke in a very vivid manner in 1915 about recruiting in 1852. He was on recruiting duty in New York City at that time as a sixteen year old fifer.

Yes, sir, I was on recruiting duty in New York City in 1852. I was just off the old Pennsylvania, ship of the line. There was Captain Dulaney, the recruiting officer, the sergeant (I forgot his name), my drummer and me. Along in the morning about 10 o'clock, after
the crowds would get out on the street, the drummer
and I would put on our red full dress tunics, with
swallow tails, form a procession, and down the street
we'd go. Captain Dulaney had bought some bright
colored ribbons for the drummer and me which we tied
in bows on our arms and to the buttons on the sides
of our shakos, and when the wind blew we certainly
made a fine sight as we marched. Down Broadway to
the Battery, then up the Bowery and back to the ren-
dezvous on Chambers street, ribbons flying, and
playing quicksteps all the way. Then the Captain
would get up on a dry goods box in front of the
recruiting office and make a speech to the crowd,
telling them what a fine place the Marine Corps was
for a man and what a chance he would have to visit
foreign parts, and that's the way we got recruits in
those days (Shaw, 1915:4).

Edward Dunn progressed through thirty-six years of service in
the Marine Corps from his enlistment at fourteen years old
in 1850 until 1886 when he retired as a Sergeant Major of
the Marine Corps (Shaw, 1915:4-5).

It is during this period that the pay of the Marine
Corps private was raised to $7.00 per month. It is also
during this period that Captain John G. Reynolds produced
the earliest poster of which a copy was available while on
recruiting duty in New York, and this poster is Figure 2.4
on page 50 of this thesis. From the many letters Captain
Reynolds wrote, it appears he was on recruiting duty in the
New York area from at least 1851 through 1855. He was not
one to mince words about recruiting problems when he saw
them as evidenced by his letter to the Commandant already
quoted and this excerpt from one he wrote in February of
1852.

I consider it proper to call your attention to what
may be considered irregularities in the Enlistment of
Men, which to my Mind, has an Evil tendency - Men present
themselves at this Rendezvous for Enlistment are rejected.
for some known reason, afterwards they are accepted at
the Brooklyn Barracks - Now General, this, it seems to
me, is all wrong, and casts reflection upon the scrutiny
observed by me - Two instances have recently occurred,
the last was that of a man named James Fitzgerald who,
I understand, was dishonorably discharged at Boston, in
July or August last - this man I positively refused to
Enlist (McClellan, March 1920:20).

In 1854, Captain Reynolds complained to the Commandant that
the $7.00 a month pay for Marines was not enough because
the Army was offering $11.00 (McClellan, March 1920:19).
From these examples, it would appear that Brevet Major Rey-
nolds was an aggressive recruiter and very serious about his
job.

The nation as a whole was not very military minded
during this period; however, the international commerce was
expanding very rapidly and the commercial fleet of the United
States was very large. These commercial ventures created a
need for a strong Navy to support it, and, consequently, a
Marine Corps expansion was a part of this need. Marines
were employed in protecting American Lives and property
throughout the world, as well as being used for domestic
disturbances in the United States (Metcalf, 1939:167-190).

In 1859, Brevet Brigadier General Archibald Henderson
died after being in the office of Commandant for thirty-nine
years. Thus ended the "Henderson Era" which saw the Marine
Corps come out of its hazy status, nearly double in size,
and become the symbol in the eyes of the American people of
soldierly professionalism (Heinl, 1965:67-68). The day
after Henderson's death, Lieutenant Colonel John Harris was
appointed the new Colonel Commandant of the Marine Corps.
At the outbreak of actual serious hostilities between the North and the South on 21 July 1861 at the first Battle of Bull Run, the Marine Corps was not in very good condition to fight a war. Half of the Second Lieutenants, two-thirds of the First Lieutenants, and half of the Captains had resigned, and for the most part, the field grade officers were veterans of the War of 1812 and over sixty years old. The enlisted Marines, however, with very few exceptions, stood with the Union (Metcalf, 1939:192-193). The total strength of the Corps was 2,386 officers and men on 30 June 1861 (Miller and Johnstone, 1965:86). Due to the great age gap between the Marine officers in the field and those at Headquarters, a great deal of hostility developed between these factions during this period which was really not resolved completely until Commandant Harris died in office in 1864. The President exercised the power that the Congress had given him in 1862 to retire officers of over forty-five years of service or over sixty-two years of age, and retired all officers senior to Major Jacob Zeilin, appointing him the new Commandant (Metcalf, 1939:219).

The authorized strength of the Marine Corps was increased by executive order in 1861 to 93 officers and 4,074 enlisted men as a result of the war (Heinl, 1965:610); however, the strength of the Marine Corps never quite reached these figures and peaked out at 3,860 officers and men in June, 1865 (Miller and Johnstone, 1965:86-91). This strength
was in no way adequate to fill all the demands for Marines during the Civil War, and it fairly well relegated the services of the Marines to those which involved the Navy. Thus, the Marines participated in very few land battles during the war, although they did perform amphibious landings all along the coast of the Confederacy (Heinl, 1965:71-75). In attempting to fill the ranks of the Corps to perform these duties, recruiting methods that have been previously described were used during the Civil War. Although the Marine Corps did not use it, it was during this war that a national draft was first introduced. The Federal Government held the ultimate power over the draft, but it was controlled by the military. The draft machinery was used extensively to apprehend spies and deserters, as well as to coerce those who had not volunteered earlier. The draft had other shortcomings as well. The paying of a substitute was allowed, the volunteer recruitment system continued to operate, and the draft machinery was put into operation only in areas where volunteer quotas could not be met (Hershey, 1960:5). The Marine Corps received no direct benefit from this draft, and there is no apparent evidence to indicate that any pressure to enlist in the Marine Corps because of the draft existed. A letter written by Lieutenant Colonel Ward Marston, who was the commanding officer of the Marine Barracks in Boston on 2 April 1864, is evidence of this, and points out some other difficulties of recruiting during the Civil War. It was addressed to the Colonel Commandant
John Harris.

I would state that the Corps rests under many disadvantages. First, every other arm of the service has its rendezvous and runners to obtain recruits, and we have none, but if you would authorize me to open a rendezvous in Boston, and by frequently sending squads of Marines in full dress to parade about the city with music under charge of a Sergt., I think we would soon obtain our number. Another disadvantage is, a statement has been made in the public papers that seamen and Marines do not receive the bounty, whereas it should have been the U.S. Bounty; but they do receive State and town bounties. I enclose the piece alluded to.

The Provost Marshals of the ten districts have received instructions to recruit for the Corps, and I have sent them a number of blank Enlistments for them to fill up the descriptive list, and also for the Surgeon to sign the certificate, and in the remarks to state to what town and county they will be credited and to take duplicates, as the Adjt. Gen. of the State requires one. I have also had 100 hand-bills struck off to be distributed at the city rendezvous, and the districts in the state (McClellan, June 1920:20).

Lieutenant Colonel Marston was feeling the pinch of the lack of personnel to fill shore post commitment as well as his other "disadvantages."

At the close of this period and the end of the Civil War, the Marine Corps did not experience the drastic reductions that had occurred after earlier wars. The authorized strength remained the same, and there were now enough personnel to man the shore establishments, as well as meet the commitments aboard the ships of the Navy (Metcalf, 1939:223). It is at this point in history that another poster appears. It was used for recruiting at the Chicago Rendezvous by Lieutenant H.C. Cochrane. This poster is Figure 2.6 on page 52 of this thesis. Recruiting in general during 1866 appears to have been very successful, since the Commandant saw fit to instruct his recruiting officers
not to accept without special authority, any but those who have already been in the service, and young unmarried men of good character (McClellan, May 1920:17).

1867 - 1897

This period of history opened with another challenge to the existence of the Marine Corps. On 18 June 1866, the Congress had resolved that the Committee on Naval Affairs should consider abolishing the Marine Corps. Colonel Commandant Zeilin mustered his Navy supporters, and after six months of debates and hearings, the Committee reported the resolution out adversely on 21 February 1867, saying:

From the beginning, this Corps seems to have satisfactorily fulfilled the purposes of its organization, and no good reason appears either for abolishing it or transferring it to the Army; on the contrary, the organization as a separate Corps be preserved and strengthened...that its commanding officer shall hold the rank of a brigadier general (Heinl, 1965:87).

There were other unsuccessful challenges to the Corps' existence during this period, such as no pay for April, May, and June of 1877 (Heinl: 1965:98), and a conflict that developed between the Marine Corps and some naval officers led by Lieutenant William F. Fullam, U.S.S., in the 1890's (Heinl, 1965:101-106); however, the Corps weathered these storms while serving throughout the world and assisting civil authorities during strikes, epidemics, and whiskey raids at home (Heinl, 1965:87-97).

Recruiting was carried on in much the same manner as before until about 1889 when recruiting as it is known today came into existence (Donnelly, 1969:5). The abundance of
recruits which existed in 1866 did not hold true throughout this period. In 1880, Colonel Commandant Charles McCawley described the recruiting situation in his annual report on 23 October 1880:

Recruiting is carried on at the Recruiting Office in Philadelphia, Pa., and at the posts at New York, Boston, Mass., and Mare Island, Cal., but owing to the great prosperity now existing (work being plenty) - there is some difficulty in enlisting men fast enough to keep pace with discharges, etc. This, it is trusted however will not prevent us from enlisting a proper number of men as the advantages of the Service become better known (McClellan, June 1920:20).

The recruiting results were better in 1881, and in 1883, the Commandant directed that another rendezvous be opened in San Francisco (McClellan, June 1920:20). The young men of this time and up to the early 1890's who wanted to enlist in the Marine Corps, had to enlist for five years and were required to be between 18 and 35 years of age. The recruits had to be "able to read and write, of steady habits, unmarried, well made, sound as to senses and limbs, and of good health" (Collum, 1890:303). From 1885 on, the Marines were included under the Military Retirement Act which provided for non-disability retirement after thirty years of active service (Heinl, 1965:110). This fact provided the Marine Recruiters with another persuasive tool to use in recruiting.

1897 - 1900

In anticipation of the coming war with Spain, Congress had authorized an increase in the Marine Corps strength to 93 officers and 3,574 enlisted, but the Marine Corps
strength had reached only 77 officers and 2,900 men when the Spanish-American War broke out (Metcalf, 1939:253). By 30 June 1898, the Corps' strength was 3,579 Officers and men. These Marines played an important role in the naval actions of the war, either manning gun batteries aboard the ships or as landing parties (Miller and Johnstone, 1965:99-100). In 1889, even though the war had ended, another increase in the authorized strength of the Corps to 201 officers and 6,062 men came as a result of the Naval Personnel Bill (Heinl, 1965:610). In recruiting the men to fill this newly expanded Corps, the recruiting structure underwent some changes during this period. In 1899 - 1900, the first permanent recruiting stations were established in major cities throughout the country, with Lieutenant Colonel William P. Biddle being designated as the superintendent of recruiting for the Marine Corps. It is also during this period that the first centrally produced poster appears, and although it was not possible to date the poster in Figure 2.8 on page 54 of this thesis exactly, it is fairly certain that it is a product of this period because of the uniforms, pay, and other benefits printed on the poster. 1900 also began an era of publicity for the Marine Corps in an attempt to sell the Corps to the country (Donnelly, 1969:5).

As this new century dawned, Marines were serving throughout the world, and could look back on an illustrious history of being ready whenever the country had needed them,
A period of constant expansion of the Corps had started that would continue for nearly two decades.

POSTER ILLUSTRATIONS

The next few pages contain the posters and photographs which illustrate the rhetoric utilized in Marine Corps recruitment during the period of 1775 through 1900. Needless to say, posters which cover this period were difficult to obtain. However, the eight figures contained in the following pages do represent the general approach used during this period. A brief paragraph concerning each is placed under the figure to give a better understanding of the illustration.
Figure 2.1. Although this is not a poster, it is included because it illustrates the approach of "Drumming Up Recruits" which was used by Marine Corps recruiting officers during almost the entire period from 1775 through 1900. The picture depicts the assembly of the recruiting party in front of a rendezvous for the parade through the streets to induce enlistments. The photograph is from a painting by Bingham.
TO ALL BRAVE, HEALTHY, ABLE-BODIED, AND WELL
DISPOSED YOUNG MEN,
IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD, WHO HAVE ANY INCLINATION TO JOIN THE TROOPS,
NOW RAISING UNDER
GENERAL WASHINGTON,
FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE
LIBERTIES AND INDEPENDENCE
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Against the baleful devices of foreign enemies,
TAKE NOTICE,

This is an illustration of a broadside used
during the Revolutionary War to recruit men for Washington's
Army. It is not a Marine Corps poster, but does serve to
illustrate the overall rhetorical approach used in recruit-
ment posters during the War of the Revolution.
Figure 2.3. This Figure illustrates the colors of the Marine Corps that were presented to the Corps by the people of Washington and used when parading through the streets "drumming up" recruits.
Figure 2.4. This is the oldest datable Marine Corps recruiting poster obtained. It was used in the New York area by Captain John G. Reynolds during the 1850's while he was the recruiting officer there.
Figure 2.5. This figure depicts an advertisement used in Boston in 1864. Although the Marine Corps did not get recruits directly through the draft during the Civil War, it did utilize the various provost marshal's offices for recruiting as indicated by this advertisement. (McClellan, April 1920:19)
Figure 2.6. This is probably the most publicized old poster in the Marine Corps' historical files. Five hundred copies were printed by the recruiting station in Chicago during the summer of 1866 while Lieutenant Henry C. Cochrane was the recruiting officer.
Figure 2.7. This poster was somewhat difficult to date. The uniform depicted on this poster and on the one in Figure 2.8 was the uniform worn between 1885 and 1904. (Thacker, 1950: 38-39) It is reasonable to assume that the poster was produced and used in the late 1800's.
Figure 2.8. This is a variation of the poster in Figure 2.7. In looking closely at the context of the written material on this poster, it seems probable that this version was used after the Spanish-American War because of duty stations mentioned of which Manila is one. The overall format is very similar to the earlier posters already discussed.
AN ANALYSIS

The general tone of the recruiting approach used during this one hundred twenty five years remained nearly the same throughout. Handbills, broadsides, newspaper advertisements, and posters were used to let the public know what the Marine Corps had to offer. It does seem from the research that the real and basic recruiting approach was the somewhat emotional appeal of the drum, fife, and parading Marines to induce enlistment. The enlistment of these drummers and fifers, as well as other bandsmen, was very important and often difficult during this period as indicated by the volume of letters concerning them.

The rhetorical approach utilized in all of the posters appearing in this chapter of the thesis was basically the same. Able-bodied "Men" of good character appear on all the posters. This could have been and probably was interpreted as somewhat of a challenge to the young men of that time. The term Men was capitalized even when used in the text of the written statements on the posters. The term "Wanted" was very prominently used on all the posters which, in essence, would appear to be simply an attention arrester. It also indicated that the "Men" were "Wanted" by the Marine Corps.

It is interesting to note that all of the posters
obtained except one have a pay scale which depicts the total pay for the entire enlistment. This, of course, would tend to mislead the recruit if he did not read the whole text of the poster. This was particularly true of Captain Reynolds' poster depicted in Figure 2.4, page 50. The larger sum of money was certainly more appealing to the young man reading the poster than six or seven dollars a month. Except for this aspect, the pay depicted on the posters seems to be primarily of information value, and its persuasive value lies in its relation to the pay the man reading it is making or can anticipate making in the foreseeable future in his current work.

The other inducements, such as a pension if disabled, clothing allowance, rations, grog rations, quarters, fuel, medical attention, and after 1885, retirement after thirty years service, most certainly must have made the young men of the time look more favorably on enlisting in the Marine Corps. Their persuasive value, however, like the pay, would be affected to a great extent by the individual's status and prospects as a civilian.

It is felt that the primary persuasive appeal of the posters of this historical period was travel to far-reaching foreign stations and lands. Although this appeal was contained in the written text of all but one of the posters and implied by the picture of the Marines on board a ship in that one, this approach to the adventuresome young men of this period would have a very significant persuasive
appeal. The Marine Corps was offering reasonable pay and other rather significant inducements for the young man to travel over the seas of the world. Travel has been used as a major persuasive appeal in Marine Corps' recruitment posters over most of the years of the Corps' existence as will be seen.

The idea of advancement and thus more pay and responsibility was used in the posters in Figures 2.6, page 52, and 2.8, page 54. This, of course, is an appeal to the ambitious man who wishes to embark on a career that has prospects of advancement, and also, it is interesting to note that the Marines depicted in Figures 2.7, page 53, and 2.8, page 54, are nearly all non-commissioned officers which is a somewhat passive implication that promotions do come to those who deserve them.

These posters all have a last line which implies that there is more or other information available at the rendezvous. This statement requires action on the part of the prospective recruit, leading to the rendezvous to learn more about the Marine Corps. By the simple fact of going to the rendezvous, the possibility of enlistment could have been enhanced. According to Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance, the simple fact that the individual performed this action of going to the rendezvous publicly and voluntarily will create a need in him to support his actions, and thus reduce the dissonance created by the action. Following through with his initial action by enlisting in the Marines
would reduce this dissonance and bring his cognitive system more into balance or consonance. Utilizing this reasoning, the individual walking into the recruiting rendezvous would be more susceptible to the persuasion used by the recruiter than one who was approached on the street by the same recruiter. This same cognitive dissonance would be created when a young man follows the drum and fife and listens to the recruiting officer's words concerning the Corps. The public and voluntary action of following this parade would create dissonance, according to Festinger's theory, and make him more prone to enlist (Beisecker and Parson, 1972:55-58).

In closing this section, it is interesting to note that there was not a poster, handbill, broadside, or newspaper advertisement discovered except Figure 2.2, page 48, that utilized a patriotic appeal. In the age of the patriot, this seems unusual.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, the period of 1775 through 1900 has been discussed. The time period covered was rather long; however, the overall approach in recruitment and recruiting posters was relatively constant throughout. The chapter has attempted to give an adequate historical background concerning the Marine Corps and Marine Corps Recruitment through this 125 years of the Corps' history. The posters available to represent the rhetorical approach of this period were few, but it is felt that those used have provided a sufficient
and reasonable coverage of the 1775 through 1900 time frame.

In the following chapters, the time period will be reduced to twenty year increments, and the poster coverage will be much more detailed. It is during the period covered by the next chapter (1901 - 1920) that the poster really came into its own. It is during this period that the Marine Corps put forth a significant effort, through publicity, to sell the Corps to the nation. This effort, having its beginning in the early 1900's, is continuing today.
CHAPTER III
1901 - 1920
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1901 - 1915

Where our warships go, you'll find the Marines from the Spanish Main to the Orient. (Recruiting Poster, 1910)

As this page in history opens, Marines are still serving throughout the world. Major Littleton W.T. Waller and his command began their harrowing and ill-fated march across Samar in the far Pacific area; Marines are landed in Panama City, Columbia, to protect American lives and property; and Marines are active in the Caribbean (Miller and Johnstone, 1965:103-104). These types of operations are typical of the period covered by this entire chapter, and as will be seen later, even during World War I, Marines were scattered throughout the world fighting small scale insurgent type battles as well as being a part of the American Expeditionary Force in France.

As stated earlier in Chapter II, the Marine Corps is in a steady growth cycle. In keeping with this and to give the Corps the strength needed to meet its commitments, the Congress increased the authorized strength to 7,013 officers and men, and promoted the Commandant to Major General. Thus, Charles Heywood became the first Major General in the Marine Corps shortly before he retired and turned over the helm of the Corps to George F. Elliot, who just five years before
had been a Captain (Heinl, 1965:146-147). Other increases were made in the authorized strength in 1903, 1905, 1908, and 1912 to an end strength of 351 officers and 9,921 men (Heinl, 1965:611).

With these steady increases in authorized strengths, it was necessary to have an active recruiting effort. The enlistment period had been reduced to four years in 1901 which created a great many discharges in 1905 with everyone enlisted during 1900 and 1901 being discharged in the same year. This fact, coupled with an increase in the Corps' authorized strength in 1905, required a monumental effort on the part of the recruiters to fill up the ranks. Captain William Brackett wrote in an article in the Recruiters' Bulletin concerning recruiting in 1905 in the Minnesota District.

There was no book of recruiting instructions, paper work was complicated, and no one seemed to know much about the work, hence recruiting officers had to rely largely on common sense, make their own precedents, and learn their duties through hard work and mistakes.

We were allowed great sums of money for out-door display advertising, both painted signs and twelve sheet posters. Newspaper advertising was indulged in, and I feel sure that we secured much indirect benefit from these two forms of advertising (1915:3).

As an example of the vigorous and effective efforts put forth by the recruiters during 1905-1906, the Corps' total strength was increased by 1,207 men between 30 June 1905 and 30 June 1906 (Miller and Johnstone, 1965:109-110).

As an out-growth of the increased size of the Marine Corps which precipitated an increased effort in recruiting, a publicity bureau was established by Captain William C.
Harllee, the recruiting officer for the Chicago District. This was the first of its kind in the Marine Corps, and was equipped with a typewriter and a mimeograph machine. The recruiters stationed there wrote illustrated feature articles which described the advantages of enlisting in the U.S. Marine Corps. These articles were then distributed to newspapers throughout the district (Lindsay, 1956:9). This innovation of 1907 was the first organized effort to make "Marine" a household word for the American people.

While the Marine recruiters in Chicago and elsewhere were attempting to sell the Corps to the public, another attempt at dissolving the Marine Corps was made in 1908 - 1909. Fullam, now a Commander, gathered his forces and was supported by President Theodore Roosevelt and the Secretary of War, William Howard Taft. President Roosevelt, in the guise of an economy measure, directed the Secretary of the Navy to remove all Marines from all the ships of the Navy, and on 12 November 1908, signed an executive order which defined the duties of the Marine Corps, excluding intentionally the traditional duty aboard ships. The Congress came to the rescue of the Marine Corps again, and on 3 March 1909, put a rider on an appropriations bill that in effect put Marines back on the ships of the fleet. Thus, another challenge had been met again by the Corps and its "Friends" (Heinl, 1965:154-156). Whether these periodic attacks on the Marine Corps were rooted in jealousy, economy measures, or a dislike of the Corps itself cannot be determined. It
is probable that a combination of all these elements were present in each attack although economic reasons were usually used as the primary argumentative reason.

As a direct result of this attack on the existence of the Marine Corps and the years of sniping by President Taft and Fullam and his followers, the Marine Corps Association was formed on 25 April 1913. It was chartered for the purpose of recording and publishing the history of the Marine Corps; publishing a periodical journal for the dissemination of information concerning the aims, purposes and deeds of the Corps, and the interchange of ideas for the betterment and improvement of its officers and men (Heini, 1965:159).

Another result of the attack of 1908 - 1909 was the establishment of the Marine Corps Publicity Bureau by Commandant Biddle in New York in November, 1911. Its function was very similar to that of the local one set up in Chicago in 1907 except that it served the entire Marine Corps. The officer in charge was Captain H.C. Snyder who was the recruiting officer in the New York District. The guiding light for this new bureau, however, was Quartermaster Sergeant Thomas G. Sterrett (Lindsay, 1956:10-11). In 1912, this bureau published a thirty-two page recruiting pamphlet titled U.S. Marines which received wide distribution. With the constant increases in authorized strength of the Corps and a war looming in Europe, the challenge to the Recruiting Publicity Bureau was magnified. The results of their efforts are measured in enlistments and quotas filled. As will be seen, the bureau accomplished its tasks well (Lindsay, 1956:11-12).
The Marine Corps made an attempt to employ a professional advertising agency in 1912; however, the Senate deleted the request from the appropriation bill because it seemed an unnecessary expense (Lindsay, 1956:11). Therefore, the bureau and the recruiters throughout the country were forced to continue to be advertising men as well as recruiters in their efforts to persuade the young men of the country to enlist in the Marines. Even though the fountainhead of recruitment advertising was the Publicity Bureau, the pages of the Recruiters' Bulletin throughout its seven year existence are full of recruiting and recruitment advertising suggestions from recruiters throughout the country. Therefore, the fifteen Marines assigned to the bureau in 1914, when the first edition of the Bulletin was published in November, had a great deal of help from the field. The Bulletin flourished and received high praise from Marine and civilian alike until its publication was terminated as an economy measure in 1921 (Lindsay, 1956:36).

As 1915 was drawing to a close, the Recruiters' Bulletin announced in an editorial that the Publicity Bureau was embarking on a comprehensive press program so that the United States Marine Corps may be known in all parts of the country wherever newspapers are published, and that the general public may know the "Soldiers of the Sea" for what they really are, a fully equipped press department has been established at the Publicity Bureau and is prepared to furnish to the newspapers of the United States the necessary illuminating matter. Trained writers will prepare a free news and feature service for the press, and to those newspapers having engraving facilities, photographs with which to illustrate the stories, will be furnished. Twenty thousand papers throughout the
states will be supplied with this free service, and, while the feature stories will be "embroidered" to win space, the "news" will be touched up only enough to add local color and to "put across" the points that the Marine Corps is a separate, distinct branch of the allied services, that an enlistment offers excitement and adventure, and that every old Tom, Dick and Harry isn't eligible to enter its ranks. Through this medium it is thought that the reading public will become as familiar with the Marine Corps as it now is with the Army and Navy, and, because of this publicity campaign, it is hoped that the orator and editor will be forced always to include the Marines when they speak and write of "our gallant soldiers and sailors" to the utter exclusion of the oldest branch of the service, as is usually the case.

Here in writing is the aim of Marine Corps recruitment advertising that really began at the turn of the century and became more and more intensified as time progressed. As a result of this, Marine Corps recruitment held its own throughout this period even though jobs were plentiful and wages were high. It would appear, then, that selling the Marine Corps in the way described above was successful at this time in history (Editorial, September 1915:10).

Before summarizing this segment of the historical tracing, it is interesting to note a new and different method of poster advertising begin to appear and grow. Figure 3.4 on page 77 of this thesis is an example of this. It was called "Cooperative Advertising." It appears to have been first tried in Bloomington, Illinois by Sergeant Bernard E. Baker, who produced a poster indicating that the Marines Wanted Men and further information could be obtained at any of the business establishments listed below on the poster. According to Baker, this system was very effective (1915:5).
To summarize the happenings of this period (1901 - 1915) seems appropriate before going on. Marines were serving their country throughout the world as they had in the past. They were always ready when the nation called. The general rhetorical approach of recruitment advertising was one of selling the Corps to the public, and this theme was carried out by first, the individual recruiters, then the Chicago Publicity Bureau in 1907, and at the close of the period, by the Marine Corps Publicity Bureau which was established in New York in 1911. The theme was apparently successful because, as the Corps continually expanded, the ranks were filled in spite of a healthy job market. The Corps had also survived another onslaught by Fullam and those who wished to abolish the Corps.

1916 - 1920

This period, of course, is dominated by World War I. From the beginning of hostilities in Europe in 1914, it seemed inevitable that the United States would become actively involved. A small increase in the Corps' authorized strength was enacted early in 1916; however, on 29 August 1916, the Marine Corps' authorized strength was significantly increased to 649 officers and 14,981 enlisted men by the National Defense Act. Two increases in strength were authorized during 1917 and the authorized strength of the Corps on 6 April 1917, when the United States entered World War I, was 419 officers and 13,000 enlisted men (Heinl, 1965: 611). By 30 June 1917, this strength had been doubled and
more to 27,749 officers and men (Miller and Johnstone, 1965:119). The efforts put forth by the Publicity Bureau and the Marine recruiters throughout the country paid dividends. The recruiting stations were stormed by many more applicants than could be accepted. In only a few weeks, the authorized strength of the Corps was reached, and an additional substantial increase was requested. Three hundred students of the University of Minnesota enlisted en masse, and even successful business and professional men were enlisting as privates with no assignment or promotion promises being given (Metcalf, 1939:455). The Corps had apparently been sold to the public.

During the year prior to this deluge of recruits, automobile recruiting had been introduced with great effectiveness by both Atlanta and Boston Recruiting Districts. An automobile with numerous recruiting posters attached to it traveled these districts on a scheduled basis with the capability of enlisting young men on the spot. The schedule was published and distributed ahead of time so that it was known at least a week in advance when and where this traveling recruiting station would be (Colvocoresses and Doherty, 1916:1-3). Business firms allowed Marine recruiters to place signs, posters, and displays in ever increasing numbers. The International and Great Northern Railway directed that the diamond placard depicted in Figure 3.7 on page 80 of this thesis be "placed by the agents in conspicuous places in depots and other places in their cities to
aid Marine Corps recruiting" (Anon., 1916:30). Window displays of Marine scenes were used through the country, and the business communities were grateful to be a part of the recruiting effort. An example of this is the following letter.

Houston, Texas, June 15, 1916

Lt. C. McCauley,  
Officer In Charge,  
Local Marine Recruiting Station,  
City,

Dear Sir:  
We wish to express our sincere appreciation of your kindness in allowing us the Marine equipment for display in our window on "Preparedness Day." We might mention that this display was viewed by thousands and no doubt resulted to our benefit as well as the Marine Corps, which you represent.

Assuring you of our appreciation, and best regards, we remain

Very respectfully,

Foley Bros. D.G. Co.  
(McCauley, 1916:31)

One tobacco firm advertising man was a little over zealous, and ran an advertisement in the New York Journal in the summer of 1916 which had the appearance of a news item. "U.S. Marine Sweeps The Streets of New York" was the headline in eighteen point type. Upon investigation, it was found to be cut plug tobacco named U.S. Marine. Needless to say, the Publicity Bureau immediately began diplomatic negotiations with the company to see that the next time it "sounded right" when it was used (Rowell, 1916:16).

These methods and approaches led up to the mass enlistments that were encountered by the Marine Corps in
April of 1917. The Marine Corps Recruiting Bureau and the recruiters had done their job well and continued to perform in the same manner throughout the conflict. The Bulletin remained a clearing house for new ideas for recruiting and recruitment advertising.

About a month after war was declared, the Selective Service Act of 1917 was enacted on 18 May (Hershey, 1960:7); however, the Marine Corps continued to take only volunteers until ordered by the President to stop recruiting on 8 August 1918.

The old policy of making appeals for men by recruiting rallies and recruiting publicity has been abandoned (Barnette, 1918:6). The Marine Corps then received its "volunteers" through the Selective Service System beginning in October of 1918, but only inducted 7,088 men before the armistice and none of these men saw any combat (Metcalf, 1939:456).

Two other events of note occurred during this period. The first is that necessary legislation to establish a Marine Corps Reserve was enacted in 1914. This organization was just beginning to function when the war came and the reserves were all activated (thirty-six officers and men). During the war, their number increased to a total strength of about 6,773. The other significant event was enlisting of women in this reserve component to perform only limited duty, such as clerical work. Approximately 250 women enlisted and became "Marinettes" before the time of the armistice. During the demobilization, the Reserves,
including the women, were transferred to an inactive status very rapidly (Metcalf, 1939:551).

With the end of the war, the demobilization occurred; however, the authorized strength of the Marine Corps was not reduced until 1919 (Metcalf, 1939:540). The Marine Corps did reduce its actual strength so that by 1920, there were 1,104 officers and 16,061 enlisted men on active duty (Miller and Johnstone, 1965:22). At this time, the Corps found itself with three permanent bases of its own (Quantico, San Diego, and Parris Island) for the first time in its history, and with a significant reduction in foreign commitments, the Corps was able to man these posts and maintain a rather sizeable expeditionary force in the United States. This respite, however, did not last long, for these forces were soon to be needed in places like Nicaragua, Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin, and South America. To add one final note to these events, the Marine Corps had also taken to the air during the war and now had an air arm, becoming thereby a three-in-one service (Miller and Johnstone, 1965:122-123).

Recruiting, necessarily, took a new approach in 1919 and 1920. The "First to Fight" and "We Kill or Get Killed" no longer had a persuasive appeal to the young men of our peaceful nation. With the demobilization came reduced recruiting quotas; however, the need still existed to recruit some new men to fill the ranks of the reduced Corps of Marines. Travel was very widely used and was the primary rhetorical approach of the posters of this time (Sterrett,
1919:8). The pictorial poster depicting these travel opportunities was used extensively (Fegan, 1920:2). The Commandant, John A. Lejeune, sent this letter to his recruiters via the Recruiters' Bulletin in November, 1920.

A quota of 1600 actual enlistments has been assigned to the Recruiting Service for the current month.

Recruiting Officers! Show your initiatives, put the fighting spirit into your men, and every officer and man work for this quota as if the entire responsibility for success rested on each one of you alone. There can be no reason or excuse for failure.

I desire that all Recruiting Officers shall hold themselves responsible for the work of their subordinates and raise the standards by active, patient, intelligent instruction, and by constructive leadership.

I am convinced that our Recruiting Service, as at present organized, can produce this quota and it is so directed. The quotas assigned are well within the natural possibilities of each Division and District as producing centers and are to be regarded as a minimum of satisfactory production.

(Signed) John A. Lejeune

To summarize the base for present day recruiting methods was established during this period of Marine Corps history. The specific rhetorical appeal will change many times as it has during this period; however, the methods used--the posters, the billboards, and the cooperative advertising--will remain nearly the same. The Marine Corps in a sense has come of age, and a great deal of the credit for this can be attributed to the intense publicity campaign undertaken by the Recruiting Publicity Bureau in 1915. The Corps and its globe, anchor, and eagle are known and respected throughout the nation and the world (Wolff, 1918: 5-6).
POSTER ILLUSTRATIONS

There are twenty-seven poster illustrations included in the body of this chapter. The remainder of the illustrations found for this period are contained in Appendix A. The preponderance of the posters illustrated are those that were used on a nation wide basis; however, a few like Figure 3.9 were local and sent to the Publicity Bureau as a suggestion. The posters included in this chapter should give an adequate sampling of the rhetorical approach used during the period from 1901 through 1920. Appendix A contains some newspaper and billboard illustrations, as well as posters, to give an even broader coverage of the rhetorical approach used in Marine Corps recruitment advertising during the period covered by this chapter.
Figure 3.1. This poster uses the theme of travel as the predominant appeal. It was used during the early 1900's. Figure A-1, page 191, depicts the same approach and is of the same era.
Figure 3.2. This poster uses travel as a theme; however, it includes some Marines at work shots as well as travel pictures. It was produced in the early 1900's prior to 1910.
Figure 3.3. This poster stresses the two-in-one service and travel as well as the picture of Marines landing on an apparently hostile beach.
Figure 3.4. This poster is an example of the cooperative advertising. It was used in Bloomington, Illinois, in 1915 (Baker, 1915:5). Other examples of this approach are contained in Appendix A.
Figure 3.5. This is Howard Chandler Christy's "honey girl." It was first used in 1915, but had many re-issues during the war. It is the only Marine poster of this period that depicted a female (Karesh, 1971: 17).
Figure 3.6. This is the diamond placard discussed on pages 68-69. It was suggested by First Lieutenant McCauley of the Southwest Recruiting District and was distributed in June, 1916 (McCauley, June 1916:17).
WARNING!

Do Not Join the United States Marine Corps !!!

Unless you are thoroughly convinced that it is a good thing for you to do. It’s a two-in-one service—both naval and military—and Marines are but soldiers who go to sea and serve the flag in all parts of the world.

Don’t Enlist Blindly

Get first-hand information about the pay and opportunities offered by the “First Line of Defense,” at the Recruiting Station.

24 East 23rd Street, New York.

Figure 3.7. The beginning of the patriotic approach as a supplement to that of travel is depicted here. It was issued by the Publicity Bureau in July, 1916.
Figure 3.8. This poster was suggested by Sergeant Clarence H. Robinson, but the idea was never adopted. It envisioned the use of a real clock, thermometer, and barometer with pictures in the space at each side of the thermometer (Robinson, 1916:20).
Figure 3.9. This handbill was suggested by Captain William Brackett of the District of Chicago. It was printed and distributed in November, 1916 (Brackett, 1916:18).
Figure 3.10. This is one of the first of the "First to Fight" posters that were used throughout the war. As can readily be seen, it presents a challenge. This particular poster was published in 1917. The artist was Sidney H. Riesenber (Anon., 1917:4). See also Figures A-16, page 206, and A-17, page 207.
Figure 3.11. This is a James Montgomery Flagg poster that was published in 1917 (Karesh, 1971:23-24).
Figure 3.12. This poster uses the old theme "Spirit of '76" and brings it up to 1917. The appeal, of course, is definitely patriotic. See also Figures A-13, page 203, and 4.6, page 120.
Figure 3.13. This poster is another 1917 printing that was used throughout the war.
Figure 3. This is "walking John" who was painted by Sidney Riesenber in March of 1917. The model was Chester Arthur Zeller who was used in many posters of this time because "he had correct proportions and the air of a true soldier." The skyline in the background is Washington, D.C., with the Marine Barracks at 8th and I in the foreground (Karesh, 1917:17-18).
Figure 3.15. This poster is attributed to Private First Class Paul Woyshner of the Marine Corps Publicity Bureau Art Department. It was one of the first posters produced after the United States entered World War I (Karesh, 1971:21).
Figure 3.16. This poster was painted by Woolf. The Marines were given the nickname of "Devil Dogs" because of their fierce fighting in France (Marine Corps, 1960:11).
Figure 3.17. This is another James Montgomery Flagg poster which was published in 1918. This poster inspired songs using "Tell it to the Marines" as a theme by Al Jolson and Gus Edwards. When they sang it, they jerked off their coats as the citizen in the poster does (Karesh, 1971:27-28).
Figure 3.18. This is an example of cooperative advertising. The Marine and the background are a poster of the time and the same as that used in Figure 3.26; however, the U.S. Marine Sundae was an innovation of a St. Paul, Minnesota, soda fountain. It was said to be very popular with the ladies (Anon., 1918:11).
Figure 3.19. This is a Bruce Moore painting in the center and all four profiles are of Zeller. The painting was made and first used in 1910, but was revived and received much wider distribution (Karesh, 1971:20). See also Figure A-10, page 200.
Figure 3.20. This is not a poster produced by the Marine Corps. First Sergeant L.W. Ahl visited many of the candidates for a primary election in St. Paul, Minnesota. All of those who had not ordered their campaign literature such as posters, handbills, cards, etc. agreed to put "Join the Marines" on it. This is a sample (Ahl, 1918:29).
Figure 3.21. This poster and its companion poster (Figure A-18, page 208) were the innovation of Sergeant Harry E. Christian in Wheeling, West Virginia. He had received some torn posters, repaired them as shown above, and distributed them during the Christmas Season of 1919. He had excellent results in placing them in cigar and notion stores throughout Wheeling (Christian, 1917:46).
Figure 3.22. This is a newspaper advertisement put together by the recruiters of the New York District (Anon., September 1919:8).
Figure 3.23. This is a post war James Montgomery Flagg poster. It received wide distribution beginning in 1919.
Figure 3.24. This banner was displayed in New Orleans, Louisiana, in early 1919. The "Devil Dog" nickname with the bulldog apparently still had their appeal (Anon., February 1919:1). The English Bulldog is still the mascot of the Corps. Chesty lives at the Marine Barracks at 8th and I in Washington, D.C. Other "Devil Dog" billboards are contained in Appendix A.
Figure 3.25. This map of the world showing places where Marines serve has been used extensively since its first suggestion in 1916 by Sergeant Roesch of the Detroit District (Roesch, 1916:19). It is still used and there are many more red stars. The above map was published in 1919. See also Figures A-8, page 198, and A-29, page 219.
Figure 3.26. This poster appeared in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in the spring of 1919 "where Milwaukee folks may read" (Anon., April 1919: 21).
Figure 3.27. This poster and its companion (Figure A-31, page 221) were produced for the Centennial of the Maine which began 27 June 1920 (Hoadley, 1920:17).
AN ANALYSIS

The posters of this period demonstrate exceptionally well the impact of a major war on the rhetoric of recruitment advertising. Initially, the posters stressed the idea of adventure and travel to foreign lands. In almost all, the Orient was either mentioned or depicted. The Orient seems to have had an air of mystery attached to it that would appeal to the adventuresome young man of the day. This air of mystery associated with the Orient would seem to stem from the fact that their customs and traditions are radically different from those of the Western World and the fact that the Orient was really not open to the rest of the world as a whole. Even though Perry and his expedition of the early 1850's traveled the Orient extensively and Marines had fought in China and Korea, the general public knew very little about the nations of the Far East (Parke:, 1970:18-20). This lack of knowledge was used to advantage in the rhetoric of Marine Corps recruitment advertising in the period of 1901 through 1914 and again immediately after the war. As the war broke out in Europe, the theme of travel and adventure began to be supplemented with a patriotic appeal beginning with Christy's "honey girl" poster in 1915 (Figure 3.5, page 78). By 1916, when the poster illustrated in Figure 3.7 on page 30 of this thesis was published, the
patriotic appeal became the more dominant theme. When the United States entered the War in April of 1917, the rhetoric immediately changed to that of appealing to the individual judgement and personal responsibility of the citizen. The "Do Your Duty" poster depicted in Figure 3.15 on page 88 was published by the Recruiting Publicity Bureau in New York on the day the United States entered the conflict (Kar-esh, 1971:15-16). The posters became more and more emotional in their appeal. In fact, the later ones, like Figures 3.16, page 89, and 3.17, page 90, were very emotional and distinctly indicate an attempt to vilify the enemy. A need seems to be present in time of war to ridicule the enemy and make him ominous. This may very well be a method of necessary rationalization which makes it acceptable and even strongly advisable to the public to kill the enemy because of atrocities he has perpetrated or because he is no better than a wild, mad animal that must be eliminated for the good of the world (Judd, 1973:34-35). Posters like those cited above tend to perform this function, and persisted until the armistice was announced on 11 November 1918. Then, very abruptly, the theme shifted once more to travel and adventure as indicated by the poster depicted in Figure 3.19, page 92, which was revived from the 1910 - 1915 era. Thus, the cycle had run full circle during this period in history.

Running throughout this period was the constant and continuous effort by the Publicity Bureau and the recruiters
to put the name and the emblem of the United States Marine Corps before the people of the nation. The uniqueness of the Corps, first as a two-in-one service (on land and sea) and then as a three-in-one service (on land, sea, and in the air), was stressed throughout the period. Directly associated with this effort was the publicizing of the fact that the Marine Corps was a separate service. There was an Army; there was a Navy; and there was a Marine Corps that was the "First to Fight," whose men were named "Devil Dogs" by the Germans, that "Killed or Got Killed" in close combat. If the young man of 1917 and 1918 wanted to kill the "Huns" and get there in the best and fastest way, he must enlist in and be accepted by the Marine Corps. The idea that not everyone could be a Marine was also subtly displayed in these posters by inference. They issued a challenge to the young men of the time to try to become a Marine (Wolff, 1918: 5). In this manner, the rhetoric of Marine Corps recruitment poster advertising acted as a selling device for the Corps as a whole and provided an inducement to the young men of this period to enlist voluntarily.

In reviewing the poster illustrations contained in this chapter and in Appendix A produced and used during World War I, it appears that the appeal can be explained by Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance. It appears that the type of young men the Marine Corps was looking for to fight in France were those in which a psychological imbalance would be created by looking at and reading a
poster like that one depicted in Figure 3.17, page 90. The resolution of this imbalance or cognitive dissonance would be accomplished by enlisting in the Marine Corps (Beisecker and Parson, 1972:55). This particular area deserves a great deal more research and investigation than is possible in this thesis. It is felt that this suggests an area for further study by the author or by other students of persuasion.

It is interesting to note the subtle hint of advancement to the Non-commissioned Officer ranks is again present in all the poster illustrations of this period depicting Marines. Even Christy's "honey girl" is depicted as a sergeant.

Before closing this analysis, some more general observations are in order related to the questions to be answered by this thesis. For the first time in this work, there were enough poster illustrations obtainable to indicate that the rhetorical approach used in Marine Corps recruitment poster advertising is affected by a war of national magnitude. This change in rhetorical approach is amply illustrated by the figures in this chapter. It also appears that the use or presence of a selective service system like the draft has little or no impact on recruitment rhetoric. The draft was present beginning in June, 1917 (Hershey, 1960:7-8), for the Army and the Navy, while the Marine Corps began receiving draftees only a few weeks before the War ended. No visible change in the rhetorical
approach is present in the poster illustrations obtained as a result of the presence of this selective service program.

SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the recruitment history of the United States Marine Corps from 1901 through 1920. The poster illustrations that were obtained for this period are more than adequate to illustrate the rhetorical approach utilized for Marine Corps recruitment of enlisted men. The focus during the peaceful periods of this chapter in history was on travel and adventure, while during the War, the focus changed to patriotism, responsibility, and judgement. Finally, in the analysis of the posters of the period, it was noted that the rhetorical approach used on posters is affected by a war time atmosphere; however, no effect was ascertainable as a result of the draft.

In looking forward, Chapter IV will be devoted to the 1921 through 1940 period. This period is, for the most part, peaceful in nature inasmuch as the United States is not involved in a conflict of national interest; however, as the war clouds gather over Europe in the late 1930's, the national atmosphere begins to change. Needless to say, the Marine Corps was busy protecting the national interests throughout the world during the period covered by the next chapter.
CHAPTER IV

1921 - 1940
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A Marine's Creed

It is my destiny to serve in obscurity most of my life awaiting a crisis that may never occur. It is my trust to know the solution if the crisis does occur. It is my duty to constantly give all that I have for my country and my corps. (Author Unknown)

The above quotation seems to be particularly apropos for this period in the history of the Marine Corps. The nation as a whole was in the throes of an extended period of peace, and the military forces were certainly not in the forefront. It was during this period of relative peace, however, that the Marine Corps developed the doctrine for amphibious warfare that would be used so extensively during World War II. Training, maneuvers, and joint exercises dominated the Corps during the last half of the 1930's; in other words, preparing for a crisis if it should occur (Tyson, 1965:1-5).

As this period opens, the authorized strength of the Marine Corps was 1,094 officers and 27,400 enlisted men (Heinl, 1965:611); however, this total strength was not reached at any time during this period except in the last year after a "limited national emergency" was proclaimed by President Roosevelt on 8 September 1939 (Tyson, 1965:5). The strength of the Corps hovered in the neighborhood of 19,000 officers and men except for a low of nearly 16,000
which was produced by economy measures introduced during the depression in 1932 and 1933 (Miller and Johnstone, 1965:128-129). The Congress and the President were able to manipulate the strength of all the military services by adjustments in appropriations. Thus, the Marine Corps was kept at its low strength by not having enough funds to maintain any more (Metcalf, 1939:540). This particular method seemed to be aimed directly at the Marine Corps in 1933, 1934, and 1935, for the Army had not been reduced at all and the Navy was reduced by something less than 5.6%, while the Marine Corps had been reduced by nearly 24%. The Commandant and "friends of Marines" interpreted this as an attempt by President Hoover to abolish the Corps in stages and to transfer what was left to the Army. The public, the press, and the Congress as a whole were made aware of this threat to the existence of the Marine Corps. The reaction was immediate, and Hoover's attempt to further reduce the Corps by means of the budget was stopped by the Congress (Heinl, 1965:296-297).

In 1935, the strength began to climb again, although slowly, until the buildup just prior to the war began in 1939 (Tyson, 1965:1-4).

Even though this was a period of peace, the Marine Corps was kept very busy abroad until 1933. Marines were engaged in conflicts in Cuba, China, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Haiti during the 1920's and early 1930's (Miller and Johnstone, 1965:122-129). With the exception of China where Marines were engaged until the late 1930's, the Corps was
able to concentrate on training after 1933. Marines were called upon at home to help in civil disasters, riots, and the like throughout the period, and on two occasions were even utilized to guard the mails. First in 1921 and again in 1926, Marines were called upon by the President to protect the U.S. Mail because of frequent robberies. They were told that "if attacked, shoot and shoot to kill." On both of these occasions, the robberies stopped very abruptly (Heinl, 1965:251-252).

Two milestones, both of which had some bearing on recruitment, were passed during this period. The event which most directly relates to recruiting was that of the establishment of the Marine Corps Institute on 2 February 1920. This Institute is still in existence today, and it gives the Marine an opportunity to complete or at least advance his education by correspondence work. This educational opportunity was used successfully as a recruitment inducement throughout the period (Metcalf, 1939:526). A fact which added a degree of credibility to this new Institute and to a degree increased its usefulness as a persuasive tool in recruiting was the fact that the Secretary of the Navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt, became a student of the Institute in June, 1920. This fact is evidenced by the letter he wrote to Lieutenant Colonel W.C. Harllee on 2 June 1920 after he had received his textbooks.

Many thanks for sending me the textbooks. My daughter and I are going to get busy on them this summer and I am proud to be a student of your university.
The second milestone relevant to Marine manpower was the establishment of the Marine Corps Reserve by an Act of Congress on 28 July 1925. This enables the Marine Corps to have men available for rapid expansion during wartime without maintaining a large peacetime force on active duty (Parker, 1970:49-50). The original Act was superceded in 1938 by the Naval Reserve Act which reorganized the Reserve into a Fleet Marine Corps Reserve and an Organized Marine Corps Reserve. The Fleet Marine Corps Reserve is composed of those men who have served on active duty in the Marine Corps, but are no longer on active duty. The Organized Marine Corps Reserve is made up of men organized into units and who drill and go to summer camps, generally keeping abreast of current policies and doctrines of the regular forces. This general structure is still in existence today and provides trained officers and men to augment the regular Marine Corps in times of national emergency. The filling of the ranks of this Reserve was from the outset a difficult task; this subject, however, is outside the scope of this thesis and will not be treated here. Suffice it to say the filling of the ranks of the Marine Corps Reserves went relatively slowly to begin with, but picked up momentum, particularly in the late 1930's (Metcalf, 1939:551-552).

Recruiting during the period of 1921 to 1940 used the same general methods as described previously. The recruitment rhetoric changed immediately after World War I to one stressing travel and adventure, but with the overall
force reduction which occurred with the end of hostilities, recruiting was not very active. In fact, there is some evidence to indicate that recruiting ceased altogether in 1919 and 1920 and did not resume in earnest until 1921. Recruiting efforts were intensified at this point, and appear to have remained relatively constant throughout the remainder of the period. Publicity through news releases and an active effort on the part of recruiters and the Recruiting Bureau to keep the Corps in the limelight were the main approaches used. In this light, publicity created by the conflicts in China and Nicaragua gave a significant boost to the recruiting effort in 1927. So much so that the Commandant was forced to instruct his recruiters not to make promises to the recruits that they would serve there during their enlistments. They were told to stress the "routine life" of a Marine, and the Commandant even went so far as to require that his recruiters ensure that

leaflets explaining routine life at both recruit depots are appended to travel orders of every applicant and recruiters are impresses with the cardinal principle that the service must at all times be honestly explained to applicants (Lejeune, 1927:1-2).

The Recruiting Bureau and the Publicity Bureau were moved from New York to the Philadelphia Navy Yard which was rent-free Federal property in 1924 as an economy measure which seemed to be a keynote throughout this period (Lejeune, 1925:2-3). Moving as many other recruiting stations as possible into Federal buildings or onto Government property further reduced the costs involved with rental property
required by the Corps (Lejeune, 1924:2). To coordinate the publicity efforts of the Marine Corps as a whole, a Publicity Officer was assigned to Headquarters, Marine Corps, for the first time on 3 September 1925. Major Joseph C. Fegan was assigned to this billet and worked at the tasks associated with Marine Corps publicity for slightly over a year before the billet was formally designated by the Commandant on 21 September 1925. These first formal instructions were contained in a Headquarters Memorandum which began with this paragraph:

The future success of the Marine Corps depends on two factors: First, an efficient performance of all the duties to which its officers and men may be assigned; second, promptly bringing this efficiency to the attention of the proper officials of the Government and the American People (Lindsay, 1956:38).

Fegan accomplished this with the help of the Recruiting Bureau and a national news structure that was willing to publish stories that cost it nothing to obtain. The significance of Fegan's service is illustrated by the fact that when he left in 1929 for duty in Haiti, three officers were assigned to take his place (Lindsay, 1956:40-41). Publicity played a very important role throughout the period in keeping the Marine Corps before the public and thus significantly aided in the recruitment effort. This Publicity Office was the forerunner of what is now the Information Branch of Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, and this office has remained in full operation since Major Fegan started it in 1924.

With the beginning of World War II when Germany invaded Poland on 1 September 1939, events relevant to the
Marine Corps began to occur in rapid succession. On 8 September, a "limited national emergency" was proclaimed by President Roosevelt, just after proclaiming neutrality in this European conflict on the 5th. The authorized strength of the Marine Corps, which had been reduced to just over 15,000 by the Economy Act of 1933, was raised to 25,000, and the recall to active duty of all retired officers was authorized. Marine units were formed and deployed as rapidly as possible in the Pacific area to posts such as Wake and Midway. By 30 June 1940, the Marine Corps' active duty strength had increased by nearly 10,000 officers and men through a very aggressive recruiting effort (Tyson, 1965:4-6). The Selective Training and Service Act was passed on 16 September 1940; registrations began on 16 October after general mobilization was ordered on the 15th; and the first men were inducted into the Army and the Navy in November (Hershey, 1960:8-11). On 10 November, the Organized Marine Corps Reserves were integrated into the regular Marine Corps. Thus, the Marine Corps and the nation prepared for war.

In summary, the years covered in this chapter are by far the most peaceful period dealt with to this point, although those Marines who fought in China and Nicaragua might have a different perspective. Recruiting methods during this period did not change much, nor will they in the future. The groundwork for recruiting, laid during the years from 1911 through 1920, has proved effective and efficient and has stood the test of time. The overall approach was to
maintain the Marine Corps in the public eye as an elite, unique, and always ready service. This rhetorical approach to recruitment is aimed at what Maslow describes as an esteem need in the individual, and more specifically, it is aimed at the desire of the individual to attain status and prestige in relation to self and others (Maslow, 1970:45). By creating the elite and unique image of the Marine Corps, the recruiting rhetoric of this approach gives the prospective recruit the means to attain prestige and status by enlisting in the Corps. The desired image was aptly created by the Recruiting Bureau in Philadelphia and the Publicity Officer at Headquarters. Marines did their job well whether in war or peace, and these organizations saw to it that the public heard about it. This period of history closes with full mobilization in effect and with war clouds visible on the horizon.

POSTER ILLUSTRATIONS

There are twelve poster illustrations in this section of the chapter. These illustrations do depict adequately the rhetorical approach used by the Marine Corps recruitment posters during the period. As has been discussed in the preceding pages, the overall approach has been to accentuate travel, adventure, and duty in foreign lands in the three-in-one service, on the land, sea, and in the air. The posters on the following pages adequately illustrate this approach.
Figure 4.1. The above poster is reminiscent of the "walking John" poster in Figure 3.14, page 87. The Marines marching to the ship are obviously loading up to sail off to adventure in foreign lands. This poster was used in the early 1920's.
Figure 4.2. The poster illustrated above was published in 1925. It is obviously meant to depict the tradition of faithful service on land and sea, at home and abroad. It seems surprising that the air element is not mentioned.
Figure 4.3. For a brief period, the approach illustrated above was used by the Recruiting Bureau. This one and Figure 4.4 are aimed at this theme. These two posters are the only evidence obtained depicting this approach.
Figure 4.4. Travel, education, and career are stressed here, as well as the theme discussed with Figure 4.3. The addition of education to the theme would indicate the possibility of learning while one is earning.
Figure 4.5. This is a large oilcloth poster produced by the Recruiting Bureau in 1924. It was distributed throughout the country for several years (Lejeune, 1924:2).
Figure 4.6. This is the cover of a flag pamphlet which told the history of and how to display the flag. It was put together by Percy Webb and others at the Publicity Bureau in New York in 1933. It was first distributed at the Chicago World's Fair in that year with the address of the local recruiting station stamped on it.
Figure 4.7. This poster is circa 1930. It depicts the enlisted ranks of the Marine Corps.
Figure 4.8. This illustration depicts the Marine Corps globe, anchor, and eagle as it was approved 16 March 1936.
Figure 4.9. The Marine has a satisfying career. The implied question is, "Do You?" This poster is a product of the late 1930's.
Figure 4.10. This is a cover folder painting for material concerning the traditions of the U.S. Marine Corps. Distribution of this folder was made in the 1930's.
Figure 4.11. This is the first poster obtained that begins the change to the wartime approach. It was first used in 1939.
Figure 4.12. This poster was produced for Navy Day on 24 October 1940. It depicts the link between the Marine Corps and the Navy. It has somewhat of a war flavor and travel, education, and adventure are not visible in the scene.
AN ANALYSIS

The trend in poster rhetoric of the period covered by this chapter changed little. The approach that was begun after World War I was continued. Travel and adventure were the key approaches used at the outset, with education being added once the Marine Corps Institute became a well-functioning organization. This last approach appears to have aided in recruiting since it gave the young man of the time a chance to complete his education or at least further it while serving in the Marine Corps. The brief use of the "Marines make better citizens" seems not to have been very successful because the only evidence found concerning this approach was the two posters illustrated in Figures 4.2, page 116, and 4.3, page 117. In a sense, this approach has an underlying theme of patriotism in that the Marine Corps produces better citizens and better citizens make a better country. In essence, the posters illustrated in this chapter are not particularly strong in their persuasive appeal except to the adventuresome youth who wants to travel and better his education. It therefore appears that the rhetorical approach used in recruitment advertising was aimed at this segment of the population. This was the type of man the Marine Corps wanted to fill its ranks.

It is interesting to note again that all the Marines
depicted in the posters were non-commissioned officers. In addition to this, one poster (Figure 4.7, page 121) has the insignia of all enlisted ranks from Private First Class to Sergeant Major, giving the prospective recruit a challenge to climb up through the ranks. These rank insignia are so arranged that the lowest is on the bottom to give this connotation. The implied possibility of advancement has been discussed before, but this is the first appearance of this ladder to the top.

The wartime theme makes its appearance in Figures 4.11, page 125, and 4.12, page 126. As was found in the preceding chapter, with the approach of a major conflict, the poster rhetoric changes. This rhetorical approach seems to begin with a patriotic "defend America" theme and progresses to a stronger fighting appeal. Since the war had not started by 1940, the posters expressing the stronger appeal are not found here. This period 1939 - 1940, therefore, was analogous to the years between 1915 - 1917, and the rhetorical approach to recruiting was also similar.

In summary, the prevailing rhetorical approach during this period was travel, education, and adventure. This rhetoric was aimed at a certain segment of the population that was seeking the adventuresome life with education and advancement along with it. These were the young men the Marine Corps wanted. This general approach was changed in 1939 when the war in Europe broke out. The "defend America" theme was back on the posters of the Marine Corps.
SUMMARY

In this chapter, the relatively peaceful period of 1921 through 1940 has been covered in some detail. The Marine Corps developed a lasting doctrine for amphibious operations during this period, and spent much of the time preparing for the crisis that was looming on the horizons, both east and west. The Corps was able to maintain its image as an elite, well trained, and ready fighting force by means of an active Recruiting Bureau in Philadelphia, a Publicity Officer and Officers at Marine Corps Headquarters in Washington, a receptive press throughout the nation, and the recruiters. The Marine Corps was kept in the public eye and in a very favorable light throughout the period covered by this chapter.

The next chapter deals with a period as hostile and filled with conflict as this one was peaceful. What has been spoken of before as a wartime atmosphere prevails during much of the period. Chapter V opens with World War II, progresses through the beginning of the Atomic Age, goes into the Korean War, and, finally, deals with the intensification of what is termed the Cold War. The changes in the rhetorical approach used for recruitment posters change abruptly and rapidly as the Corps attempts to keep its ranks filled.

129
CHAPTER V
1941 - 1960
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1941 - 1949

There were only some four hundred United States Marines, who, in the heroic and historic defense of Wake Island, inflicted such great losses on the enemy. Some of these men were killed in action and others are now prisoners of war. When the survivors of that great fight are liberated and restored to their homes, they will learn that a hundred and thirty million of their fellow citizens have been inspired to render their own full share of service (and) sacrifice.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

The above quotation was a part of President Roosevelt's State of the Union message to the Congress on 6 January 1942. It was used on the Marine Corps recruiting poster illustrated in Figure 5.6, page 145. It seems particularly fitting as this chapter opens with World War II imminent and preparations for the war in full swing. General mobilization has been declared, and Marines are heading for Wake, Guam, Midway, and other posts in the Pacific area. The Marine Corps Reserve has been integrated into the regular active Marine Corps, and the recruiting establishment has gone into high gear to fill the ranks of a rapidly expanding Corps. The authorized strength has been increased each year since 1939 because of the impending war and the great abundance of willing volunteers. The final increase in this authorized strength comes in April, 1941, when the Congress authorizes the Marine Corps enlisted...
strength to be 20% of that of the Navy (Tyson, 1965: 9-10). By the time the war began in December, 1941, the total strength of the Marine Corps was 66,300 officers and men (Hicks, 1964: 29). This means that active and aggressive recruiting had more than doubled the size in just over a year's time utilizing only voluntary enlistments.

There is no need to discuss or even list all the battles in World War II in which Marines participated. Suffice it to say that the Corps and its men made the first offensive amphibious assault of the war on Guadalcanal and participated in the last battles of the war on Okinawa. They fought with distinction in both the Pacific and European theaters (Heinl, 1965: 347-506). After the war ended in 1945, Marines made up part of the occupation force in Japan, and also served in China again (Heinl, 1965: 511-512).

There are a few events and innovations that occurred during the war period that do have a bearing on recruitment. The first and probably one of the more important was the establishment on 1 July 1941 of a Public Relations Division at headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, in Washington under Brigadier General R.L. Denig (Lindsay, 1956: 50-51). It was this division and Denig that spawned and developed the combat correspondent who went with Marine units into the thick of battle. These correspondents were former newsmen and photographers who were trained as Marines to fight and then attached to the units going into combat. They were Marine combat infantrymen first and newsmen second; consequently,
they produced some of the most vivid and authentic reporting in World War II (Heinl, 1965:507). General Denig gives this description of the combat correspondent and tells why the system was initiated.

"Combat Correspondents." -- This is a new breed of American journalist. The task of "fighter - reporters" of the Marine Corps is to report Marine Action on all battlefronts of the world to the folks back home. They are trained to fight first and write the account of the action afterwards. Trained in fighting traditions of the Corps during a grueling two-month period at Parris Island, S.C., these former newspaper reporters and photographers, news service and radio station employees, are made sergeants after their training and sent out to the war sectors. Newspaper and Newsreel photographers work in teams with the reporter combat correspondents in order to send back to the United States complete eyewitness stories and picture coverage on all Marine Corps activities overseas. The lack of any stories other than curt communiques on the heroic action of the Marines at Wake Island made plain the need for combat correspondents. (Lindsay, 1956:56-57)

These correspondents turned out as many as 802 stories a month with photographic coverage. These stories were geared most of the time to the individual Marine and were distributed to home town newspapers and radio stations. They were filtered through the Navy's Public Relations Office to be put on the wire service networks and most of those that remained were sent out to recruiting offices throughout the country (Lindsay, 1956:57-59). These correspondents and the stories they produced led to the misconception that each Marine squad had a press agent. This, of course, is not true, for even at the height of the war, there were less than two hundred of these men in the Pacific Theater (Lindsay, 1956:57). Combat correspondents, however, were a tremendous asset to the Recruiting Service with their vivid
combat stories with a "home town" flavor. They also helped to build and maintain the desired image of the Corps as a whole.

Another event of this period that relates to recruitment is the draft. It was implemented in October, 1940, and the first inductions occurred in November (Hershey, 1960:11); however, the Marine Corps did not participate until President Roosevelt placed all the services under the provisions of the Selective Service Act by Executive Order 9-27 on 5 December 1942. The Marine Corps was allowed to continue normal procurement procedures through January, 1943 (Tyson, 1965:37). As a result of this, the Marine Corps could only recruit those men who were over age or in some other way not eligible for draft induction. In the first year, the Marine Corps accepted more than 75,000 men through the Selective Service System (Donovan, 1967:171). Another result of this order was that the Marine Corps received Negroes for the first time. They were initially assigned to duty as messmen in General officers' field messes, although later they were placed in all-Negro units (Donovan, 1967:173). The Marine Corps made use of draft inductees throughout the remainder of the war.

A third event of consequence to recruitment was the formation of the Women's Reserve. Mrs. Ruth Cheney Streeter was commissioned a Major on 29 January 1943 (Tyson, 1965:39), and the United States Marine Corps Women's Reserve was formed in early February. By 1945, the Women Marines had a strength
of 19,000 which, in essence, released a full Marine division of men for combat (Donovan, 1967:174-175). Since women were not subject to the draft, this end strength was the result of active recruiting. Figure 5.8, page 147, depicts one of the posters used by the Recruiting Bureau to help spur enlistments. Since recruiting stations could no longer enlist men of draft age, the recruitment of women for the Women Marines was one of the major tasks of the recruiter.

With the end of the war in 1945 came the massive task of demobilization. The Corps, of course, was not spared and a reduction to the authorized strength of 100,000 began at once (Tyson, 1965:133). From an end of the war strength of 485,833 men, the Corps reduced to 155,679 by 30 June 1946 (Tyson, 1965:121 and 136). Less than adequate appropriations continued to reduce the strength of the Marine Corps until after the Korean War began (Donnelly, Neufeld and Tyson, 1971:12). The Marine Corps was again fighting for its life. This battle lasted right up to the outbreak of the War, when again a "force in readiness" was needed to stem the onslaught of the North Korean Army. The Marine Corps, aided by its friends, fought a noble battle for survival throughout this period and, as so many times before, the public and the Congress saved it (Heini, 1965: 514-532).

The Recruiting Division, after World War II, became a part of the Commandant's office and went about recruiting at a much reduced pace. The standards were high and
meticulous selections were made. The Division of Recruiting was divided into six recruiting divisions which were further divided into forty-six total districts and the districts were then subdivided into ninety-eight sub-districts. This was a very structured organization, but the individual recruiters had a great deal of latitude. They did receive guidance concerning the qualities of the men the Corps was seeking for recruiting duty from the Commandant in July, 1947. The applicant must

(1) be neat in appearance, soldierly in bearing and a representative type of Marine,
(2) have not been convicted by a court-martial during current enlistment,
(3) have had at least two years of high school education or its equivalent, or have had clerical experience in the Marine Corps,
(4) have completed at least three years of active Marine Corps service, a portion of which must have been outside the continental limits of the United States, and,
(5) have at least two years to serve on current enlistment or extension.

This indicates the recruiters were selected very meticulously also (Nicholson, 1947:31-35).

Before going on to the next division of this section of the chapter, it is necessary to mention the Selective Service Act of 1948. Although there is no evidence that the presence of the draft directly or indirectly aided Marine Corps enlistments, it does appear that it

acted as a spur to thousands of otherwise undecided youngsters and that the prompt enlistments following its passage raised our recruiting quotas dramatically. We earnestly recommend that . . . a selective service law be retained in effect indefinitely.

So said the Secretary of the Army during the hearings in
late 1949 concerning the extension of the Act (Hershey, 1960: 17-18). The Marine Corps did not use the draft as a source of personnel until July, 1951, when voluntary enlistments began to lag and a build-up to an authorized strength of 204,000 was being attempted (Donnelly, Neufeld and Tyson, 1971:21).

1950 - 1960

As 1950 dawned, the Marine Corps was still in the throes of a fight for survival which would soon be ended by the beginning of hostilities in Korea. As this war opened, the Corps had been reduced to less than 75,000 officers and men, and was looking forward to further cuts by reductions in funds allocated. The invasion took place on 25 June 1950 when the North Korean People's Army roared south across the 38th parallel. On 2 July 1950, General Douglas MacArthur asked the Joint Chiefs of Staff specifically for the First Marine Division. Again, the rapid build-up began. The Division was manned to full strength and arrived in Korea with supporting aircraft units on 12 September 1950 (Parker, 1970:77-80). This rapid deployment of a division-sized unit has apparently stilled, at least until the present time, those who would try to abolish the Corps.

Recruiting during the Korean War proved to be somewhat difficult, as indicated by the fact that the enlistment period was reduced from four years to three years in August, 1950, in an effort to bolster enlistments. Just less than a year later on 10 July 1951, the Marine Corps issued a call
for 7,000 men. The draft was used to supplement enlistments for the rest of the Korean War period (Donnelly, Neufeld and Tyson, 1971:21-22). Nearly 85,000 men entered the Marine Corps through the Selective Service System (Donovan, 1967:171).

There was no massive demobilization after this war as there had been in the past. During the period of the conflict in 1953 and then again in 1958, the National Security Act of 1947 was amended to set the authorized peacetime strength at 400,000 men and permanently established "three combat divisions and three airwings, and such other land combat, aviation, and other services as may be organic to them." (Parker, 1970:76). The Cold War was ever present in this period, and a strong military seemed necessary. Although the Marine Corps strength dropped gradually to a figure of 175,000 at the end of 1959 (Donnelly, Neufeld and Tyson, 1971:43), the drastic demobilization and severe reduction in combat capability did not and has not occurred to date.

In summary of this twenty year period, it is necessary to point out again those things which occurred that are related to the recruitment of Marines. First, the draft was used by the Marine Corps twice during this period. It was forced upon the Corps in 1943 when enlistments were coming as fast as they could be handled, and there is some doubt that it was needed by the Marine Corps during this war. It was used again during the Korean War as a result of an
apparent need. During the periods when the nation was not involved in a conflict of such magnitude, the Marine recruiting system was able to persuade enough men to enlist to keep the ranks filled to the necessary level.

A final point before closing this portion of the chapter must be made. With the establishment of the Marine Corps Public Relations Division in 1941, a new era of publicity was begun. This division instituted the combat correspondent and the home town news releases. Even though its name changed, its function still remains the same; keep the Corps before the public eye. This division and the image it produced, and still produces, is one of the primary elements of the recruitment efforts of the U.S. Marine Corps.

POSTER ILLUSTRATIONS

There are seventeen poster illustrations included in this section of Chapter V. As a supplement, a additional ten are presented in Appendix B of this thesis. These poster illustrations cover a period that had one World War and a somewhat isolated conflict in the Far East. These posters vividly illustrate the changes in the rhetorical approach of this type of advertising as it relates to a wartime/peacetime national atmosphere as it was described in Chapter I.
Figure 5.1. This is reminiscent of the World War I posters. In fact, the background has changed, but the Marine appears to be the same one that appeared on those posters. It was used in 1941.
Figure 5.2. Always Alert is a poster that was used in 1941 and has a defend America connotation.
Figure 5.3. This is the only James Montgomery Flagg poster produced and used in this period. It was painted in 1941.
Figure 5.4. An early World War II poster is depicted above. The Defend America theme was used just prior to the outbreak of the war.
Figure 5.5. This poster depicts the defenders of Wake Island and had a tremendous emotional appeal when it was first used in 1942.
Figure 5.6. This poster also uses the Wake Island battle as a theme with the bayonets in the water. It was used in 1942.
Figure 5.7. This poster was painted by Captain William H.V. Gunnis, the art director of the Publicity Bureau in Philadelphia in 1942. It was displayed on Railway Express Company trucks throughout the nation.
Figure 5.8. The Women Marines' poster used throughout the war beginning in 1943 is depicted here.
Figure 5.9. This poster was distributed on the Marine Corps birthday, 10 November 1943. It depicts the traditions of the Corps.
Figure 5.10. A 1943 poster aimed at recruiting men for the mechanized units of the Marine Corps.
Figure 5.11. A whole series of these posters representing the battles the Marine Corps had fought in World War II was produced in 1945. See also Figure B-5, page 227.
Figure 5.12. With the war over, the poster theme shifts to travel, adventure, and the far-flung posts of the Marine Corps. See also Figure B-6, page 228.
Figure 5.13. This is a 1949 poster stressing the athletics and recreation possibilities existing in the Corps in 1949.
Figure 5.14. This poster stresses the tradition of the Marine Corps in land warfare and amphibious operations. It was used in 1949. See also Figure B-9, page 231.
Figure 5.15. A Korean War poster is depicted above. It is the strongest appeal used in poster rhetoric during this war.
Figure 5.16. This poster is circa 1954 and stresses the traditions of the Marine Corps.
Figure 5.17. This final poster depicts the tie with the past of the present Marine Corps. It's the tradition. Join the Marines and become a part of it. See also Figures B-7, page 229, and B-10, page 232.
AN ANALYSIS

At the outset, it is important to note that the efforts of the combat correspondents and the stories they produced contributed significantly to the recruiting efforts of the Marine Corps throughout the period of World War II. The image they helped to create of the Marine Corps was not transient, but existed long after the war, and, to a degree, still exists today as the journalists that followed in their footsteps have continued the traditions established by them.

The rhetorical approach which was used in recruitment posters during World War II appears to parallel that which was used during World War I and discussed in Chapter III, pages 101 - 104. The posters do not seem to utilize as strong an emotional approach as those of World War I did. It is likely that the implementation of the draft in 1943 forestalled the need to resort to such emotionalism. Although the Marine Corps was having no difficulty filling its ranks at the time the draft was imposed upon it, the stronger emotional appeal may have been necessary to sustain the recruiting effort if voluntary enlistments had continued. There is no way to prove or disprove this, however, although it does seem to be a possibility.

The rhetorical approach was changed immediately after the war, and again, travel and adventure on land, sea, and
in the air became the theme. This appeal persisted until 1949 when the somewhat traditional theme exemplified by Figure 5.14, page 153, and Figure B-10, page 232, was introduced. The rhetorical approach was one of the tradition of the Corps on Land, Sea, and in the Air using a verse from the Marines' Hymn to make the point.

It is at this point that the rhetorical approach should change drastically because the Korean War is in progress; however, it does not. The strongest appeal during this conflict is exemplified by Figure 5.15, page 154. As indicated above, this lack of what has in the past been a wartime poster could be related to the fact that the Marine Corps resorted to the draft fairly early in the conflict. Thus, there may not have been the need for the strong poster appeal. If this is the case, the absence or presence of the draft does have an impact on the recruitment rhetoric of the poster. It would seem at this point that there is a strong possibility that, when a wartime atmosphere exists and the draft is present, the rhetorical approach used by the Marine Corps in recruitment advertising does not progress to the same strong appeal that it does when war alone is present.

After the Korean War ended in 1955, there was a shift to an appeal that was predominantly one of tradition. This was somewhat a product of Commandants of this period who felt very strongly about the traditions of the Marine Corps. This rhetorical approach also encompasses the idea of uniqueness as well, and is an appeal aimed at the type of
man the Corps was seeking to fill its ranks.

**SUMMARY**

This chapter has covered a period of unequaled hostility. Twice during this time frame the Marine Corps utilized the draft to acquire its men, while during the same period, Women Marines became a part of the Marine Corps' permanent ranks. The Marine Corps fought what was probably its most difficult battle for existence, and, in the process of winning, became a more permanent organization than ever before. The methods of recruiting and the recruiting organization were improved, but no drastic changes occurred. Probably the most significant event related directly to the recruitment of enlisted men was the establishment of the Division of Public Information (originally the Division of Public Relations when formed in 1941) as part of the Commandant's office. The contributions to recruiting of this division were discussed earlier and need no further elaboration. Thus, an eventful and hostile period in the history of the U.S. Marine Corps comes to an end.

The next chapter covers the period of 1960 through 1973. During this period, there are several crises and the very unpopular Vietnam War. In all these events, the Marine Corps plays its role as a force in readiness.
CHAPTER VI
1961 - 1973
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

We have numerous areas of grave concern, as a society and as a country. History will judge us on the effectiveness of the utilization of all institutions, both public and private, to determine the solutions to our problems. One lesson we should have learned well from ages past is that there is relatively little compassion for those nations that do not vigorously attempt to protect themselves. Rather, it has been demonstrated that survival is the prize earned by those who recognize courage, vigilance and perseverance. Those who recognize a challenge and overcome it, survive. Those who seek to avoid the gauntlet thrown, or deny it existence, or temporize, soon fade from the pages of history. (Parker, 1970:94)

The above quotation accurately describes the period between 1961 and 1973. The gauntlet was thrown down several times and was not ignored or temporized once by our nation. The Cuban Crisis, the Dominican Republic, and the Vietnam War are all examples of this, and they were all met with both force and diplomacy. The Marine Corps participated in each of these conflicts. The latter, the Vietnam War, required an expansion of the active Marine Corps, but the others only required a shifting of forces (Parker, 1970:93-100). It is not necessary for the purpose of this thesis to discuss these events or the Marine Corps' participation in them in any detail. Suffice it to say, the Marine Corps demonstrated its ability for rapid response in all cases and performed as it had in the past.

The Corps' active duty strength in June, 1961, was
176,909 officers and men; however, a build-up to a 190,000 Marine Corps was ordered in August, 1961. The Corps reached this strength by December, utilizing an active recruiting program, and remained at about this strength until the Vietnam War broke out (Donnelly, Neufeld and Tyson, 1971:51-70). It is with this strength that the Corps reacted to the events mentioned before that required only a shifting of forces. The commitments in Vietnam required a larger total strength because the other duties that the Marine Corps was required to perform were still necessary throughout the conflict in Vietnam. In September, 1965, the Commandant announced that, even though voluntary enlistments had increased by 20% in August over July, it would be necessary to start using the draft as a source of men in January, 1966 (Neufeld, 1971:5). This, of course, was a result of the ever increasing demands for Marines in Vietnam. The strength of the Corps reached over 300,000 officers and men during the Vietnam War, and the draft was utilized to augment recruiting beginning with the first call in January, 1966 (Neufeld, 1971:8-37). The strength of the Corps in 1973 was approximately 197,000 officers and men. The reduction from the Vietnam peak began in 1969 and progressed to this present figure (Neufeld, 1971:37).

Recruiting methods during this entire period did not change from those already discussed in Chapters IV and V. However, the recruiting establishment did operate under the handicap of the fact that the Vietnam War was a very
unpopular conflict, particularly among the younger generation from which the volunteers necessarily came. This era was marked by many public demonstrations against the war and active draft evasions. As the nation's involvement became greater and greater in men, funds, and weapons, even the Congress became sharply divided. This atmosphere was not conducive to voluntary enlistments in any military organizations, yet the recruiters of the Marine Corps were able to persuade enough young men to enlist to meet quotas during most of the period and draft calls were used only when absolutely necessary (Neufeld, 1971:8-37).

A market survey approach was used to establish the theme for recruitment advertising in the early 1970's. The J. Walter Thompson advertising agency conducted a nation wide attitude survey as a means of developing this new theme. It was found that twenty per cent of that age group of interest to the Marine Corps was at least moderately favorably inclined toward military service, and that seven per cent of this group was Marine Corps oriented. Upon completion of this survey, the agency produced sample poster copy and, again, conducted a survey among high school and college men. The most popular one was "Nobody likes to fight, but somebody has to know how" as depicted in Figure 6.10, page 174. The results were tabulated and the product was the advertising program depicted in Figures 6.6 through 6.11, pages 170 - 175, and C-5 through C-10, pages 238 - 242 (Johnson, 1973). "The Marines are looking for a few good men" remained
the overall theme through December, 1973. In an interview with Major Paul Goodwin, the recruiting officer in charge of the Kansas City Recruiting Station on 5 February 1974, he said that his office had been able to meet its quotas every month, but that the Marine Corps as a whole had been falling short since the fall of 1973. At the writing of this paper, a modified and somewhat softer recruiting theme has been introduced into the Marine Corps' recruitment posters. The Corps is still looking for a "few good men," but the rhetorical approach of the posters today is not as "tough."

This period in Marine Corps history (1961 - 1973) contained no significant changes in the methodology or structure of the recruiting establishment; however, the market survey was used for the first time as an aid to establishing a theme for the rhetorical approach to be used in poster advertising. The Marine Corps was forced to again resort to the use of the draft intermittently during the Vietnam War. The overall mission of the Corps remained the same, and is still that of maintaining a "Force in Readiness."

POSTER ILLUSTRATIONS

There are eleven poster illustrations included in this section. As a supplement, an additional ten illustrations are to be found in Appendix C. The posters represent the rhetorical approach used by the Marine Corps in recruitment advertising during a period in which there occurred two major crises and a very unpopular war.
Figure 6.1. This poster is one of a series which stresses that the Marine Corps builds men. Traditions of the Corps are also a part of this 1961 poster. See also Figures C-1, page 234, and C-2, page 235.
Figure 6.2. Depicted here is the Non-Commissioned Officer’s sword, dress gloves, and cap. The traditions of the Corps are the appeal of this 1962 poster.
Figure 6.3. This 1963 poster emphasizes the air arm of the Marine Corps and has a somewhat adventuresome appeal.
Figure 6.4. The tradition of the Corps being "Always Faithful" is shown here. This 1964 "A" sign poster relates this faith to the church and faith in God with the background.
Figure 6.5. The implication that the Marine Corps builds men in mind, body, and spirit is present in this 1965 poster.
Figure 6.6. This poster is the first in the series which resulted from the surveys conducted by the J. Walter Thompson Advertising Agency. The challenge is issued.
Figure 6.7. The eliteness of the Corps is stressed in this poster.
Figure 6.8. The difficulties, particularly physical, of becoming a Marine are the main theme of this poster.
If you just want to be one of the boys, stick with the boys.

The Marines are looking for a few good men.

Figure 6.9. This poster stresses the challenge to the boy to become a man by enlisting in the Marine Corps.
Figure 6.10. This particular rhetoric received the highest rate of acceptance by young men of high school and college age (Johnson, 1973).
Figure 6.11. This poster implies the educational aspects of the Marine Corps. The picture indicates electronics as one of the fields. See also Figure C-10, page 242.
AN ANALYSIS

The direct appeal to the individual's wanderlust was absent during the period covered by this chapter. The main rhetorical approach used during this period was that the Marine Corps builds men. The implication here, of course, is that, if you want to be a man, enlist in the Marine Corps and you'll become one if you are not already. Associated with this type of rhetoric is a very subtle challenge to the young man who thinks he is a man already. The challenge issued is for the young man to enlist in the Marines and prove he is a man. The traditions of the Corps were also depicted on these posters in the form of pictures and a very few words as exemplified by Figures 6.1, page 165, C-1, page 234, and C-2, page 235, in which Honor, Pride, and Valor are key terms. This rhetorical approach was used successfully until about 1970. It is interesting to note that the wartime rhetoric that appeared during World Wars I and II is absent here as it was during the Korean War. The only posters of the Vietnam War period that depict a combat flavor are the ones which use a combat dressed Marine in a jungle environment (see Figure 6.5, page 169); the three Marines on the beach (see Figure C-3, page 236); and the Marine on the beach with the aircraft overhead (see Figure C-9, page 242). The overall rhetorical approach in this first nine years of
the period 1961 - 1973 was marked by an aim at challenging the young man to be a man or to prove he was already one by enlisting in the Marines. This challenge was issued with the history and traditions of the Corps in the background.

A most significant advancement in recruitment advertising theme development occurred during this period. As discussed earlier in this chapter (page 163), a series of two surveys was utilized to develop the rhetorical approach used by the Marine Corps in recruitment advertising in the early 1970's. The initial survey was an attempt to discover the overall attitude of young men toward the military as a whole and, specifically, what per cent had a favorable attitude toward service in the Marine Corps. This whole approach appears to be an attempt to determine the attitude anchor and latitude of acceptance of the young men of the nation. This theory of influence is that of Sherif, Sherif and Nebergall and their theory of social judgement - involvement. Their theory is that, if persuasive messages are aimed inside the latitude acceptance and at its very edge, the possibility of acceptance is great, and the attitude anchor can be moved with an attitude change resulting (Beisecker and Parson, 1972:104-120). The attitude change aimed at would result in the action of the young man enlisting in the Marine Corps. The second survey provided the rhetoric for the posters that was in the latitude of acceptance, and the overall approach was put into action with excellent results until late in 1973. These two surveys were the first attempt at using a
somewhat scientific method to develop the rhetorical approach for recruitment advertising used by the Marine Corps.

A final item noted was the absence of the classic wartime posters of the two World Wars, as has been mentioned earlier in this section; however, when this fact is related to the presence and utilization of the draft by the Corps very early in the Vietnam War, the same situation that existed during the Korean War exists. This evidence further supports the ideas that, if the draft is present and used by the Marine Corps in time of war, the rhetorical approach used in recruitment advertising will be affected. The strong emotional approaches used during the World Wars will not appear.

**SUMMARY**

The period of Marine Corps history covered by this chapter (1961 - 1973) saw little or no change in the methods of recruitment of the Corps. The conflict in Vietnam began and ended during this time, and created a need for the Corps to expand to more than 300,000 officers and men at its height. The first use of scientific methodology to develop the rhetorical approach for a recruitment advertising program occurred in the latter part of the period. This was the most significant event of the period related to recruiting.

The final chapter of this thesis follows. Chapter VII contains a brief summary of the foregoing chapters emphasizing the similarities and differences in recruitment
rhetoric and recruiting methods. This last chapter also includes the conclusions which may be drawn from evidence presented in Chapters II through VI, as well as some suggestions for further research in the area of recruitment rhetoric.
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS
SUMMARY

General

No one who writes about the Marines needs to resort to hyperbole or wilful exaggeration to put across his story. All one needs to do is to stick to the facts and let the facts speak for themselves. (Lindsay, 1956: 20)

The foregoing pages have traced the history of the recruitment of enlisted men by the U.S. Marine Corps. The emphasis has been placed on the rhetorical approach utilized by the Corps in recruitment advertising in the form of posters and billboards, and each period covered has been illustrated with photographs of the posters and billboards of the time as well as discussed in terms of the historical context in which the poster rhetoric developed. The Corps has progressed from a drum, a fife, an officer, and a few well uniformed Marines parading through the streets "drumming up recruits" and a few newspaper advertisements and sideboards in taverns to the well organized recruiting and publicity structure of today. The Corps has grown from "two battalions" to an authorized peacetime strength of three divisions, three air wings, and the necessary supporting units with a current total of approximately 197,000 officers and men. During this growth and maturing, the Corps has fought with distinction throughout the world as well as surviving several attempts at abolishing it. Finally, this
work has traced the rhetorical approach and the rhetoric of Marine Corps enlisted recruitment advertising and the many changes it has undergone over these one hundred and ninety-eight years. These changes will be discussed in some detail in the following paragraphs.

**Similarities in the Rhetorical Approach**

The recruiting posters examined for this thesis appear to promote in common the idea that the Marine Corps is an elite and unique organization of fighting men. This rhetorical approach is closely related to the appeal to tradition, and with it, in some combination or another, seems to run through the whole spectrum of the posters examined. The use of the dress uniform and copy such as "First to Fight" (Figure 3.11, page 84) and "If everybody could get in the Marines, it wouldn't be the Marines" (Figure 6.7, page 171) are both examples of this appeal, and yet appeared on posters over fifty years apart in time. There are many other examples in this thesis of the use of pictures and words to express this rhetorical approach, certainly enough to establish this strategy as one which appears consistent throughout the period covered, 1775 - 1973.

Closely associated with the topic of exclusivity is the rhetorical appeal of challenging the young men of the nation. The poster advertising of the Marine Corps also appears to use this approach throughout. Rhetoric, like "Wanted, Young Men" (Figure 2.4, page 50) and "The Marine
"Corps Builds Men" (Figure 6.1, page 165), carries through this theme, and was discussed in some detail in the analysis portion of each chapter of the thesis. Young men who would take up this challenge constitute the audience at which the Marine Corps has directed its recruiting efforts throughout the years.

Differences in the Rhetorical Approach

The differences in the rhetorical approaches used by the Marine Corps were basically oriented toward the presence or absence of a wartime atmosphere in the nation until the last twenty-five years. The rhetorical approach during peacetime centered on travel, adventure, education, and serving aboard the ships of the Navy. As war approached, the trend shifted to a patriotic, defend America theme and progressed to a more emotional, hate-centered, fighting theme as the war progressed. Abruptly, then, the theme would return to the travel - adventure appeal. This was the case before and after the two World Wars, but did not occur in the eras of the Vietnam War or the Korean War. An explanation for this phenomenon is presented in the next section of this chapter.

It would appear that the Marine Corps has stressed the eliteness, uniqueness, traditions of the Corps, and the challenge to the young man consistently over the years of its history, while changing specific appeals during wartime. This generalization concerning wartime poster rhetoric held true until the early 1950's with the outbreak of the Korean
War. In both Korea and Vietnam, the United States engaged in a policy of "limited war," in contrast to the all-out efforts which characterized earlier conflicts. Recruitment rhetoric during these periods reflected the limited war concept and, therefore, aimed at something less than total commitment. This approach, however, poses something of a dilemma; national policy may be served by a limited war concept, but the individual Marine engaged in combat must be committed to a total effort. This presents a rhetorical problem which has not, and probably cannot, be solved.

The next section of this chapter will present conclusions drawn from the study.

CONCLUSIONS

The questions posed in Chapter I can be answered as a result of the research accomplished and the evidence presented in the foregoing pages. These questions will be taken in order and will be repeated here for clarity.

1. Has the rhetorical approach utilized in Marine Corps recruitment been affected by the presence/absence of a war of national importance?

In answering this question, there was little or no evidence obtained to indicate any effect at all until the period covered by Chapter III, 1901 through 1920. This lack of obtainable evidence does not necessarily indicate that there was no effect reflected in the rhetorical approach used in the somewhat limited advertising program of the
Marine Corps prior to 1901. Be that as it may, the changes in rhetorical approach were abrupt and vivid just prior to, during, and immediately after the two World Wars. These changes have been amply illustrated and discussed previously and need little elaboration here. Even during the Korean War and the Vietnam War where there was not evidence of an abrupt or drastic change as produced by the two World Wars, it should be noted that there was a complete absence of the travel, adventure, and education appeals and the emphasis was placed on tradition. With this evidence, it is possible to state that the rhetorical approach utilized in Marine Corps recruitment advertising is affected by the presence/absence of a war of national importance.

2. Has the rhetorical approach utilized in Marine Corps recruitment been affected by the presence/absence of a conscription system such as the draft?

A conscription system was first used in the United States during the Civil War; however, no evidence was obtained during that period to indicate that the draft created any effect on the recruitment rhetoric. The system was used again in World War I, but the Marine Corps continued to take only volunteers through its normal recruitment system until the last few weeks of the war. Again, no evidence was uncovered to indicate any effect created by the presence of the draft. The draft was, however, used during World War II, and in February, 1943, all services including the Marine Corps were required to obtain all their men of
draft age through the Selective Service System. It was during this period that the first evidence that the draft affects the rhetorical approach used in the recruitment advertising of the Marine Corps was discovered. As discussed previously in Chapter V, it appears that the rhetoric of recruiting posters did not progress to the very emotional, hate-creating appeals that were used during the World War I period when the draft was not used until the conflict was nearly ended. The next evidence of the effect of the draft on recruitment rhetoric surfaces during the Korean War, at which time the Corps utilized the draft as a means of filling its ranks almost from the outset. The typical wartime poster rhetoric of World Wars I and II never appeared during this conflict. This rhetoric that had been typical during the two World Wars was again absent during the Vietnam War. During this last conflict, the Marine Corps relied even more heavily on the draft to augment its recruiting effort from the outset. It is from this evidence that two conclusions were drawn concerning the effect created by the presence of a national conscription system on the rhetorical approach utilized in Marine Corps recruitment. The first conclusion drawn is that the mere presence of the draft has no discernable effect on the rhetorical approach; however, it does appear that, when the draft is present in a wartime atmosphere, the rhetorical approach is affected by the presence of the draft in one of two ways, depending upon whether the Corps is utilizing the system to augment voluntary
enlistments or not utilizing it. In the first situation, when the draft is being used, the rhetorical approach is somewhat mild and much less emotional. While in the latter situation, the rhetorical approach assumes the emotional proportions exhibited during World War I. It seems reasonable to conclude then, that a situation in which a wartime national atmosphere and a conscription system are both present and when the Marine Corps utilizes this conscription system to supplement or substitute for the normal recruitment system, the rhetoric of recruitment advertising is affected. It is also reasonable to conclude that the presence of a conscription alone does not create a discernable effect on the rhetorical approach used.

3. How and/or has the rhetorical approach utilized in Marine Corps recruitment changed through the years since the birth of the Corps on 10 November 1775?

The answers to this question have been amply covered in the pages of this thesis and more specifically in the summary section of this chapter. Suffice it to say, the rhetoric reflecting the uniqueness, eliteness, and traditions of the Corps has been retained along with the appeal which issues a challenge throughout the history of the Corps. This overall rhetorical approach is retained even during the periods when a national wartime atmosphere exists. It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the overall rhetorical approach of Marine Corps recruitment poster/billboard
advertising has undergone very little change over the years since the Corps' birth.

The final section of this chapter contains a listing of areas of suggested further research that have come to light during the study.

SUGGESTED FURTHER RESEARCH

In performing the research and during the writing of this thesis, there were several areas which could not be explored to the depth felt necessary to produce fruitful results because of the limits set at the outset and the time available. These areas are listed and briefly described in the following paragraphs.

1. It would be very interesting and of some benefit to the discipline of Speech Communications to perform a comparison study of the rhetorical approaches used in the recruitment posters of the different services relating them to the success or failure to meet volunteer enlistment quotas.

2. An investigation of the rhetorical approach used by the Marine Corps or one of the other services in a specific time period relating it to one of the more current theories of social influence, such as Festinger's theory of Cognitive Dissonance, Sherif, Sherif and Nebergall's theory of Social Judgement - Involvement, or Osgood and Tannenbaum's Principle of Congruity. In other words, explain the effectiveness
or non-effectiveness of the approach itself by means of one or more of these more modern theories.

3. A final area of study suggested is the possible greater use of attitude surveys like the one used by the J. Walter Thompson Agency to develop the 1970-1973 rhetorical approach to be used by the Marine Corps. Questions like: Are these studies worth the expense? Are they a true measure? How does one develop a questionnaire for this type of survey? The development of a reliable questionnaire in this area of endeavor would be a monumental task in itself.

Further research in these listed areas seem warranted, and could produce benefits for both the discipline and the individual performing the research task. Such has been the case in the research and writing of this thesis. It has benefited the author tremendously, and hopefully it will benefit the discipline of Speech Communication and Human Relations as well.
Figure A-1. This poster was produced during the early 1900's and has as a general theme, travel and duty in foreign lands.
Figure A-2. This painting was made by Sidney Riesenber in 1913. The face of Zeller is found on this poster again as it is on most of Riesenberg's poster art. This painting was used in the "Soldiers of the Sea" series with sixteen pictures around the border (Karesh, 1971:18-19). See also Figures A-10, page 200, and 3.19, page 92.
Figure A-3. This is a commercial designer's painting which was made in September, 1913, but never used as a poster as far as I have been able to determine.
Figure A-4. The drawing which appears here is from the Cleveland Leader and was published in that paper in April, 1914, when Marines were in Mexico during an insurrection there.
Figure A-5. This handbill was suggested by Captain L.M. Harding of the District of Pittsburgh in the summer of 1916 (Harding, 1916:18).
Figure A-6. The photographic placard above was 11 x 19 inches with blue lettering. It is a compromise on the various suggestions submitted and was produced in August, 1916, by the Publicity Bureau (Anon., 1916:21).
Figure A-7. This poster was a revival of the 1910 poster depicted in Figure 3.3 on page 76 (Westevelt, 1916:19).
Figure A-8. This map type poster was suggested by Sergeant Roesch of the District of Detroit to be used on the walls of poolrooms, restaurants, and depots in October, 1916. It was not accepted at that time; however, the idea was used soon after the war (Roesch, 1916:19). See also Figure A-30 on page 220 and Figure 3.25 on page 98.
Figure A-9. This is a photograph of the artist Joseph Christian Leyendecker's painting. The model for this art was again "Poster Zeller." The painting was made in 1916 and the symbology of the Marines signaling the ship is that "The Marines have landed and have the situation well in hand." (Karesh, 1971:19)
Figure A-10. This poster uses the painting depicted in Figure A-9 in the center with the sixteen "Corps Scenes" around it. It is another one of the "Soldiers of the Sea" series. See also Figure 3.19 on page 92.
Figure A-11. This was a metal sign distributed in early 1917. It was 10 x 14 inches with the dark lettering and border in blue and the light lettering and background in yellow (Anon., February 1917:20).
Figure A-12. This placard was suggested by First Lieutenant C. McCauley of the Southwest District. The $75.00 a month was calculated by adding the benefits of food, quarters, streetcar fare, medical attention, and clothing allowance to the base pay (McCauley, 1917:19).
Figure A-13. This photograph depicts L.A. Shafer's painting of the "Spirit of 1917." All four faces are "Poster Zeller" and the painting was made in 1917. It was used on a variety of posters for many years (Karesh, 1971:23). See also Figures 3.12, page 85, and 4.6, page 120.
NOTICE!

There Are Vacancies in the
AVIATION COMPANY
NAVY YARD, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

for
A NUMBER OF YOUNG MEN
With the Proper Qualifications.

ONLY THOSE WHO ARE QUALIFIED SHOULD APPLY

The qualifications are:
Should be between 18 and 25 years old.
Physically perfect.
Weight not more than 135 pounds.
Preferably with High School education.
Willing to take the risks involved in flying 120-mile-per-hour scout airplanes.
No mechanical knowledge necessary.
Men accepted will be taught to fly immediately.
Those who succeed will be promoted and receive extra pay.

Applicants for the above assignment should make official applications through their Commanding Officers, giving their qualifications.

Figure A-14. The poster above was used to recruit men for the budding aviation units of the Marine Corps in early 1917 (Anon., June 1917:32).
Figure A-15. This depicts a cartoon which appeared in the New York Herald in the summer of 1917 (Rogers, 1917:18).
Figure A-16. This is one of the "First to Fight" series. The art work was done by Fred C. Yohn and again, the faces are all those of "Poster Zeller." (Karesh, 1971:22-23) See also Figures 3.10, page 83, and A-17, page 207, for examples of others in this series.
Figure A-17. This depicts another poster in the "First to Fight" series. See also Figures 3.10, page 83, and A-16, page 206, for examples of others in this series.
Figure A-18. This is the companion poster to the one depicted in Figure 3.21 on page 94 (Christian, 1917:46).
Figure A-19. This is McColland Barclay's art work for a poster that was used in 1918.
Figure A-20. This is the cover for the music of the Marines' Hymn which received wide distribution in the late summer and fall of 1918.
This appeal to the emotions was made by C.B. Falls in May of 1918 (Karesh, 1971:26).
Figure A-22. This poster was distributed widely in the New York area by the Goodrich News Service in the summer of 1918 (Anon., August 1918:12).
Figure A-23. The billboard pictured above was donated to the recruiting station in Cleveland in March, 1918, by the Chamber of Commerce (Anon., April 1918:11).
Figure A-24. This illuminated billboard was donated for the use of the Los Angeles recruiting station during the summer of 1918 by an electrical firm of the city (Anon., August 1918:11).
Figure A-25. This composite picture appeared in the December, 1918, Recruiters' Bulletin to illustrate the many national magazines that used Marines in their cover themes.
Figure A-26. These two billboards were in New York in early 1919. The one on the right was displayed in Columbus Circle and the other was at Broadway and 43rd. (Anon., February 1919:1)
Figure A-27. This "Devil Dogs" billboard was displayed in Milwaukee in the spring of 1919 (Anon., April 1919:21).
Figure A-28. This photograph appeared in the August, 1919, edition of the Recruiters' Bulletin on page 11. It uses the map poster depicted in Figure 3.25, page 98, as the central theme.
Figure A-29. This poster appeared in 1919, and is obviously aimed toward enlisting men in the aviation units of the Corps.
Figure A-30. The Marine recruiters of Portland, Maine, went to the Sells-Floto Circus to try to enlist Marines during the summer of 1920 (Anon., 1920:8).
Figure A-31. This is the companion poster to the one depicted in Figure 3.27, page 100 (Hoadley, 1920:17).
Figure B-1. This is a 1941 poster which is very much like those used in the period just before World War I.
Figure B-2. The poster depicts the American Eagle making a successful attack on a Japanese bomber. It was used in 1942. See also Figure B-3.
Figure B-3. This is another aviation oriented poster like Figure B-2.
Figure B-4. This poster was used during the Christmas season in 1943.
Figure B-5. This poster is one of the series that depicted the Marine Corps battles of World War II. See also Figure 5.11, page 150.
Figure B-6. This is a post-war poster that uses travel and adventure as a theme. See also Figure 5.12, page 151.
Figure B-7. A poster using tradition of the Marine Corps as a basic theme is depicted above. See also Figures 5.17, page 156, and B-10, page 232.
Figure B-8. This poster was produced in early 1949, and tends to issue a challenge to the viewer.
Figure B-9. This poster stresses the air mission of the Corps and is the companion poster of the one depicted in Figure 5.14, page 153.
Figure B-10. This final poster has as its basic theme tradition and was used in the late 1950's. See also Figures 5.17, page 156, and B-7, page 229.
APPENDIX C
Figure C-1. The "Pride" of the Corps is stressed in this 1961 poster. See also Figures 6.1, page 165, and C-2.
Figure C-2. This poster stresses the tradition of "Valor" in the Marine Corps. See also Figures 6.1, page 165, and C-1.
Figure C-3. This is another poster in the series that stresses the Marine Corps' ability to "build men."
Figure C-4. Both tradition and physical fitness are the appeal of this 1967 poster.
Life in the Marines is not without obstacles.

We’re looking for a few good men.

Figure C-5. The difficulty of becoming a Marine is stressed in this poster. See also Figure C-7, page 240.
Figure C-6. The eliteness of the Corps is stressed in this poster. Valor is also implied by the Marine pictured on the poster.
Figure C-7. This poster again plays on the physical strength aspect of becoming a member of the elite Marine Corps. See also Figure C-5, page 238.
Figure C-8. The physical challenges of becoming a Marine are stressed in this poster.
Figure C-9. The combat aspect of the Marine Corps is the appeal of this poster.

Figure C-10. This poster stresses the educational possibilities which exist for the man who enlists in the Marine Corps.
REFERENCES CITED

CHAPTER I


CHAPTER II


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