Speaker & Gavel

Volume 6
Issue 2 *January 1969*

Article 1

Complete issue 6(2)

speaker and gavel

VOLUME 6, NUMBER 2 JANUARY, 1969

SPEAKER and GAVEL

Official publication of Delta Sigma Rho–Tau Kappa Alpha
National Honorary Forensic Society

PUBLISHED AT LAWRENCE, KANSAS
By ALLEN PRESS, INC.

Second-class postage paid at Lawrence, Kansas, U.S.A. 66044
Issued in November, January, March and May. The Journal carries no paid advertising.

TO SPONSORS AND MEMBERS

Please send all communications relating to initiation, certificates of membership, key orders, and names of members to the National Secretary. All requests for authority to initiate and for emblems should be sent to the National Secretary and should be accompanied by check or money order. Inasmuch as all checks and money orders are forwarded by the Secretary to the National Treasurer, please make them to: "The Treasurer of Delta Sigma Rho–Tau Kappa Alpha."

The membership fee is $10.00. The official key of 10K (size shown in cut on this page) is $6.00, or the official keypin of 10K is $7.00. Cut diamond in key is $7 additional. **Prices include Federal Tax.** Individual key orders add 50c.

The names of new members, those elected between September of one year and September of the following year, appear in the November issue of SPEAKER and GAVEL. According to present regulations of the society, new members receive SPEAKER and GAVEL for two years following their initiation if they return the record form supplied them at the time their application is approved by the Executive Secretary and certified to the sponsor. Following this time all members who wish to receive SPEAKER and GAVEL may subscribe at the following rates: $2.00 per year for the standard subscription; $5.00 per year for those who wish to sustain the work of SPEAKER and GAVEL; and $25.00 for a lifetime subscription.

NATIONAL OFFICERS

President: LEROY T. LAASE, University of Nebraska
Vice President: JAMES H. McBATH, University of Southern California
Secretary: NICHOLAS M. CRIPE, Butler University
Treasurer: KENNETH G. HANCE, Michigan State University
Trustee: E. C. BUEHLER, University of Kansas
Historian: HEROLD T. ROSS, DePauw University

REGIONAL GOVERNORS, MEMBERS AT LARGE, AND REPRESENTATIVES

Regional Governors: JOHN A. LYNCH, St. Anselm's College; RAYMOND BEARD, State University of New York at Cortland; GEORGE F. HENIGAN, George Washington University; JOSEPH C. WEATHERBY, Duke University; THEODORE J. WALWIK, Indiana State University; REX WIER, University of Texas; MELVIN MOORHOUSE, Wichita State University; BERNARD L. BROCK, University of Minnesota; GEORGE ADAMSON, University of Utah; ROBERT GRIFFIN, University of Nevada.

Members at Large: WAYNE C. EUBANK, University of New Mexico; ANNABEL HAGOOD, University of Alabama; MELVIN MOORHOUSE, Wichita State University.

ACHS Representative: H. L. EWBANK, JR., Purdue University.

Representative on SAA Committee on Intercollegiate Debate and Discussion: AUSTIN J. FREELEY, John Carroll University.

EDITORIAL STAFF

Editor: ROBERT O. WEISS, DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana 46135.

Associate Editors: BERNARD BROCK, University of Minnesota; JOE ESTEP, University of Alabama; ROBERT L. SCOTT, University of Minnesota.

Speaker and Gavel

Volume 6 January, 1969 Number 2

PLAN AHEAD

Sixth Annual DSR–TKA Forensic Conference

University of Nebraska

Lincoln, Nebraska

April 6, 7, 8, 9, 1969

THE PRESIDENT'S PAGE

The President's Page this issue is devoted to a guest editorial by the Finance Committee. The article is designed to acquaint Chapter Sponsors and the membership with a better understanding of the financial resources and operations of the Society. The Finance Committee consists of Kenneth G. Hance, Treasurer; E. C. Buehler, Trustee; and Leroy T. Laase, President. Kenneth Hance has served as National Treasurer of DSR-TKA since the merger in 1963. E. C. Buehler has served as National Trustee, responsible for administering the Society's capital investments in DSR prior to the merger and DSR-TKA since then. Leroy T. Laase has served DSR-TKA since the merger, first as National Vice-President and now as National President. These members of the Finance Committee have a background of experience and a wealth of information upon which they have drawn for this guest editorial.

THE TREASURER SPEAKS

The Treasurer has three basic duties in harmony with the requirements of the Constitution and with customary functions associated with this office: (1) to develop and present an annual budget to the National Council; (2) to receive and disburse monies within the framework of the activities of the society and of customary procedures of such an office; (3) to maintain a check on the financial affairs of the society in terms of the relationship of the disbursements to the approved budget.

With respect to the first duty, the Treasurer submits a budget to the Council at each annual meeting, this budget reflecting probable sources and amounts of income and probable areas and amounts of disbursements as determined by the policies of the society. With respect to the second duty, the Treasurer maintains a set of books and records all monies received and disbursed. (This set of books is "closed" at the end of each fiscal year, and a financial report is prepared for the use of the National Council and for inclusion in the *Speaker and Gavel* if desired by the Editor.) With respect to the third duty, the Treasurer stands ready to answer such questions as "Can we afford this expenditure?" "Is this within the budget?" Also, if necessary, he may express a word of warning or, on the other hand, may indicate that the society appears to be in a position to expend additional monies for new or expanded services.

The following budget for the year 1967–1968, which was approved by the National Council in December, 1967, shows the dimensions of the financial operation of our society and also reflects the nature of our policies and procedures regarding operation and services:

INCOME	
Initiations	$3500.00
Investment Income and Book Royalties	4370.00
Special Gifts	150.00
Charters	200.00
	$8220.00
DISBURSEMENTS	
Speaker and Gavel	$3700.00
Printing and Postage	300.00
President's Office	200.00
Secretary's Office	1000.00

Treasurer's Office	200.00
Historian's Office	200.00
Maintenance of Records by Allen Press	450.00
Dues and Expenses re Association of College Honor Societies	200.00
Expenses of SAA Committee on Debate and Discussion	125.00
Membership Certificates	200.00
Awards:	
Speaker-of-the-Year	275.00
Distinguished Alumni	50.00
Trophy for National Forensic League	100.00
Speech Association of America Life Membership	200.00
Student Council	100.00
National Conference	800.00
Association of College Honor Societies Descriptive Booklet	50.00
Miscellaneous	70.00
	$8220.00

THE TRUSTEE SPEAKS

Essentially our role as a national organization is to give honor and recognition for outstanding achievement in the arts and science of persuasive discourse in the context of competitive educational forensics among colleges and universities of the U. S. A. We belong to the family of accredited national honor societies. We are, as President Laase points out, "The Phi Beta Kappa of the Forensic World."

As we carry out our goals and functions, we face many problems more complex than designating honor in the manner of Phi Beta Kappa. We sponsor and direct intercollegiate activities which require administrative planning, travel costs, and faculty guidance and control of a specialized nature. Much of what we do lies beyond formalized work of the classroom. Thus, in order to expedite the trusteeship of our goals, fringe duties have emerged in our relationships with American College Honor Societies and the Speech Association of America. Useful special projects have been inaugurated to augment our cause such as the annual Distinguished Alumni and Speaker of the Year awards. More directly related to the internal life and vigor of the society are the annual regional and national conferences and above all, the publication of a quarterly journal, *The Speaker and Gavel*, which serves partly as a house organ, partly as a communication medium for essential administrative functions, and more important as a source for energizing ideas for our mutual professional enrichment and progress.

There you have it. Although honor is our main concern, it takes a lot of doing to give meaningful service to ourselves, the academic community, and speech education in general. All this takes money. As the result of years of frugal practices, investment counseling, numerous security transactions, and good fortune, the Delta Sigma Rho investment program over a period of two decades realized capital growth of about five times the original amount. At the time of the merger, the unencumbered cash balance of Tau Kappa Alpha and income from book royalties were joined with the monies of Delta Sigma Rho into a common fund. The amount of $1,000 from the Tau Kappa Alpha balance was added to one of the four mutual stock funds which compose our total investment structure, which now totals about $75,000.

The Constitution forbids the use of capital investment for the normal operations of the society. However, by a three-fourths vote, the National Council has power to direct the Finance Committee to use portions of capital gains as well as dividends to meet certain emergencies. At the April, 1968 meeting in Washington, the National Council passed a motion directing the Finance Committee to "withdraw from security investments accruing dividends and up to fifty per cent of the capital gains if and when such funds are needed to balance the budget." Due to prior action by the National Council, a plan for systematic withdrawals of capital gains from one fund, "Selected American," had already been initiated as of July, 1966. These withdrawals equal approximately $480.00 per year or roughly one-third of the maximum designated by the National Council at the Washington meeting.

Our total annual income from investment dividends, including monthly capital gains withdrawals, amounts to about $3100. Since the merger was consummated a little more than five years ago, there were many new and unforeseen housekeeping expenditures which used up about all of our cash reserve. Now the honeymoon is over and we must settle down like a well-adjusted married couple and keep our finances in good order. Certainly we can no longer continue the trend of operation on the basis of the past five years. WE MUST EITHER CUT EXPENDITURES OR COLLECT MORE MONEY.

THE PRESIDENT SPEAKS

Your President does not think it realistic that in these times of rising costs, it is feasible to reduce expenditures materially if at all. On the contrary, the pressure is likely to be for increased expenditures to keep up with rising costs. Then too there is always the pressure for expanded services. During each of the past two years, there have been substantial requests, carefully considered by the National Council and approved as warranted additional items of expenditure. Perhaps with prudent restraint, we can hold the line on further authorizations for expanded expenditures, but we must be prepared to deal with the rising costs that accompany inflation in the national economy.

Your National Council has recognized that inflation can eat away at the real dollar value of our capital investments. It is for this reason that the National Constitution forbids drawing on our capital investments, now approximately $75,000. By action of the National Council, at least half of our capital gains each year is added to our capital investments to offset inflation; the other half of our capital gains and all accruing dividends may be withdrawn, if and when urgent needs warrant, to balance the budget. In general, this would appear to be a sound policy.

What is the possibility of increasing income? A main source of income is from initiation fees. On the face of it, the simplest way to increase income would be by raising initiation fees. We may not want to do this. Yet, in effect, we have been reducing fees annually for thirty years. Both D.S.R. and T.K.A. before the merger operated on the basis of a ten dollar initiation fee for decades. Based upon the purchasing power of the dollar, we have cut our fees since Pearl Harbor from ten dollars to four dollars, and at the same time we have more than doubled the amount and quality of our services. We cannot continue this trend of doing more with less.

The alternative to raising fees is for us to elect a larger number of quali-

fied candidates into membership of the Society. Here, the responsibility falls squarely upon the local Chapter Sponsors. Every student who qualifies for a chapter DSR-TKA honor and is denied the opportunity to its claim is an unfortunate victim of disservice for which the Chapter Sponsor must be held accountable. Imagine how the eligible Phi Beta Kappa would feel when knowing he was denied this high honor because of someone's negligence or indifference.

The life blood of this society lies with the Chapter Sponsor. The trusteeship of our money and what we do with it must be shared across the board from the Chapter Sponsors to the Finance Committee. Surely, we are not suffering from an erosion of faith in the worthiness of our cause that is commensurate with the erosion of the worth of the dollar. Delta Sigma Rho-Tau Kappa Alpha must maintain a policy of fiscal stability and responsibility.

THE SIXTH ANNUAL DSR-TKA NATIONAL CONFERENCE

University of Nebraska
Lincoln, Nebraska
APRIL 6, 7, 8, 9, 1969

TIME AND PLACE: The Conference will be held in Lincoln, Nebraska on April 6–9, 1969.

HOST CHAPTER: The University of Nebraska is the host chapter.

CONFERENCE HEADQUARTERS: The Conference Headquarters will be in the Nebraska Center on the University campus. Two types of housing are available at the Center; conventional "motel-type" rooms at moderate rates and special low-cost "dormitory-type" housing (ten to a room). A number of good motels are located within three miles of the Center. Full details about housing, together with other information, will be mailed with your registration form. The Student Congress will be held in the Center; two-man debate and individual events will be held in classroom buildings within walking distance of the Center. Buses will be provided to take four-man debate teams to the downtown campus.

REGISTRATION: Registration forms will be mailed to each chapter during January. If you do not receive your registration form by February 1st, please write to the Tournament Director, Dr. Donald O. Olson at the University of Nebraska.

EVENTS: Two-Man Debate, Four-Man Debate, Extempore Speaking, Persuasive Speaking and Student Congress.

OTHER FEATURES: Speaker of the Year Award, Distinguished Alumni Award and Model Initiation.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE COMMITTEE:

Austin J. Freeley, John Carroll University, Chairman
George A. Adamson, University of Utah
Kenneth E. Andersen, University of Michigan
George F. Henigan, George Washington University
Donald O. Olson, University of Nebraska, *ex officio*

FREEDOM OF SPEECH, CATO'S LETTERS AND THE AMERICAN COLONISTS

HAIG BOSMAJIAN
University of Washington

When they collaborated under the joint pseudonym of "Cato," John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon had no way of knowing that their *Cato's Letters*, four volumes that went through six editions between 1733 and 1755, would have a great impact and influence on the American colonists during the half century preceding the American Revolution. Although several scholars writing about the colonial period have briefly referred to the influence of *Cato's Letters*, first published in England in 1720, none have dealt with the letters as a whole or as individual pieces of persuasive discourse.[1] Bernard Bailyn, in his *Pamphlets of the American Revolution*, writing of the early eighteenth century transmitters of the seventeenth century English radicalism, states that "to the colonists the most important of these publicists and intellectual middlemen were those spokesmen for extreme libertarianism, John Trenchard (1662–1723) and Thomas Gordon (d. 1750)."[2] Leonard Levy, in his *Freedom of Speech and Press in Early American History: Legacy of Suppression*, points to *Cato's Letters* as the most widely known source of libertarian thought in England and in America during the eighteenth century.[3] Levy prefaces an extended quotation from one of the letters published in 1720 with: "The essay 'Of Liberty of Speech: That the same is inseparable from Publick Liberty,' was so popular in America, though now undeservedly forgotten, that extensive quotation of its splendid rhetoric is justifiable."[4] Clinton Rossiter has written that "no one can spend any time in the newspapers, library inventories, and pamphlets of colonial America without realizing that *Cato's Letters* rather than Locke's *Civil Government* was the most popular, quotable, esteemed source of political ideas in the colonial period."[5] Elizabeth Cook in *Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers* has referred to the popularity of *Cato's Letters* all along the Atlantic seaboard: "*Cato's Letters* were popular enough in the colonies to be quoted in every colonial newspaper from Boston to Savannah, and must have had no small share in bringing about that amazing unity of political feeling which we find by 1760 in civilizations so fundamentally opposed as those of Charleston and Boston."[6] In his introduction to William Livington's *The Independent Reflector*, Milton M. Klein observes

---

Mr. Bosmajian is Associate Professor of Speech at the University of Washington.

[1] For some background on John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon and *Cato's Letters* see Charles B. Realey, "The London Journal and Its Authors, 1720–1723," *Bulletin of University of Kansas Humanistic Studies*, V(December 1935) and Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), pp. 115–125.

[2] Bernard Bailyn (ed.), *Pamphlets of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), I, 29.

[3] Leonard W. Levy, *Freedom of Speech and Press in Early American History: Legacy of Suppression* (New York, 1963), p. 133.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

[5] Clinton Rossiter, *Seedtime of the Republic* (New York, 1953), p. 141.

[6] Elizabeth Christine Cook, *Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers* (New York, 1912), p. 81.

that although *Cato's Letters* were never republished in book form in the colonies, "American newspapers simply pirated the work by extensive and frequent republication of the essays. The Philadelphia *American Weekly Mercury* began reprinting the *Cato* letters in 1722, while they were still running serially in the British press, and the New York, Boston, and South Carolina papers quickly followed suit. By the middle of the eighteenth century American newspapers were referring to Gordon and Trenchard in adulatory terms as 'that incomperable [sic] Lay Author' and 'the Divine English Cato.' "[7] Peter Zenger hardly permitted an issue of *The New York Weekly Journal* from November to February 1733–1734 pass without a quotation or a letter from the "Sentiments of English Cato."[8] Then, "when in 1735 John Peter Zenger's lawyer sought theoretic grounds for attacking the traditional concept of seditious libel he turned for authority to Trenchard and Gordon's *Cato's Letters*."[9]

Benjamin Franklin recommended that college students be taught the English language by studying "our best writers," who included among others, Addison and Pope, and by studying *Cato's Letters*.[10] The influence of Trenchard and Gordon on Franklin is demonstrated when Franklin, instead of composing his own letter to *The New England Courant* in July 1722, sent to the newspaper for publication a lengthy portion of "Of Liberty of Speech: That the same is inseparable from Publick Liberty," saying that he preferred it to anything he had written.[11]

The colonists were attracted to the persuasion of *Cato's Letters* generally and to "Of Liberty of Speech . . ." in particular for various reasons. *Cato's Letters* strongly indicted seventeenth and eighteenth century English politics, especially the absolute monarchs and the corruption in government. As Milton Klein asserts, both Trenchard and Gordon "were staunch Whigs who shared a common suspicion of standing armies, Tory politicians, divine right theorists, and High Churchmen."[12] Both men, through their writings, defended freedom of speech, the equality of men, the right of resistance; both warned of the threat of Popery to civil and religious liberties. It is not hard to understand how the colonists were attracted to their persuasion, especially to the persuasion of the most popular of the letters, "Of Freedom of Speech . . .":[13]

> Whoever would overthrow the Liberty of the Nation, must begin by subduing the Freedom of Speech; a Thing terrible to publick Traytors.
>
> This Secret was so well known to the Court of King Charles I that his wicked Ministry procured a Proclamation to forbid the People to talk of Parliaments, which those Traytors had laid aside. To assert the undoubted Right of the Subject, and defend his Majesty's Legal Prerogative, was called Disaffection, and punished as Sedition. Nay, People were forbid to talk of Religion in their Families: For the Priests had combined with the Ministers to cook up Tyranny, and suppress Truth and the Law. While the late King James, when Duke of York, went avowedly

[7] Milton M. Klein (ed.), *The Independent Reflector* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p. 22.

[8] Cook, p. 125.

[9] Bailyn, p. 36.

[10] Benjamin Franklin, *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania* (Philadelphia, 1931), pp. 13–14.

[11] Benjamin Franklin, *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1905), II, 25.

[12] Klein, p. 21.

[13] Rossiter, p. 299.

> to Mass; Men were fined, imprisoned, and undone, for saying that he was a Papist: And, that King Charles II might live more securely a Papist, there was an Act of Parliament made, declaring it Treason to say that he was one.[14]

So here, in addition to a monarch subduing freedom of speech, is the Papist suppressing freedom of expression, compounding the evil as far as the colonist was concerned. The attacks on Charles I and the Papists were popular in colonial America. In January 1750, while *Cato's Letters* were being read along the Atlantic seaboard, the Boston minister Jonathan Mayhew was delivering a sermon, "Concerning Unlimited Submission and Nonresistance to the Higher Powers," which as John Adams recalled was "read by everybody, celebrated by friends, and abused by enemies."[15] Mayhew's sentiments differed little from those of the English Cato; said Mayhew: ". . . it is to be remembered that King Charles, this burlesque upon saintship and martyrdom, though so great an oppressor, was a true friend to the Church—so true a friend to her that he was very well affected toward the Roman Catholics, and would probably have been very willing to unite Lambeth and Rome. This appears by his marrying a true daughter of that true mother of harlots which he did with a dispensation from the pope, that supreme BISHOP, to whom when he wrote he gave the title of MOST HOLY FATHER."[16]

Another characteristic which appealed to the colonists was Cato's continual reference to Roman statesmen and writers. In their own writings, the colonists relied heavily on classical citations and as Charles F. Mullett has pointed out, it was an obscure colonial pamphleteer ". . . who could not muster at least one classical analogy or one ancient precept."[17] The colonists "found their ideal selves, and to some extent their voices, in Brutus, in Cassius, and in Cicero, whose Catilinarian orations the enraptured John Adams, aged 23, declaimed aloud, alone at night in his room. They were simple, stoical Catos, desperate, self-sacrificing Brutuses, silver-tongued Ciceros, and terse, sardonic Tacituses eulogizing Teutonic freedom and denouncing the decadence of Rome."[18] Pamphleteer and newspaperman William Livingston, who was greatly influenced by *Cato's Letters*,[19] said in one of his 1752 essays, when attacking among other things, absolute monarchy:

> Does anyone think the above Representation [description of the evils of absolute monarchy], the result of a roving fancy, or figur'd beyond the life; let them take a Survey of Rome; e'er-while the Nurse of Heroes, and the Terror of the World; but now the obscene Haunt of sequestred Bigots, and effeminate Slaves. Where are now her Scipios, and Tullys, her Brutuses, and her Catos, with other Names of equal Lustre, who plann'd her Laws, and fought her Battles, during her Freedom and Independence? Alas! they are succeeded by cloistered Monks and castrated Musicians, in Subjection to a filthy old Harlot, that pretends to

[14] *Cato's Letters*, I, no. 15.
[15] John Adams, *The Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1856), X, 288.
[16] Jonathan Mayhew, "A Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission," in Bailyn, pp. 244–245.
[17] Charles F. Mullet, "Classical Influences on the American Revolution," *The Classical Journal*, XXXV(November 1939), 94.
[18] Bailyn, p. 23.
[19] Klein, pp. 21–22.

> a Power of devouring her Mediator, and claims a Right to eat up her People. Let him survey all Italy, once the seat of Arts and Arms, and everything great and valuable; now the joyless Theatre of Oppression and Tyranny, Superstition and Ignorance. Let him behold all this; and when he was finished his Survey, then let him believe and tremble.[20]

Although the colonial pamphleteers and newspapermen interjected large doses of Latin phrases into their essays and continually cited Latin personages as authorities, this display of classical learning was deceptive and as Bailyn points out, often the classical citations "appear to have been dragged in as 'window dressing with which to ornament a page or a speech and to increase the weight of an argument,' for classical quotation, as Dr. Johnson said, was 'the parole of literary men all over the world.' "[21] Be that as it may, the colonist was impressed with classical citations; although the references to classical incidents and writers may have been window dressing, "numerous Latin tags and an occasional Greek epigram seemed to eighteenth-century orators and publicists the essential adjuncts of their arguments. Therefore men like Quincy or Dickinson or Otis seldom failed to clinch their contentions with a quotation from an impeccable classical author. When John Dickinson could quote Vergil, *Discite justitiam moniti & [sic] non temnere divos* to his purpose he had given both flavor and authenticity to his argument and his conclusions. Furthermore, scarcely a pamphlet failed to boast a Latin couplet on its title page."[22] Trenchard and Gordon in their *Cato's Letters*, and especially in "Of Freedom of Speech . . . ," made great use of classical citations, but unlike most of the colonial pamphleteers, Trenchard and Gordon did have a foundation in classical literature, Gordon devoting himself to translating Tacitus and Sallust; thus in "Of Freedom of Speech . . ." are found references to Tacitus, Brutus, Pliny, Cassius, Horatius, Valerius, Cincinnatus, M. Marcellus, and Valerius Maximus. At the appropriate places in "Of Freedom of Speech . . ." are Latin phrases such as that which concludes the letter: "For, as the same Valerium Maximus observes, *Quid ergo Libertas sine Catone? Non magis quam Cato sine Libertate*."[23]

The credibility and believability of Trenchard and Gordon, their ethos, was enhanced not only by their attacks on Papists and absolute monarchs and by their Latin allusions, but also by their general optimism which "produced a belief that if liberty were achieved, progress must follow."[24] This was an optimism with which the colonists could sympathize and the idea that all will go well if the people are left free from censorship was reflected in "Of Freedom of Speech . . .": "Freedom of Speech is ever the Symptom, as well as the Effect, of good government. In old Rome, all was left to the Judgment and Pleasure of the People; who examined the publick Proceedings with such Discretion, and censured those who administered them with such Equity and Mildness, that in the space of Three Hundred Years, not Five publick Ministers suffered unjustly. Indeed, whenever the Commons proceeded to Violence, the Great Ones had been the Aggressors."[25] With freedom of speech, according to the English Cato, comes many things positive, but without this freedom come vileness, servitude, and submission:

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 79.
[21] Bailyn, p. 21.
[22] Mullet, p. 97.
[23] *Cato's Letters*, I, no. 15.
[24] Robbins, p. 116.
[25] *Cato's Letters*, I, no. 15.

> Freedom of Speech is the Great Bulwark of Liberty; they prosper and die together: And it is the Terror of Traytors and Oppressors, and a Barrier against them. It produces Writers, and encourages Men of fine Genius. Tacitus tells us, that the Roman Commonwealth bred great and numerous Authors, and writ with equal Boldness and Eloquence: But when it was enslaved those great Wits were no more. . . . Tyranny had usurped the Place of Equality, which is the Soul of Liberty, and destroyed publick Courage. The Minds of Men, terrified by unjust Power, degenerated into all the Vileness and Methods of Servitude: Abject Sycophancy and blind Submission grew the only Means of Preferments, and indeed of Safety; Men durst not open their Mouths, but to flatter.[26]

Gordon and Trenchard discussed the benefits and virtues which come with liberty in several other letters. In letter no. 62, titled "An Enquiry into the Nature and Extent of Liberty; with its Loveliness and Advantages, and the vile Effects of Slavery," the colonist read: "Liberty naturally draws new People to it, as well as encreases the old Stock; and Men as naturally run when they dare from Slavery and Wretchedness, whithersoever they can help themselves. Hence great Cities losing their liberty become desarts, and little Towns by Liberty grow great Cities."[27] The title of letter no. 63 was "Civil Liberty produces all Civil Blessings, and how; with the baneful Nature of Tyranny." Letter no. 64 was titled: "Trade and Naval Power the Offspring of Civil Liberty, and cannot subsist without it." Letters no. 65 and no. 67 were titled respectively "Military Virtue produced and supported by Civil Liberty only" and "Arts and Sciences the Effects of Civil Liberty only, and ever destroyed or oppressed by Tyranny."

Such faith in the belief that if liberty were achieved and left alone all would go well was, of course, related to the influence of the Enlightenment upon the colonists. As Bailyn points out, "the ideas and writings of the leading secular thinkers of the European Enlightenment . . . were quoted everywhere in the colonies, by everyone who claimed a broad awareness." In pamphlet after pamphlet the American writers cited Locke, Montesquieu, Voltaire, and others of the Enlightenment.[28] Not only did an optimism come with the Enlightenment, but so did a pragmatic idealism which appealed to the colonists. In *Cato's Letters*, the case for freedom of speech is not developed through philosophical definition or through any religious deliberations. "The mental well being of mankind," as John Stuart Mill put it a century later, the pursuit of wisdom, the detection of corruption in government are made possible through freedom of speech. Without this freedom, said the English Cato, society deteriorates: "Rome, with the Loss of its Liberty, lost also its Freedom of Speech; then Mens Words began to be feared and watched; then first began the poisonous Race of Informers, banished indeed under the righteous Administration of Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Aurelius, etc. but encouraged and enriched under the vile Ministry of Sejanus, Tigellinus, Pallas, and Cleander; *Querilibet, quod in secreta nostra non inquirant principes, nisi quos odimus*, says Pliny to Trajan."[29]

The exhortations, so prevalent in *Cato's Letters*, also probably appealed to the colonists; as Rossiter has said, "prose and poetry, especially when instructive and hortatory, were both held in high esteem throughout the colonial period."[30] Further, the clear and concise style of *Cato's Letters*, a

[26] *Ibid.*
[27] *Cato's Letters*, II, no. 62.
[28] Bailyn, pp. 23–24.
[29] *Cato's Letters*, I, no. 15.
[30] Rossiter, p. 125.

style highly praised by Benjamin Franklin, plus the aphorismic insights appealed to a people who found in the very popular almanacs of the day proverbs and slogans about liberty, responsibility, taxation, and life in general. The writings of Pope, Milton, and Addison served as sources for the philosophical and political quotable homely quotes which appeared in the colonial almanacs. Many phrases and sentences from *Cato's Letters* lent themselves to aphorismic insights, and often these general assertions were the bases for the deductive arguments appearing in the *Letters*. "Of Freedom of Speech . . ." began: "Without Freedom of Thought, there can be no such Thing as Wisdom; and no such Thing as publick Liberty, without Freedom of Speech. . . ." The second paragraph of the letter ends with: "Whoever would overthrow the Liberty of the Nation, must begin by subduing the Freedom of Speech; a Thing terrible to publick Traytors." Similar premises are presented as the bases for the enthymemes in "Of Freedom of Speech . . .": "Only the wicked Governors of Men dread what is said of them." "Guilt only dreads Liberty of Speech, which drags it out of its lurking Holes, and exposes its Deformity and Horror to Day-light." "All Ministers, therefore, who were Oppressors, or intended to be Oppressors, have been loud in their Complaints against Freedom of Speech, and the License of the Press; and always restrained, or endeavored to restrain, both." "Freedom of Speech, therefore, being of such infinite Importance to the Preservation of Liberty, every one who loves Liberty ought to encourage Freedom of Speech." Once these premises were accepted as true, and the colonists had little reason to doubt that they were true, the reader had no choice but to accept the conclusions, for the English Cato usually constructed valid deductive arguments.

Concluding whether it was Trenchard and Gordon's influence or the influence of some other writers of the Enlightenment which finally went into the establishment of the "American credo" cannot easily be done. Rossiter, in his *Seedtime of the Republic* has a section entitled "The Sources of American Political Thinking" in which he states: "It is not easy to separate the English libertarians into major and minor prophets of the American cause, but several men do stand out as thinkers whom the colonists seem to have read and pondered with special care. . . ."[31] Along with John Locke, Algernon Sidney, Edward Coke, and Lord Bolingbroke, Rossiter lists "Gordon and Trenchard, whose *Cato's Letters* retained a wide audience in this nation of Whigs." The influence of Gordon and Trenchard appeared, sometimes in direct citations from their works, in the pamphlets of James Otis and John Dickinson, in the writings of Benjamin Franklin and William Cushing. Almost fifty years before the Declaration of Independence, in which Thomas Jefferson, observing the tendency of men to defer rebellion, wrote that ". . . all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed," the English Cato had written that people tend not to turn to rebellion until public grievances were so enormous that there could be no question about them.[32] The libertarian persuasion of Gordon and Trenchard was attractive and acceptable to the colonists to the extent that the "founding fathers" incorporated the sentiments and arguments in that persuasion into the colonists' case justifying rebellion against what was viewed as English tyranny.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 357.
[32] *Cato's Letters*, II, no. 59.

THE RHETORIC OF POLITICAL REVOLT: GEORGE C. WALLACE

DAVID L. SWANSON

Nineteen hundred sixty-eight will be remembered as a year of upheaval unprecedented in the recent history of American politics. Controversial leaders were assassinated. Obedience to the rule of law became more and more selective. Important divisions appeared between young and old, between rich and poor, between black and white. Even the venerable two-party system, its sanctity no longer inviolate in this cataclysmic year, was shaken by talk of multiple parties.

The man doing most of the shaking was George Corley Wallace, former Governor of Alabama. A sort of ideological "yard child" of Huey P. Long, Wallace created what has been called the most significant third-party movement in American politics since Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose campaign of 1912. In this period of the alienated and the disaffected in American politics, Wallace may be a man well suited to the times. At the age of forty-seven he is entering the second decade of his revolt against the political leadership of our nation. This paper examines the nature of that revolt and focuses on the key rhetorical strategies of Wallace's 1968 Presidential campaign.

I

From his early days in Alabama politics Wallace has decried what he sees as an alarming and rapidly increasing concentration of unconstitutional power in branches of the federal government. In a speech delivered at the University of Missouri-Kansas City in October of 1967, he gave this general tendency specific application:

> We're talking about the elite cult that has grown up in our country of pseudo-intellectuals who today do not think that the average man-on-the-street can get up in the morning or go to bed at night unless this pseudo-intellectual in all of his brilliance writes him the guideline and writes him the blueprint. But the average man-on-the-street . . . he doesn't need guidelines to tell him how to run his business. Nor does he need guidelines to tell him how to run his domestic democratic institutions.[1]

George Wallace's ultimate goal, then, is to institute a system of government which he has called by many names—constitutional government, states' rights, territorial democracy, dual sovereignty. But whatever name it bears, the Wallace "philosophy of government" is characterized by its insistence that state and local governments be ensured the right to regulate their own "domestic democratic institutions," and that in this manner government be "returned to the people."

The present form of the Wallace movement—full-blown Presidential candidacy—is no ill-considered venture. Rather, it represents the fourth phase in a continuing crusade for George Wallace and his style of government. The first phase of Wallace's program sought to challenge "unconsti-

---

This is a revised version of a paper Mr. Swanson, a Graduate School Honors Fellow in Speech Communication at the University of Kansas, presented in Chicago at the 1968 Central States Speech Association Convention.

[1] George C. Wallace, address delivered at the University of Missouri-Kansas City, Kansas City, Missouri, October 6, 1967.

tutional" federal actions in the courts. As an Alabama circuit judge in 1958, Wallace purposely withheld voter registration records from investigators of the newly-created Civil Rights Commission. In June, 1963, he made his famous stand in the "schoolhouse door" of the University of Alabama. Both of these incidents resulted in Wallace's citation for contempt of a federal court order, but circumstances were such that the constitutional challenge to federal authority he sought never materialized.

When litigation thus proved unsatisfactory, the Wallace program entered a second phase with his attempt to provide the leadership necessary to unify the "solid South." He told the Mississippi State Legislature in November, 1962, that the restoration of Southern unity would allow him to exert powerful pressure on the leadership of the two national parties and thereby win valuable concessions.[2] The visceral politics of the South are not "solid," however, and George Wallace could not make them so.

Phase three of the Wallace program began with the Governor's participation in the 1964 Presidential primary elections. He hoped a strong showing there would force the national political parties to "heed his message" of popular discontent. With a surprisingly strong showing in the primaries and the nomination of Senator Goldwater assured, Wallace withdrew his candidacy, noting that he had accomplished his purpose: his message had been sent to the "high councils of both major political parties."[3]

After Goldwater's decisive defeat, the Wallace movement was forced to enter yet another phase in its quest for power. As the Governor told a Birmingham audience in 1966, "If we had stayed in the race, we would have gotten more votes than the National Republican candidate got. . . . So I say if you defeat [the National Democrats] you've got to do it in some other manner."[4] Seeing no chance for "acceptable" candidates or platforms from the major parties, Wallace decided a third party candidacy was the "other manner" best suited to advancing his movement in 1968.

Two aspects of the Wallace campaign are especially significant. First, its following and its appeal have assured it a place of importance in the history of American politics. Representing a rejection of the course the American government has pursued vis-a-vis social issues since the second World War, the campaign mustered nationwide support in numbers sufficient to provoke reevaluation of the national sentiment. At this writing it seems probable that Wallace will appear on the Presidential ballot in all fifty states. Current polls suggest that he may win 20 to 30% of the popular vote and a larger electoral vote than Hubert Humphrey, the Democratic candidate.

Second, the rhetorical aspects of the Wallace campaign provide a fertile field for inquiry. In a time when Presidential candidates are convinced of the wisdom of selecting moderate positions on issues, the Wallace position is extreme. In a time when issues are said to be irrelevant to the voters' choice of a candidate, Wallace speaks to the issues and wins support. Combatting the influence of party affiliation and traditional voting habits, the Wallace campaign is intensely rhetorical. Unlike the candidates of established parties, Wallace relies on rhetoric to win supporters to his cause, away from ingrained allegiances.

[2] George C. Wallace, address delivered to the Mississippi State Legislature, Jackson, Mississippi, November, 1962.

[3] George C. Wallace, "Face the Nation," C.B.S. telecast, July 19, 1964.

[4] George C. Wallace, address delivered at the Kickoff Rally for Mrs. George C. Wallace, Birmingham, Alabama, September 29, 1966.

II

As the Wallace campaign moved closer to the election of 1968 and a critical juncture in its bid for national power, it faced four imposing barriers to success: (1) Wallace was virtually without political allies or influence outside the South; (2) a Wallace victory in 1968 had an aura of implausibility for the voters; (3) Wallace's racist image alienated voters who would otherwise support him; and (4) Wallace could not hope for support from all sections of the electorate. It is through an analysis of the tactics used in meeting these problems that the nature of the rhetoric of George Wallace's political revolt becomes clear.

When a major party candidate embarks on a national campaign, he can normally count on the support of influential politicians throughout the nation. The Wallace campaign had no such allies; any success it experienced was due to Mr. Wallace and to his organization. Because of this lack of influential backing, the Wallace campaign was forced to place primary reliance on rhetoric as a means of securing support. Bill Jones, Wallace's press agent and campaign manager, writes that Wallace realized he must "jump over the politicians' heads and reach the people."[5] To secure this public exposure Wallace delivered one hundred twenty speeches in a six-week campaign to win his third party a position on the California ballot. He spoke frequently to college audiences even though they were often hostile, because campus appearances provide "an excellent forum for a speaker who wishes to have his message known nation wide."[6] His campaign was engineered to attract maximum press coverage, and much of the campaign's limited budget was channelled into programs aired over the national broadcast media. The Wallace campaign, then, sought to counteract a lack of political support by taking its message "to the people," and it is through the effective use of such rhetoric that the movement attacked its other major problems.

A second problem the campaign faced was the implausibility of a Wallace victory. The reluctance of voters to support a candidate who seems to have no chance of victory is a harsh reality of American politics. To fight this incredulity Wallace employed two broad strategies. In the plea for support which constituted the peroration of a typical campaign speech, Wallace pointed out that in a three-way race only thirty-four percent of the vote is needed to give a candidate victory and that he received this much and more in the primaries of 1964. To the critics who called Wallace a "spoiler" who sought only to throw the election into the House of Representatives, he replied that his goal was outright victory and depicted broad support for his campaign among "the people" who had become alienated from the major political parties:

> I am in this race because I believe the American people have been pushed around long enough, and that they, like you and I, are fed up with the continuous trend toward a socialist state which now subjects the individual to the dictates of an all-powerful central government.[7]

A third, more important problem facing Wallace was his image as a radical and a racist. Early in 1968 political opinion pollster Louis Harris

[5] Bill Jones, *The Wallace Story* (Northport, Alabama: American Southern Publishing Company, 1966), p. 71.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 105.
[7] George C. Wallace, address delivered in Atlanta, Georgia, July 4, 1962.

called this image the "great limiting factor," observing that a much larger number of Americans agreed with Wallace on important issues than the polls indicate, but that they were frightened away from supporting him because of his image as a radical.[8] In place of the racist label the Wallace campaign tried to substitute a new image in which its candidate was merely an idealist crusading for a philosophy of government. The radical image, it was contended, was the product of a deliberate distortion of Wallace's position by a hostile national press. As evidence of this new focus, Wallace said on "Meet the Press" last year when asked if he favored segregation:

> I do not recommend segregation in any phase of our society in any state in this Union. I only recommend that the states of the Union continue to determine the policies of their domestic democratic institutions themselves and that the bureaucrats and the theoreticians in Washington let people in Ohio and New York and California decide themselves, for instance, what type of school system they are going to have. I recommend states' rights and local government, and territorial democracy is what I recommend.[9]

In reply to allegations that his support came from a "white backlash," Wallace contended it was due merely to "an ever-growing tendency on the part of the American people to be fed up with big government."[10] Practical implementation of this attempt at image building was seen in Wallace's campaign speeches, each of which contained a recitation of the Negro majority his wife received in her 1966 gubernatorial race. Wallace felt, therefore, that the negative set of the voting public with regard to his racism had to be broken before any effective persuasion could take place.

How successful was this campaign to change the Wallace image? Robert Pearman wrote in his analysis of the Wallace movement:

> When Wallace gets through explaining, somehow he has erased the image of Governor Wallace symbolically blocking the door of the University of Alabama against the admittance of Negro students, or of his battle against federal voter registration in the South. Instead there has emerged the image of George Wallace the oppressed, assaulted by "bearded professors" and maddened throngs of students at Dartmouth, badgered and harrassed by representatives of the federal government, criticized, hounded, and lied about by the nation's press and national television.[11]

A final problem Wallace encountered was the virtual impossibility of his winning the support of certain sectors of the populace: the liberals and perhaps even the moderates, the intellectuals, the upper- and upper-middle-class groups, the Negroes. While Presidential campaigns typically attempt to draw support from every important stratum of the electorate, George Wallace realized that his campaign, to be successful, had to deviate from that pattern. Mr. Wallace, therefore, "wrote off" these groups and focused instead on that segment of the voting public whose support he believed he could win—white voters in the lower- and lower-middle-income groups.

He saw this public as discontented over a number of policies of the federal

---

[8] James K. Batten, "Wallace May Upset Apple Carts," *Kansas City Star*, January 11, 1968, p. 29.

[9] George C. Wallace, "Meet the Press," N.B.C. telecast, April 23, 1967.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Robert Pearman, "Wallace Sees Himself as Man of Destiny," *Kansas City Star*, November 19, 1967, Sec. A., p. 21.

government. His task, then, was to arouse this latent discontent and demonstrate how it fit into his broad "philosophy of government." Wallace used three strategies to accomplish this purpose.

First, he identified with them. The theme of his campaign was, "Can a former truck driver who is married to a former dime-store clerk and whose father was a plain dirt farmer be elected President of the United States?"[12] Wallace's speeches evidenced a quest for communion with all the downtrodden "little people" whom the federal government had betrayed and who, through him, could regain control of their destiny. Pearman observed:

> When the crowd is right, George Wallace is a little man carrying the little man's burden. You can hear the up-to-date version of Robert Penn Warren's "Willie Stark," a rustic demagogue of *All the King's Men.*[13]

Second, Wallace attempted to unite his audience of "little people" against their common foes, the pseudo-intellectuals who held power in the federal government. The typical Wallace campaign speech used the term"pseudo-intellectuals" at least twenty times, referring to those people who, "learned but without wisdom," had imperiled the future of the nation. In his Inaugural Address, Governor Wallace pleaded, "let us assume the leadership of the fight and carry our leadership across this nation. God has placed us here in this crisis. Let us not fail in this, our most historic moment."[14] The appeal for unity in the face of the enemy was repeated in his Long Beach, California, address of November, 1967:

> And to those who say I hate to change from the Democratic party or the Republican party, well let me say that the only thing that is going to help save our country is boldness and imagination. And if you've got boldness and imagination enough to make it possible to say to the two parties we're going to have a choice, then you join the American Independent Party and that's going to have a terrific impact.[15]

Wallace's third strategy in eliciting the support of the "common people" was to invest in them a sense of the strength they could wield and to secure their dedication to the solemn task before them. His speeches were replete with references to his support in every section of the country. The impression was created that it was Wallace, not the major political parties, who had the support of "the people." The strength that derives from their numbers must be used, Wallace insisted, to fulfill their sacred duty. Their philosophy of government was "destined to be a national philosophy—embraced by millions of Americans—which shall assume the mantle of leadership and steady a governmental structure in these days of crisis."[16] Wallace completed the task by conveying to his audience a sense of confidence in their eventual victory:

> I am going to take our fight to the people—the court of public opinion—where truth and common sense will eventually prevail.[17]

---

[12] "A New Look at Wallace—What He May Do to the Election," *U.S. News & World Report,* January 29, 1968, p. 57.

[13] Pearman, *loc. cit.*

[14] Jones, *op. cit.,* p. 77.

[15] George C. Wallace, address delivered in Long Beach, California, November 26, 1967.

[16] George C. Wallace, address delivered in Atlanta, Georgia, July 4, 1962.

[17] *Ibid.*

III

This, in brief, was the rhetoric of George Wallace's political revolt. It isolated its target audience, carried its message directly to them, unified them into a solid force with Wallace at its head, and imposed upon them a solemn mission.

Although at this writing the election is still one month away, it has become apparent that George Wallace succeeded in attracting support throughout the nation. Why was this extremist, sectional candidate so successful? Pearman's observation that "He knows the subtleties, the pressure points so to speak, of a certain segment of the American people" provides a fair operational definition of effective rhetoric.[18] For a sizable proportion of the American electorate, George Wallace's appeal was attractive and the rhetorical strategies of his campaign were sound.

While there are many critics who would prefer to practice their art on more palatable oratory, all must agree that George Corley Wallace was a vital participant in the rhetoric of 1968.

---

[18] Pearman, *loc. cit.*

A REALISTIC VIEW OF CONTEMPORARY DEBATE: A REPLY

DONALD N. RITZENHEIN

John Stuart Mill, commenting on his first attempt to write an essay, recalled, "My performance was entirely argumentative, without any of the declamation the subject would admit of. . . ."[1] Modern intercollegiate debating, with its emphasis on highly stylized argumentation before critic judges might be subject to the same criticism. Indeed, after four years of college debating, I have heard much of this kind of criticism, sometimes first hand. Critics see the debater largely as an argument and evidence machine, the gears of which cannot be shifted to run smoothly under the demands of oral presentation. The debater lacks, in their view, not only the ability to persuade, but sometimes even the ability to communicate.

These charges have too often been shrugged aside as the complaint of those who would be better off coaching and judging the forensic activities of oratory and extemporaneous speaking. No one could deny (according to this response) that the debater, without supplemental training, lacks the conversational manner, clear but unobtrusive organization, and polish of the extemporaneous speaker; or that he lacks the language facility, style, and delivery of the orator. The conclusion of this argument is that we should not worry much about delivery and style, that the important point is who "wins the issues."

Both sides have overstated their cases, and the result has been much needless bickering over the nature of debate. This article is an attempt to resolve the conflict by suggesting a definition of the debate process that focuses a balanced attention on the issues and on persuasive style. There is no doubt that on the one hand some debaters have not had as much concern for the ears of their judges as they have for the size of their files, while on the other hand its critics have failed to see the positive contributions made by debate to a student's education, quite apart from its contributions to his public speaking.

To understand best what contribution debating can make to public speaking training, the educational goals of debate should not be confused with the goals either of extemporaneous speaking or oratory. Debating's contribution to persuasive speaking has perhaps suffered too harsh a condemnation for being associated with, and thus compared to, oratory and extemporaneous speaking. The results of confusing debating with these other activities is perhaps best exemplified in the article, "A Liberal View of Contemporary Debate," by Robert Manning in the May, 1968, *Speaker and Gavel*. There, Mr. Manning suggests that the goals of debate

> . . . should include the growth and understanding of ideas, of one's persuasive techniques, of one's self, and of one's ability to function flexibly and effectively in the contemporary campus society and in the larger society later.[2]

Mr. Ritzenhein was a member of Wayne State University's first-place team in 2-man debate at the 1968 DSR-TKA National Conference. He is now Director of Debate at Southfield-Lathrup High School in Lathrup Village, Michigan.

[1] *Autobiography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 60.
[2] Page 164.

The meanings of several of these terms escape me, though their sounds are vaguely reminiscent of a "life adjustment" view of education. It is doubtful that all of one's educational experiences together can achieve some of those goals, but even if debating could help, Mr. Manning (and others) have failed to identify debating's *unique* contribution to such an enterprise.

That unique contribution lies in debating's ability to train the mind in the tools of analysis, research, and argumentation, *reinforced* by oral presentation that communicates the ideas thus formed in a clear, concise, and accurate way so their soundness and support can be evaluated by critic judges. It is—though not by design—an Americanization of the tutorial method of education practiced in Europe, but now largely denied to undergraduates here because of the size and organization of American universities. In that method, it will be recalled, two students meet with an instructor twice a week, each taking his turn reading a paper before the other two, and responding orally to the cross examination of the tutor. While the student makes his replies "persuasive," in the sense that their clarity and the facts they contain must overcome the tutor's objections and answer his queries, his primary task is to show proficiency in the use of reasoning and evidence.

In the American system, as embodied in modern intercollegiate debate, the original paper becomes the affirmative and negative cases; the cross examination is offered by the student's opposition; the clarity and conciseness of the student's response is measured by evaluating his "delivery" and "refutation"; the tutor becomes the critic judge, who evaluates not only the delivery and refutation, but especially the student's analysis, reasoning, and evidence.

The first benefit of this view of debate is that it is more consistent with the realities of a speaking situation largely conducted before one critic instead of a large audience. But of greater importance, it recognizes that debating is more than an extra-curricular activity aimed at some general educational goal of "growth . . . of one's self . . . ," or even that debate is largely a "forensic activity." Debating is, in fact, the only available opportunity a student has to learn a discipline of universal applicability: logic in the dynamic form of argumentation. As now Emeritus Professor of Psychology at the University of London, C. A. Mace, has advanced in his classic work, *The Psychology of Study*,

> Familiarity with the general requirements of proof with regard to different kinds of propositions—provided this knowledge has really become embodied in the texture of the mind—may exercise the profoundest influence upon the course of thought.[3]

His subordinate clause, "provided this knowledge has really become embodied in the texture of the mind," is the requirement that debate fulfills as no course in Logic from the Philosophy Department could ever do. Because the debater is forced to use or identify for refutation the various tests of evidence, methods of reasoning, types of fallacies, in a far more rigorous setting and for more sustained periods of time than he would in a Logic course, he reinforces those universal concepts in a way denied him in the intellectual doldrums of the classroom. As Professor Mace points out,

> We learn by doing and we learn by *expressing*. We retain information by making use of it, just as we maintain the strength of our muscles by

[3] (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1962), p. 65.

> giving them work to do, and as we retain dexterity by continued dexterous action. Some form of action or of expression would seem to be essential to unimpaired retention.[4]

Because the goal of debate is primarily training in argumentation, the oral method of communication becomes not a public speaking occasion, but the best educational device for impressing this goal on the student's mind. Thus persuasion, or what Mr. Manning calls the "rhetorical impulse," bears the same relation to debating as writing style bears to an examination. In both cases, language is a tool for clear, concise, and accurate communication of ideas, and, while it illuminates them, it must not get in the way.

If language is viewed primarily as the conductor of argumentative voltage, Mr. Manning is quite right in concluding that this means "letting the facts persuade." He is misleading, however, in his judgment that as a result, "Traditional debate tends to dictate style, to collapse the range of persuasive design, and to exclude imaginative experimentation."[5] The issue is one of determining the proper contribution of style, persuasion, and experimentation to debate, for these are the tools and not the goals of debating.

Style, for instance, makes a very important contribution to the goal of debate. It is not a tacked-on principle in the communication of analysis, reasoning, and evidence, but an integral part of the process. As S. I. Hayakawa has informed us, "The individual object or event we are naming, of course, has no name and belongs to no class until we put it in one."[6] Every time the debater makes a statement, then, he is faced with a variety of ways of saying it. He must make a language judgment, and he is better off to make it in terms of the clarity, conciseness, and accuracy with which it names the facts he wants to present—the facts he thinks will persuade.

For instance, when faced with an affirmative contention that, "Organized Crime is a serious problem in the United States today," the negative could respond:

"We do not think organized crime is a serious problem," which is neither a clear statement, for it does not tell why, nor an accurate one. Or the negative could say:

> "We admit organized crime is a problem, but we have programs to deal with it,"

which is better in terms of accuracy, but not quite what the negative wants to say; it is not concise. Or the negative could reply:

> "We realize organized crime is a problem, but with our current legislation we are making progress, and the problem is not as dangerous as the opposition would have you believe,"

which is much more clear, concise, and accurate. Language illuminates, but does not interfere with, the communication of analysis.

The organization of each team's analysis and reasoning—or its "persuasive design"—is also an integral part of the communication of ideas. While organization is constructed partly for "strategic" and defense purposes, it also serves as a persuasive instrument. Many basic affirmative cases and negative philosophies remain the same from January through April, but

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 41.
[5] Manning, p. 164.
[6] *Language in Action* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1941), p. 152.

debaters experiment right up to the last debate of the season with better ways of organizing their analysis—and very few would consider their last product a perfect one. As most debaters know, the range of organization is far more extensive than Mr. Manning suggests.

Likewise, the content of his analysis offers the debater extensive opportunities for responding to his opposition in a more "persuasive" light. For instance, since debaters deal with serious propositions of policy, they must concern themselves with the value premises upon which their directives to (moot) action are built. Generally, men justify their actions on the basis of the values which dictate or condone such action. Affirmative and negative teams who are careful to respond to the value premises of their opposition in a constructive way enhance the persuasiveness of the facts of their analysis. For example, in the final round of the National Debate Tournament in 1967,[7] the implied premise of the affirmative case, simply stated, was:

> The possibility of future peace with China is more important than the present guaranteed security of our allies in Asia.

Dartmouth College was able to identify and attack this value as unpersuasive,[8] while the affirmative team (of which I was a member) failed until too late to recognize the importance of their discovery. Oh, that the "range of persuasive design" *had* been more limited!

Finally, since "imaginative experimentation" is a term the definition of which on my part would be sheer conjecture, let it be sufficient to say that the range of originality in the development and presentation of analysis, reasoning, and evidence is as wide in "traditional" debating as the length of the season will permit. In four years of debating I have never met two teams (unless they were from the same school) who had identical cases, and even in those debates where the cases were similar, and our response was similar, the debates could not in any way be said to duplicate each other, especially in the rebuttals. Quite the contrary, the range of affirmative and negative cases reflected a great deal of imagination. Indeed, out of this extensive experimentation, a new species of affirmative case has evolved: the "comparative advantages case." It has opened up many avenues for analysis and invention.

Despite the fact that the "rhetorical impulse" properly understood is far less restricted than Mr. Manning contends, the practice of some debaters has seemed to ignore the principles of clarity, conciseness and accuracy. Speed of delivery retards clarity; an overabundance of "issues," which are not issues at all but arguments unrelated to the issues, combined with the overuse of verbal pauses and stock phrases impedes conciseness; and the flood of evidence, without regard to source or date and sometimes with little more qualification than "professor" or "doctor" is a serious disregard for accuracy.

But these are not problems to be solved, as Mr. Manning suggests, with humorous, impromptu, or parliamentary debates. Their contribution to public speaking would be at the expense of the intellectual vigor of "traditional" debate.

Mr. Manning does suggest the use of Oregon-style cross-examination debating as a possible variation, and in this suggestion there is much value.

---

[7] *Journal of the American Forensic Association*, Fall, 1967, pp. 118–139.
[8] See especially the first paragraph of the first negative rebuttal, p. 131–2.

The cross-examination period would force at least the witness to slow down, such a move being to his benefit. Then, if he sped up too violently during constructive or rebuttal speeches, the contrast in clarity would be obvious and he would be most likely to radiate a sense of unpersuasive panic as well.

The reduced time limits, while certainly not *guaranteeing* that the number of arguments would be reduced, would mean that the confusion generated by continuing some of the present habits would become more detrimental to the team employing them. Since verbal pauses and some stock terms like "I think," "we suggest," "*that* affirmative case," and "we contend," are intellectual breaths between rapidly exhumed arguments, the impact of cross-examination format on speed of delivery should make these terms less necessary.

Finally, the cross-examination period would offer both teams an opportunity to hold their opposition *immediately* accountable for any questionable pieces of evidence cited. I have seen first-hand the deserved undoing of the unfortunate team who could not produce a piece of evidence they had "cited" when directly challenged, as they could only have been in a cross-examination format.

The reason cross-examination debating offers itself as the best solution for both the minor and major impediments to the communication of ideas is that it does so while retaining the essential relationship between persuasion and the ideas being presented. Aided by the clarity, conciseness, and accuracy of language, the "facts persuade," as they should. Cross-examination debate may significantly aid the clarity, conciseness, and accuracy of language. If it can do this, debaters will not only profit from the improved reinforcement of argumentative principles, but they will be more sure of doing so not "without any of the declamation the subject will admit of."

BRIDGEPORT INSTALLS CHAPTER

On May 5, 1968, The University of Bridgeport became the 183rd chapter of Delta Sigma Rho-Tau Kappa Alpha in the United States, and the 4th to be installed in the State of Connecticut.

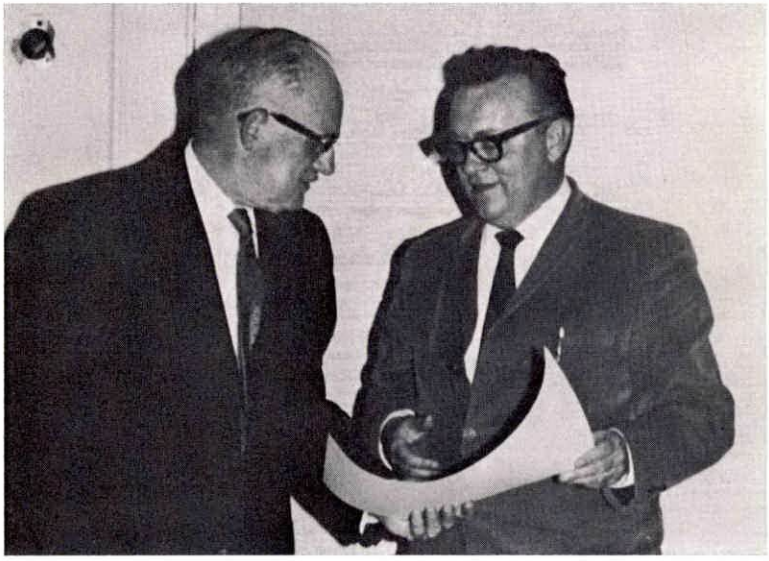
Professor Jack Lynch, District Governor and Director of Debate at St. Anselm's College in Manchester, New Hampshire, installed the chapter and delivered an address on the "Importance of Forensics in a Free Society." Paul Casey, a St. Anselm's debater and recent winner of an Outstanding Speaker Award at DSR-TKA Nationals, initiated each member. Members initiated were Gary D. Anderson, a senior speech-theatre major, Jeffrey S. Penner, a senior biology major, James Hyslop, a junior speech-theatre major, Richard Derman, a senior history major, Carol Metzler, a senior education major, Cheryl Jordan, a senior political science major, Barbara Decter Weisbart, a senior education major, and José Feliciano, a senior Spanish major.

Professor Lynch then presented the Charter to Dr. Karl Larsen, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, who represented the administration.

Also in attendance were Professor William S. Banks, former Director of Debate for 15 years, and current Director of Forensics Professor Charles F. Evans, Jr.

The Debate Society combined the installation of the chapter with the Annual Awards Banquet. Trophies were presented to: Margaret Aydelotte, a junior speech major, and Cheryl Jordan—"Most Valuable Debaters," James Klaber, a senior political science major, "Highest Point Average," Cheryl Jordan, "Most Rounds Award," Margaret Aydelotte, "Best Win-Loss Record"; and Ronald Simon, a sophomore history major, "Most Valuable Novice." Special Awards went to Richard Derman and Tom Louis, a senior graphics major, for serving as Debate Managers.

Scholarship winners in Forensics were announced for the 1968–69 school



Prof. Jack Lynch (right) presents charter to Dr. Karl Larsen, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, representing the administration.

Dr. Larsen (right) presents charter to Prof Charles F. Evans, Jr., Director of Forensics (left) and Prof. William S. Banks, Acting Chairman of the Department of Speech and Theatre.

Margaret Aydelotte, Cheryl Jordan, and Debate Manager Richard Derman, as Prof. Evans presents the Debater of the Year Award to Miss Aydelotte and Miss Jordan.

year. Bridgeport has 7 such scholarships, ranging from half tuition to full tuition. The scholarship holders for this year are: Margaret Aydelotte, Carol Detzky, and James Hyslop, junior speech-theatre majors, Phyllis Farber, a junior political science major, Mitchell Kahn, a senior history major, Vivian Poger, a junior nursing major, Ronald Simon, and William Trifiatis, a junior political science major.

PROF. CHARLES F. EVANS, JR.
Director of Forensics

THE STUDENT SPEAKER OF THE YEAR: 1969

The Student Speaker of the Year Award, patterned after the National Speaker of the Year Award, seeks to recognize the outstanding undergraduate senior who has made meaningful contributions to the art and spirit of forensics. The selection committee strives to maintain the highest standards for this award, standards demanding an extraordinary combination of communicative ability, breadth and depth of participation in activities requiring the use of speech, devotion to the cause of forensics, and success in academic pursuits.

In 1966, James Hudek of Michigan State University received the first Student Speaker of the Year Award. The following year the selection committee did not consider anyone to be fully deserving and so tendered the award to no one. Last year the selection committee again set a precedent by presenting not only a Student Speaker of the Year Award but three Honorable Mention Awards as well; Bob Shields of Wichita State University was recognized as Student Speaker of the Year; and Richard Brautigam of Michigan State, Susan Cahoon of Emory, and Gregg Millard of George Washington were commended with Honorable Mention.

Below appears a summary of the nomination process and the qualities considered in making the selection. Please note that nominees must be in attendance at the National Conference as a participant in either Debate or Congress. In January, an official nomination form, containing detailed information and instructions, will be sent to all chapter sponsors, regional governors and student officers, and members of the National Executive Council and National Student Council. All nominations must be *received* by the First Vice President of the National Student Council no later than 8 March 1969.

STUDENT SPEAKER OF THE YEAR

I. General Requirements
   A. Any undergraduate member of Delta Sigma Rho-Tau Kappa Alpha, currently enrolled in his senior year of academic work, is eligible for the Student Speaker of the Year Award.
   B. A candidate for the award must be a participant in one of the major events (currently Four-man Debate, Two-man Debate, and Congress) at the National Conference at which the award is to be presented.

II. Nominations
   A. Students eligible for the award may apply directly to the First Vice President of the National Student Council or they may be nominated by one or more of the following organizations and individuals:
      1. The sponsor of the chapter of which the student is a member.
      2. The sponsor of a chapter at another institution.
      3. The student members of any chapter.
      4. A regional governor.
      5. A member of the National Student Council or the National Executive Council.
      6. A regional organization of DSR-TKA.

B. The student will be required to submit information which will enable the committee on the Student Speaker of the Year to evaluate his application.

III. Selections of the Student Speaker of the Year
   A. The award winner will be selected by a special committee composed of student and faculty members of DSR-TKA.
   B. The committee will apply the following criteria in making its selection (listed in order of priority):
      1. Comprehensive forensics record (win-loss, awards, etc.).
      2. Activities directly related to public speaking.
      3. Activities indirectly related to public speaking.
      4. Academic record.

Inquiries, nominations, and suggestions should be sent to: Charles P. Humphreys, First Vice President, National Student Council, DSR-TKA, 206 Snyder Hall, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan 48823.

REGION II NEWS

At the National Conference in Washington, D.C., Region II voted to hold Regional competition at Susquehanna University on November 1–2, 1968. Held in conjunction with Susquehanna's Dutchman Forensic Classic Tournament (in which 25 colleges from 13 states competed), this competition brought trophies to the top-ranking DSR-TKA speakers in individual events and in debate. The University of Pennsylvania swept first place in both novice debate and varsity debate. Other Region II colleges participating were State University of New York at Albany, Susquehanna, New York University (Heights), University of Pittsburgh, Rutgers, and Temple. The tournament director was Larry D. Augustine, president of the Eastern Forensic Association, Director of Forensics and DSR-TKA chapter sponsor at Susquehanna.

Region II plans to hold its annual business meeting in New York City this year at the Speech Association of the Eastern States Convention April 4–6, 1969, according to Raymond S. Beard, Region II Governor.

Chapters and Sponsors

Chapter Name, Address	Faculty Sponsor
Alabama, University, Ala.	Annabel D. Hagood
Albion, Albion, Mich.	D. Duane Angel
Alma, Alma, Mich.	Robert W. Smith
American, Washington, D. C.	Jerome B. Polisky
Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.	Jack Gregory
Auburn, Auburn, Ala	Marsha Trew
Ball State, Muncie, Ind.	David W. Shepard
Bates, Lewiston, Maine	Brooks Quimby
Berea, Berea, Ky.	Margaret D. McCoy
Birmingham-Southern, Birmingham, Ala.	Sidney R. Hill, Jr.
Boston, Boston, Mass.	
Bridgeport, Bridgeport, Conn.	C. F. Evans, Jr.
Bridgewater, Bridgewater, Va.	Roger E. Sappington
Brigham Young, Provo, Utah	Jed J. Richardson
Brooklyn, Brooklyn, N. Y.	Donald Springen
Brown, Providence, R. I.	
Bucknell, Lewisburg, Pa.	Frank W. Merritt
Butler, Indianapolis, Ind.	Nicholas M. Cripe
California State, Long Beach, Calif.	Jack Howe
Capital, Columbus, Ohio	Thomas S. Ludlum
Case Institute of Technology, Cleveland, Ohio	Donald Marston
Chicago, Chicago, Ill.	Richard L. LaVarnway
Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio	Rudolph F. Verderber
Clemson, Clemson, S. C.	Arthur Fear
Colgate, Hamilton, N. Y.	H. G. Behler
Colorado, Boulder, Colo.	George Matter
Colorado, Colorado Springs, Colo.	James A. Johnson
Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.	John W. Vlandis
Cornell, Ithaca, N. Y.	Arthur W. Rovine
Cornell, Mt. Vernon, Iowa	Walter F. Stromer
Creighton, Omaha, Neb.	Rev. H. J. McAuliffe, S.J.
C. W. Post College of L. I. Univ., Greenvale, N. Y.	Arthur N. Kruger
Dartmouth, Hanover, N. H.	Herbert L. James
Davidson, Davidson, N. C.	Rev. Will Terry
Denison, Granville, Ohio	W. R. Dresser
Denver, Denver, Colorado	Glen Strickland
DePauw, Greencastle, Ind.	Robert O. Weiss
Dickinson, Carlisle, Pa.	Herbert Wing
Duke, Durham, N. C.	Joseph Cable Weatherby
Eastern Kentucky State, Richmond, Ky.	Aimee Alexander, Robert King
Elizabethtown, Elizabethtown, Penn.	Jobie Riley
Elmira, Elmira, N. Y.	(Mrs.) Betty G. Gardner
Emerson, Boston, Mass.	John C. Zacharis
Emory and Henry, Emory, Va.	H. Alan Pickrell
Emory, Atlanta, Ga.	Glenn Pelham
Evansville, Evansville, Ind.	Lynne J. Mlady
Florida, Gainesville, Fla.	Donald E. Williams
Florida State, Tallahassee, Fla.	Gregg Phifer
Georgia, Athens, Ga.	Richard C. Huseman
George Washington, Washington, D. C.	George F. Henigan, Jr.
Grinnell, Grinnell, Iowa	William Vanderpool

Chapter Name, Address	Faculty Sponsor
Hamilton, Clinton, N. Y.	J. Franklin Hunt
Hampden-Sydney, Hampden-Sydney, Va.	D. M. Allan
Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.	Marian Smith
Hanover, Hanover, Ind.	Stanley B. Wheater
Hartford, Hartford, Conn.	Malthon Anapol
Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii	Dean Ellis
Hiram, Hiram, Ohio	Frank Ilersich
Howard, Washington, D. C.	Leroy Giles
Idaho, Moscow, Idaho	Ernest Ettlich
Illinois, Urbana, Ill.	Joseph W. Wenzel
Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.	E. C. Chenoweth
Indiana State, Terre Haute, Ind.	Otis J. Aggertt
Iowa State, Ames, Iowa	James Weaver
Iowa, State College of Cedar Falls, Iowa	Lillian R. Wagner
Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa	Gene Eakins
John Carroll, Cleveland, Ohio	Austin J. Freeley
Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas	Donn W. Parson
Kansas State, Manhattan, Kansas	Jack Kingsley
Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.	Gifford Blyton
Kings, Wilkes Barre, Pa.	Robert E. Connelly
Knox, Galesburg, Ill.	Donald L. Torrence
Lehigh, Bethlehem, Pa.	H. Barrett Davis
Lincoln Memorial, Harrogate, Tenn.	Earl H. Smith
Louisiana State, Baton Rouge, La.	Harold Mixon
Loyola, Baltimore, Md.	Stephan W. McNiernay
Loyola, Chicago, Ill.	Donald J. Stinson
Manchester, North Manchester, Ind.	Ronald D. Aungst
Mankato State, Mankato, Minn.	Larry Schnoor
Marquette, Milwaukee, Wisc.	John Lewinski
Maryland, College Park, Md.	Jon M. Fitzgerald
Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass.	Ronald Matlon
Memphis State, Memphis, Tenn.	Charles Wise
Mercer, Macon, Georgia	
Miami, Coral Gables, Fla.	J. Robert Olian
Miami, Oxford, Ohio	Jack A. Samosky
Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.	C. William Colburn
Michigan State, East Lansing, Mich.	Ted R. Jackson
Middlebury, Middlebury, Vt.	Dale DeLetis
Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.	Bernard L. Brock
Missouri, Columbia, Mo.	Phil Emmert
Montana, Missoula, Mont.	Robert Boren
Morehouse, Atlanta, Ga.	Robert Brisbane
Morgan State, Baltimore, Md.	Harold B. Chinn
Mount Mercy, Pittsburgh, Pa.	Thomas A. Hopkins
Murray State, Murray, Ky.	James Albert Tracy
Muskingum, New Concord, Ohio	Judson Ellerton
Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.	Donald O. Olson
Nevada, Reno, Nev.	Robert S. Griffin
New Hampshire, Durham, N. H.	William O. Gilsdorp
New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M.	W. C. Eubank
New Mexico Highlands, Las Vegas, N. M.	Walter F. Brunet
New York (Univ. Hts.), New York, N. Y.	Norman Puffett
New York (Wash. Sq.), New York, N. Y.	David Leahy
North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.	Donald K. Springen
North Dakota, Grand Forks, N. D.	Troy T. Baker

Chapter Name, Address	Faculty Sponsor
Northwestern, Evanston, Ill.	Thomas B. McClain
Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.	Leonard Sommer
Oberlin, Oberlin, Ohio	Daniel M. Roher
Occidental, Los Angeles, Calif.	Franklin Modisett
Ohio, Athens, Ohio	Ted J. Foster
Ohio State, Columbus, Ohio	Harold Lawson
Ohio Wesleyan, Delaware, Ohio	Ed Robinson
Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.	Paul Barefield
Oregon, Eugene, Ore.	W. Scott Nobles
Oregon State, Corvallis, Ore.	Thurston E. Doler
Pacific, Forest Grove, Ore.	Albert C. Hingston
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.	Miceal P. Carr
Pennsylvania State, University Park, Pa.	Clayton H. Schug
Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.	Thomas Kane
Purdue, Lafayette, Ind.	John Monsma
Queens College, Flushing, N. Y.	Howard I. Streifford
Randolph-Macon, Ashland, Va.	Edgar E. MacDonald
Rhode Island, Kingston, R. I.	Richard W. Roth
Richmond, Richmond, Va.	Max Graeper
Roanoke, Salem, Va.	William R. Coulter
Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester, N. Y.	Joseph Fitzpatrick
Rutgers, New Brunswick, N. J.	E. James Goodwin
St. Anselm's, Manchester, N. H.	John A. Lynch
St. Cloud State, St. Cloud, Minn.	William R. McCleary
St. Lawrence, Canton, N. Y.	Robert N. Manning
Samford University, Birmingham, Ala.	Brad Bishop
San Francisco State, San Francisco, Calif.	Henry E. McGuckin, Jr.
University of California, Santa Barbara, Calif.	Kathy Corey
South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.	Merrill G. Christophersen
South Dakota, Vermillion, S. D.	Hal R. Upchurch
Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif.	James McBath
Southern Methodist, Dallas, Texas	Virginia Gandy
Southwest Missouri State, Springfield, Mo.	Don Stanton
Spring Hill College, Mobile, Ala.	Bettie Hudgens
Stanford, Palo Alto, Calif.	Kenneth E. Mosier
State Univ. of N. Y. at Albany, Albany, N. Y.	Jeanine Rice
State Univ. of N. Y., Harpur College, Binghamton	Eugene Vasilew
Susquehanna, Selinsgrove, Penn.	Larry Ausustine
Syracuse, Syracuse, N. Y.	Paul R. McKee
Tampa, Tampa, Fla.	Hugh Fellows
Temple, Philadelphia, Pa.	Ralph Towne
Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.	Norma C. Cook
Texas, Austin, Texas	J. Rex Wier
Texas Technological, Lubbock, Texas	P. Merville Larson
Tulane, New Orleans, La.	Alex B. Lacey, Jr.
Ursinus, Collegeville, Pa.	Joseph E. Vannucchi
Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah	George A. Adamson
Utah State, Logan, Utah	Rex E. Robinson
Vanderbilt, Nashville, Tenn.	Randall M. Fisher
Vermont, Burlington, Vt.	Robert Huber
Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.	John Graham
Virginia Polytechnic, Blacksburg, Va.	E. A. Hancock

Chapter Name, Address	Faculty Sponsor
Wabash, Crawfordsville, Ind.	Joseph O'Rourke, Jr.
Wake Forest, Winston-Salem, N. C.	Merwyn Hayes
Washington, St. Louis, Mo.	Herbert E. Metz
Washington, Seattle, Wash.	Robert Halle
Washington and Jefferson, Washington, Pa.	Robert J. Brindley
Washington and Lee, Lexington, Va.	William W. Chaffin
Washington State, Pullman, Wash.	Janice Miller
Wayne State, Detroit, Mich.	George W. Ziegelmueller
Waynesburg, Waynesburg, Pa.	Deborah M. Blackwood
Weber State, Ogden, Utah	John B. Hebestreet
Wesleyan, Middletown, Conn.	Marguerite G. Petty
Western Kentucky State, Bowling Green, Ky.	Randall Capps
Western Michigan, Kalamazoo, Mich.	Charles R. Helgesen, Deldee Herman
Western Reserve, Cleveland, Ohio	Clair Henderlider
Westminster, New Wilmington, Pa.	Walter E. Scheid
West Virginia, Morgantown, W. Va.	William L. Barnett
Whittier, Whittier, Calif.	Gerald G. Paul
Wichita State, Wichita, Kansas	Mel Moorhouse
Willamette, Salem, Ore.	Howard W. Runkel
William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.	Donald L. McConkey
Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.	Winston L. Brembeck
Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wis.	Raymond H. Myers
Wittenburg, Springfield, Ohio	Ernest Dayka
Wooster, Wooster, Ohio	Gerald H. Sanders
Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo.	B. Wayne Callaway
Xavier, Cincinnati, Ohio	Rev. Vincent C. Horrigan, S.J.
Yale, New Haven, Conn.	Rollin G. Osterweis
Yeshiva, New York, N. Y.	David Fleisher

SPEAKER and GAVEL

Allen Press, Inc.
P. O. Box 368
Lawrence, Kansas 66044

Return Postage Guaranteed

Second Class Postage Paid
at Lawrence, Kansas, U.S.A.

James F. Klumpp
1720 Marion, Apt. 17
St. Paul, Minnesota 55113