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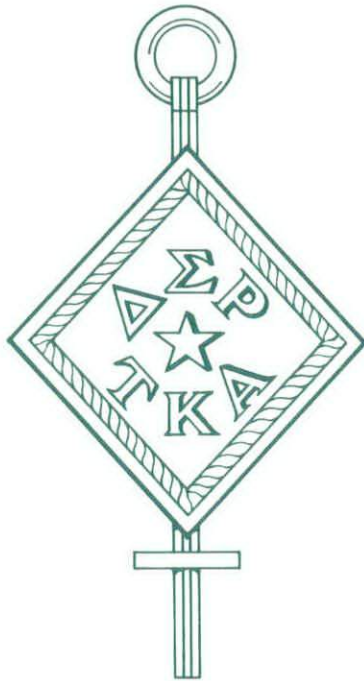
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# speaker and gavel



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# SPEAKER and GAVEL

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# Speaker and Gavel

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## Now Available

### CURRENT CRITICISM

Twenty essays which appeared in the Current Criticism department of *Speaker and Gavel* between 1966 and 1970 have been reprinted as a paperback book by Delta Sigma Rho—Tau Kappa Alpha.

These studies provide a lively panorama of the significant themes to which contemporary speakers address themselves. The agonies of the Vietnam decisions and the emergence of the "black power" issue strikingly dominate the concerns of speakers and critics alike, but other issues as well are given rhetorical analysis in this volume.

Copies of *Current Criticism* may be obtained for \$2.50 from Theodore Walwik, National Secretary, DSR-TKA, Slippery Rock State College, Slippery Rock, Penna. 16057.

We are hopeful that copies may also soon be available through the Speech Communication Association, so keep an eye open for their listings.

## PRESIDENT'S PAGE

We all know that Delta Sigma Rho and Tau Kappa Alpha, founded in the early 1900's, merged in 1963 to form a united society of nearly 200 institutions with a student and alumni membership of some 40,000. Through the *Speaker and Gavel* most of us are up-to-date on current history and recent activities. At this time I want to direct our attention to the future.

Despite the record of growth of DSR-TKA, the Society apparently has reached a membership plateau. The era of easy, predictable increase in annual membership appears to be ended. To this leveling-off process, there are a number of possible responses: first, one might posit this as a desirable state of affairs. An honor society should be selective. A growing membership may not be especially desired. Second, one might respond that this condition is simply a fact, neither good nor bad. DSR-TKA is merely participating in an experience common to all honor societies today. And, third, one might take the position that a stabilized membership is not desirable. A society can be both selective and growing. As the forensic population grows, so should its honor societies. Frankly, I opt for the latter alternative. An honor society underscores the academic dimension of an activity. This academic recognition clearly is what forensics most needs—any school activity without secure educational linkage is in jeopardy today.

The modern forensic establishment is impressive in size and scope. The season extends from early October until late May; the Tournament Calendar of JAFSA shows more than 400 intercollegiate speech meets scheduled annually, approximately 12 for each week of the school year; today about 85% of the tournaments last two days or longer, and it is not uncommon for collegiate teams to participate in 150–175 contests during the school year. During the past five years debate budgets have about trebled. Reflect now on the magnitude of educational investment in the debate enterprise. Total all of the college travel budgets in the country, then add compensation for teachers and teaching assistants, include materials and equipment and other forms of support and you get something in excess of \$8,000,000. The estimate is conservative; the aggregate expenditure must be considerably more than that. After weighing the students served and the cost incurred you may come to the conclusion that the most expensive specialized education in the United States, except for training of the handicapped, is contemporary collegiate forensic education.

I am concerned that in the lean 1970's, a decade of constricted college budgets, forensics may be the fattest unprotected plum in the academic orchard. How do we justify the sizeable investment in forensics? Our justifications are mainly quantitative: numbers of students, tournaments, trips, trophies. I suggest that stronger justifications are qualitative: student leaders, scholarly achievement, successful alumni, and recognition by member organizations of the American Association of College Honor Societies. There is no doubt in my mind that DSR-TKA performs a unique and useful function of academic validation to forensic activity. But there are other functions to be explored, and this process will continue in meetings for students and faculty at the 1972 National Conference in Albuquerque.

James H. McBath

## HERBERT HOOVER: THE RELUCTANT CAMPAIGN SPEAKER OF 1932

NICHOLAS M. CRIFE

Herbert Hoover, thirty-first President of the United States, did not like to make speeches. He made them because he felt he had to, not because he wanted to. For public speaking was something he never learned to enjoy. As he pointed out in his memoirs, "Speeches were not a part of my treasured occasions of life. . ."<sup>1</sup> He did not like to make speeches, but he made them.

In fact, Herbert Hoover ignored historical tradition in 1932, deserted the White House, and became the first President to campaign extensively for re-election. As a result, the 1932 Hoover campaign would compare favorably, in number of speeches delivered and miles traveled, with that of most presidential candidates in their striving to reach the White House. No previous occupant ever campaigned so strenuously to stay there. As one political writer of the day summarized it, the effect was that "Hoover's personal campaign saved him from being the worst defeated candidate who ever ran for President on a major ticket."<sup>2</sup>

Yet Herbert Hoover has been largely ignored by critics of American public address in spite of his extensive use of the public platform in his effort to retain the Presidency. This paper is not an analysis of what Herbert Hoover said or why he said it, but rather how he prepared what he said and how he delivered it. Therefore, this paper will attempt to do the following things with regard to the 1932 campaign speaking of Mr. Hoover: (1) prove that Herbert Hoover prepared his own speeches; (2) determine his methods of preparation; (3) determine the manner in which the speeches were delivered.

Herbert Hoover wrote his own speeches. In Volume II of his *Memoirs* we find, "Inasmuch as I have refused all my life to use a ghost writer, I required intervals of two or three weeks to prepare each address."<sup>3</sup> In Volume III, "Moreover, I wrote my own speeches—and a proper presentation required many days to prepare. I have never delivered a ghost-written public statement of importance."<sup>4</sup> In an article in 1952 he said the same thing, "I wrote my own speeches."<sup>5</sup>

Testimony from other sources verifies the Hoover contention that he was author of his speeches. Christian Gauss, writing for the *Saturday Evening Post* during the 1932 campaign, said: "No one, even today, is allowed to write his speeches. It is difficult, but he does it himself."<sup>6</sup> And Secretary of State Stimson seemingly tried to make a campaign issue of the matter

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<sup>1</sup> Herbert Hoover, *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover, the Cabinet and the Presidency, 1920-1933* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Willis Thompson, "The Republican Catastrophe," *The Commonwealth*, XVII (November 23, 1932), 91-2.

<sup>3</sup> Hoover, *The Cabinet and the Presidency*, p. 199.

<sup>4</sup> Herbert Hoover, *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover, The Great Depression, 1929-41* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952), p. 233.

<sup>5</sup> Herbert Hoover, "The 1932 Campaign," *Collier's*, May 23, 1952, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Christian Gauss, "The Education of Herbert Hoover," *Saturday Evening Post*, CCV (November 5, 1932), 69.

in 1932 when he said in an address in Dayton, Ohio, "Herbert Hoover writes his own speeches, every word of them. He does not carry around the country a carload of professors as ghost writers."<sup>7</sup>

Further evidence that Herbert Hoover was the author of the speeches he delivered is furnished by *Harper's Magazine*. Having published in an article in the October 1939 issue the statement that "Mr. Hoover practically never wrote a speech of his own,"<sup>8</sup> its January 1940 issue carried a full-page statement entitled "Apology to Mr. Hoover" which reads in part:

The fact is that Mr. Hoover's speeches have invariably been written by himself. We say this after opportunity for investigation both through original manuscripts and associates of Mr. Hoover who are in a position to speak authoritatively.<sup>9</sup>

Herbert Hoover may have disliked to prepare and deliver speeches, but the speeches he did prepare and deliver were his own.

A study of Hoover's method of preparation discloses that while, as a number of writers have noted, he literally "clubbed" his campaign speeches into shape, he nevertheless did observe some procedures highly recommended by teachers of public speaking. For instance, a statement in the *New York Times* lends support to the theory that Hoover checked on the audience situation prior to completing preparation of a speech. It tells how, in preparing the material for a speech in Indianapolis during the 1932 campaign, Hoover conferred with F. R. Schaaf, a banker from Gary, Indiana. The paper continued, "The White House declined to divulge the nature of their discussions, but it was understood to deal with the political and economic situation in Indiana."<sup>10</sup> A review of his rear platform speeches as reported in various newspapers during the 1932 campaign reveals in speech after speech direct reference to the specific audience and occasion.

On at least one occasion, however, Hoover ignored what he must have known to be the wishes of his immediate audience in order to express opposite views. This was his speech in St. Louis on November 4, 1932. St. Louis was considered "wringing wet" in its attitude toward Prohibition. Yet it was here that Hoover mentioned Prohibition for the first time in his campaign since his "Acceptance Speech," and mentioned it in a manner contrary to the beliefs of the local audience. The *Chicago Tribune* reported that his remarks regarding Prohibition were delivered "amid a pall-like silence."<sup>11</sup> However, this particular 1932 campaign speech seems to be the exception rather than the rule.

Comments in newspaper and magazine articles during the 1932 campaign verify the fact that Hoover made extensive use of gathered material in preparing his speeches. A typical comment is one appearing in the *New York Times* for October 28, 1932, ". . . for the most part Mr. Hoover denied himself to visitors, spending most of his time in the Lincoln study, going over the voluminous data for his speeches."<sup>12</sup>

There does not seem to be any evidence that Hoover ever gave much thought to how this material should be organized until very late in the

<sup>7</sup> *New York Times*, November 3, 1932, p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Seneca Johnson, "In Defense of Ghost Writing," *Harper's Magazine*, CLXXX (December 1949), 530.

<sup>9</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, CLXXX (January 1940), 186.

<sup>10</sup> *New York Times*, October 26, 1932, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Chicago Tribune*, November 5, 1932, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> *New York Times*, October 28, 1932, p. 1.

preparation procedure. Hoover apparently thought of sequence only when the speech approached final form. Hoover talked his ideas through as often as he thought necessary; then, when all his words on the subject had been transcribed and re-transcribed by the stenographers and copies printed, he went to work on the printed copies with a pair of shears and a paste pot and organized the speech in the sequence he wished it to follow.<sup>13</sup> Whether or not this system also produced a clear and specific theme for the speech and narrowed the subject to meet his theme is a moot question.

While Hoover may have given little attention to organizing the speeches, he paid close attention to their wording. One writer said, "He works the material over with an eye to its form and phraseology."<sup>14</sup> Another points out that every word and sentence was carefully scrutinized by Hoover and his associates during the preparation of a speech and that "suggestions and arguments about the possible implication of word and clause were frequent and spirited."<sup>15</sup> Hoover refused to incorporate into the text words which he considered not typical of his own style. In selecting words, Hoover seldom used the dictionary, but often referred to the Bible and a large thesaurus which he kept handy for just such a purpose.

About Hoover's choice of words, Eugene Lyons summarized it as well as any: "Words have never been his most effective tools . . . too often he relied on phrases worn thin by much handling in American oratory. But he achieved what he aimed at, which was not sensation but lucidity."<sup>16</sup> The speech that finally took form evolved from many writings and rewritings, of shaping and reshaping, with Hoover's prime interest being the material used and the wording of that material. Other facets of the preparation seemed of secondary importance to him. For as one critic commented, "His pen is trained for blueprints, not speeches."<sup>17</sup>

The monotonous and almost inaudible manner in which Hoover delivered most of his campaign speeches was commented on frequently by friend and foe alike. Even Joslin, who was seldom critical of his close friend, admitted that Hoover "talked in a monotone that was tiring, instead of with the emphasis that marked his private informal conversations."<sup>18</sup> And Cyrus Fisher in his "Radio Review," a column in *Forum*, went so far as to say that the tonal characteristics of Hoover's voice on the radio resembled the effect of an old-fashioned phonograph in need of winding.<sup>19</sup>

Other writers were more specific in their descriptions of the President's voice. David Hinshaw said, "His voice is low and has little inflection."<sup>20</sup> Christopher Morley described the Hoover voice as low, and added, "One

<sup>13</sup> Theodore G. Joslin, *Hoover Off the Record* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, and Company, Inc., 1934), pp. 44-45, 318-320.

<sup>14</sup> Edward G. Lawry, "Mr. Hoover at Work and at Play," *Saturday Evening Post*, CCII (August 31, 1929), 39-40.

<sup>15</sup> Howard W. Runkel, "A President Prepares to Speak," *Western Speech*, XV (October, 1951), 71.

<sup>16</sup> Eugene Lyons, *Our Unknown Ex-President* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1948), p. 203.

<sup>17</sup> Albert Shaw, "Mr. Hoover as President," *Review of Reviews*, LXXXVI (July, 1932), 29.

<sup>18</sup> Joslin, *Hoover Off the Record*, p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Cyrus Fisher, "Radio Review," *Forum*, LXXXVII (September, 1932), 190.

<sup>20</sup> David Hinshaw, *Herbert Hoover, American Quaker* (New York: Farrar, Straus, 1950), p. 13.



has to listen sharply.”<sup>21</sup> Another critic said, “. . . When he speaks to a large audience his voice does not extend beyond the first few rows of his audience.”<sup>22</sup> Henry F. Pringle said, “It is . . . a part of the paradox of the man that he can utter a striking phrase in so prosaic, so uninspired, and so mumbling a fashion that it is completely lost on nine out of ten of his auditors.”<sup>23</sup>

Not only did Hoover deliver his speeches in a low, flat monotone, he delivered them at a deliberate and unvarying rate. Richard Lee Strout reported in the *New York Times*: “Since President Hoover reads his addresses at the rate of 110 words a minute, once his manuscript is prepared it can be predicted almost exactly how long the speech will take to deliver.”<sup>24</sup> John Carlile, production director for CBS, verifies this contention of deliberateness in speaking. He pointed out that “Hoover speaks to a large audience with a deliberate effort which is betrayed by the microphone.”<sup>25</sup> Perhaps the explanation for this accurate and deliberate rate was Hoover’s habit of practicing with watch in hand, while giving little, if any, thought to the achievement of vocal and physical communicativeness. For he obviously disliked practicing the delivery of his speeches. When the reading copies of the address, four-and-a-half by eight inch “semi-cards” with the text in large-case type, were returned from the printers, usually only a short time before he was due to speak, Hoover would pace up and down, watch in hand, reading the cards. His only concern seemingly was the exact timing of the speech. No evidence has been found that he ever considered any other aspect of the delivery of the speech.

Nor did Hoover’s use of bodily action improve the delivery of his speeches. Hoover’s “platform manner was too stiff and formal” according to one writer.<sup>26</sup> When Hoover did use spontaneous gestures, it was a newsworthy event.<sup>27</sup>

William Allen White gave this description of Hoover speaking, “When he stands up to speak, Hoover’s head droops forward, and he seems to be fascinated by some gravy spot on his vest.”<sup>28</sup> Pringle gave a somewhat similar picture, but with a few added details:

One hand is kept in his pocket, usually jingling two half-dollars placed there to ease his nerves. He has not a single gesture. Years ago, his secretary, when it was possible, placed a high speaking stand in front of him—in an effort to make him raise his head. This has been largely futile. He reads—his chin down against his shirt front—rapidly and quite without expression. But before a gathering of from a dozen to fifty people, it is true, he does very well. He has even shown eloquence.

<sup>21</sup> Christopher Morley, “What the President Reads,” *Saturday Review of Literature*, IX (September 24, 1932), 119.

<sup>22</sup> “Hoover and the Politicians,” *The Outlook*, CXLVII (October 19, 1927), 202. It will be noted that the date of this comment is prior to the general use of loud speaker systems such as were used frequently in the 1932 campaign.

<sup>23</sup> Henry F. Pringle, “Hoover,” *The World’s Work*, LVI (June, 1928), 132.

<sup>24</sup> Richard Lee Strout, “On the Road With the Two Candidates,” *New York Times*, October 23, 1932, Section 8, p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> “Personality on the Air,” *New York Times*, March 20, 1932, Section 8, p. 14.

<sup>26</sup> E. Frances Brown, “Roosevelt’s Victorious Campaign,” *Current History*, XXXVII (December, 1932), 259.

<sup>27</sup> *Literary Digest*, CXIV (October 29, 1932), p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> William Allen White, “The Education of Herbert Hoover,” *Collier’s*, LXXXI (June 9, 1928), 8.

But when hundreds are in front of him, inhibitions seem to rise in his throat and to choke his vocal chords.<sup>29</sup>

One of the things that was noticeable about Herbert Hoover's speaking in the 1932 campaign was the fact that he did loosen up a bit as the campaign continued. The contagious enthusiasm of some of his audiences, combined with the intensity of his own beliefs, seemed to help him. However, he never lost completely the stiffness and formality that his critics complained about all during his public career.

William Allen White summarized Hoover's role as a campaign speaker very well when, in the summer of 1932, he said "President Hoover's leadership is not vocal."<sup>30</sup>

Herbert Hoover did not want to be a campaign speaker in the 1932 Presidential election, but circumstances forced him to become one. He even, at times, became an effective one. The evidence is overwhelming that at all times he was a reluctant one.

<sup>29</sup> Pringle, "Hoover," p. 131.

<sup>30</sup> Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *America in Midpassage*, III (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), p. 126.

## ELECTION OF NATIONAL OFFICERS

The Nominating Committee reminds you that the National Council will elect members to the following offices at their meeting in San Francisco in December: president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and three councilmen-at-large.

Nomination forms have been sent to all chapter sponsors. Sponsors are urged to consult the undergraduate members before submitting nominations, which are due in the hands of the committee by November 15, 1971. (Send to Prof. Thomas Ludlum, Capital University, Columbus, Ohio 43209.) The committee members will consult with the student officers before making up the slate.

Thomas Ludlum, chairman  
Wayne Eubank  
Annabel Hagood

## THE LEGISLATOR ON LEADERSHIP

JAMES F. VICKREY, JR.

"Leadership"<sup>1</sup> has been a subject of intense interest to men of many cultures for many years. Prescriptive statements about it can be found in the earliest extant writings;<sup>2</sup> analyses of it can readily be found today in both scholarly and popular periodicals. During the last three decades in particular, many studies on leadership have been reported;<sup>3</sup> few, if any, of them, however, have attempted to ascertain the attitudes of members of a state legislative body toward important aspects of traditional leadership theory.<sup>4</sup> Such neglect is unfortunate. We who study, write about and occasionally practice leadership can surely profit by knowing how members of a major policy-making (leadership) body in our society respond to various statements about (1) characteristics of leaders, (2) sources of leadership, (3) objectives of a discussion leader, and (4) styles of leadership. To ascertain responses to statements about these four topics, a "leadership survey" was planned and executed. It is reported here.

Scholarly studies are sometimes criticized for their lack of "reality." Perhaps, an examination (relatively systematic) of how *real* leaders in a *real* and important political body feel about some aspects of leadership will minimize the force of such criticism.

### RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Four specific questions (together with other related ones) were framed, answers to which, hopefully, would be secured by the survey:

1. What is the relationship between the representative's personal, perceived style of leadership and his actual style as determined by a test of authoritarian leaning?
2. Of five frequently listed characteristics (traits) of leadership, which one will be most associated with legislative leadership?
3. Of nine "sources of leadership," which one will be most associated with legislative leadership?

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Mr. Vickrey (M.A., Auburn University, 1965) is a doctoral student in Rhetoric and Public Address at the Florida State University. This study was conducted during the 1970 (April-May) Session of the Florida Legislature, in which he served as a Reading Clerk of the House of Representatives. It was undertaken in connection with a course in "Group Leadership," taught by Gregg Phifer, Professor of Speech at F.S.U.

<sup>1</sup>"Leadership" is an elusive concept. For the purposes of this paper, nonetheless, leadership will be defined as a process of (potential, attempted and/or actual) interpersonal influence, exercised in situation, directed toward others through the communication process, and aimed at the attainment of goals (which may or may not be shared by "leader" and "follower").

<sup>2</sup>For example, examine Giles Wilkinson Gray, "The Precepts of Kagemni and Ptah-Hotep," *QJS* 32 (Dec., 1946), 446-454. (Note especially Ptah-Hotep's advice to the king's son.)

<sup>3</sup>Over 25 studies have appeared in the speech-communication journals alone. The number of related studies in the social science journals would probably run into the hundreds.

<sup>4</sup>A perusal of the speech-communication literature revealed no study at all on legislative attitudes toward leadership theory. In fact, no study of any kind on leadership in a real legislative body was found.

TABLE 1

Leadership Characteristics	Rank				
	1	2	3	4	5
Capacity	20	15	11	3	1
Responsibility	22	16	7	4	0
Participation	4	9	11	21	3
Status	2	1	2	9	36
Achievement	1	10	19	11	8

4. Of three objectives of the small group leader, which one will the representatives indicate is most important?

### PROCEDURES

*Respondents.* As a Reading Clerk of the Florida House of Representatives, I had an unusual opportunity to study first-hand the leadership attitudes of members of that body. The House is composed of 119 members, who, individually and collectively, probably resemble the membership of the lower house of a "typical" state legislature.<sup>5</sup> For that reason, it seemed particularly appropriate that I was able to study it. With permission of the Speaker of the House, I prepared and presented to the entire membership a "leadership survey."

*Construction and Use of the Instrument.* A 20-item questionnaire was prepared and presented to each House member. The first six items concerned personal data about the member: party affiliation, age, years in the House, leadership position,<sup>6</sup> and political philosophy. The seventh item required the respondent to label himself as "democratic" or "authoritarian" in style of leadership.<sup>7</sup> This item was included specifically for purposes of comparison with results of the attitude-scale to be discussed shortly. Items 8 through 18 concerned directly the member's attitudes toward various aspects of leadership; they are considered below. The last two items on the survey form asked the respondent to name, respectively, the most influential and the most liked members of the House.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Although there is no such thing as a "typical" state legislature, the term can be used loosely to refer to a house with representatives from a truly diverse constituency: urban and rural, black and white, citizen and alien, etc.

<sup>6</sup> One question asked if the member then held or had ever held one of these positions: speaker, majority or minority leader, party "whip," or chairman of a permanent committee. Another item asked (1) if the member considered himself to be a leader in the House and (2) if he thought he was considered a leader by other House members. It should be noted here that although some words were defined for the respondents (*e.g.*, see the next footnote), "leader" was not, because I feared confounding the results if the definition of that basic term precipitated a negative reaction.

<sup>7</sup> The respondent was told on the questionnaire that "democratic leadership" is "group-centered and aims at coordinating group activities so that it (group) can accomplish its objectives"; "authoritarian leadership" was described as "more likely to be goal-centered and aims at achieving what the leader thinks the group should achieve."

<sup>8</sup> Results from these two questions will be considered superficially here because that data would probably be of little interest to readers unfamiliar with Florida politics.

TABLE 2

Sources of Leadership	Rank								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Heredity	1	2	1	2	5	1	1	12	14
Seniority	4	7	10	12	7	2	0	4	1
Skill	37	7	2	0	1	0	1	0	0
Situation	7	15	15	5	0	1	0	0	1
Leader Dominance	1	8	7	5	9	5	6	4	0
Providence	1	3	3	0	3	5	8	7	8
Accident	0	1	3	1	7	9	8	6	7
Charisma	1	2	7	12	5	6	5	0	1
Prestige	1	2	2	7	8	8	6	3	1

The major part of the questionnaire consisted of items 8 through 18. Item 8 was based on the research of Stodgill.<sup>9</sup> It required the respondent to rank from 1 to 5 the five characteristics Stodgill found were associated with leadership in various situations.<sup>10</sup> The characteristics (or "traits," as some writers call them) were: *capacity* (intelligence, alertness, verbal facility), *responsibility* (persistence, dependability, initiative, self-confidence), *participation* (sociability, cooperation, adaptability), *status* (socio-economic position, popularity, prestige), and *achievement* (knowledge, scholarship, physical prowess). Item 9 asked each House member to rank from 1 to 9 Haiman's "sources of leadership,"<sup>11</sup> which were defined as the factors that "give rise to leadership." The sources listed were: heredity, seniority, specific skills, demands of the situation, leader's need for dominance, providence, accident, "charisma,"<sup>12</sup> and prestige. Item 10 required each respondent to rank from 1 to 3, in order of importance, the objectives of a small group discussion or committee meeting leader which Gully outlined.<sup>13</sup> These objectives were phrased as "getting the job done" (task goal), "keeping order" (procedural goal), and "making members feel secure and an important part of the group" (social-emotional goal). Items 11 through 18 were eight of the ten items Haiman developed as a "Leadership Attitude-Scale."<sup>14</sup> Respondents were asked to indicate on a six-point scale the extent of their agreement or disagreement with a series of statements about leadership.<sup>15</sup> The statements were such that a perfect authoritarian score would

<sup>9</sup> R. M. Stodgill, "Personal Factors Associated with Leadership: A Survey of the Literature," *Journal of Psychology* 25 (1948), 64.

<sup>10</sup> A "1" indicated that the respondent felt that factor was "most associated" with leadership; a "5" indicated the least degree of association, etc.

<sup>11</sup> Franklyn S. Haiman, *Group Leadership and Democratic Action* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1951), pp. 9-22.

<sup>12</sup> This "source" is not in Haiman's list. It was added because of its frequent mention today in discussions of leadership.

<sup>13</sup> Halbert E. Gully, *Discussion, Conference and Group Process* 2nd ed. (NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 191.

<sup>14</sup> Franklyn S. Haiman, "A Measurement of Authoritarian Attitudes Toward Discussion Leadership," *QJS* 41 (April, 1955), 142. Two of Haiman's items were not used because of the confounded results he said they produced in the original study.

<sup>15</sup> "-3" indicated strong disagreement; "+3" strong agreement.

TABLE 3

Leader Objectives	Rank		
	1	2	3
Task	41	7	2
Procedural	3	21	27
Social-Emotional	10	21	20

be +21; a perfect non-authoritarian score would be -21.<sup>16</sup> Haiman compared his LA-Scale with the traditional F-Scale (long used as a test of authoritarian leaning) and found his scale to be positively correlated at +.61—a significant correlation.<sup>17</sup> For the purposes of this paper, that relationship was accepted as high enough.

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Fifty-one members (43 per cent) of the House (of 119 members) responded to some or all of the questionnaire items. Two members returned the questionnaire without responding to any items. Of the respondents, 14 were Republicans, 35 were Democrats, and 2 referred to themselves as "other." Nineteen respondents were assigned leaders in the House, *i.e.*, they held one of the positions of leadership noted in footnote 6. Most respondents were relatively young in terms of seniority in the House: only 9 indicated that they had served in the House more than 4-6 years. Most labelled themselves "moderate" or "conservative." No member called himself "liberal." How the fifty-one members responded to questionnaire items 8 through 18 is summarized below.

1. Only six House members chose to refer to themselves as "authoritarian"; most preferred the label "democratic"—a fact that should not surprise us. Nevertheless, analysis of results of items 11 through 18 (the Haiman LA-Scale) indicated that most respondents tend, in fact, to be fairly "authoritarian" in their attitudes toward leadership. Only 9 of the 51 members responding can be called "democratic" (on the basis of the LA-Scale)—and all but one of them recorded relatively low non-authoritarian scores. With a -21 a perfect non-authoritarian score and a +21 a perfect

<sup>16</sup> The eight statements are listed below:

11. The responsibility for initiating activities should fall to the leader and the few whom he sees as having ability in that direction.

12. Ultimately the leader should accept the responsibility for the success or failure of the group.

13. The best procedure is for the leader to plan the agenda and then to keep the members of the group to it.

14. The leader should be immediately recognizable to an outside observer.

15. Almost anyone can achieve the skills necessary to be a leader.

16. The leader should be the final arbiter in disputes over the way the meetings are being conducted.

17. The best atmosphere to work for in a group is one where the personal thoughts and feelings of the members are kept to themselves.

18. When two group members cannot seem to get along, the best thing to do is to ignore the difficulty and carry on.

According to Haiman, the authoritarian would mark strong agreement to every item except 15. See Haiman, p. 142.

<sup>17</sup> Haiman, pp. 142-143.

authoritarian score, the average score on the Scale was +3.76. Twenty-nine respondents scored +5 or more; 9 scored -5 or lower. The range was +15 to -15. Interestingly, only four House *leaders* were found to be on the non-authoritarian end of the LA-Scale.

2. Respondents clearly agree that status is the characteristic *least* associated with leadership; however, they do not agree as to which characteristic is *most* associated with it. Capacity and responsibility were ranked first by 20 and 22 members respectively, as Table 1 indicates. Achievement was ranked third and participation fourth, although their positions were not as clear-cut as one might wish. What does this ranking hierarchy mean? Although generalizations are difficult on the basis of this kind of data, we can probably conclude with some degree of confidence that House members believe that a leader is (1) a man of intelligence and dependability *primarily*, (2) who has some degree of knowledge and physical ability, (3) who is sociable, and (4) who holds his position of leadership *less* on the basis of factors related to status than on those referred to above.

Informal observation of actual leaders in the House tends to confirm the conclusions generated by the data. House leaders do appear to be men of intelligence who do their work effectively, who are knowledgeable (physical ability does not seem to be significant) and sociable. However, status factors do not appear to be highly related to leadership position. The man chosen in this survey, for example, as most influential was not the man named as most liked. Neither does socio-economic position seem to be highly correlated with leadership.<sup>18</sup>

Responses of House leaders and non-leaders do not appear to differ concerning the rank of these Stodgill characteristics.

3. An examination of Table 2 indicates clearly that House members believe that skill is the major factor that gives rise to leadership. Since skill can be referred to as a "source" as well as a "characteristic" of leadership, this conclusion should not be surprising—especially in light of the data shown in Table 1. Interestingly, the second most chosen source was the situational factor. More leaders ranked it second than any other factor. Thus, on this level, the members seem to agree with Gulley's conclusion that "an individual seems to exercise leadership when his specific personal abilities, knowledge of a problem, and other qualifications interact fortuitously with a particular situation, and with other persons who are predisposed to accept his influence on this problem, in this situation, at this moment."<sup>19</sup> It is not clear, however, whether the members hold to the view that "leaders are born, not made." In Table 2, we note that providence was ranked low; however, the responses to statement 15 on the Haiman LA-Scale indicated that about 50 per cent of the respondents disagree with the conclusion that "almost anyone can achieve the skills necessary to be a leader."

We can say that members feel that heredity plays little or no part in legislative leadership, although seniority does; that the leader's need for dominance is a strong factor in leadership; and that charisma is indeed a source, albeit a minor one, of leadership.

4. Most members clearly think that the most important objective of the small group leader is task-oriented. All leaders responding, except three, ranked it first. Although the second most important objective was not as clearly indicated by the data, it is evident that making group members feel

<sup>18</sup> Note also the ranking of prestige in Table 2.

<sup>19</sup> Gulley, p. 171.

secure is preferred to the procedural goal. Only three leaders ranked the procedural objective first.

We should probably interpret the data here in light of the special type of small group discussion that predominates in legislatures—the (usually) public committee meeting. Perhaps, if the questionnaire had differentiated closed and open group discussion, the results might have been different.

#### SUMMARY

In summary, we can outline the following conclusions about the attitudes of members of a state legislature toward several aspects of leadership theory:

1. Most legislators perceive themselves to be “democratic” leaders but respond to the Haiman Leadership Attitude-Scale as “authoritarian” leaders.
2. Of the five traits reported by Stodgill, the two most associated with leadership were (a) capacity and (b) responsibility.
3. Of the “sources of leadership” outlined by Haiman, the one most associated with leadership was “specific skill.”
4. Of Gulley’s threefold list of leadership objectives, the most important one was “getting the job done” (task goal).

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## HOW SHOULD FINALISTS BE CHOSEN IN INDIVIDUAL EVENTS?

JAMES A. BENSON

As a follow-up to my duties as chairman of the extemporaneous speaking contest at the 1971 National Conference of Delta Sigma Rho-Tau Kappa Alpha, I analyzed the results of the contest statistically to determine the reliability of the judgments rendered during the preliminary and final rounds. The findings of that analysis suggest that two changes might result in an improved contest in extemporaneous speaking at the 1972 National Conference of Delta Sigma Rho-Tau Kappa Alpha.

When the judges' ballots in the twelve preliminary round groups are submitted to measurement by the Kendall Coefficient of Concordance, only five of the groups reflect a degree of agreement among the judges which is statistically significant. (In four of the groups, agreement among the three judges is significant at the 1% level; agreement in the other group is significant at the 5% level.) In the remaining seven groups, however, agreement among the judges was not sufficiently consistent to warrant even a 5% level of significance. The inconsistency among judges in these seven groups is illustrated in the following example:

TABLE I  
Sample Preliminary Round

Speaker:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Judge: 1	5	4	6	2	3	1	7
2	6	4	3	7	1	2	5
3	1	5	2	3	4	7	6
Total of Ranks:	12	13	11	12	8	10	18

The low level of agreement among judges in the majority of the preliminary rounds might be, in part, a reflection of the ballot which is used for the extemporaneous speaking contest at the National Conference. The ballot is a blank half-sheet of paper, without any specific judging criteria indicated upon it. It is possible that the divergent judgments in the preliminary rounds reflect the use of very different criteria to determine what constitutes an effective extemporaneous speech.

A second consideration which emerged from examining the results of the 1971 extemporaneous speaking contest relates to the method for selecting finalists in the contest. Unlike the rules for debate, the rules for individual events (extemporaneous speaking, persuasive speaking) do not assure that "winners" (those who finish first in their preliminary rounds) will qualify for the final round. The rules established for the extemporaneous speaking and persuasive speaking contests specify that finalists are to be selected on the following basis: first, the total number of superior ratings received; second, the total of rankings (low total is the best); and third, the total of

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rating points (high total is the best). Theoretically, then, a student who is ranked high in his preliminary rounds is not assured of reaching the final round unless he also receives superior ratings from a sufficient number of his judges. Conversely, a student who is not ranked high by his judges, but receives a superior rating from several of them, can reach the final round in lieu of the former contestant.

That is exactly what happened in the contest at the 1971 National Conference. Using the criteria established for the contest in extemporaneous speaking, two students with low total rankings did *not* qualify as finalists, while two students whose total of rankings was not as low (but who received more superiors from their judges) did qualify for the final round. One of the contestants who did *not* qualify for the final round received a first-place ranking from three of his six judges and a second-place ranking from the fourth judge; the other contestant who did not qualify received a first-place ranking from two of his preliminary round judges and a second-place ranking from two others. On the other hand, one of the students who did qualify for the final round (on the basis of the number of superior ratings received) was not ranked first by any of six judges in the preliminary rounds, and was ranked second by only one judge.

One might ask how this could happen, since the judges would usually tend to assign first place to the "best performance" in a group of contestants. In my opinion, the selection of finalists is unduly influenced by a wide divergence among judges, in terms of propensity to give superior ratings. Though every judge is forced to give a first-place ranking, no judge is required to assign a superior rating. While this is as it ought to be, it is my contention that using the number of superior ratings (rather than total of ranks) as the first criterion for selecting finalists places undue weight upon a judge's willingness to assign high or low ratings. This can be understood better by looking at the judgments in the 1971 contest.

Of the total superior ratings (48) given by judges in the preliminary rounds, 25% (12) were given by three of the judges—8.3% of those judging. The majority—27 (56%)—of the superior ratings were allocated by just 8 (22%) of the judges. On the other hand, 12 (33%) of the judges did not award any superior ratings—even though these judges at times listened to students rated "superior" by other judges in the same round. In essence, then, a student competing in extemporaneous speaking had slightly less than one chance in four of being judged by someone who gave 3 or 4 of the people he judged a "Superior" rating; his chances of being judged by someone who gave no "Superior" ratings were one in three. The propensity of judges to award "Superior" ratings is indicated in the following table:

TABLE II  
Superior Ratings of Judges

(6-7 students in each group)		
No. of Superiors Given	No. of Judges	Total No. of Superiors
4	3	12
3	5	15
2	5	10
1	11	11
0	12	0

The random assignment of contestants and judges apparently altered the “odds” for being judged by either someone who awarded several superiors or by someone who did not award any superiors, however. This can be illustrated by looking at the preliminary rounds of the eight finalists and the two students with low rank totals who did not qualify for the finals (Table III). The chart illustrates the extent to which they were judged by persons who either awarded many or awarded no superior ratings.

TABLE III

Student:	F-1	F-2	F-3	F-4	F-5	F-6	F-7	F-8	NF-1	NF-2 <sup>4</sup>
Judges Awarding 3 or 4 Superiors: <sup>1</sup>										
J-1										
J-2	×	×		×						
J-3							×	×		
J-4		×								
J-5					×					
J-6						×	×			
J-7						×	×			
J-8		×			×					
TOTAL	1	3	0	1	2	3	4	1	0	0
Judges Awarding No Superiors: <sup>2</sup>										
J-1										
J-2										
J-3					×				×	
J-4								×		×
J-5	×	×		×						
J-6									×	×
J-7									×	×
J-8				×		×				
J-9										
J-10										
J-11	×		×							
J-12		×			×					
TOTAL	2	2	1	2	2	1	0	1	3	3 <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Each of the 15 judgments of these students by these judges was a superior rating. In seven of the cases the student also received first ranking in his group; in two cases the student was ranked second; and in the remaining five instances the student was ranked third in the group.

<sup>2</sup> Of the seventeen instances of judgment by these judges, in six, the student was ranked first in the group, but was not rated superior.

<sup>3</sup> In each of the three instances of judgment, this student was ranked first in his group by the judge, but was not rated superior.

<sup>4</sup> F-1 = finalist; NF-1 = non-finalist who had a low total of ranks, but did not qualify for the final round on the basis of number of superior ratings.

As the chart indicates, the “odds” of being judged by either those who awarded many superior ratings or those who did not award any superiors differed greatly among many of these students. The importance of this variable is suggested by the fact that several of the finalists competed against each other in one of the preliminary rounds—they both happened to be judged by someone who awarded many superiors in the round he judged. Table IV attempts to place the variable of “propensity to award superiors” in clearer perspective with regard to these ten students.

TABLE IV  
Preliminary Judgments

(2 rounds; 6 judges)				
	Number of Superiors	Number of 1st Ranks	Judgments by High Propensity <sup>1</sup>	Judgments by Low Propensity <sup>2</sup>
Finalists:				
F-8	5	5	1	1
F-2	3	1	3	2
F-4	2	2	1	2
F-5	4	3	2	2
F-3	3	3	0	1
F-1	4	3	1	2
F-7	5	0	4	0
F-6	4	5	3	1
TOTAL	(30)	(22)	(15)	(11)
Non-Finalists:				
NF-1	1	2	0	3
NF-2	0	3	0	3
TOTAL	(1)	(5)	(0)	(6)

<sup>1</sup> High-Propensity Judges are the 8 who gave 3 or 4 of the persons in the group they judged a "Superior" rating.

<sup>2</sup> Low-Propensity Judges are the 12 who did not award any of the students they judged a "Superior" rating.

The impact which a large number of judgments by Low-Propensity judges had upon the preliminary scores of students can be seen by the rankings and rating of the finalists who were evaluated by both High-Propensity and Low-Propensity judges in the same preliminary round.

TABLE V

Student:	High-Propensity Judgment		Low-Propensity Judgment	
	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate
F-1	2	94 (S)	3	83 (G)
F-2	3	93 (S)	4	79 (F)
F-4	1	95 (S)	2	85 (E)
F-3	3	93 (S)	3	83 (G)
F-5	2	92 (S)	2	83 (G)

Note that in each instance while the judgments in terms of rank is relatively consistent, the quality ratings differ widely. The same student who is ranked second or third in a group by both judges receives widely differing ratings from the two judges.

The judges did differ widely in terms of their ratings of contestants. In terms of the highest rating given by a judge to a group of 6-7 contestants, the range was from 84 (Good) to a perfect 100 (Superior). In terms of the average score given to contestants, the range was from 80.428 (the

group averaged a weak Good) to 91.714 (group average was a Superior). As might be expected, the eight judges who assigned the majority (56%) of the total "Superior" ratings given tended to give both the highest individual ratings and the highest average ratings to the groups they judged. On the other hand, the twelve judges who did not give any student they judged a "Superior" gave both the lowest scores to those ranked first and the lowest average rating to the students they judged. This is illustrated in Table VI.

TABLE VI

	Average Rating	Rank Among 36 Judges	Highest Score	Rank Among 36 Judges
<b>High-Propensity Judges</b>				
J-1	91.714	1	98	3.5*
J-2	91.500	2	95	7*
J-3	89.714	3	95	7*
J-4	89.571	4	97	5
J-5	89.000	5	100	1.5*
J-6	88.000	7	93	12*
J-7	87.142	9	98	3.5*
J-8	87.000	10	95	7*
<b>Low-Propensity Judges</b>				
J-1	84.857	18.5*	89	27*
J-2	84.500	22	89	27*
J-3	84.428	23	89	27*
J-4	83.428	26	88	31*
J-5	83.166	27	88	31*
J-6	82.857	28	87	33
J-7	82.500	29	89	27*
J-8	82.142	30	89	27*
J-9	81.666	32	85	34.5*
J-10	81.428	33	88	31*
J-11	81.333	34	89	27*
J-12	80.428	36	84	36

(\* = tie)

Even a system of selecting finalists which uses *total rate* would be preferable to the existing system. Counting only the superior ratings which a student receives builds a bias into the selection of finalists by ignoring ratings other than the superiors. For example, consider what happens if two students have the following ratings:

STUDENT 1:	S	S	G	G	G	F
STUDENT 2:	S	E	E	E	E	E

On the basis of number of superior ratings, student 1 would be selected as a finalist before student 2 would be. In terms of total ratings, however, student 2 is obviously rated higher than student 1. The existing rule, then, counts only high ratings and ignores all others.

If *total rank*, rather than number of superior ratings, were used, the final round of this year's contest would have included at least one student who did not qualify on the basis of "high number of superior ratings." Counting

a "superior" as 4 points, an "excellent" as 3 points, a "good" as 2 points, and a "fair" as 1 point, compare the following finalist with a contestant who did not qualify for this year's final round:

	RATINGS (16 Judges)						TOTAL RATING
FINALIST:	S	G	E	G	S	G	E-
	(4)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(4)	(2)	(17)
NON-FINALIST:	S	E	S	G	E	E	E
	(4)	(3)	(4)	(2)	(3)	(3)	(19)

While the finalist and the non-finalist have the same number of superior ratings, the total rating of the non-finalist is better than that of the finalist. The existing rule discriminates by ignoring ratings other than superior.

### CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions from this look at the results of the 1971 extemporaneous speaking contest would be these: in the majority of the preliminary rounds the level of judge agreement was not sufficiently high to be statistically significant; the "odds" for students to obtain judgments from those who were prone to give many "Superior" ratings and to avoid judgments by those disposed to award no "Superior" ratings varied, and the variation appears to have affected the selection of finalists; and the wide divergency among judges in terms of the quality ratings assigned resulted in a situation where 8 of the 36 judges (22% of those judging) awarded the majority of the total "Superior" ratings given—and, hence, exerted the dominant influence which determined the 8 finalists in the contest; counting only Superior ratings and ignoring ratings other than Superior—as the first criterion for selecting finalists—is unsatisfactory. This criterion does not accurately reflect a student's *total* performance.

The recommendations prompted by these conclusions are two in number:

1. The rules for the extemporaneous speaking contest at the National Conference of Delta Sigma Rho–Tau Kappa Alpha should incorporate a ballot which would stipulate the criteria to be used in judging the event, in the hope that this ballot will assist in reducing the disparity in judgments of this contest.
2. The rule for selecting finalists in the extemporaneous speaking contest at the National Conference of Delta Sigma Rho–Tau Kappa Alpha should be changed to make the criteria for selection of finalists: (1) Total of ranks; (2) Total of ratings; (3) Number of superior ratings. Since each judge *must* allocate a first-place rank, this will tend to correct disparities created by differing standards of quality rating. Such a change would also be consistent with the method of determining finalists in other speaking events, like debate. Reliance upon "number of superior ratings" as the first criterion to determine finalists nullifies, to a large extent, the effect of non-superior ratings. A student's high ratings are counted but his low ratings are ignored. Though perhaps unlikely, the existing system allows a student whose *total* rating and ranking is below that of others to compete in the finals because he had more superiors (even though he may have other, lower, ratings and a higher rank total than contestants who do not qualify for the finals). Such a rule change would also be consistent with the method used to determine finalists at most individual events tournaments.

## CURRENT CRITICISM

*Note: The following constitutes a reproduction of the Preface and the Table of Contents of CURRENT CRITICISM, a volume of Speaker and Gavel reprints published this year by Delta Sigma Rho-Tau Kappa Alpha. Information about ordering copies may be found elsewhere in this issue.*

### PREFACE

This volume of current rhetorical criticism is addressed firstly to those who see the analysis and evaluation of public discourse as desirable and want to join in the venture of producing it. We are hopeful that the essays gathered together in this book may serve a generative function, that they may stand as models and suggestions of what can be done. Substantially more criticism of this kind is needed, we feel. Therefore, if these studies prove to be useful and provocative, readers may be encouraged to produce their own, whether for their own purposes or for public consumption in the classroom, the press, or the professional journal.

The function of criticism is a matter of healthy dispute. It claims to provide a multitude of services, as it sometimes even claims to be an end in itself. We are most inclined to see criticism as a constituent part of the same social process which produces the object of the criticism. It is especially appropriate to look at criticism in this way when the "object" itself has manifest social utility and intent, as is the case with public communication. The reciprocal action of the theory, practice, and criticism of speaking is significantly diminished when any one of these three aspects is neglected. Criticism nourishes both theory and practice. We have no particular illusion that the essays herein have had or will have a direct audience with the speakers who are analyzed, thus influencing the future efforts of these public figures, but we can foresee a rhetorical awareness and knowledgeability developing from the increased flow of critical materials. Assuming that the climate of critical sensitivity will be improved as such materials increase, we can look for perceptible improvement in the quality of the communication which influences and guides our society.

For those who may come cold to rhetorical criticism, we trust that we may be providing a dip into a literature which rests on a base of rich historical background and significant rhetorical theory, and which is now being renewed by the application of its techniques to contemporary communication.

An added usefulness of these studies is that they may provide a repository of data for future students of public address, that they may, in Wayne Brockriede's words of introduction to this series, provide "materials and insights which help the later, more thorough, scholarly critic."

The twenty-one essays which are included in this collection first appeared in the "Current Criticism" department of *Speaker and Gavel* between 1966 and 1970. No special effort was made to secure a coverage of particular types of speakers or critical approaches in this series. These studies were published because they were the best ones submitted during that period.

Still, taken as a whole, they have turned out to provide a colorful panorama of the significant themes and their spokesmen during this time. The agonies of the Vietnam decisions and the emergence of the "black power" issue strikingly dominate the concerns of speakers and critics alike, but other issues as well, ranging from the "death of God" to student protest, are given rhetorical analysis in these pages. Among black speakers who draw special attention here are Martin Luther King, Edward Brooke, Stokely Carmichael, and Malcolm X. Political figures appearing ubiquitously on the platform and the video screen demanded evaluation, so such individuals as Richard M. Nixon, Hubert Humphrey, Lyndon Johnson, and Spiro Agnew, as well as George Wallace (two essays), the Kennedys, Albert Gore, William Fulbright, and John Tower appear in these pages in major and minor roles.

Of some interest also is the suggestion of the wide range of methodologies which are available for dealing with the medium of public address, as illustrated in these essays, and the multitude of rhetorical tools used by these authors may indicate the kinds of choices which are open to the critic.

The nature and scope of this volume seem to us to be in resonance with some central concerns of the Speech Communication Association, especially as these concerns are manifested in the guidelines developed at the National Development Conference in Rhetoric sponsored by that association. It explores in a variety of ways the rhetoric of our times, defined broadly and treated comprehensively.

Delta Sigma Rho-Tau Kappa Alpha, national college honor society in forensics, has as its main purpose the recognition and encouragement of excellence in the arts of public communication. Through the publication of the quarterly *Speaker and Gavel*, as well as sponsorship of several annual award programs for individuals who have made substantial contributions to public life by means of their speaking, this organization has continually implemented its central purpose. Therefore, it is especially fitting for them to publish this collection of studies in current rhetorical criticism with the intent of contributing to the growing flow of such studies. We would like to give specific thanks to the members of the National Council of Delta Sigma Rho-Tau Kappa Alpha for their generous support of this collection. The "Current Criticism" feature was originated in *Speaker and Gavel* by Wayne E. Brockriede when he served as its editor. He presented a rationale for it (Vol. IV, No. 1), noting that criticism has a "special function" when completed soon after the discourse. Donald Torrence was associate editor in charge of Current Criticism for two years. We are also grateful for the encouragement and impetus provided by Robert L. Scott, who first suggested the idea of a collection of these studies. Finally, the authors who submitted their manuscripts to *Speaker and Gavel* and who have kindly permitted their reprinting here, deserve special thanks and appreciation.

*Robert O. Weiss*

*Bernard L. Brock*



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