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Communicator of the Year
Rep. Don Sundquist

In less than a single term as a Republican Congressman from the 7th District of Tennessee, Rep. Don Sundquist developed a trusting relationship with his constituency to the extent the he ran unopposed for reelection.

As a communicator, Congressman Don Sundquist has established credibility with both courage and candor as a speaker and with an open mind and responsiveness as a listener. **The Tennessee Speech Communication Association is proud to recognize Congressman Don Sundquist as its 1985 Communicator of the Year.**

Sundquist developed this relationship be establishing open lines of communication between himself and his constituencies through frequent town meetings, "community days," and personal visitations. He was also accessible to the people of his district through regular newsletters, surveys, radio programs, and newspaper columns. He initiated "open door" policies in his Memphis, Clarksville, and Washington offices, and he insisted upon prompt and menaingful responses to all received letters and inquiries.

With communication lines thus open, Sundquist demonstrated himself to be a good listener as well as a candid and courageous speaker. Sundquist's listening has influenced his voting on matters of social security, agriculture, and trade. Such responsiveness was illustrated clearly on the issue of quartering Marines in Lebanon. As reported in the **Congressional Quarterly** (1-7-84), Sundquist was one of 270 Democratic and Republican House members who voted for a resolution allowing Marines to remain in Lebanon up to April, 1985. Yet, after listening to constituents during the "community days" he held in his district, Sundquist was ready to support legislation to bring the troops home much sooner, even if that meant standing against what appeared to him as the counter-productive policy of a Republican President.

Sundquist's candor and courage as a communicator has been highlighted by the **Savannah Courier** and demonstrated in his criticism of TVA. The **Courier** reported that Sundquist's candor was "refreshing in an era when politicians say what they think the audience wants to hear rather than what the audience needs to hear." At a time when all government agencies and departments were asked to tighten their belts for the purpose of reducing the federal deficit, the Tennessee Valley Authority proposed a budget increase. Sundquist was the only Tennessee legislator to stand against TVA for what appeared to him as fiscal irresponsibility. For simply requesting that TVA make recommendations for where their budget might be cut, Sundquist was criticized, confused with David Stockman of the Reagan Administration, and branded as someone who wanted to destroy TVA. After many speeches and letters, however, Sundquist succeeded in clarifying his position and making that position prevail. He, therefore, demonstrated the ability to communicate effectively in a way that overcame media distortion, partisan politics, and bureaucratic intransigence.

As a communicator, Congressman Don Sundquist has established credibility with both courage and candor as a speaker and with an open mind and responsiveness as a listener. **The Tennessee Speech Communication Association is proud to recognize him as its 1985 Communicator of the Year.**

Communication Educator of the Year
Dr. Walter G. Kirkpatrick

Receiving the TSCA award as 1985 Communication Educator of the Year is Dr. Walter G. Kirkpatrick, Associate Professor of Communication Studies at Memphis State University. Dr. Ralph Hillman of Middle Tennessee State University nominated Dr. Kirkpatrick, and observed in his letter of nomination that Dr. Kirkpatrick has "moved communication education into the public sector."

Indeed, Dr. Kirkpatrick has created an important new dimension for the Memphis State program by developing Organizational Communication as a vital option for study. He has created internships and jobs for his students with some of the most significant industries in Memphis, including Holiday Inns and Federal Express. He has built an important link between the university and the community.

Dr. Kirkpatrick has twice been nominated by his colleagues and students as a Semi-Finalist for the Teacher-of-the-Year Award at Memphis State. Only 15 of the more than 700 faculty who teach at Memphis State receive this honor.

Perhaps most significant of all, Dr. Kirkpatrick founded the National Undergraduate Honors Conference in Communication Studies, which he began in 1975 at Depauw University and has continued at Memphis State. The concept behind this conference is to bring many of the finest undergraduate students in the country to Memphis State each spring for three days of intensive seminars and workshops with prominent communication scholars.

The importance of the conference for the Speech Communication discipline has been immense. Prof. Sam Becker of the University of Iowa has said of the Conference: "It has encouraged hundreds of bright students into our discipline." Prof. James Andrews, chairperson at Indiana University, has described the NUHC as the "best conference for undergraduate students I've ever seen." Prof. Jesse Delia, chairperson of the University of Illinois, wrote of the Conference in the **Southern Speech Communication Journal**: "This is a great idea for our discipline, and deserves all our support." Prof. Dennis Gouran, chairperson of Pennsylvania State University, has responded, "We can't think of a better thing to support."

For his innovative, energetic reforms in communication education, the Tennessee Speech Communication Association is proud to honor **Prof. Walter Kirkpatrick as its 1985 Communication Educator of the Year.**

Conflict Resolution Developing a Research Methodology

Marcus L. Ambrester

One of the most difficult of all social science areas of investigation resides in conflict and conflict resolution. Consider the problem from the perspective of the would-be researcher who wishes to observe the phenomenon at its source. Choose an academic setting; not the breeding ground for high conflict but, nevertheless, a convenient point of departure for our anxious researcher since this is his/her home base. S/he chooses a speech and theatre department in a mid-size university and decides to investigate the internal conflict situations extant in this department. How would s/he actually go about the task of investigating conflict and its resolution? Would s/he interview each member of the department? Would s/he learn much through such investigation? Would s/he meet with groups—the whole department? the staff? Why would such an investigation be fraught with problems? We shall examine some of the inherent problems in any ongoing conflict research project.

1) Masking is a major means for dealing with conflict.
Most individuals find ways to mask their reactions to stress producing messages. In other words if someone makes a remark which angers you, you often mask your reaction so that the other person does not know you are hurt or angry. Deutsch's studies confirmed that competition breeds competition. (Deutsch '73 p 367). One of the primary forms of competition is masking. We learn to play our cards close to our "vests."

2) Conflict is considered a "personal weakness" by many persons.
In our initial interviews we have discovered that many people feel that involvement in conflict reflects some "weakness" in them. They are therefore often reluctant to talk about conflicts. They would prefer to avoid the conflict altogether. Guetzkow and Gyr's research confirms that groups with high "affective conflict" (interpersonal conflict characterized by extreme frustration) ignore critical issues to seek any form of resolution. This action results from an extreme avoidance of the conflict itself.

3) People often discuss content as a means of avoiding relationship problems.
Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson have clearly delineated this problem of confusion of the "content" message with the "relationship" message. Oftentimes a member of a staff can make another member's life miserable by griping over minor points about "where his desk is" or "how he uses the telephone." Such minor but frequent gripes can be a way of avoiding the relationship conflict—which may inhere in extreme dislike or extreme fear of the other. If asked about this phenomenon most persons would deny any knowledge of an "underlying" problem.

4) It is far easier to feign compatibility than act in ways which might create conflict.
In their highly regarded concept of "groupthink" Janis and Mann suggest that overly cooperative orientations create a climate which leads to unreflective decisions. Many groups become habituated to the creation of such a climate and suppress all potential conflicts in an effort to keep things "smooth."

5) Differentiation (raising the issue in conflict and seeking clarification, rationality, and severity of difference) may create a climate to solve problems but it also often creates animosities.
Swenson (1973) suggests that relationships suffer when group members disagree on important issues. This factor of personal animosity is commonplace. Individuals attach issues to their own ego strength and take attacks on the issue as personal attacks. Such behavior often results in a stalemate on the issue and a rift between individuals or group faction which can result in the dissolution of the group itself.

6) "Trained Incapacities" create a climate which reduces the necessary flexibility to resolve conflict.
The term "trained incapacity" was coined by Kenneth Burke. He uses the term to refer to habitual patterns of interaction which may be appropriate in one setting but totally inappropriate in another. The "Insurance lady" in Paddy Chayefsky's movie script entitled "Hospital" walks through the emergency room getting insurance information. In one scene she attempts to interrogate a man on a stretcher who is already deceased. Such trained incapacities become commonplace in many situations and form the basis for escalating rather than deescalating the conflict. One of the major problems in studying such a phenomenon inheres in both the individual's inability to recognize a personal "trained incapacity," and the researcher's ability to accurately diagnose the habitual process.

7) Individuals do not like to talk about conflicts.

Most persons both like to forget past conflicts and are equally reluctant to discuss them with a third party (particularly a researcher who is a stranger). They would rather forget these events than "dwell" on them and they feel that discussing them with a stranger makes them particularly vulnerable (subject to the evaluation of the interaction by the researcher). Furthermore, individuals often feel that they have dealt "unfairly" or been treated "unfairly" in a conflict situation and they do not wish to acknowledge either posture.

Obviously, the above premises partially explain why research into conflict has been "objective" or "corrective" while largely skirting the issue we might wish to call the anatomy of conflict or perhaps the rhetoric of conflict and conflict resolution. Our attempts to formulate a means for addressing this concern are the basis for this treatise. However, before we explore our attempts to develop a research methodology and provide some of our findings from our preliminary research efforts, we must examine the primary perspectives from which conflict has been examined previously.

The most definitive work regarding the categorization of research methodologies and techniques has been accomplished by Folger and Poole in their 1984 text, **Working Through Conflict**. In their chapter, *Perspectives on Conflict* they designate five areas through which conflict has been examined: (1) Psychodynamics theory; (2) Field Theory; (3)Phase theories; (4) Experimental Gaming and (5) Styles. We will briefly examine the basic methodology of each of these perspectives, point to some of the limitations, and proceed to a discussion of our research as an additional means of discovering the characteristics of conflict and conflict resolution.

Psychodynamic theory refers to those theories which originated with Freud's concept of intrapersonal turmoil among three warring entities—the "id," the "ego," and the "superego." From the Freudian perspective we are constantly in conflict between our most basic needs manifested in the "id" and our social introjects, accumulated by the "superego." Such conflicts are manifested in various ways, by various individuals. Freud was interested in discovering the means by which the "id" circumvented the repressions of the "superego." His monumental works have served as the basis for most psychodynamic theory concerning neurotic and psychotic behavior. Such internal conflict is of interest to the psychologist and psychiatrist; but may offer few insights into conflict in the social context of "normal" life.

Several psychodynamic theories have emerged in humanistic psychology and in other fields that address the concept of internal conflict. Among them are theories by Frederick Perls, Eric Berne, Charles Zastrow, Albert Ellis, and Ambrester and Strause. The Ambrester/Strause model attmepts to synthesize the communicative aspects of the other models in an effort to offer a means of depicting our self-persuasion process during personal conflict.

Such inquiry into conflict is useful as a means of discovering the nature and complexities of our internal rhetorical wrangle; but it offers little overall insight into the anatomy of interpersonal conflict. Nevertheless, this area of investigation is still viable and needs further exploration as a means of linking intrapersonal conflict to social interaction.

Field theory was given birth by Kurt Lewin and some of the most beneficial group dynamics theory has been based in Lewin's work. His chief contributions related to conflict inhere in his idea that everyone operates in a "life space" (individual's normative concepts) and a psychological field which involves the atmosphere of a group. Climate refers to the quality of the field as a whole.

Morton Deutsch's work in field theory has provided more insight into the nature of group and social conflict. The key term for Deutsch is interdependence, which he divided into two forms—contrient and promotive. Contrient interdependence involves a climate in which the individuals in a group perceive that everone's gain will be the other's loss. Promotive interdependence describes a climate in which the individuals in a group perceive that gains for one person will equal gains for the others.

Deutsch argues that contrient interdependence promotes competition whereas promotive interdependence fosters cooperative behavior. "Competition," Deutsch states, "breeds competition and cooperation breeds cooperation." (Deutsch '73 p. 367) Deutsch's two major assumptions concerning conflict are as follows: (1) climate influences conflict behavior and (2) generalized perceptions of interdependence arise from interaction.

Limitations of field theory as Folger and Poole point out are that Deutsch *"...isolates one feature of the conflict situation, interdependence, and derives his entire analysis of cooperative and competitive processes from this feature."* A second limitation inheres in an *"...overemphasis on perceptions."* (Folger and Poole, p. 19) Nevertheless, the field theory perspective has provided insights into the nature of group interdependence and the role played by perceptions in the creation and resolution of conflict.

Phase theories attempt to establish the various stages or phases through which any conflict will pass. The best known of the phase perspectives is that of R.J. Rummel who identified the following five stages in conflict: the latent stage, the initiation phase, balancing power, balance of power, disruption.

The latent stage refers to a pre-conflict stage which is always extant in human interaction. By virtue of our varying attitudes, values, objectives, etc. there is always potential for conflict. A "triggering event" brings on the actual first phase, the initiation phase in which potential differences become the basis for interaction. In the "balancing power" stage the individuals "spar" with each other in an effort to assess the willingness of the other

to use power, threats, and rewards. The combatants confront the issue in an effort to reach accommodation. The resolution leads to the "balance power" stage in which the combatants come to understand the consequences of the outcome and adjust to the realities of the situation. This stage produces a set of expectations by the participants and may last a long period of time. The stage becomes disrupted as significant changes occur in circumstances, goals and attitude change. Rummel labeled the final stage the "disruption" stage in which the individuals come to the realization that conditions are conducive to conflict and confrontation. Rummel's analysis, therefore, presupposes that conflict runs in cycles from the latent stage to balance of power and then is reactivated (perhaps over different issues) in the disruption phase.

Rummel's phases represent only one of many such theories. Kiesling, '73, Morley and Stephenson, '77, Walton, '79, and Ellis and Fisher, '75, all have suggested that conflicts can be segmentalized into phases or stages. While this research is valuable in its own right, it is, nevertheless, highly limited as a methodology for studying or even characterizing conflict. In the first place, there is little practical import in attempting to observe and label the various staged in a conflict. Second, the superimposition of, phases in a conflict situation may distort the observers ability to clearly ascertain the most salient aspects of the conflict. Third, phase theories suggest that a "logical" sequence or patern will emerge in any conflict situation. Poole, '81, found that groups often fail to follow a set sequence of phases. Finally, phase theory is highly simplistic. Not only are conflicts more complex than the theory suggests; but also the idea of charting the stages may represent a process of drawing a map that fits no territory.

Nevertheless, we do not want to overlook the positive aspects of phase theory. Conflicts are often cyclical and phase theories help us observe and identify cyclical escalations. Also, when used in a flexible manner, studying the phases in conflict can offer further insights into the anatomy of interpersonal conflict and attempts at resolution.

Experimental game theory, similar to exchange theory, has been the most studied and utilized area of conflict investigation. Perhaps the fact that gaming is a short-hand measure of resolving the complex problem of conflict, gaming strategies and techniques have proliferated to the point that any single review of the extant conflict resolutions games would represent a monumental study in its own right. Nevertheless, although experimental gaming techniques are astronomically porportioned to other conflict research methodologies, Folger and Poole have essentialized the key assumptions in gaming theory. They are as follows:

1. The structure of a game is composed of choices (options) available to players and the rewards or costs (payoffs) they receive from selecting a given choice.

2. The choices available to players are limited in number, and players know what these choices are.

3. The payoffs associated with a given move depend not only on the player's choice, but also on the choice made by the other.

4. Players know the payoffs associated with each combination of choices and these payoffs are interesting and meaningful to them.

5. A player's choice is determined by calculation of payoffs (rewards and costs). Rational game behavior consists of the selection of choices that yield favorable outcomes, either the maximization of gain or the attainment of a beneficial norm, such as distributive justice.

Gaming theory is epitomized in the "classic" game called "The Prisoner's Dilemma." This game is designed to teach the participants that cooperation and trust are preferable to doubt and competition in the interpersonal situation. The game as most persons know is set-up accordingly:

1. If A remains silent and B remains silent, then A's outcome is +1 and B's outcome is +1.

2. If A remains silent and B confesses, then A's outcome is -2 and B's outcome is +2.

3. If A confesses and B remains silent, then A's outcome is +2 and B's outcome is -2.

4. If A confesses and B confesses, then both have outcome of -1.

Besides the basic stances in the game itself there are opportunities for variations. If one adds the potential for communication between the prisoners, for instance, the dynamics of the interplay adds new dimensions to the game. Gaming techniques, therefore, offer multilevel opportunities to participate and examine conflict and its resolution from the outset to the completion.

Pruitt and Kimmel (1977) have identified three forms of experimental games. Matrix games are those which resemble the "prisoner's dilemma." Negotiation games simulate formal negotiation over a specific problem and award points for the "quality" of the agreement. "Coalition" games involve more than two players and encourage the formation of coalitions and bargaining to defeat other coalitions. These games have a numerical base and are scored accordingly.

Although gaming theory is extrememly useful in the study of conflict and conflict resolution there are limitations to its usefulness as Wilmot and Wilmot ('78) point out. These authors allege that gaming theory fails to take into account the variety of options available in a real situation. A second problem is represented by most of the games we have reviewed—they oversimplify. A person may be a great monopoly player and yet be a very poor business person. Gaming gives an oversimplistic view of situations and probably offers little carryover. Finally, much gaming theory coorelates competition with "unhealthy" conflict. In real life we are often involved in competitive situations which demand that we operate in competitive fashion. Such a perspective makes gaming appear quite unrealistic in many situations.

The fifth perspective on conflict is called **style**. Blake and Mouton, '64, created the concept and identified "style" as the "position" or "role" an individual assumes in a conflict. Folger and Poole point out that five styles have emerged in the course of theoretical writings in this area. The five styles are identified as follows: competitive—high in assertiveness and low in cooperativeness: accomodative—unassertive and cooperative; avoiding—unassertive and uncooperative; collaborative—high in assertiveness and cooperation; and compromising—intermediate in assertiveness and cooperation.

Style research has provided valuable insights into the nature and function of role behaviors and conflict. The chief findings have helped to clarify the settings in which the various styles would be most appropos. When viewed as rhetorical devices which can be employed in conflict situations style theory seems quite appropriate. However, when a designated style is assigned to an individual (by virtue of a categorical test) the methodology can become more destructive than helpful. Assigned a "style" by a categorical measure, the individual may act out a self-fulfilling prophecy based on the style assigned him/her by the test.

After examining the studies in conflict and conflict resolution, we resolved to attempt an exploration of the rhetoric of conflict. In other words, we decided to try to develop a means to discover and employ strategies which allow individuals to handle conflict. We acquainted ourselves with other literature than that surveyed by Folger and Poole. There exists an enormous body of conflict resolution material in the area of humanistic psychology. Such luminaries as Carl Rodgers, R.D. Laing, Bach and Wyden, and Bandler, Grinder, and Satir have attempted to explore the nature of conflict in the family setting. Many valuable insights and hypotheses have emerged from the research and writings of these scholars. Nevertheless, a crucial question remains unexamined. How do "normal" people in their day to day situations deal with the conflict which occurs in their lives? What kinds of strategies do they develop which allow them to cope and maintain a reasonably normal existence? These are the nagging questions which caused us to begin searching for answers.

As we stated at the outset of this paper, conflict is a very difficult phenomenon to observe. Ideally, we reasoned, that the best possible means to study the phenomenon would be to become a part of that which we were attempting to analyze. For example, to study conflict in families we would have to live with various families and attempt to discover the methods used to deal with conflict. The same would apply if we wished to observe conflict as it occurs in the professional setting. We soon discovered through our ruminations why most researchers have relied on some artificial means of studying conflict or have resorted to the use of anecdotal evidence to support or reject their hypotheses. The task of studying conflict as it occurs is monumental to say the least. Not only that, it is likewise impractical. Would you, for instance, be willing to allow an outside observer to live in your home for an extended period and study the nature of the conflicts which occur? And if one chooses to research in this manner and even finds a workable means for so doing, can s/he ever know when s/he has attained a representative sample?

Recognizing the impracticalities inherent in our desire to know more about the rhetoric of conflict and its resolution, we devised a questionnaire designed to afford initial insights into the nature and function of conflict from the perspective of the individual. Utilizing the current research findings and the best advice from hundreds of students in interpersonal communication classes at the University of Tennessee, we designed the following questionnaire to be used with students from interpersonal communication classes who were willing to volunteer their time to talk about conflict in their personal experience. Over the past three years we have conducted approximately two hundred and fifty such interviews with students who range generally from 18 to 24 years of age and are attending the University of Tennessee. All students (with the exception of 20 students from a class entitled **Business and Professional Speaking**) were volunteers from our course entitled *Interpersonal Communication*. Their majors varied widely across the University community, but the highest concentration of majors came from the following fields—"Business—marketing," "Communications—public relations,

advertising, journalism, broadcasting," "Home Economics—tourism, food, and lodging, social work, home and family;" "Agriculture—forestry, pre-veterinary science, ornamental horticulture" and "Psychology."

Since we emphasized in class that this study was independent of class work and would not affect their grades positively or negatively, we believe the group of interviewees came of their "own accord" as much as one can hope for under such circumstances. The interviewers, without whom this study would still exist in the mind of the experimenter, were as follows: Joan Akard—graduate student in interpersonal communication with a masters in divinity; Kim Householder—law student, with a rich background in speech communication; Mary Lisa Rickman—teacher in the Nashville public school system; and Mimi Macabee—public relations specialist, employed by a firm in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida. In identifying our staff for this project, we do not wish to suggest that the project is finished—far from it. We are in the preliminary stages of the development of a vehicle to study and observe the rhetoric of conflict resolution. The questions which we devised are propedeutic to the overall investigation. Perhaps, as poet E.A. Robinson suggested in another context, we are *"...Trying to spell God with the wrong blocks."* Therefore, we are attempting to recognize throughout our ongoing investigation, that the only flaw in our research may be the flaw we created. In other words, we are attempting to discover the validity of our research as we engage in our research—such, we trust, is the true nature of phenomenological investigation. The point to be made is that while our questions may appear to be valid they represent no more than the parameters we set for ourselves in seeking to investigate conflict and conflict resolution. therefore, we may make radical changes in our methodology as we learn the "right" questions to ask. We, therefore, offer the following questionnaire which we used as a basis for our interviews with students, coupled with some of our preliminary findings from our research efforts.

Interview Questions on Conflict/Resolution

1. Classify yourself as a (1) Heavyweight, (2) Middleweight, (3) Lightweight.
2. With whom do you fight/have conflict?
3. What do you fight/argue/have conflict over most? money, children, politics, friends, concern, love, sex, etc...?
4. How frequently do you experience frustration which could lead to conflict with this person?
5. How often does this frustration become verbalized?
6. Then what happens...?
7. Would you give an account of one of your conflicts? (line by line, blow by blow)
8. How long does an open conflict last?
9. What happens to terminate the conflict? (Do you run out, he/she clam up, etc...)
10. Does termination represent successful or unsuccessful attempts at resolution?
11. Is the conflict ever resolved—how? If not, what happens to it?
12. How do you feel during and after the conflict?
13. How important is winning for you?
14. How often do you win?
15. What emotional strategies do you employ?
16. What rational strategies do you employ?

The questions we devised, as we suggested, are not sacrosanct—they are designed for alteration as we learn more about the rhetoric of conflict resolution. Therefore, a general discussion of our findings would be more beneficial at this point than an actual recounting of the responses to each question.

At the outset of each interview respondents were asked to classify themselves in terms of Back and Wydens ('68) categories of heavy weight middleweight or lightweight. We explained the classifications as follows: (1) the heavyweight—a person who had rather "fight than switch"—one who enjoys a verbal battle and sometimes even starts a fight to increase the excitement of the moment; (2) the lightweight—one who is opposite the heavyweight. S/he will do almost anything to avoid a confrontation. To fight is to become devastated, immobilized, or increasingly vulnerable, so the lightweight chooses to avoid such confrontations; (3) the middleweight can initiate or avoid a conflict. If confrontation is necessary s/he will face the problem and attempt to reach a solution with as little conflict as possible.

The majority of our interviewees (57%) classified themselves as middleweights. A surprisingly large percentage (32%) classified themselves as lightweights, while a smaller percentage (10%) identified with the heavyweight category. One percent of our interviewees were unwilling or unable to classify themselves in any of the three categories.

Several of our preliminary findings bear discussion:

1. Most persons prefer to avoid or suppress hostilities.
   Among those interviewed a vast majority prefer to avoid conflict at all costs. They prefer various avoidance techniques to the wide variety of confrontational techniques.
2. The most prevalent and "severe" conflicts occur in intimate relationships.
   While a few persons include fellow workers in their lists of those with whom they fight, most list family and lovers. This is hardly surprising since Frederick Perls ('72) suggests that we release our hostilities on those who are least likely to reject us.
3. People fight most frequently over content rather than relationship issues.
   Among our subjects, 89% mentioned content related issues such as money, religion, destination, etc. as their major area of conflict. When queried about the content, relationship concerns tend to emerge—such as "He wants to make all the decisions, She really doesn't seem to care, They treat me like a little girl." This preliminary finding seems to validate the concept that Watzlavick, Beavin, and Jackson propose, that we use content arguments to mask realtionship problems.
4. Although most of our respondents do not like to classify their conflicts as attempts to "win" 79% can easily designate a percentage of times they win in a given situation.
   Most of our respondents argue that winning is not the key issue for them; but that same group comments that they win from 50% to 85% of the time.
5. Most of our interviewees find conflict unrewarding.
   Among those interviewed 71% state that at the conclusion of a conflict little or nothing is resolved. These persons view conflict as a counterproductive phenomenon in which individuals exchange hostilities and finish with little gained and much lost.
6. Among those who find satisfactory solutions, conflict is considered a positive process.
   The minority of our subjects reported satisfactory solutions emerging from conflict, and they believe that conflict is a means of "clearing the air" and "improving relationships."
7. Conflict produces strong feelings.
   Almost all our respondents reported that feelings were heightened during the course of a conflict. The majority reported heightening of negative feelings, while a few individuals classified the process as exhilerating.
8. The strategies employed vary widely; but there are some commonalities.
   The most frequently reported "emotional" strategy is guilt-induction. Contrary to Maxwell and Schmitt's findings ('67) that threat and other "punishing activities" are unlikely strategies, we have found that at the intimate level these are the most employed strategies. "Logical" strategies include pleas for consistency, uses of evidence, and appeals to "follow my train of thought."

These preliminary findings represent only a small sample of the wealth of information we are accumulating through our study. We are now beginning to discover the questions we need to ask in order to examine the anatomy of conflict as it exists at the individual level. We believe that we have tapped a mainstream that will eventually lead us to the development of a rhetoric of conflict and conflict resolution.

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Using Humor as a Persuasive Device: A Case Study of Rep. James Thomas Heflin

G. Allan Yeomans

During the twentieth century's infancy there emerged from Alabama's Fifth Congressional District a flamboyant demagogue whose repertoire of humorous anecdotes, manner of speaking, and mode of dress combined to intrigue reporters for more than a quarter of a century. James Thomas Heflin's "cream colored double-breasted waistcoat, along with a Byronic cravat, and a long coat with flowing skirts that suggested a combination of a morning coat, an old-fashioned Prince Albert and a dressing gown"[1] earned him a reputation as "the best dressed man on the floor of the House,"[2] and the "most gorgeously dressed man in Congress."[3] House Speaker Uncle Joe Cannon called Heflin "an Albanian sunset. . .a string of big, red, fat firecrackers all going off at the same time."[4] The Alabamian's dress, dialect stories, and explosive style of speaking arrested the attention of editors around the country. Such magazines as **American Mercury, Commonweal, Collier's, Newsweek, The North American Review, Outlook, Time,** and **The Literary Digest** characterized Heflin with such epithets as "Don Tom," "Tom-Tom," "Tom Quixote," and "Cotton Tom." While Heflin lent his colorful personality and oratorical skills to a variety of causes and groups during the twenty-six years of service in both Houses, the Alabamian's most important advocacy was that which he employed in favor of improving the cotton economy of the South.

John W. Owens wrote in the **American Mercury**, that Heflin's speeches on cotton and rural credits were "sharp, clear and concise," and "achieved really lucid presentations of a highly complex business."[5] Writing in **Outlook**, Duncan Aikman called Tom the "down-and-out cotton farmer's champion."[6] Harvie Jordan, President of the United States Cotton Association, implored Speaker of the House Cannon to appoint Heflin to the House Committee on Agriculture, in 1909. Jordan wrote to Cannon: "Mr. Heflin has always taken great interest, in all matters pertaining to the development of our agricultural interests, and I feel assured that his appointment would meet the hearty indorsement of the people of this entire section."[7] Ben Cameron, President of the Farmers' National Congress, called Heflin "one of Cotton's ablest advocates."[8] In 1914, southern representatives and senators in Congress chose Heflin to tour all the important cotton growing states to make a series of speeches urging planters to reduce their cotton acreage.[9] There can be little doubt but that Heflin was one of the cotton belt's chief advocates and that he helped to focus national attention on the cotton economy of the South from 1904 to 1930.

Of particular importance among the rhetorical weapons which comprised the Alabama cotton advocate's arsenal of persuasive devices was his use of humor. As a story-teller, Heflin stood in a class by himself. In fact, the stories which he told in the House and Senate chambers and cloakrooms earned him the title of "Champion Storyteller" of Congress.[10] **The Indianapolis Star** called Heflin "a story teller who has no superiors."[11] **The Buffalo Commercial** thought that he was "without equal in Washington as a teller of Negro dialect stories."[12] While Heflin was serving in the Senate, a correspondent for the **New York Evening Times** commented: "Heflin. . .holds preeminent rank among the tellers of dialect stories throughout all Congress. There never arose an occasion, critical or otherwise, in the course of the Congressional session that Heflin couldn't produce a story to fit."[13]

In the light of Heflin's image as a Congressional showpiece, his reputation as an extraordinary story-teller, and his importance as one of the cotton belt's chief advocates, this paper investigates Heflin's use of humor as a persuasive device, particularly in his cotton advocacy.

The theme recurrent in Heflin's cotton speeches was that the federal government should improve the cotton economy of the South. Underlying this theme were four basic premises: (1) the federal government should protect the people from economic injustice; (2) agriculture is the cornerstone of the national economy; (3) cotton is agriculture's most important product; and (4) regulation which encourages the cotton economy is a symptom of genuine progress.

From these basic premises Heflin developed a proposition supported by four major contentions. Virtually all of his cotton speeches, in some manner, developed, related to, or extended this overall argument. The proposition, as stated earlier, was that the federal government should improve the cotton economy of the South.

In support of this thesis was the Alabamian's first major contention that the cotton economy is oppressed. Much of the blame for that oppression Heflin laid at the doorstep of the Republican party and the Payne-Aldrich tariff. In a speech in the House, March 5, 1914, Heflin thundered at his Republican opponents on the other side of the House:

These are some of the fruits of protection for the farmer. Why see him as he goes out to work. Under the Payne-Aldreich law you taxed his plow and his plow stock; you taxed the single-tree and the iron upon it; you taxed the trace chain, the back-band and its buckle; you taxed the hames and collar, the bridle, and the plow lines. But you did not stop there. When he took his horse out to hitch him to his one-horse wagon you had taxed the bridle that he puts on his horse and the leather in his harness. You taxed the brads in the harness, and the buckles, and even the thread with which the harness was sewed together; and you also taxed the tires on the wagon. You taxed every rod and bar in that wagon; you taxed the wood taken from the forest where God Almighty intended trees to grow to furnish lumber for man's use and benefit and to build houses to shelter him. That is what you did. Now, you are the pretended friend of the farmer, and you boast of prosperity that you have given him.[14]

Thus did Heflin castigate the Republicans for suffocating his cotton constituent with an endless array of taxes. The plight of this hapless Payne-Aldrich victim reminded the Alabamian of rheumatic old Uncle Jake:

Because of rheumatism Uncle Jake couldn't get around, so he stayed home. Finally a peddler came along and told him that if he'd put bees on his legs and let them sting him, it would cure him. He tried that remedy. They put bees on his legs, and the old fellow ranted and yelled and said he was worse off than ever. One day a friend came and said, "Uncle Jake, John Jones is coming here to preach and you must come and hear him; you used to know him in the old days." Jake said, "I would like to hear John Jones, but, to tell you the fact, I am a miserable man and I do not like to go anywhere at all and talk and be talked to." Well, finally they got him to agree to go, and he went and took a seat back in the rear, where he would not be disturbed. The preacher began by saying: "It has been a long time since I was here. I see a lot of people that I know. Providence must have been exceedingly good to you all. I want to ask you," speaking to a merchant there, "I knew you in the years gone by. What has Providence done for you?" The merchant stood up and said: "Well, Providence has been exceedingly good to me. I have sold a lot of goods this year. I have got a good line of customers, and they all pay me well," and he sat down. "Good," said the preacher. "Doctor," he said, "What has Providence done for you?" "Well, I have a good line of patients who pay me well, and Providence has been good to me." "Good," said the preacher. "Now," he said to the lawyer, "what has Providence done for you?" The lawyer said: "Providence has been very good to me. I have had a good many cases, and have been very successful in them." "Yes," said the preacher, "that's good." The he said, pointing to the old farmer sitting back: "You old fellow, sitting back there all humped up, what has Providence done for you?" The old fellow, gritting his teeth, struggled to his feet and said: "Parson, he's durn nigh ruint me!" That is what you've done for the farmers of this country.[15]

Heflin contended that the Republicans had been so successful in their continued ruination of the farmer that they wanted still another crack at him. Chided Tom, "Oh, you fleeced (the farmer) so long and so successfully you want to get hold of him one more time. If you could get in again (in control of Congress) you would fleece him again." The Alabamian continued, "A wounded Indian at the battle of the Horseshoe Bend said to the surgeon who was trying to save his life: 'Cure Indian and kill him again.'".[16]

Another of Heflin's favorite targets was the New York Cotton Exchange. He argued that one of the most oppressing factors to the cotton economy was the bear gambler speculating in the exchange and depressing the prices of cotton. The bear gambler reminded Heflin of the two fellows walking across the prairie. He continued:

They heard a noise, looked around, and saw that a buffalo bull was coming upon them. They ran for their lives. One went up in the shell of an old tree and the other one went into a hole in the ground. The buffalo looked at him and passed on. Then he looked back and saw him standing by the hole and turned and charged at him again. Again he went into the hole, and when he came out the buffalo went at him again. The fellow in the tree said, "Why don't you get in the hole and stay in there?" But in and out he went until the buffalo bull wore himself out and went bellowing across the field. Then the fellow in the tree came down and said to his friend, "John, why in thunder didn't you get in the hole and stay in there?" And John replied, "I knowed you didn't understand the situation. There was a bear in that hole a durn sight bigger than the buffalo on the outside!" So, my friend, there is a bear speculator in the New York Cotton Exchange doing more devilment and injuring the cotton producer more than all the cold cotton facts extant in the cotton world.[17]

In an effort to explain to the House exactly how the Cotton Exchange was able to manipulate and depress cotton prices, Heflin reviewed the number of bales of cotton actually handled on the exchange in a single year, contrasting these figures with those indicating actual cotton production. Stormed Heflin, "The gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. Dickson) has shown you that the New York Exchange in one year, in 1895 or 1896, when they were required to keep a record, received 23,000 bales, sold 90,000,000 bales, and had 169,000 bales left out of a crop of 10,000,000 bales." Sardonically the Congressman explained:

I cannot account for that cotton miracle except upon the reverse of the process employed by the bees in packing honey in the bee gum of old Jake Thornton in my district. He said: "I had a five-gallon bee gum and we robbed it the other day and got seven gallons of honey and two and a half gallons of honeycomb." Flue Busbee said, "Uncle Jake, you just said that it was a five-gallon gum," and he replied, "by gosh, bees

are the out-packinest things you ever seen in this world!" So, Mr. Speaker, we have these slick-fingered artists of the exchange treating us to a genuine cotton miracle. Nobody but an exchange member could sell 90 million bales of cotton out of a 10 million crop. It takes the cotton producer of the South 12 months to make a cotton crop of 12 million bales, but these gentlemen on the exchange can, in a few nights with a few chalk marks, make 500 million bales [18]

What was the solution to the problem of the depression of cotton prices by exchange manipulators? Regulate the exchange. But, when forced to a choice between two proposals to regulate, Heflin hedged that neither of the measures were entirely to his liking. Said Heflin:

> The late lamented Cushman, from Washington, told a story here once about a man in the West who stole a horse. A dozen men had him out and were about to execute him. Six of them discussed the proposition of hanging him and five preferred to shoot him. One of them stood guard, and the unfortunate fellow heard all the debate, nervously listening, and finally one of them said, "Old fellow, have you any preference as to the plan of disposing of you?" He said, "To tell you the truth, I can't enthuse over either plan." So, Mr. Speaker, there are some features in both propositions that I would like to change [19]

The Alabamian thus triggered a prolonged discussion of the comparative advantages of the two proposals before the House.

Heflin also contended that the cotton economy had been oppressed because of an inadequate system of rural credit and because the world war had wrought an injurious effect on cotton producers. He proposed that federal banks should therefore make loans to the cotton farmers. Cried Tom: "If Congress can not or will not do something that will relieve the situation, I am in favor of the legislatures of every cotton-growing State passing a stay law, suspending the payment of all debts for a reasonable length of time." The Congressman explained:

> This would keep the speculators from taking this cotton crop at destructive prices and place all parties interested in the cotton industry upon the same footing. It would make somebody else share with the producer some of the hardships caused by present (wartime) conditions. If, under present conditions, the banker calls upon the merchant, and the merchant forces the producer to sell his cotton at the present price, some fellow may feel like Artemas Ward did when his friend said to him, "Artemas, you owe me a hundred dollars, and I am going to knock off half that amount;" whereupon Artemus said, "I never let anybody outdo me in generosity; you knock off half of it, and I will knock off the other half." [20]

Heflin concluded that "when the cotton business of the South is good the prosperity that it enjoys is shared by the people in every other section."

Therefore, those same other sections should join hands with the South and "grant relief to the people now suffering under conditions created by war." [21]

Cotton Tom further contended that the federal government should improve the cotton economy of the South because such improvement would benefit both the South and the nation. He alleged that an improved cotton economy would improve the South's credit, her working capital, and her standard of living. He urged that it would benefit the nation by fostering a greater sense of sectional unity, improving national economy, and by enhancing our national war effort. Exclaimed Heflin:

> Why cotton is as good collateral or security as there is in the world. . .Corn and wheat in bulk may be injured by climatic conditions or destroyed by the weevil, but a bale of cotton stored in a bonded warehouse is as good security as silver bullion stored in the vaults of the United States Treasury. Climatic conditions do not affect it, no insect pest can harm it, and no tooth of time can destroy it [22]

In view of cotton's importance to the national economy, the federal government should therefore improve cotton's economy by granting relief to cotton producers through the availability of government loans, the regulation of the cotton exchanges, and the stabilization of cotton prices and abolition of speculation in cotton futures. In pressing for the latter measure Heflin was particularly vociferous. He likened the hated cotton futures to the saloon sandwiches that were once in his town:

> It was against the law to sell whisky on Sunday unless something to eat was served with it. Fifteen cents a drink on Sunday with a sandwich thrown in. Do you know what the bartender did? He had some sandwiches made of wood and painted so as to resemble brown bread, and in the middle something that resembled a slice of meat, and when a man came in and asked for a drink of whisky on Sunday they would put a wooden sandwich with the drink on the table. The man took his drink and they took his 15 cents, and then they put the dummy sandwich back and sold it over and over again to a thousand men; and they called that complying with the law, but they never called on the baker or butcher for bread or meat. That is what is going on today in the New York Cotton Exchange and probably in some of the others. They do not deliver real cotton, but they keep a certain grade of dummy cotton to serve on contracts; but this cotton remains in New York, and like the saloon sandwich, is served over and over again to thousands and thousands of men, but they do not call on the producer for cotton. . . .what we want to do is fix it so that whoever deals in cotton will have to call on the farmer some time for cotton with which to fill the contracts [23]

Supposing the Congress refused to regulate the speculating on the cotton exchanges. Was there anything else that might be done? Yes, if the farmers could borrow money on their cotton, and avoid being stampeded into selling for prices too low, they mmight wait until the market was better for a decent price. Heflin cried:

> It was hard to get our farmers to stand together in the holding movement. They were stampeded during the early fall, but at last they have started to holding cotton, and if you will go through Mississippi, Alabama, and Texas you will see that this holding movement is on in earnest, and it is on in such a way that even the Attorney General of the United States can not disturb them in their efforts to obtain a reasonable price for their cotton. . .I am reminded of the story of old Uncle Johnny. His friend said, "Uncle Johnny, they are going to build a railroad through this settlement," and Uncle Johnny said, "My judgment is they will never build it." But his friend said, "They are surveying now just a few miles from here." Uncle Johnny observed: "There is a sight of difference between road surveying and road building!" "Well," said his friend, "they are digging dirt over on the hill now," and Uncle Johnny replied, "Dirt digging and road completing are two powerful different propositions." Finally his friend said, "Uncle Johnny, they have got the road done; they have completed the track and the train has arrived; the engine is out there on the track now; go and look at it." Uncle Johnny went out and looked at it, cold and lifeless, the engine stood; and when asked, "What do you think of it now, Uncle Johnny?" He said, "They'll never budge 'er. Why," he says, "I don't see any traces or singletrees, and besides that, it ain't a fit track for mules, no how." "Why," his friend said, "they are going to run it with steam. They will unite the forces of wood and water and fire and send it down the track pulsing like a thing of life." Uncle Johnny said, "They'll never budge her." Finally, when they warmed her up, she went down the track whistle blowing and sparks aflying. "Well, Uncle Johnny," said the man, "What do you say now?" And he replied, "By golly they'll never stop her!" So, Mr. Speaker, there were those who did not believe that the farmers chould be induced to hold their cotton. They said you can never get them started to holding. But at last they have started, and as long as low prices obtain they will never stop them [24]

When twenty members of the New York Cotton Exchange admitted that some problems existed in the Exchange and requested that there be a revision of cotton grades and a change of rules, the stormy advocate from Alabama was not to be appeased. "These new converts," screamed Heflin, "remind me of the fellow who runs a blind tiger in the community until just before the grand jury meets, pretends to get religion, escapes prosecution, and when court adjourns, lo! The haunts that knew him once claim him and hold him as of yore.[25]

On one occasion during a House debate on the comparative effects of the boll weevil, the potato bug, and the gypsy moth, Heflin's sensitivity for King Cotton was ruffled no little bit when one House member dared to suggest that there were other threats to other agricultural products which were as serious if not more so than was the threat of boll weevils to cotton. Heflin was on his feet at once. "One thing is certain," stormed Cotton Tom, "You gentlemen on that side (the Republicans) are not acquainted with the destructive power of this insignificant looking insect." After predicting the inifinite destruction threatened by an even larger weevil than the one then extant, Tom waxed with this limerick:

If the chigger were bigger,
  As big as a cow,
And his digger
  Had vigor,
Like a subsoil plow,
  Can you 'figger'
Picknicker,
  Where you'd be now?[26]

At another time Heflin was giving his attention to the labor problems caused when too much of the cotton crop ripened all at one time. He was lamenting the fact that when cotton opened all at once it posed a serious labor question, in that cotton pickers could pick the cotton only when about one-fourth of the crop opened at a time. Heflin remembered that one of his northern friends had been down in Mississippi talking to a cotton farmer. The northerner quipped:

> "Why don't you people teach the monkeys to pick cotton; the little nimble-fingered fellows would run around the stalks and pick out the fluffy stuff and throw it in the baskets." "Yes," said the farmer, "that's right; but we wouldn't more than get 'em organized before you darn Yankees would come down here and free 'em." So, Mr. Speaker, gathering the cotton crop has been a serious and expensive problem with us this year [27]

As we have observed from the various illustrations of Heflin's use of humor, the characteristics of his storytelling included the use of familiar names, the incongruous, surprise endings, satire, mimicry, and appropriateness. Heflin's assortment of characters such as Uncle Jake, Uncle Johnny, Old Josh, Rastus, and others soon became familiar to newspaper writers and audiences at Capitol Hill. His satire was generally

employed at the expense of the Republicans, the bear speculators on the cotton exchanges, or an unsympathetic presidency prior to 1912. Unfortunately, his mimicry was more often than not a caricature of an exaggerated Negro dialect and was too frequently employed in a manner degrading to the black man. Appropriateness was consistently a characteristic of his humor. With his tales about Uncle Jake, Uncle Johnny and others, the Alabamian aptly illustrated his own views on cotton economy and the plight of the cotton farmer.

Heflin's stories and humor often helped him establish his credibility which was always an important element in his persuasion. More frequently, however, they served as audience stimulants. Always they were linked to his recurrent theme throughout all of his cotton messages that the federal government should improve the cotton economy of the South.

James Thomas Heflin, Washington's sandwich board man for the cotton kingdom, regarded the value of humor as a persuasive device with the same enthusiasm as was employed by a later Capitol Hill attraction, Everett McKinley Dirksen. The Democratic Tom-Tom and the gravel-voiced Mr. Republican both believed that "a good story with a genuine biological effect" was the best stimulant to make an audience's blood surge.

Notes

[1]**The New York Times**, October 30, 1930.

[2]In Scrapbook 23, James Thomas Heflin Papers, University of Alabama, are clippings from more than a dozen newspapers, all with a Washington, D.C., June 14, 1909, dateline. Each is headlined "Heflin is Best Dressed Man on Floor of House."

[3]**The New York Evening Post**, July 25, 1911.

[4]Ray T. Tucker, "Don Tom of Alabam," **The North American Review**, CCXXVI (August, 1928), p. 129.

[5]John W. Owens, "Tom Heflin," **The American Mercury**, XII (September - December, 1927), p. 275.

[6]Duncan Aikman, "Tawm's Holt," **Outlook**, CXLIX (May, 1928), p. 76.

[7]Jordan to Cannon, June 8, 1909, James Thomas Heflin Papers, University of Alabama.

[8]Cameron to Heflin, December 7, 1907. Heflin Papers.

[9]**The Baltimore Sun**, October 3, 1914.

[10]**The Nashville Tennesseean**, December 21, 1924.

[11]**The Indianapolis Star**, April 9, 1912.

[12]**The Buffalo Commercial**, January 2, 1913.

[13]**The New York Evening Times**, November 13, 1921.

[14]**Congressional Record**, Volume 51, Part 5, p. 4366.

[15]**Ibid.**

[16]**Congressional Record**, Volume 51, Part 5, p. 4364.

[17]**Congressional Record**, Volume 48, Part 1, p. 380.

[18]**Congressional Record**, Volume 48, Part 9, p. 9143.

[19]**Congressional Record**, Volume 50, Part 6, p. 5261.

[20]**Congressional Record**, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16751.

[21]**Ibid.**

[22]**Congressional Record**, Volume 51, Part 16, p. 16749.

[23]**Congressional Record**, Volume 48, Part 3, p. 2622.

[24]**Congressional Record**, Volume 48, Part 1, pp. 379, 380.

[25]**Congressional Record**, Volume 42, Part 4, p. 3545.

[26]**Congressional Record**, Volume 45, Part 2, p. 1302.

[27]**Congressional Record**, Volume 48, Part 1, p. 379.

Evolution of Outdoor Historical Drama

Bettye Kash

The American playwright, Paul Green, often told the story of his first visit to a quiet little grove on Roanoke Island, North Carolina, where a small, squat stone had been erected to the memory of Virginia Dare, the first English child to be born on American soil. These colonists lived on Roanoke Island from 1587 to 1590 and then disappeared, mysteriously swallowed up by the wilderness, leaving only the message "Croatoan" carved on a tree. Awestruck and inspired by the bravery of the parents of this child and their compatriots who came to make their home in an unknown land, Green set down his thoughts that day about this little group of pioneers who came to settle on this strip of sand, seeking to establish a new English-speaking colony thousands of miles across the seas from their homeland.[1]

The notes which Green made on Roanoke Island became the genesis of what was to become a new dramatic form in American theatre and one of the two theatrical forms indigenous to America. Outdoor historical drama, which Green called "symphonic drama," was born on July 4, 1937, with the opening of **The Lost Colony**. This production, built in part upon previous pageant presentations given by the people of Roanoke Island, North Carolina, commemorates the birth of Virginia Dare, the first white child born in America in the only Elizabethan English settlement made in the New World. Since 1937, outdoor historical drama has evolved from being primarily a local community pageant to become a type of regional theatre worthy of being recognized in its own right as a separate genre of American theatre and drama. Its roots, grounded in pageantry, sometimes receives the name "pageant drama."[2] Paul Green preferred to call his plays of this type "symphonic drama" bacause he felt that they differed enough from the pageant form to be given a different name. Moreover, in recent years, the term "pageant" seems to have obtained a negative connotation as being somewhat second rate—an entertainment produced and performed by local amateurs as a one-time or a one-season commemorative event. It usually has little, if any, story line, but incorporates primarily a series of processions, pantomimed events, or short, unconnected or vaguely connected events which are strung together like beads on a string by a live or recorded narrator. It involves large numbers of people, many of whom have little or no acting ability. Its primary emphasis is on thematic spectacle.

J.E. Prudhoe, senior lecturer in drama at the University of Manchester in England, has defined pateant as "an entertainment, frequently in the open air, illustrating a theme by means of spectacle rather than by consecutive narrative and dramatic characterization." He also states that as early as the seventeenth century the word had acquired the "perjorative" meaning of a "raree-show."[3]

Nevertheless, the elements of pageantry can be traced back to the earliest recorded form of our western drama. For instance, in early Greek and Roman days, processions used in religious festivals and victory celebrations were early forms of pageants, and the Greek dythrambic processions with singing and dancing are thought to have been the forerunner of Greek drama from which our modern western drama is said to have evolved. Both the Greek and the Roman festival drama productions were presented in outdoor amphitheatres with a scene house serving as the stage background for the action. Between the scene house and the audience was a circle or semi-circle where some action—usually of the chorus—also took place. A similar arrangement has been adapted for the productions of modern outdoor historical drama. Additionally, the Roman mime, or **fabula riciniata** (comic mime) and **fabula saltica** used an actor-dancer in a plot which was usually taken from history or mythology, a chorus which sang the libretto, and an orchestra composed of flute, pipes, and cymbals to accompany the performance.[4]

Even during the Dark Ages (sixth to tenth centuries A.D.) when theatres were closed and formal dramatic performances were banned, pagan mimes and rituals using dance, music, costumes, and impersonations (elements of the modern pageant) were still performed.[5] Then, when medieval drama was instigated at the end of the Dark Ages, it incorporated the pageant form. Prudhoe records three early usages of the word "pageant" in English which deal with medieval drama. One usage denoted the individual episodes of a miracle play cycle. A second usage described the wagons upon which miracle plays were presented in the streets of certain English towns, while a third usage described "any piece of stage scenery or machinery, such as those used in the indoor court masques." Many of the medieval pageants developed into plays with complete plots and full characterization while retaining a large measure of spectacle.[6]

An outgrowth of these medieval passion plays which survives today is the decadal performances of the Oberammergau Passion Play in Germany. It is also presented at special times such as the three-hundred-fiftieth anniversary of the first performance in 1634 which was commemorated in performance in 1984. This passion play was first presented as a fulfilment of a religious vow made in 1633 when the villagers prayed for and received a cessation of the Black Plague. They vowed to present these plays in an open-air theatre every ten years, and the villagers have carried out this tradition for over three-hundred and fifty years.

During the Renaissance which followed the Middle Ages, plays continued to be presented primarily outdoors until the Italian Renaissance developed theatre architecture and scenic devices, including perspective painting in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During this period, theatre academies attempted to "regularize" drama,

limiting time, place, and action, and thus eliminating much of the epic proportions and spectacle found in pageant-type outdoor drama.

During the Renaissance era in England, plays like those of Shakespeare and his contemporaries continued to be played in open-air theatres, and to maintain broad interpretations of time, place, and action, thus retaining much of the pageantry. But English drama also narrowed its scope and went inside in the Jacobean era of the seventeenth century. Pageantry survived primarily, then, in ceremonies outside the theatre, such as processions of royalty, religious ceremonies, and the like. Of course, indoor performances still made use of spectacle and pageantry in costuming and scenic practices, and productions of Shakespeare and other older plays were still given with much pomp and pageantry.

A major revival of outdoor pageantry came about in modern times. In England, in 1905, Louis N. Parker presented his pageant of Sherborne, Hampshire, in which he illustrated local history by means of dramatic episodes, music, dancing, and processions. Likewise, in the United States, in 1914, a similar type of pageant, **The Pageant and Masque of St. Louis**, was presented by Percy MacKaye, a well-known theatre artist of the early twentieth century. MacKaye states that the word "pageant" is "misleading." He continues as follows:

> True, there was a very important element of pageantry in my masques, as indeed there would have to be in a spectacle in which up to 10,000 participants were involved. There was also music, dancing, and pantomime. But my masques were fundamentally related structurally to the Greek forms of drama in which the spoken word played a very important role.[7]

The pageant form was popular in America in the early twentieth century, as witnessed by pageants like those by Thomas Wood Stevens, George Pierce Baker, and the Boston Normal School. Reflectively, the father of Percy

The pageant form was popular in America in the early twentieth century, as witnessed by pageants like those by Thomas Wood Stevens, George Pierce Baker, and the Boston Normal School. Reflectively, the father of Percy MacKaye, Steele MacKaye, had influenced many of the production techniques of the twentieth-century pageant. Steele MacKaye had produced pageants in the late nineteenth century which incorporated complex and detailed theatrical spectacle. For example, his pageant, **The Drama of Civilization**, presented in 1886 at Madison Square Garden, incorporated stampedes, fires, a cyclone produced with live steam and huge exhaust fans to forcefully underline historic fact while utilizing music and poetic symbolism to suggest historical philosophy.[8]

Most critics trace the evolution of pageants of the type developed by Parker, the MacKayes, Stevens, Baker, and others to the 1937 production of **The Lost Colony**. Brooks NcNamara explains it:

> The pageants of the early twentieth century survive today in the guise of outdoor drama—it is cleaned up, stabilized, somewhat more streamlined and down to earth. . .the majority of the most professional and established of outdoor dramas are historical and commemorative—following the tradition established by Paul Green's watershed play **The Lost Colony**.[9]

McNamara also suggests that this play by Green started a second phase of interest in historical pageants which continues today.

But McNamara did not go far enough in his analysis. For example, one of the differences in traditional pageants and the modern outdoor historical drama is that although modern outdoor drama has all of the goals of the pageant, other elements have been added, and the spirit and emphasis of the depiction of the historical events are altered. For instance, traditional pageants generally attempt to illustrate a familiar theme with a series of loosely connected vignettes that are presented informally and episodically with little cause and effect motivated action and little depth or development of characters. As a director, producer, and promoter of outdoor historical drama, Samuel Selden expressed it, the "form is usually panoramic, discursive, rather than concentrated."[10]

One of the ways that outdoor historical drama differs from the traditional pageant is that it focuses on fewer, more fully developed characters and on a narrower segment of history. Outdoor historical drama also attempts to use a definite story with motivated sequences that lead from a beginning to a climax. It is similar to traditional pageants in that it is still rather episodic, contains mass acting, is filled with popular symbolism, and is aimed at a broad popular audience. In the same manner, spectacle is strongly emphasized with large images, bright costumes, strong color, broad and flowing movement, often using flamboyantly perpetrated images that project easily in performance to the popular audience, and the performance situations are usually far less focused and controlled than those in a conventional theatre. Perhaps the major difference in pageant drama and outdoor historical drama can be found in the remarks of Mark Sumner, director of the Outdoor Drama Institute:

> The outdoor historical drama tries to focus on the complete struggle of a fairly narrow segment of history, while the pageant lists an extensive panorama of history. It is the inward spirit of the history that drama catches and pageantry almost never does.[11]

Recently, however, some of the outdoor historical dramas (such as **Lincoln** at Harrodsburg, Kentucky) have begun to borrow many of mainstream theatre's more intimate and controlled effects, thus narrowing the gap

between outdoor drama and other regular theatre forms. In spite of this influence, a certain dynamic remains in outdoor historical drama that is not present in mainstream American theatre. The modern pageant evolution (or outdoor historical drama) continues to use a mixture of music, dance, mime, spectacle and theatre to create a kind of ritual performance splendidly presented in a larger-than-life form. It is not, as some critics have suggested, merely overblown theatre. As McNamara states, neither is it a "kind of sanctified folk epic for the masses, but simply a contemporary variation of an old and enduring performance form."[12] Even though McNamara's statement has some validity, this "contemporary variation" has continued to the point that it may now be considered a separate genre on its own.

According to George McCalmon and Christian Moe in **Creating Historical Drama**, pageant-drama and outdoor historical drama, which they call "epic-drama," are similar but different forms of drama.[13] A further difference in traditional pageants and outdoor historical drama is that the traditional pageant deals with events and situations while outdoor historical drama deals with the people involved in the events and how these people relate to the situations themselves and to other people or elements therein. The oldest play of this new genre, The Lost Colony, provides verification of this difference. While the play deals with the subject of the historical event of the attempted settlement of America at Roanoke Island by Elizabethan colonists, it focuses on the characters of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Walter Raleigh, Eleanor Dare, and John Borden and their actions and reactions to situations and events.[14]

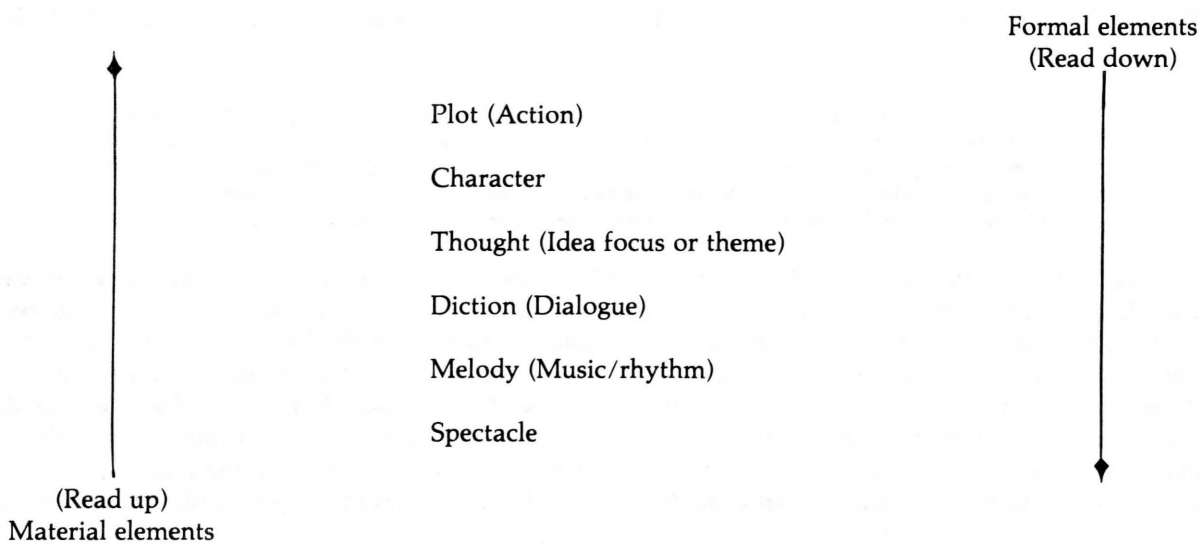
In fact, as a genre of theatre and drama, modern outdoor historical drama can be shown to embody all six of the elements which Aristotle, the ancient Greek philosopher, lists as making up Greek drama. Moreover, modern American outdoor historical dramas and ancient fourth century B.C. Greek dramas deal with similar subject matter, such as legends of folk heroes. The Greeks used heroes like Hercules, Oedipus, Prometheus, Achilles, Paris, Theseus, and Hippolytus. Outdoor historical drama has such heroes as Daniel Boone, Abraham Lincoln, Indian chiefs (such as Tecumseh, Junaluska, Sequoya, and Blue Jacket), a Moravian missionary, and musical genius Stephen Foster. Greek plays told the stories of various peoples such as the Trojans, the Thebans, and the Athenians. American outdoor historical plays tell of the Cherokee Indians, the Shawnee Indians, the Moravian Christians, and the lost English colonists from Roanoke Island, North Carolina. Greek plays tell of feuds like that between brothers in **Seven Against Thebes**, while American outdoor historical dramas tell of feuds between Kentucky and West Virginia neighbors—the Hatfields and McCoys.

As the Greeks (especially the Athenians) advocated a democratic system of justice and individual freedom through suffering in Aeschylus' **The Euminides**, so do outdoor historical dramas **Horn in the West** and **Honey in the Rock**, which deal with attempts by Americans to find individual freedom and justice and with their sufferings as they fight to gain this independence in the American Revolutionary War and in the Civil War. Additionally, **The Seven Against Thebes** can be compared with these latter two American plays in that they all deal with revolution against established government.

Like the Greek dramas, American outdoor historical dramas contain music and dance. In fact, the drama of both eras is structured according to Aristotle's six elements of drama: plot, character, thought, diction, melody, and spectacle.

Aristotle was a fourth century B.C. Greek philospher who wrote a treatise on drama entitled **Poetics**. The portion of the treatise which survives is concerned with tragedy and has been used by scholars through the ages to study and teach dramatic structure. Modern American outdoor historical drama, although it cannot be classified as tragedy, still can be analyzed according to Aristotle's six basic elements. In fact, outdoor historical drama is one of the few types of modern American drama that utilizes all six elements.

The following diagram and discussion provide a summary explanation of Aristotle's six elements.



A theatre scholar and professor, Hubert Heffner has observed that the list when read downward comprises the formal elements of a play.[15] The plot or action is formed from the material of the other five elements, each element being formed, comprised of, or caused by those elements below it. For example, the plot or action of the play is formed according to the kind of characters who people it, the thought or meaning the writer wishes to convey, what the characters say and sing and the pattern in which the words are chosen and put together (diction and music), and by the manner in which the action is presented in the form of spectacle. Characters, in turn, are formed by the meaning to be conveyed through their words and movements, their costumes, and their environment which includes setting, visual effects, sound, and lighting. Each element can thus be shown to be formed of the material found in the elements below it until spectacle remains alone as the final form of the drama.

If Aristotle's list is read upward, according to Heffner, the material elements of a play are indicated because each is dependent on the elements above it. For instance, a play is meant to be seen and heard, not just read, and the production of the complete form results in theatrical performance or spectacle which contains the material of music, diction, thought, character, and action. The spectacle gets its life from the material of sound (rhythm, tone, pitch, pattern), and this sound grows out of the material of the dialogue which utilizes the material of thought or ideas. The ideas spring from the material of character formation which is based upon the action or plot line of the play which unifies the whole composition.

As a general rule, outdoor historical dramas can be analyzed as proceeding from the material to the formal in terms of emphasis. The emphasis is upon spectacle—the production—the performance as an "experience," and the emphasis of the script usually moves up Aristotle's list in terms of importance. Next to spectacle, which includes all "seen" effects as well as meaning the total performance, is sound, especially music. Third, in emphasis, is the thought conveyed through what the characters say, which is usually the unifying element in these plays. The characters are formed or chosen primarily for the purpose of conveying the message, and the plot is loosely formed in order to provide a unity for the thoughts or ideas (such as historical heritage) that are being presented.

Both the Greek plays and modern outdoor historical drama mingle fact with fiction to dramatize historical legend. In the Greek drama, for instance, such personages as Ajax, Achilles, Hector, Agamemnon, Menalaus, Helen, and Paris did exist, and there wa a Trojan War in which these people were involved. Several of the dramatists wrote plays that used these people as characters, but each dramatist, by intermingling some fiction and hearsay with historical fact and by using a different approach, emphasis, or incidents, wrote a different play from that of his fellow dramatists.

In like manner, modern outdoor historical drama uses historical legend as subject matter peopled with real historical characters such as Daniel Boone, Abraham Lincoln, William Henry Harrison ("Tippecanoe"), Andrew Jackson, Daniel Webster, Rev. Daniel Zeisburger, Tecumseh, Blue Jacket, Sequoya, and Junaluska. In addition to these historical figures, fictional characters are included to help dramatize incidents about which few historical facts are known or to round out incidents that are included in order to make a point, convey meaning, or to serve as transitions in the action. Many of the characters, including the authentic historical characters, are often portrayed as types, painted in broad, bold strokes, and often are used to get across an impression or idea or to give authenticity to the event. In such manner they can again be compared with the Greeks:

> Greek dramatists were very economical in the number of events and character traits they included, preferring a few broad strokes to multiplicity of detail. They. . .(concentrated) on the psychological and ethical attributes of their personages.[16]

Like the characters in plays by Aeschylus, characters in outdoor historical drama usually have the following traits:

> A limited number of traits exist, but these are incisive, powerful and entirely appropriate to the action. Although Aeschylus is essentially a philosophical and religious dramatist, he is also the most theatrical of the Greek tragedians, for he makes great demands on the theatre's resources. His plays often call for spectacle on a monumental scale: second choruses and numerous attendants; chariots drawn horses; . . . He also makes considerable use of visual symbolism, unusual choral dances, and lavish costumes.[17]

That Paul Green was directly or indirectly influenced by Greek drama, especially Aeschylus, when writing **The Lost Colony** seems to be evident. He based that play on an actual occurrence which had become legend—the attempted colonization of America by Sir Walter Raleigh under the sponsorship of Queen Elizabeth between 1584 and 1590, and the unknown fate of the English colonists who were members of an expedition that came to settle on Roanoke Island in what is now the state of North Carolina. Many of the characters are drawn from history. Others, however, such as the hero of the play, John Borden, and the comic hero, "Old Tom," (Thomas Harris) are merely names on a roster of colonists, but are developed by the author into fictional characters that add to the meaning, dramatic emphasis, and ethical qualities of the play. Still others, like the old

Indian squaw Agona, are fictional characters, created by the author as dramatic tools.

Green composed his play as a commemorative drama to celebrate an event—the birth of Virginia Dare. Thus the plot was constructed of the events surrounding the first English attempts to settle the New World, the individuals who were a part of them, and the social climate that made them possible. Because of the wide spectrum of events which the plot would cover, the form chosen was epic in scope. Also since the discovery in 1590 of the disappearance of the colony from Roanoke Island, the fate of the colonists has remained an unsolved mystery. Therefore, Green had to construct fictional suppositions as to what happened to the colony between the end of August, 1587, when Governor White returned to England for supplies, and 1590, when he was able to return and found the colony on Roanoke Island deserted and overgrown.

The story parameters actually involve all of the colonization efforts of England in America between 1584 and 1590. Consequently, much of the action is outside the plot of the play. The principal action is telescoped into representative scenes which introduce characters, establish mood and precepts, and advance the story line. The isolated scenes are unified by means of a narrator who may be compared with the chorus leader of the Greek plays. To be sure, several plot devices of Greek drama seem to have been adopted and adapted by Green in this play. He used a chorus in much the same manner as the Greeks did to serve several functions: (1) It served as an agent (character) in the play; (2) it established an ethical or social framework of events: (3) it frequently served as an ideal spectator reacting to events and characters; (4) it helped to set the mood for scenes and the overall action of the play; (5) it added movement, spectacle, song and dance; and (6) it served an important rhythmical function, creating pauses during which the theatre audience might reflect upon the action.[18]

In the 1937 version of Green's script, the chorus was a separate entity who stood in a banked enclosure at the left of the proscenium and served only the main Aristotelian function of melody and diction. In the present version of **The Lost Colony**, however, the chorus has evolved to fill all the functions of the Greek chorus. In this modern revision, Green uses two choruses—one of singers and one of dancers—who also serve as actors in the play, and serving as colonists and Indians, they interact with other characters. Their songs, comments, and dances help to establish ethical and social frameworks, set mood, and provide pauses between the scenes to reflect and comment on the action. As spectators in crowd scenes, they react as the playwright wants the audience to react, while still serving a primary purpose of contributing to theatrical effectiveness in movement, spectacle, song, and dance.

Like Aeschylus in the **Oresteia**, Green dramatizes conflicting ideals of justice as they are embodied in human affairs. For example, **The Lost Colony** deals with the conflict between the Indians and the white man who is seeking to establish a colony on Indian lands, the unjust killing of an Indian king, the retaliatory killings of the colonists by Indians, the unwillingness of Queen Elizabeth to allow Raleigh to leave England and go with his colonists to America because she wanted him to lead armies against Spain, and her refusal to send ships with supplies to the colonists because she needed the ships for war. An additional injustice is found in the refusal of the ship captain, Simon Fernando, to abide by his promise to deliver the colonists to Chesapeake Bay rather than to Roanoke Island.

Similarly, the trilogy of the **Oresteia** by Aeschylus deals with the evolution of justice in the power of the state, thus releasing individuals from the guilt and punishment found in personal revenge. Like Aeschylus, Green is able to reconcile conflicts of justice in an all-encompassing principle: the freedom of the individual in a democratic state. The English colonists came to America with a dream of building a new nation in a new world in which men could determine their own destinies under the guidance of a democratic state. As the Historian, who serves as narrator in **The Lost Colony**, states:

> On this very site /on which the play is presented today/ was laid the first foundation for it. Here these pioneers of a new order, or a new form of government lived, struggled and suffered. And in the symbol of their endurance and their sacrifice let us renew our courage and our hope. For as we keep faith with them, so shall we keep faith with ourselves and with future generations everywhere who demand of us that the ideals of liberty and free men shall continue on the earth. (Act I, sc.1)[19]

And with the idea that the spirit of these hardy pioneers has helped to perpetuate—the spirit of individual freedom—Green resolves happily the action of **The Lost Colony**.

The second element of Aristotle's list, character, can be analyzed in **The Lost Colony** as follows. Almost all of the characters have an historical background. Their names can be found on the roster of colonists who sailed from England to Roanoke Island in 1587. Thus Green fashioned his characters from known historical fact. Even so much character formation had to be created by imagination to serve particular functions in the play because history does not tell enough about several of the lost colonists; many are merely names on a roster. Except for John Borden and "Old Tom," history does have more to say about most of the principal characters in the play, particularly Queen Elizabeth I and Sir Walter Raleigh. According to Paul Phillips, publicity director for **The Lost Colony**, history tells us very little about John Borden. Finding his name on the roster of the lost colonists, Paul Green has shaped this character, Borden, into a composite of all the lost colonists, "the common man who can survive under adversity."[20] Green also establishes a love connection between John Borden and Eleanor Dare which history does not record. By so doing Green provides a romantic interest which the audience enjoys while

at the same time, furnishes specific motivation for the characters and the meaning or thought of his play. This development also helps to provide plot unity and strengthens credibility. At the same time it establishes a precedent for the worth of the common man and American democracy because Eleanor Dare is a Lady of high birth while Borden is a commoner, and in sixteenth-century England such a match was unacceptable. In America, however, their status is equalized—even more so in this play as they become joint leaders of the lost colony after the death of Eleanor's husband, Captain Ananias Dare.

The other two principal characters which Green fashions from his imagination are Thomas Harris (Old Tom) and Agona, an old Indian squaw who is lovestruck for Old Tom. The name "Thomas Harris" appears on the roster of colonists, but Agona is a purely fictional character. These two characters provide the comic relief in an otherwise serious and tragic story of these colonists who faced all sorts of privations, then disappeared into the unknown.

Old Tom, portrayed by Green as a drunken, no-account man in England, survives on the streets by his wits with no hope for change. But in America, Tom can and does change. Perry Turner, who in 1982 had played Old Tom for four seasons, comments on the role:

> Agona is the only person in the world who thinks Old Tom is somebody. She doesn't care who he was or what he was in England. Tom represents the "American Dream" come true—the guy who as a nobody could become somebody. Tom says that in his whole character development throughout the play.[21]

To indicate this change, Green has Old Tom volunteer to stand guard on the parapet of the fort in Roanoke when everyone else is too tired and hungry to do anything, and Tom says:

> There in England all remembered me—aye with kicks and curses. . . .And deep I drowned me sorrows in the mug. But here where there is no rememberance I who was lately nothing am become somebody. For—item—have I not now the keeping of some sixty souls in me care—I who could never care for me own? Verily, Tom, I hardly know thee in thy greatness. . . .Roanoke, thou has made a man of me! (Act II, sc.6)

Why does Green create Agona to fall for Old Tom? According to Cora Mae Basnight, native Roanoke Islander who played Agona for twenty-six consecutive seasons, "everyone wants to be in love with someone. I think Agona did not have anyone, and finds Old Tom someone she may have a chance with."[22] Agona, likewise, provides Tom with a chance for a new beginning in a new world and helps him to find new meaning for his life. In spite of the broad, epic nature of the play which often leads to shallow characterizations, that of Old Tom shows quite a bit of development. His character experiences a complete reversal which Aristotle states is a necessary element in plot and character development in Greek drama.

Other major characters, such as Sir Walter Raleigh and Queen Elizabeth, painted by Green with broad strokes, give a fairly accurate portrait of the historical figure and serve dramatic and story needs. Other nimor characters, such as colonists and Indians, both with and without names, and with and without lines, serve to flesh out the script, to provide spectacle, and to lend historical accuracy to the events.

The third element which Aristotle enumerates in his treatise is thought, also called theme, meaning, purpose, and other such terms by various critics and theatre scholars and practitioners. In outdoor historical drama it is often the major unifying factor. The thought in **The Lost Colony** has been alluded to above in the discussion of plot and character because it is the material of both. As purpose in **The Lost Colony**, thought is the commemoration of the attempted settling of America by English colonists in 1587. Most Caucasians in America can trace some of their ancestry to England as our country grew from English colonization. Therefore, **The Lost Colony** is a celebration of our roots—our beginnings on American soil. As meaning or theme, **The Lost Colony** expresses the ideals of freedom, hope, courage, and struggle and the continuance of these ideals for future generations. The narrator in the character of the Historian states a meaning when he recounts that the spirit of those brave colonists will live in future generations who demand that "the ideals of liberty and free men shall continue on the earth." (Act I, sc. 6) In his final speech of the play he elicits an emotional response:

> And in the cold hours before dawn the colonists began their march into the unknown wilderness—out of our sight forever.
> But from our memory they have not passed!
> And down the hollow trackless years
> That swallowed them but not their song,
> We send response—
>
> The dream still lives,
> It lives, it lives
> And shall not die! (Act II, sc. 6)

John Borden also reiterates such ideals:

> Somehow a destiny, a purpose moving deeper than we know has brought us both together here upon this lonely land—to prove our love, to test our strength—aye to make us worthy of the heritage we hold for those that shall come after us. Once Sir Walter Raleigh said—the victory lieth in the struggle, not the city won. To all free men it standeth so. (Act II, sc. 6)

The theme of becoming a better individual through struggle is also shown in the character of Old Tom who declares, "Roanoke, thou has made a man of me!" Perry Turner, who plays this character, has expressed the thought that this struggle is "what America is all about, and this colony was the beginning of that." (P.T.)

The fourth part of a play on the list of Aristotle is dialogue. Parts of the dialogue in **The Lost Colony** can be observed above in quotations from the speeches of various characters. Green attempts to give his dialogue the lilt and flavor of Elizabethan English while at the same time makes it understandable to a modern twentieth-century audience. Also, the script captures the cadence and terms that are befitting to the particular Elizabethan character who is speaking:

> Elizabeth: La, what a wrecking of times when a queen must run after a man! Come Sir Walter, is it state matters keeps you here in secret?
>
> Raleigh: Somewhat of statecraft, your majesty. Question—Shall England be an empire or an island?
>
> Elizabeth: Uhm—. From what I hear of this child /Eleanor Dare/ she is capable of giving advice on the subject. Well, Sir Walter, while they eat and play the games we must settle your little matter. Now, no growling or chewing the lip behind by back. Rather thanks. You may send your colony to Roanoke. . . .
>
> Raleigh: My queen! (Act I, sc.3)

Old Tom's dialogue also is apropos to his character as can be seen in the following passage when he is a drunken man in London:

> So after all, I am a fool. For a fool is he who speaketh to shadows and getteth no answer. Then I tell it to God behind the shadows—between him and me is a great confidence . . . and God knows I be cold and hungry. (Act I, sc.3)

Overall, the dialogue is believable and appropriate. The Historian speaks in scholarly and dramatic language and ties the scenes together, especially in the early, less complete scenes of Act I which give a background to the main action. In these scenes the Historian also interprets some dances of the Indians as well as some panomimic actions of various characters.

Music, Aristotle's fifth element in the formal structure of drama, can be found in the rhythm and pattern of the dialogue. Music is also an entity unto itself. An example of the poetry and music of the dialogue of **The Lost Colony** can be found in the following quotation from the prologue:

> For here once walked the men of dreams,
> The sons of hope and pain and wonder,
> Upon their foreheads truth's in bright diadem,
> The light of the sun in their countenance,
> And their lips singing a new song—
> A song for ages yet unborn,
> For us the children that came after them—
> "O new and mighty world to be!"
> They sang,
> "O land majestic,, free, unbounded!" (p. 1)

But the music is also found as songs sung by the chorus and as dances perfomed by the chorus of dancers; the chief dancer who plays Uppowoc, the Indian medicine man; and various dances by the colonists. Charles Horton who has been involved with the music for **The Lost Colony** and several other outdoor historical drama productions has said that the very fact Paul Green called **The Lost Colony** a "symphonic drama" indicates the merging of many elements into a single dramatic experience. He says that music, pantomime, and dance are so integrated into this play that "it is difficult to consider one form to the exclusion of the others."[23]

Green has constructed his play with a musical backdrop that melds scenes and actions while being a part of the action and lending color, tempo, story, thought, mood, and dramatic force. He uses ancient English hymns and chants, and ballads and carols that are in keeping with the religious, historic, and patriotic spirit of the play. Although the melodies are taken from old English airs, many of the lyrics for the melodies were written by Green as musical dialogue for his play. The choral arrangements were made by the first musical director, Erle Stapleton, and special effects music to be played on the organ was written by Lamar Stringfield.[24] In fact, the

organ (both live and recorded) is used as the major instrument to accompany outdoor historical dramas.

Dance, which is music but also movement, forms a part of the fifth formal element on the list of Aristotle as well as a part of his final element, spectacle. The most arresting part of outdoor historical drama is indeed spectacle. Foster Fitz-Simmons, a former choreographer for **The Lost Colony** describes the use of dance in that play. He indicates that Green uses the dance in a decorative function such as the color and pageantry exhibited in a milkmaid's dance in the Queen's garden scene (Act I, sc. 3), but dance also serves as a comment or contrast to the action as seen in the English folk dance which follows the solemn christening ceremony of Virginia Dare (Act II, sc. 3).[25] A third function is the medium of storytelling of which two scenes in Act I are obvious examples (sc 2 and sc. 4). In scene two, dance and choreographed panomimic action describe an Indian village on Roanoke Island in the sixteenth century. Indian dancers perform a ritual corn dance and set a mood for the play. The story of how the white English explorers came into this picture was all described in choreographed pantomime in the 1937 version of the play. In the present script some spoken dialogue has been added, but much of the scene is still done in pantomime. Later, scene four in which the Indians are massacred by a party of Englishmen is performed effectively in dance and pantomime. In fact, much of the action in the play is choreographed by the playwright and the director, and the script includes scenes and processionals which call for choreographed action. Indeed, the entire action of the play flows among the three stages in the ryhthm of choreographed movement.

The rhythm of the movement is also captured in the spectacle elements of setting and costume as balance and line and color capture and co-ordinate that rhythm in the many effects created for the eye and the ear. Such effects are evidenced in the Queen's garden scene, for example, with its heavy textured, colorful, Elizabethan costumes and banners, its festivities of jugglers and common folk with their trade implements, and two Indians with their gifts of tobacco and the potato from America. In addition there is music and dance and fireworks.

A contrasting spectacle and equally dramatic in its effect on eye and emotions is found in Act II, scene 5, a scene which the personnel of **The Lost Colony** refer to as "the Depression scene." Here the colonists are destitute—in rags and starving but determined to struggle on to survive against all odds. The Depression scene culminates in a final emotional climax, in a spectacle that incorporates all the other five material elements of the parts of a play according to Aristotle. The hungry, tattered colonists move downstage right in a slow procession, singing as they go, while the Historian imparts his final message of hope for free men of the future which the spirit of these colonists will inspire. The hero and heroine, John Borden and Eleanor Dare, pause to give one last look at their tattered flag, still flying above the chapel of the fort which they are leaving. Then they turn and vanish with their compatriots into a wilderness, never to be seen again, thus ending the story with an unsolved mystery as history records it. The singing ceases, the stage lights dim except for a single spotlight which, for a brief moment, pinpoints the tattered flag as a symbol of hope for the future. Then there is a blackout and a moment of emotional silence before the house lights come up slowly and the applause of the audience reawakens reality.

Notes

[1]Paul Green, **Drama and the Weather** (New York: Samuel French, 1958), p. 154. See also, Mark Sumner, "Paul Green," **Souvenir Program, The Lost Colony,** 1982, p. 5.

[2]See, for example, Gassner's article "Outdoor Pageant-Drama: symphony of sight and sound," **Theatre Arts,** July 1954, p. 80f; also in an interview with Cora Mae Basnight who plays Agona in **The Lost Colony,** she calls the play "the pageant" as did other local residents in Manteo who spoke to this writer of going over to see "the pageant."

[3]J.E. Prudhoe, "Pageant," **Encyclopedia Britannica,** 1970 ed.

[4]Oscar G. Brockett, **History of the Theatre** (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1968), p. 20.

[5]Brockett, p. 82.

[6]"Pageant," **Encyclopedia Britannica.**

[7]Percy MacKaye, "A Letter from Percy MacKaye," **Theatre Arts,** July 1950, p. 51.

[8]Brooks McNamara, "The Pageant Era," **Theatre Crafts,** September 1975, p. 61.

[9]McNamara, p. 12; see also John Gassner, "Outdoor Pageant-Drama," pp. 80-83, 89; Mark Sumner, "American Outdoor Epic Theatre," **Players Magazine**, 47, (1972), 198-203; Charles B. Lower and William J. Free, **History Into Drama** (New York: Odyssey Press, 1963); and "Pageant," **Encyclopedia Britannica**. In the encyclopedia article, Prudhoe makes a misleading and seemingly false statement about outdoor historical dramas as follows: "Many of these modern pageants (notably Paul Green's **The Lost Colony**, produced at Roanoke Island, North Carolina, in 1937) showed a marked tendency to develop into spectacular plays with well-constructed plots and rounded characters. Few of them, however, achieved lasting performance or have been deemed worthy of revival." (p. 32) **The Lost Colony** has been running for 42 seasons; **Unto These Hills** since 1950; **Horn in the West** since 1952; and all the plays in this study (with the exception of the three newest ones) have had long runs, and all except one continue in annual production.

[10]Samuel Selden, "America's Outdoor Dramas," **Players Magazine**, February 1955, p. 106.

[11]Mark Sumner, "Pageant Versus Outdoor Drama," **Major Factors Contributing to the Artistic Success of the Outdoor Drama**, bulletin of the Institute of Outdoor Drama (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, November 1974), p. 1.

[12]McNamara, p. 62.

[13]George McCalmon and Christian Moe, **Creating Historical Drama** (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965), pp. 6-7.

[14]An excellent article on Green's plays and on the structure of his scripts is the following: Paul Clifford, "Paul Green, True American Artist," **Players Magazine**, 48 (1973), 210-215; a good study on the scripts of 11 outdoor historical dramas is: Paul Henderson Crouch, "Patterns in Contemporary, Outdoor Historical Drama: A Guide for Dirctors," Diss. The Florida State University 1979. The plays are analyzed on the basis of theme, plot, character, spectacle, music and dance. The plays in his study are **The Common Glory, Cross and Sword, The Lost Colony, The Stephen Foster Story, Texas, Trumpet in the Land, Horn in the West, Trail of Tears, Unto These Hills, Hatfields & McCoys,** and **Legend of Daniel Boone.**

[15]**Hubert C. Heffner, Samuel Selden, and Hunton D. Sellman, Modern Theatre Practice: A Handbook of Play Production**, 5th ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1973), pp. 76-96; see also: Sam Smiley, **Playwriting: The Structure of Action** (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971).

[16]Brockett, p. 20.

[17]Brockett, p. 20.

[18]Brockett, p. 28.

[19]Paul Green, **The Lost Colony** (New York: Samuel French, 1938); all references cited from **The Lost Colony** script are taken from this source unless otherwise indicated.

[20]Paul Phillips, "Those First Visitors!" **Souvenir Program, The Lost Colony**, 1981, p. 13.

[21]Personal interview with Perry Turner, 11 August 1982; all other references to this interview are indicated in the text by the initials P.T.

[22]Personal interview with Cora Mae Basnight, 13 August 1982; all other references to this interview are indicated by the initials C.M.B.

[23]Free, p. 149.

[24]Erle Stapleton, "Music in the Play," **Souvenir Program, The Lost Colony**, 1938, p. 13.

[25]Foster Fitz-Simmons as related in Lower and Free's work, pp. 153-154.

The Rhetoric of Theatre
Michael Osborn

This article could just as easily be titled **The Theatre of Rhetoric**. For the most part it is an exercise in synonyms. During the early twentieth century years, scholars of the emerging field of speech attempted to distinguish rhetorical from literary studies as they labored to justify themselves as separate academic departments. They built a field upon a set of antimonies, of the "rhetoric is to be heard, poetry overheard" kind. Such distinctions tend to waver and collapse toward a common center as soon as they are closely examined. There are, surely, rhetorics and poetics, formal differences between the sonnet and the docu-drama, the policy speech and the elegy, and these differences do affect the kinds of meanings that can prism through the forms. But beyond the surface differences, as soon as we attempt to adduce a set of generic distinctions, we find ourselves rediscovering instead the still largely uncharted forests of the human soul, glimpsed at those moments in our artistic communications with others and with ourselves, whether in forms typically regarded as poetic or rhetorical.

This rediscovery, I have suggested, is wholesome, for to try to separate and classify the many products of human expressiveness can be to diminish them and the entirety they comprise. Such, I argue, was the fate of poetic stripped of its public function in the art-for-art's sake doctrine, and of rhetoric released from its ethical and esthetic obligation by the separation of the poet from the persuader.

One summer many years ago, I spent two miserable and exhilarating weeks helping a long-time friend run for Congress in South Carolina. During those steamy June days, we would do battle with a dragon, the presumption commonly and accurately held that he was going to lose. We pumped indifferent hands, begged money from people who didn't like to make bad investments, and blitzed a somewhat hostile press with daily news releases proclaiming our significance. Late in the evening we would finally rest on his screened porch, listen to the night, and sip gin drinks. I remember that he talked often of Camus and of the absurdist element in our lives (a singularly appropriate theme) and of such matters as existential necessity. And from him, who was not schooled in the academic distinctions between rhetoric and poetic, I first heard—or first heard strikingly—the concept that the two arts may be finally inseparable. "I feel that I am an artist," he said, "and that this is all theatre." When I smiled at what I thought to be his metaphor, he said, quite earnestly, "No, I mean really," and went on to talk about the players and the plot, and the different acts of the drama we were enacting.

That moment was quite extraordinary for me, and the memory of it drifted back as I was writing this essay. What it announced in such a graphic context was what Staub, Bormann, and Kenneth Burke have since comfirmed for me. Staub called the rhetorician a "poet-plot-maker" who seeks to induce in his or her listeners the sense of critical choice and the necessity of commitment.[1] The speaker forces us to confront ourselves and the forces that impinge upon us. Bormann spoke of the fantasies in which we immerse ourselves, and which provide our motives and the promise of denouement.[2] And Burke has insisted of late that his dramatism is not a figure, for no actor can stand outside the play that provides his or her identity.[3] Where there is no tension between tenor and vehicle, there can be no metaphor, and illusion and reality become one together.

Others have pushed along this growing consciousness of a significant unity among the arts of discourse. Rich rd Weaver has talked about a power structure submerged in language, sets of symbols indigenous to each culture which express its secret and public dreams and loathings.[4] To these "culturetypes," as I have called them,[5] I have added the notion of archetypal metaphor in rhetoric, of symbols in public persuasion which hold constant across cultures, and which join humanity in a certain ritual consciousness and a sense of enactment.[6] I don't intend here to call the role of the new scholarship in rhetoric, but what I wish to suggest is that the divergence of expressive forms, of the interpenetration of rhetoric and theatre.

Wayne Booth has described the private and intimate bond between writer and reader in the successful communication of irony.[7] The reader is assumed to be superior to the characters described—the experience is distinctly elitist. Similarly, theatre places its audience in a position superior to the action it describes. Both in comedy and tragedy, that experience is distinctly Olympian—in Restoration comedy, for example, we are made superior for the esthetic moment to the fools who present to us the various forms of our own real or potential foolishness. Laughter becomes an act of transcendance. Similarly, in Greek tragedy we contemplate the transience and doom of our destiny in a moment that is lifted out of time and set upon a stage as upon a moving urn. We experience both the recognition of our fate and the rush of seeing our lives stretching out complete to their final horizons.

In the sense of superiority given its audience lies a special power of theatre as rhetoric. Augmenting the kind of superiority Booth describes is the powerful reinforcer of group experience. Theatre can make us arrogant, and can confirm us in our arrogance. For Plato, the flattery potential of theatre as rhetoric must have been enormous. In the **Gorgias** he strikes out at the public message makers that gratify and exploit the people.

Clearly, however, the messages presented by that kind of communication called theatrical are given special urgency by the ego gratification provided within the form itself. We can be induced to assign such messages an importance and validity which they may not in themselves merit.

Live theatre is limited as a mass medium by the usual size of its audience. Even with that limitation theatre can generate powerful rhetoric, and most revolutionary movements make use of it at vital moments in their coming to consciousness. Its power lies in its combination of two rhetorical advantages not normally found together: the **immediacy** of a live audience situation, in which the play addresses and is addressed by those who come to it, and the **indirection** of a fiction, which can make the audience especially vulnerable to its message.

A live audience offers the opportunity for ritual participation in the action poised upon the stage. Fiction by its nature invites our vicarious participation, and so is fraught with rhetorical possibility. In role-playing we have a tendency to become that which we enact, and theatre can induce us into rehearsing roles rhetoric would provide for us in real life. After all, it's only make-believe! The risk seems low, the commitment asked from us only momentary and superficial. Why not, just for the moment, identify with these revolutionaries and their sentiments, so that we can share the excitement of their cause? Augmenting the possible rhetorical advantage of such vicarious participation is the unique possibility afforded by theatre for ritual participation, sharing such enactments with a group. Each theatre audience can be a collectivity waiting to be shaped into a rhetorical community, which shares values and a sense of mission. Ritual sharing, for beings who are imprinted by nature toward group experience, can be a powerful reinforcer toward the acceptance of the message in the action mimed upon the stage.

To this unique advantage of theatre as rhetorical medium, add the consideration that theatre deals with primary rhetorical functions. One of the worst distinctions ever entertained about the rhetorical and poetic arts is that the one deals with argument, the other with image. Images, as any mass media huckster would quickly inform us, are the very protoplasm of rhetoric. Rhetoricians strive to control us at the level of our perceptual encounters with self and the world about us. The images they offer predispose these encounters by creating certain anticipations. If we can be made to see subjects in the same or similar ways, our tendency will be to feel and act together as well, and harmonious feeling and action is the condition for any successful social existence. Therefore the impulse of a rhetorical community, for the sake of its own self-preservation, will be to create stereotyped or shared images which actually project, embody, and manifest its most important values. Thus we have images of the ideal citizen in peace and war, of the enemy without and within, of sex roles that regulate the procreative impulse and harness it to the ends of social stability and continuity. Each social order will develop an entire vocabulary of such vital images, which it becomes the duty of any conservative rhetoric to preserve and protect. It follows that revolutionary rhetoric is best defined not by physical violence against the state, but by its iconoclastic intent. It aims to totter the sacred images that support social identity. Such images are the warrants, the major premises, that authorize public argument. To destroy them is to paralyze the other basic rhetorical functions of deliberation and judgment, and ultimately to destroy community.

Theatre's role in performing such basic rhetorical functions can be obvious or delicate, and can range across the ideological spectrum. As in the work of Aeschylus, it can celebrate the **polis** and its civic virtues. Or as we discover in Sophocles it can raise questions about the conflict of civil law and divine imperatives, reminding us through the tragic example of Antigone that civic values may not be ultimate. The emergence of such questions can be the harbinger of revolutionary consciousness. Theatre's attack on the sacred images can be crude and direct, as it poses alternative images and enacts scenes which in effect dramatize arguments. Or the attack can be oblique, and by innuendo so subtle that the playwright might well claim innocence. When the facade of social order is contradicted by the internal writhings and agonizings of the characters revealed upon the stage, just as we see in Euripides' plays, we may leave the theatre with an afterimage of a society in trouble, ready for revolutionary events. As theatre affirms new and transcendant images rising from the ruins of a discredited social order, it invites us to join again in ritual celebration of community transformed around the new vision. Revolution thus comes to us, not through the derivative modes of forensic or deliberative rhetoric, but rather through the epideictic mode, often theatrical, which as Aristotle noted, enacts the conflict of vice and virtue through the imagery of praise and blame.

How does theatre persuade, beyond the presentation of pictures that are inherently arresting and potent with rhetorical meaning? Perhaps the least effective form of such rhetoric is didactic theatre that simply beats us about the head with its message. Such rhetoric places distance between us and the play, in that it makes us conscious of the play as persuader and of ourselves as the targets of persuasion. It may actually work against what is often the most effective rhetorical technique of theatre, the effect of drawing us disarmingly into the dramatic action for the vicarious role-playing experience. What we may often think is the most rhetorical theatre may actually be the least effective, either as theatre or as rhetoric. Certainly if the most effective art disguises itself, and this principle applies as well to the art of rhetoric, then such crude theatre can defeat itself by its own obviousness.

A process of proving does go on in theatre, but it does not take the form of evidence adduced in support of propositions. The process has to do rather with the credibility of the images presented, what in artistic terms is called their **verisimilitude**. The images of life presented in theater must seem **authentic**: we must feel that they

articulate reality for us, bringing into clear focus what previously had been only vaguely realized. Such images must seem valid interpretations of our experience. If we are convinced of the authenticity of the images, then our tendency will be to carry our theatre experience over into actual life. For we shall be convinced that we have experienced—not some fiction—but rather a ritual that has carried us to the heart of reality, and which has illuminated life for us.

If images are the very stuff of rhetoric, then argument can provide the drama of theatre. Indeed, theatre can present us with debate perfected, arguments that, released from the contraints and imperfections of immediate rhetorical situations, search into the very nature of being. I shall never forget how moved and stunned I was when first exposed to the argumentation in **Marat-Sade**: such moments are rare in a lifetime, and defy categorization either as esthetic or rhetorical experience. So argumentation is not necessarily rhetorical, just as imagery is not necessarily poetic: we may be convinced finally of nothing but the incredible magnitude of the human spirit in its capacity both for nobility and for cruelty.

All such reflections drive me back to my thesis, that effective rhetoric and effective theatre are often interpenetrating and intertwining forms. Yet there is a sense in which theatre can indeed transcend our rhetorical selves. Theatre can function as meta-rhetoric, as a critique of rhetorical processes. A tired but compact example is Mark Anthony's speech in **Julius Caesar**, in which an effective rhetorical transaction is viewed ironically by an audience possessing superior knowledge. Meta-rhetorical plays may convey no social message beyond reminding us of the evanescence of rhetorical causes themselves. Beyond the purgation of strong feeling. theatre can offer us perspective on our time-bound, rhetoric-ridden existence. So relief from rhetoric, as well as powerfully effective rhetoric, can be the significant contribution of theatre. But in so far as relief from rhetoric renews us for rhetoric, theatre and rhetoric remain profoundly cooperative forms. And remembering how effectively Plato uses rhetoric in his attack upon rhetoric, we may seek a manipulative motive, even in the mask that takes the mask off rhetorical transactions.

Notes

[1]Staub, August, "Rhetoric and Poetic: The Rhetor as Poet-Plot-Maker," **SSCJ**, 26 (1961), 285-290.

[2]Bormann, Ernest G., "Fantasy and Rhetorical Vision: The Rhetorical Criticism of Social Reality," **QJS**, 58 (1972), 396-407.

[3]Burke, Kenneth, "Rhetoric, Poetics, and Philosophy," in **Rhetoric, Philosophy and Literature**, Don M. Burks, (ed.) West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 1978, pp. 15-34.

[4]Weaver, Richard, "Ultimate Terms in Contemporary Rhetoric," in **The Ethics of Rhetoric**, Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1953, pp. 211-232.

[5]See the discussion in Chapter 3 of my **Orientations to Rhetorical Style**, Chicago: SRA, 1976.

[6]See the introduction of this idea in "The Metaphor in Public Address," **CM**, 29 (1962), 223-234, and its further development in "Archetypal Metaphor in Rhetoric: the Light-Dark Family," **QJS**, 53 (1967), 115-126.

[7]Booth, Wayne C., "The Pleasures and Pitfalls of Irony: Or, Why Don't You Say What You Mean?" in Burks, pp. 1-14.

The Rhetoric of Choosing a Church: Murfreesboro, Tennessee

David Walker

In 1961, Claire Cox published **The New-Time Religion**. Among other subjects, Cox addressed the question of why people choose one church over another. Among the reasons indicated were: the minister, friendliness of the congregation, convenience to weekend recreational activities, search for status, the Sunday School, and the building facilities. (Pp. 25-43).

This paper reports on some initial research to discover what contemporary resasons are given for the choice of a church. While the final scope of this research will be greater, this paper reports on one locality only, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

Murfreesboro is a community of 32,857. Rutherford County has a population of 84,020 and boasts 223 churches of all faiths, except Jewish. Requests for assistance were sent to approximately twenty-two churches in the community. Of these, some declined to assist, and some did not respond. The result was that twelve churches—three Baptists, four Churches of Christ, one Church of God, one Christian Church, one Methodist Church, one Presbyterian Church, and one Cumberland Presbyterian Church participated in the study. Further research will attempt to guarantee the inclusion of more religious groups.

Each of these churches was asked to distribute and collect a simple one-page survey at one of its morning services. Most of the churches did this at a worship service; two chose to limit the survey to a single Sunday School class—a class of 14 at one church and a class of 167 at another. Another church used its Wednesday evening Bible Study for the survey. Another utilized its entire adult Sunday School class system.

Following is a sample of the survey used:

The Rhetoric of Choosing a Church: Murfreesboro, Tennessee

Name of church_____

How long have you been attending here?_____

Why did you choose this church? Check as many responses as you wish:

_____ The minister

_____ Friendliness of congregation

_____ Convenient to recreational activities

_____ Geography; convenient to home

_____ To improve social standing/status

_____ Doctrine

_____ Availability of single men/single women

_____ To make social contacts

_____ To make business contacts

_____ Better Sunday School, etc., for children

_____ Intellectual environment

_____ New building facilities

_____ Social activities

_____ Recreational activities

_____ Worship services

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

The average survey form had 3.86 responses checked. There was space on the form for a person to write in responses in addition to the ones listed. Overall, there were 323 items written in, or .27 per form. Of the various write-ins, one was significant enought to merit special attention, as will be noted later in the paper.

The appendices of this paper includes three tables. One is a composite for each church, showing the total number of responses. The other two divide the composite into those attending a congregation two years or less, and those attending longer than two years. Some respondents did not indicate how long they had been attending a church. these are listed in the composite results, but no additional table is constructed for them. The response from one congregation, Stone's River Church of Christ, is a little unique because the church was about ready to disband until a group migrated to it. The response is greater, therefore, from those attending less than two years. Since this church had also been without a minister for a significant period of time, the responses indicating the minister as a reason for choosing a church are almost non-existent.

Results of Data

Among the 12 churches surveyed, the reason given the most often, by a slight edge, for choosing a church was the worship service. Sixty-five percent listed this as one of their reasons. Close behind, at 64–, was the friendliness of the congregation. In third place, at 57–, was the doctrine of the church. Fourth, at 56–, was the minister.

There is a considerable gap between fourth and fifth places. In fifth place, at 35–, was a better Sunday School for the children. Convenience of the location was sixth with 31–.

Responses are not as great for the remaining choices. In descending order, they were: intellectual environment at 16–, social activities at 10–, family ties (a write-in choice) at 9–, recreational activities at 9–, making social contacts at 6–, convenience to recreational activities at 4–, new building facilities at 2–, to improve social standing/status at 2–, and 1– for making business contacts.

One of the most interesting results in this area was the large number (114) of write-in responses indicating that family ties were a factor in their decision. This was expressed in different ways, such as "I grew up in the church," "To please my wife," and "Mother made me."

In looking at the individual churches, worship services ranked as the number one factor in only two congregations even though it was the first choice in the overall composite. The minister was the most frequent response in only one church. Friendliness of congregation led in six churches, while doctrine was the top choice in four.

The rank order is a little different when we examine the responses of those who attended a church two years or less. Worship services remained the number one response at 72–; the friendliness of the congregation was second with 70–. The minister, however, became the third choice at 66–, and doctrine dropped to fourth with 56–. Better Sunday School for children was fifth with 36–, and geography a distant sixth at 24–. All other responses were 15– or less. Family ties were an insignificant 2–.

In examining the individual churches, five listed the minister as the most frequent reason for making a choice. Four listed friendliness of congregation, two listed doctrine, and four listed the worship services. There were several ties for first on this analysis, so the number of firsts is higher than twelve.

In studying the data for those attending a church longer than two years, the ranking of the top four follows the composite rankings. Sixty-nine and two-tenths percent indicated the worship services as a reason, and 68.8– listed the friendliness of the congregation. Doctrine was third at 63–, and the minister fourth at 58–. Geography, or convenience to home, became the fifth response at 40–, while the better Sunday School for children posted 39–. After that, all responses ranked 18– or lower. Significantly, 13– wrote in a family tie type of response.

In studying the individual churches, one listed the minister as the top reason for making a choice among the respondents attending longer than two years. Six listed friendliness of the congregation, four listed doctrine, and one listed the worship services.

There were also a number of other write-in responses. These included:

The Christian school one church operated;
Soul-winning emphasis of the church;
"The Lord led us;"
Bus ministry;
Concern for people;
Invited by friend;
The Sunday School for adults;
"More members my age;"
"This is where the Lord wanted us;"
Felt more comfortable in a larger church;
Challenge for service;
Library;

Singles class;
Spiritual attitude of members;
Class size small and personal;
Youth program;
"This is where God wanted me to serve him;"
Commitment to serve community;
College class;
"My father is the minister;"
Girlfriend;
Potential for growth;
Conservative;
Asked to participate in worship;
Elders;
"To attend a smaller congregation so I could teach;"
Large percentage of faithful membership;
Reputation of congregation in community;
Acceptance of new members;
Informal atmosphere;
"In search of love, freedom, truth;"
"Spirit of God is so real;"
Early services;
"Because they needed me;"
Progressive spirit;
Outstanding teacher;
"God's will that I bear witness;"
Husband and wife came from different churches; united on this one;
Freedom of worship.

Since there were three Baptist churches with a total of 638 responses, and four Churches of Christ with 321 responses. It is interesting to examine the collective features of these churches. When the data for the three Baptist churches is combined, the friendliness of the congregation was the most frequent response at 64.4- with worship services a close second at 63.8-. The minister is third at 58-, with doctrine at 57-. A better Sunday School for children is a strong fifth at 51-.

In combining the Churches of Christ data, worship services is slightly ahead of friendliness of congregation, 68.2- to 67.9-. The doctrine becomes the third choice at 62-, and the minister is fourth at 50-. Convenience to home is a distant fifth at 37-. Interestingly, the choice, because of a better Sunday School system for children, so strong among Baptists, was listed by only 18- of those attending the Churches of Christ. Commitment because of family ties was given by 8.4- respondents, compared to 7.5- of the Baptists.

Some Tentative Conclusions

The conclusions suggested in this section must be tentative because they represent data from only twelve churches in Murfreesboro, Tennessee. Furthermore, they do not attempt to establish a cross-section of churches represented in the area. With these limitations, the following conclusion emerge from the survey and analysis.

1. The worship services and the friendliness of the congregation were the two most frequent reasons for choosing a church. If a church is attempting to persuade people to choose them, then their rhetoric of persuasion must concentrate on these two areas. The survey could be ego-deflating to the minister, who ranks only fourth in the composite survey.

2. Doctrine was a significant factor, especially among people who have been affiliated with a church longer than two years. Constituting 57- of the composite, many of the churches in this sample presented a picture of an aggressive congregation, deeply concerned about its beliefs. A respondent for one church (which had an 88- response for doctrine) took the time to write an invitation on the survey form to this writer; "Why don't you join us some Sunday. We care about your soul!" It is also interesting to note that among the twelve churches surveyed, the fastest growing church listed doctrine as their most frequent response.

3. Although apparently not as important as some of the other factors, the minister, nevertheless, is one of the major reasons for a person choosing a church. This survey indicated that perhaps the choice is stronger among those who have attended a church two years or less. The responses indicate that if a church wishes to grow, it cannot overlook the importance of an effective minister for the church.

4. Apparently a significant percentage of people attending a church have chosen a church passively. Nine percent gave family ties as a reason. If it had been listed as one of the options, no doubt the response would have been greater. Some people have, apparently permitted their spouse or parents make the choice for them.

Some Suggestions

If a church is to grow, it must concentrate on ways to attract and hold new members. A study of this type, when enlarged, will hopefully reveal how this may be done. Obviously, the sample needs to be enlarged—a process that will take more time and work. To get a more accurate picture, a new item of "Family ties" must be added to the survey responses. Hopefully, when this process is completed, we will understand better the rhetoric of a church and why a person chooses one church in preference to others.

Appendix A

Composite	First Baptist	Franklin Road Baptist	Southeast Baptist	Central Christian	First Church of God	Bellwood Church of Christ	E. Main Church of Christ	Minerva Drive Church of Christ	Stone's River Church of Christ	First Cumberland Presbyterian	St. Mark's Methodist	First Presbyterian	Totals		
The minister	112	137	122	7	6	35	85	41	1	27	59	45	677	56%	4th
Friendliness of congregation	162	81	168	9	8	27	100	67	24	36	67	27	776	64%	2nd
Convenient to recreational activities	14	6	16	-	-	-	5	1	-	1	1	1	45	4%	
Geography; convenient to home	86	32	84	-	6	9	61	46	2	9	41	7	383	31%	
To improve social standing/status	10	4	4	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	2	2	25	2%	
Doctrine	134	147	82	4	11	28	84	77	11	30	32	56	696	57%	3rd
Availability of single men/single women	8	5	8	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	24	2%	
To make social contacts	25	7	11	3	-	-	4	4	-	3	8	8	73	6%	
To make business contacts	2	3	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	1	10	1%	
Better Sunday School, etc., for children	142	99	84	-	1	4	23	25	5	3	19	16	421	35%	
Intellectual environment	65	12	14	3	1	3	24	14	10	8	16	27	197	16%	
New building facilities	6	7	9	-	-	9	3	5	-	-	1	-	30	2%	
Social activities	37	12	42	3	1	2	2	3	-	5	10	4	121	10%	
Recreational activities	27	11	52	-	1	-	3	2	-	3	4	3	106	9%	
Worship services	156	133	118	8	5	28	109	61	21	26	64	56	785	65%	1st
Family ties	32	6	10	4	-	-	21	6	-	6	6	25	114	9%	
Responses	272	167	199	14	15	43	151	101	26	48	102	78	1216		

Appendix B

Responses from Those Attending More Than Two Years	First Baptist	Franklin Road Baptist	Southeast Baptist	Central Christian	First Church of God	Bellwood Church of Christ	E. Main Church of Christ	Minerva Dr Church of Christ	Stone's River Church of Christ	First Cumberland Presbyterian	St. Mark's Methodist	First Presbyterian	Totals		
The minister	98	89	85	5	5	26	64	30	-	16	35	29	482	58%	4th
Friendliness of congregation	135	58	121	6	6	19	80	55	3	25	45	15	568	69%	2nd
Convenient to recreational activities	9	6	11	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	1	31	4%	
Geography; convenient to home	79	22	67	-	3	8	51	36	-	7	34	6	313	40%	
To improve social standing/status	7	4	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	15	2%	
Doctrine	117	95	57	3	7	21	72	65	-	22	20	44	523	63%	3rd
Availability of single men/single women	4	4	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	15	2%	
To make social contacts	17	6	5	1	-	-	3	2	-	2	5	3	44	5%	
To make business contacts	1	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	6	1%	
Better Sunday School, etc., for children	119	67	57	-	1	3	20	21	-	3	14	14	319	39%	
Intellectual environment	54	9	10	2	1	3	21	10	1	7	9	22	149	18%	
New building facilities	5	7	8	-	-	7	2	3	-	-	1	-	33	4%	
Social activities	30	10	29	3	-	2	2	3	-	4	4	3	90	11%	
Recreational activities	20	10	33	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	1	3	71	9%	
Worship services	133	86	80	5	3	24	89	47	2	19	44	39	571	69%	1st
Family ties	32	3	9	3	-	-	21	6	-	5	6	22	107	13%	
Responses	230	106	143	10	10	33	127	83	3	36	77	57	825		

Appendix C

Responses from Those Attending Two Years or Less	First Baptist	Franklin Road Baptist	Southeast Baptist	Central Christian	First Church of God	Bellwood Church of Christ	E. Main Church of Christ	Minerva Drive Church of Christ	Stone's River Church of Christ	First Cumberland Presbyterian	St. Mark's Methodist	First Presbyterian	Totals		
The minister	11	42	33	2	1	8	15	9	1	11	17	14	164	66%	3rd
Friendliness of congregation	23	20	42	2	2	6	14	10	18	11	15	11	174	70%	2nd
Convenient to recreational activities	4	-	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	10	4%	
Geography; convenient to home	12	7	15	-	3	-	6	9	2	2	3	1	60	24%	
To improve social standing/status	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2	7	3%	
Doctrine	12	44	22	-	4	5	8	10	10	7	9	8	139	56%	4th
Availability of single men/single women	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	2%	
To make social contacts	6	1	6	2	-	-	1	1	-	1	3	5	26	10%	
To make business contacts	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	3	1%	
Better Sunday School, etc., for children	21	27	25	-	-	1	2	4	4	-	3	2	89	36%	
Intellectual environment	9	3	4	1	-	-	1	3	8	1	4	3	37	15%	
New building facilities	1	-	1	-	-	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	7	3%	
Social activities	7	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	4	1	18	7%	
Recreational activities	6	-	17	-	1	-	1	1	-	2	2	-	30	12%	
Worship services	18	41	35	3	2	2	15	13	16	7	13	14	179	72%	1st
Family ties	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	5	2%	
Responses	34	52	51	3	5	8	18	16	20	11	17	14	249		

1985 - 86 TSCA Membership List

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News and Notes

Mike and Suzanne Osborn report that they have a new edition of **Speaking In Public**, Houghton Mifflin, in progress.

We congratulate **Bettye Kash** on her recent completion of the Doctor of Philosophy degree from the Department of Theatre, Indiana University, and we welcome her as a new colleague in Tennessee, serving at Tennessee Technological University, Cookeville. Bettye studied, as her dissertation area, "outdoor theatre." The article written by Bettye in this issue of the **Journal of the Tennessee Speech Communication Association** should stimulate your interest to obtain a copy of her dissertation and read the rest of the story.

Paul Walwick, Chairperson of the Department of Speech, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City reports the following:

- **Professor Harold Frank**, Theatre, retired last May after completing thirty-two years of service to East Tennessee State University.

- Two faculty died, **Dr. Richard Dean**, Forensics, and **Dr. Janice Wilson** who taught at the Kingsport Center.

- **Janet Oaks** is the Forensic Director this year. She holds the Master of Science degree from Indiana State University.

- **Ray Tipton** is serving at the Kingsport Center this year. He holds the Master of Arts Theatre degree from East Tennessee State University.

Tennessee Speech Communication Conference Fall 1986

Plan now to attend the next Tennessee Speech Communication Association Conference. Unless TSCA President-Elect, Dick Ranta, Memphis State University, has to change current plans, we will meet at Montgomery Bell State Park on the dates of September 25, 26, 27. If you wish more information you should write to Dick. Please reserve these dates and join your colleagues next Fall for a highly rewarding professional experience.

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All papers should be sent to the editor. Authors should sumbit two copies of their manuscripts, each under a separate title page also to include the author's name and address. Manuscripts without the identifying title pages will be forwarded by the editor to a panel of reader-referees who will represent the varied interests within the discipline.

All papers should be double-spaced, typed in standard type with a dark ribbon, and on standard typing paper. Margins should be standard and uniform. Notes need to be typed single-spaced on separate sheets following the last page of the manuscript proper. The first footnote should be unnumbered and should contain essential information about the author. This footnote will be eliminated by the editor from the manuscripts sent to the panel of readers. Any professional style guide, consistently used, is acceptable. Accuracy, originality and proper citing of source materials are the responsibilities of the contributors.

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