

THE CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF SPOKEN WORD BROADCASTS

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For more than half a century, broadcast recordings have reflected an important aspect of our history and culture. An increasing number of collectors and archivists have restored and exchanged these materials. Even Congress has recognized the importance of these recordings in mandating the establishment of a radio-television archive within the Library of Congress. However, despite this increased awareness, there have been few attempts to look back through this oral tradition. In the first and only edition of the Popular Cultural Airwaves Bulletin, the editor indicates:

. . . there has been a plethora of published material about the broadcast industry . . . but serious, in-depth analysis of the content of television and radio programming from various disciplinary perspectives . . . has been lacking especially for materials of the past.¹

Historians have long recognized the importance of the eyewitness account, yet the "eyewitness" reports which have drawn such tremendous audiences for news and special event programming have been almost ignored. Irving Fang uses the actual voice broadcasts only to merchandise his text, Those Radio Commentators.² Despite the abundance of audio information on many of the personalities, Fang's primary resources come from the printed text. Only two historians who have written about Edward R. Murrow have utilized his broadcasts for analysis. Woolley³ and Bilski⁴ have been cited in almost every study.

One can understand why there is little research emanating from the oral resources when one considers the problems associated with research utilizing recorded sound. Research has been hampered by the enormous amount of time required in the initial inquiry. It is simpler and much faster to gather facts and figures from printed sources. Audio and video tape restrict the traditional scholar. However, these taped resources contain a wealth of information. Asa Briggs describes the BBC Home Front series and notes that often such "resources cannot be duplicated anywhere in the world."⁵ Professor Milo Ryan, lamenting this lack of research, asks, "Here are the materials, where are the scholars?"⁶ Archivists and sound collectors hold the answer to that question! However, before the traditional research begins, the foundation must be established and initial research must be conducted by those familiar with the history, technology and methodology unique to sound collections. The archivist could provide that foundation.

This paper will be concerned with two problems posed above: First, an attempt will be made to suggest a workable methodology applicable to the oral tradition of recorded sound. Second, a simple analysis of a rare tape of an Edward R. Murrow World War II radio broadcast will be

presented to illustrate the application of the methodology to the object of the broadcast program. It is beyond the scope of this writing to present a discussion of all appropriate methodologies. Even to present a discussion of all classifications appropriate to sound recording would be a monumental task. For purposes of this discussion, the definition will be limited to the spoken word broadcasts such as exemplified in news and information programming.

I

Oral Methodology

The criticism of recorded sound is a comparatively new discipline. Scholars have been engaged in literary, rhetorical and dramatic criticism for centuries. However, scholars who seek now to work with the "sound" text are still forging their methodology, often borrowing from other disciplines as is appropriate. Rhetorical theory is one methodology closely paralleling the oral tradition. The classical definition of the term "rhetoric" as denoted by Aristotle means "the faculty of seeing in any given situation the available means of persuasion."⁷ The analysts of broadcast programming cannot overlook the fact that broadcasting is in the business of persuasion! Rhetorical theory can thus provide one ideal methodology useful in the analyses of the oral tradition of broadcast communication.

The methods of rhetorical criticism are numerous; however, the classical, historical, and experiential approaches are particularly appropriate to the analyses of radio and television programming. The classical approach is exemplified by the application of Aristotelian principles to the object of analysis; the historical by the relationship of the object to the events of the time and their social-intellectual history;⁹ and the experiential by its emphasis on interpersonal relationships.¹⁰

The current application of Aristotle's work to the field of broadcasting comes from Ronald Primeau in The Rhetoric of Television:

Some of the clearest explanations of how human beings communicate were provided centuries ago by philosophers in ancient Greece and Rome. The communication strategies derived from them still provide an uncomplicated and workable model for studying the electronic media today.¹¹

Primeau identified Aristotle's "canons" of classical rhetoric: invention, arrangement, style, delivery and memory. Then he proceeds to illustrate their applications to the media. He discusses programming genre: advertising, news, game shows, soap operas, sports, the talk programs, various drama forms and television movies. Then he proceeds to illustrate how they can be analyzed through the application of Aristotle's canons of rhetoric. The advantage of Primeau's text is its

simplicity. One does not have to become a classical scholar in order to utilize these rhetorical canons as a model. The danger of the work is in its oversimplification and in its formula approach to criticism. There are many facets of each of these canons which are not explored. Classical scholars are also still searching other philosophers for new meaning. Taking Primeau as the only explanation of classical rhetoric would be a serious mistake. He limits his discussion to the theories of Aristotle and omits other classical theorists whose principles of communication might possibly apply to the broadcast program; for instance, those of Cicero, Quintilian, and St. Augustine.¹² The utilization of the Aristotelian criteria as a formula for every situation also detracts from the dynamic nature of media communication. The analyst should examine those ideas applicable to the individual study and use those which are most appropriate. The application of classical theory to the object of a program is illustrated in the work of Woolley on Murrow.¹³ Following his discussion of Murrow's life, Woolley focuses on selected broadcasts discussing in sequential chapters the arrangement, content, style, and delivery exhibited through the broadcasts. His conclusion follows this same sequence. While the work can be criticized for following a fixed pattern, it is widely praised for the substantial contribution it makes to the literature on Murrow.

The historical approach to criticism is exemplified by Wrage and Baskerville. They emphasize the analysis of the message within the context of its environment. Speech and broadcast communication, according to Wrage, reflects a social, intellectual, and political era unique to society. The communication is an agent of its time.¹⁴ Wrage's and Baskerville's texts on American public address are unique in discussing the environment as well as famous speakers.¹⁵ They believe the student could obtain a more complete understanding of communication through the analysis of its contextual environment. This contrasts with many speech and broadcast historians whose analysis ignores the environment and centers solely on the speech or program.

An application of the historical methodology to a broadcast figure can be seen in Baskerville's "Joe McCarthy, Brief-Case Demagogue,"¹⁶ and Alfred H. Jones' "The Making of an Interventionist . . ."¹⁷ Baskerville carefully presents the "emotional climate of the nation . . ." and then recounts the events of the time, prior to undertaking his major task, which is to reveal the tactics of McCarthy's rhetoric. Jones is one of the few historians who works from Davis' actual broadcasts as a primary source of information. Examining Davis' newscasts from 1939 to 1941, Jones has integrated biographical data and the relevant historical environment with the analysis of Davis' work, thus providing the reader with the evolution of Elmer Davis as an interventionist.

The experiential perspective of criticism is a departure from the classical and historical approach.¹⁸ The "experiential critic, in contrast to the traditional critic, believes that an infinite number of concepts, strategies, and perspectives are available . . ."¹⁹ to the critic. In other words, this more pluralistic approach seeks to combine

the patterns of criticism, as they may be appropriate, to the critical object or the program under scrutiny. This necessitates that the author spend time defining and justifying the critical methodology. This approach, too, has limitations. The critic can find the critical object completely subdued by the discussion of method. The experiential approach does, however, provide the critic flexibility and broad interpretations. The experiential approach is exemplified by the application of Wayne Brockreide's "dimensions in the concept of rhetoric" to the object of analyses.²⁰ Brockreide, in attempting to define the "dimensions in the concept of rhetoric", seeks to bridge the gap between the work of critical historians and the experiments of the behavioral scientist. The paradigm set forth by Brockreide is used in Michael Murray's critical analysis of Murrow and McCarthy.²¹ Following the selection of specific documentaries, Murray systematically analyzes the attitudinal, situational, and interpersonal dimensions of what the experiential critic would view as a dynamic communication "in a continual state of process and change."²² Murray's "To Hire a Hall" provides an example of the experiential approach revolving around one documentary in the See It Now series.²³ The discussion describes the dispute between the ACLU and the American Legion and the resultant "See It Now" telecast. While Murray's approach has similarities to the historical method, it is based on Brockreide's methodology and adds to the historical dimension a "matrix of interrelated contexts, campaigns, processes . . . interpersonal relationships and attitudes."²⁴

In summary, this discussion is intended to introduce the archivist and sound collector to a set of rhetorical tools suitable for the analysis of the spoken word broadcasts. The selection of speech communication or rhetorical criticism models has been discussed because of the oral tradition these models share with broadcasting. The mention of only three rhetorical methodologies (classical, historical, and experiential) is not intended to impose limitations. The discussion here could be greatly expanded within the fields of speech and rhetoric. Similar discussions and correlations could also be drawn between film,²⁵ literary, philosophical, and anthropological²⁶ criticism. The fields of drama and music are also interwoven into every aspect of broadcast programs. Obviously the field of broadcasting is by its very definition not limited to the spoken word.

The recorded sound collector has immediate access to material which reflects a history in sound often ignored by the academic scholar because of the difficulty in working with the sound resource. The curators of such material, however, are not put off by the difficulties in working from the sound resource. Time has already been sacrificed to curate the collection. The application of critical models, whether they be classical, historical, experiential, or from any appropriate field, presents a new horizon--beginning, in response to Professor Ryan's question, "Here are the materials, where are the scholars?"

II

Murrow and Cicero

In the second portion of this study, the analyses of Edward R. Murrow's work centers on one of his World War II broadcasts, one of over five hundred housed in the Milo Ryan Phonoarchive at the University of Washington. Cicero's humanitarian philosophy as expressed in De Oratore serves as the vehicle through which we may describe the humanitarian style of Murrow's reporting.

"I can't write about anything I haven't seen," said Edward R. Murrow,²⁷ and with this philosophy he reported not only the events of his time but provided the American people with a vicarious experience of the events he reported.

Murrow has been the subject of more inquiry than any reporter in the history of broadcast rhetoric. He has been eulogized as a lost legacy,²⁸ "a poet, and a philosopher . . ." ²⁹ These attributes describe a news style that has been lost by contemporary reporters. Lost in the popular orientation of news as "the breaking story . . . the man of the hour, disaster of the day, issue of the week and war of the month."³⁰ As Dan Rather has stated, there may "never" be another Murrow.³¹ This analysis suggests the legacy of Murrow found in his humanitarian style. In other words, his reports center on people first and deal with other events only as they relate to the individual's position within the circumstance.

Oral Tradition

Many continue to write about Murrow's legacy; however, there is little attempt to analyze the humanistic style and the nature of the vicarious experience he provided his audience. Humanism, or in this case people-centered reporting, is lost with the obsession for objectivity and the search for tomorrow's headlines. Authors writing about Murrow concentrate on biographical information, the McCarthy broadcasts, and general description of places and events. Alexander Kendrick provided the most complete biographical information.³² Fang's³³ work briefly describes the man and attempts limited analysis. Gilbert Seldes³⁴ is the first to deal with the McCarthy telecasts. Michael Murray's³⁵ work has given the most complete analysis of the McCarthy/Murrow exchange. However, the only significant analysis of Murrow's oral communication comes from Reynolds and Thonssen³⁶ and Woolley.³⁷ The analysis of Murrow's humanitarian style not only provides insight into the man, but provides contemporary reporters insight into people-centered reporting.

In order to examine Murrow's humanism, two of his radio broadcasts from the second World War have been selected. The broadcasts were prepared from the same factual base, but result in two clearly different radio reports. One becomes part of a regularly scheduled CBS newscast,

the other was developed into a special Murrow commentary. The broadcasts are rare; they have never been published. They are two of the many housed at the CBS-KIRO Phonoarchive at the University of Washington.³⁸

"Broadcasting is oral and so is much of its history . . ." ³⁹ Therefore, the criterion for analysis was based on the oral tradition. The rhetorical theory of Cicero was particularly appropriate as Meador and Hunt have indicated Cicero "raised humanism to its highest attainable form . . ." ⁴⁰ As a broadcaster, Murrow might have studied Cicero. For the rhetorical criteria established for the "ideal orator" are reflected clearly throughout Murrow's works. Murrow as a broadcaster raised humanism to its highest form attainable. Like Cicero before him, he centered his works "on man first and foremost." ⁴¹ He believed, as did Cicero, "that in order to control the power of fortune . . . man must win the affection and cooperation of his fellows . . . win men's hearts and align them to one's cause." ⁴² Cicero's rhetorical theory demanded of the "ideal orator" a knowledge of the subject, a memory filled with history, a master of style, a charming, cultivated wit, and an understanding of man's emotions. ⁴³ His style was not, as Cicero would observe, "an empty and ridiculous swirl of verbiage," ⁴⁴ or putting it in the contemporary vein, simply a "verbal warrior safe in the quiet security of a radio studio." ⁴⁵ He was a conveyor of experience. Murrow, like Cicero, assured the audience of his intellectual control over the subject by interpreting his reports in a logical framework, combining knowledge, humor and emotion. Paraphrasing Cicero we could say that Murrow used knowledge, "sweetest of human pleasure," ⁴⁶ and the "whole range of human nature and motives whereby our souls are spurred . . ." ⁴⁷ Woolley says that Murrow's persuasion was based on his integrity and competence, always evaluating from a common ground as well as "by appealing thematically and persistently to the emotions of human beings, through . . . topic choices . . . contrasting observations and . . . language usages." ⁴⁸

Murrow fulfilled Cicero's rhetorical demands. He was an orator and a reporter; ⁴⁹ utilizing the humanity of words ⁵⁰ and the genre of radio, he destroyed "the superstition of distance and time." ⁵¹ He combined knowledge and ability in a way unlike any other reporter to bring "the reality of the conflict home to Americans and to identify them with a cause." ⁵² He "burned the city of London in our houses and we felt the flames that burned it." ⁵³

Historical Context

Murrow flew forty combat missions in World War II. One such experience was February 25, 1944, when he flew with the Eighth Air Force, from London over Belgium to St. Trond in a raid on a German aircraft plant. A comparison of the two Murrow broadcasts that day, ⁵⁴ one a "news" report and the other "commentary", gives one the sense of his humanitarian style. The news report ⁵⁵ was topical, the drama removed, there was less

editorializing and its development surrounded the information. Comparatively, the commentary⁵⁶ was chronological, but the development of information surrounded the drama of the event.

The broad context for Murrow's reports were the years 1943 and 1944. They were the beginning of optimism for the Allied war effort. Americans helped drive the Germans from North Africa, and Italy surrendered to the Allies. In the Pacific, island-hopping operations were forcing the Japanese to retreat. President Roosevelt was attending diplomatic conferences in Casablanca, Quebec, Cairo and Teheran. It was in 1944 that talk about an ultimate victory began. This was supported by increasing Allied success in both Europe and the Pacific. D-Day was just three months away when Murrow made the broadcasts. Japan had lost 135 aircraft in combat over the Marianas. Allied Soviet forces had gained twenty miles on the German northern front and forty towns were captured. Flights of bombers thundered deep into Germany to halt Hitler's aircraft production. Heavy fighting was reported in an Allied air raid over a Messerschmitt factory.⁵⁷ The "news" and "commentary" both carried Murrow's opening salutation, "This is London." These words had particular significance. They were not merely a trademark. When the blitz began and people were doubtful whether London would survive, the words implied that there was still a London.⁵⁸ The phrase with its measured pause⁵⁹ and impact provided what Cicero would describe as the "energetic enthusiasm needed to convey the message."⁶⁰

Philosophers in Search of Light

Following the opening salutation, Murrow began the news report with a brief historical review; thus he discussed the comments of Winston Churchill and indicated General Montgomery's optimism toward RAF fighter operations. There was an editorial tone as he said, "The Germans were trying," but he made it clear that the Battle of Britain had turned in favor of the British. "Today we are seeing the Battle of Britain in reverse, much the better plan." "Like a careful physician who, before he attempts to administer a remedy to his patient,"⁶¹ Murrow, in both reports, assured the audience of control over his subject and provided them with personal involvement. Murrow began his commentary philosophically. The outlook for the war was favorable for the allies. Introducing himself early in the narration, he made it possible for the audience to feel his emotions, which Cicero said must be "visibly stamped or rather branded on the advocate himself."⁶² The audience branding was achieved by impressing upon them the number of sorties flown, the percentage of Allied losses, and the "deepest penetration yet made by the American bombers."

Murrow was involved with the people and the cause, as Cicero said he must be; thus, he was a protagonist in both broadcasts. The news-cast's tribute to "the forgotten Air Force was comparatively short but apparent." He had great respect for those fighting men of the air and for their ground crews, whose efforts supported the heavy bombers.

"One ship that lifted clear and clean in to the winter sky has flown fifty-eight missions and had completed every one of them." The newscast salutation was expanded throughout the commentary; for example, each member of the crew was personally introduced -- one each from Ohio, Massachusetts, Texas, and New York. They are our "life insurance policy," he said. "What reporter could expect to fly in better company? All of America was there." Each crew member's name was printed on the planes and "shouldn't they be? Are not the names of men engaged in less important work painted on the ground glass of office doors?" From what Cicero called the "universal treasure-house,"⁶³ the memory, Murrow used this tribute to recall the lore of rugged individualism, big business, and the depression to the minds of the audience. "All of America" was identified with the Marauder crew.

The bomber mission was headed for an airfield near St. Trond, Belgium. To reach it, heavy anti-aircraft would be encountered. The commentary developed the color of the locale, the briefing, the take off and the morning itself. Murrow contrasted the appetite of young Americans "stowing away" breakfast with the seriousness of their charge. The listener felt that the men didn't really mind the tasteless food and the early hour. "They just want to fly," Murrow said tellingly at the briefing, "as the ruler crosses the map . . . it passes through certain red circles." These circles represent the concentration of enemy aircraft guns. Some may not return. In the newscast, Murrow described the planes' take-off, saying, "I can see the Marauders, dead on course, following our lead." Although "dead on course" reflected a feeling of exactness, it did not have the force the metaphor gave to the feature report: "The formation was perfect. They might have been tied to us with a silken thread." Murrow's description of the morning itself was poetic. "The leafless branches of elms and poplar trees filter the light of the rising sun . . . It's still dark. Somewhere off in the distance a rooster is announcing the false dawn . . . A couple of G.I.'s . . . are imitating him and doing it well, too." The subtle humor, developed naturally from the scene, according to Cicero, "produced greater pleasure . . ."⁶⁴ Style and subject matter were not separable for either Cicero or Murrow.⁶⁵

The description of the actual bombing in the commentary was equally dramatic in its visualization. "As our bombs went down, I lost them in a cascade of bombs," . . . "they did not just mix with other bombs. Identifying ours was like identifying individual grains of wheat as they come out of the threshing machine." The concept of the threshing machine was identifiable to a major portion of his audience and he thus created involvement. The fact that the bombs from Murrow's plane missed the target added an apprehensive dimension to the actual strike. In the news report, Murrow simply excused the off-target delivery by saying, "sometimes even in daylight bombs fail to find their targets." In the commentary, he explained that because of a "technical hitch," the bombs of this particular plane had gone down just the "odd half-second too late." With this language, Murrow added special metaphorical appropriateness and a feeling of disappointment to the report. The listener's disappointment, however, was soon dissipated in both reports as Murrow

added quickly, "I saw the bombs of the following formation strike." In the commentary, he substituted "go home" for the word "strike," and added, "and they were very good bombs." By today's standards, the phrase "bombs go home" is almost revolutionary language. We do not accept that bombs belong to any home. But in 1944, the spirit of the war was high with anti-German feelings and the phrase added impact. The remark, "They were very good bombs," is both a statement of accuracy, an editorial comment, and a combination of knowledge and style.

In the final words of the news report, Murrow played the strike against an optimistic background. The conclusion evoked no drama, editorial comment or encouragement for the fighters in the civilian audience. Bringing the commentary to a conclusion, however, Murrow's imagery enables us to feel the personal impact of the war. The mission was accomplished. The planes were safely on the ground. Then he asked, "How many hours did the ground crew work to support the continuous flow of bombers?" The reply was, "Sometimes eighteen hours, when we fly two missions a day, and of course when the days get longer, they'll do more work." Murrow expressed his appreciation for the privilege of flying with "such gentlemen of the Eighth Air Force whose devotion to duty should place the entire country in their debt." His most powerful and human illustration came with the words, "A few hours ago, a man who has commanded Marauders for months said to me, 'What day is it, anyway? I can't keep track of it. Don't even have the funny papers to tell me when it's Sunday!'"

Murrow, like Cicero, had a "mild tone" with a "countenance expressive of modesty, gentle language, and the faculty of seeming to be dealing reluctantly," but "under compulsion,"⁶⁶ aligned the audience with the cause.⁶⁷

Conclusion

Murrow stands at the forefront in his devotion to the human element, furnishing accounts which were colorful, clear and to the point.⁶⁸ He did not merely present the news, he discussed it. He reflected the rhetorical theory of Cicero combining information with historical knowledge, style, humor and emotion⁶⁹ to bring about a vicarious experience for his audience. Thus Murrow's broadcasts brought home the "total impact of World War II." As Archibald MacLeish said, "he laid the dead of London at our doors and we knew the dead were our dead . . ."⁷⁰ Today's reporters have lost the element of vicarious involvement Murrow provided his audience. Human involvement has been replaced by the rush for facts and the showbusiness headline. Much can be learned from the legacy of Murrow. Reporters themselves could be more involved and still retain objectivity.

Edward R. Murrow's style had its roots in human feelings and an understanding of man. It was activated by his personal involvement in the events he reported. His reporting was laden with life associations

and symbols that afforded a rich opportunity for vicarious experience. Paraphrasing the humanism of Cicero in the words of Edward R. Murrow, we may conclude that the ideal reporter attempts "not to capture, but to free men's minds."⁷¹

FOOTNOTES

- ¹Ray B. Browne, Popular Cultural Airwaves Bulletin, 1:1 (January, 1974), 1.
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- ³Thomas Russell Woolley, Jr., "A Rhetorical Study: The Radio Speaking of Edward R. Murrow." Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1957.
- ⁴Theodore Bilski, Sr., "A Descriptive Study: Edward R. Murrow's Contributions To Electronic Journalism." Ph.D. Dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1971.
- ⁵British Broadcasting Corporation, "The Home Service Nine O'Clock News, 1939-1945," Introduction by Asa Briggs.
- ⁶Milo Ryan, "Here are the Materials, Where are the Scholars?" ARSC Journal, 2:2/3 (1970) N.P.
- ⁷Aristotle, Rhetoric, Trans. W. Rhys Roberts, (New York: Random House, 1954), 1355b, 25.
- ⁸James J. Murphy, (Ed.), A Synoptic History of Classical Rhetoric, New York: Random House, 1972.
- ⁹Ernest J. Wrage, "Public Address: A Study in Social & Intellectual History," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 33:4 (December, 1947) 451-457.
- ¹⁰Robert L. Scott and Bernard L. Brock, Methods of Rhetorical Criticism, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1972) p. 123-127.
- ¹¹Ronald Primeau, The Rhetoric of Television, (New York: Longman, 1979) p. 20.
- ¹²See Murphy.
- ¹³Woolley, 526-543.
- ¹⁴Wrage, 455-477.
- ¹⁵Ernest J. Wrage & Barnet Baskerville, (Eds.), Contemporary Forum: American Speeches on Twentieth Century Issues, New York: Harper & Row, 1962.
- ¹⁶Barnet Baskerville, "Joe McCarthy, Brief Case Demagogue," The Rhetoric of the Speaker, Haig Bosmajian (Ed.), (Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1967) p. 62-75.

- ¹⁷ Alfred H. Jones, "The Making of an Interventionist on the Air: Elmer Davis & the CBS News, 1939-1941," Pacific Historical Review, XLII:1 (February, 1963) 74-93.
- ¹⁸ Scott and Brock, 123-127.
- ¹⁹ Scott and Brock, 125.
- ²⁰ Wayne Brockreide, "Dimensions of the Concept of Rhetoric," Quarterly Journal of Speech, LIV:1 (February, 1965), 1-12.
- ²¹ Michael D. Murray, "See It Now vs. McCarthyism: Dimensions of Documentary Persuasion," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Missouri-Columbia, 1974.
- ²² Scott and Brock, 125.
- ²³ Michael D. Murray, "To Hire a Hall: An Argument in Indianapolis," Central States Speech Journal, 26:1 (Spring, 1975) 12-20.
- ²⁴ Brockreide, 1-2.
- ²⁵ Ernest Lindgren, The Art of Film, New York: Collier Books, Inc., 1970.
- ²⁶ Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957. See also: Horace Newcomb, Television: The Critical View, New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- ²⁷ Alexander Kendrick, Prime Time: The Life of Edward R. Murrow, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1969, p. 206.
- ²⁸ Stephen Zito, "The Last Legacy of Edward R. Murrow," American Film: Journal of Film and Television Arts, Nal. II, No. 5, (March, 1977), pp. 30-51.
- ²⁹ Archibald MacLeish, "Superstition is Destroyed," In Honor of a Man and an Ideal . . . Three Talks on Freedom (m.p. 1942?) p. 16.
- ³⁰ Zito, p. 32.
- ³¹ Zito, p. 49.
- ³² Kendrick, see Footnote 1.
- ³³ Irving Fang, Those Radio Commentators, Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1977, pp. 305-326.
- ³⁴ Gilbert Seldes, The Public Arts, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1956, pp. 212-228.

- ³⁵Michael D. Murray, See It Now vs McCarthyism: Dimensions of Documentary Persuasion, (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Missouri-Columbia, 1974) See also "To Hite a Hall: An Argument in Indianapolis" Central States Speech Journal.
- ³⁶Ota Thomas Reynolds and Lester Thonssen, "The Reporter as Orator: Edward R. Murrow," American Public Address: Studies in Honor of Albert Craig Band, University of Missouri Press, Columbia, 1961, pp. 313-330.
- ³⁷Thomas Russell Woolley, Jr., "A Rhetorical Study: The Radio Speaking of Edward R. Murrow" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1957).
- ³⁸The CBS-KIRO Milo Ryan Phonoarchive is a collection of wartime broadcasts housed at the University of Washington in Seattle. It contains over five hundred Murrow entries. For a description of the Phonoarchive, see: Milo Ryan, "Here are the Materials, Where are the Scholars?" Journal of the Association of Recorded Sound Collections, Vol. II, No. 2/3, Spring/Summer, 1970. See also Milo Ryan, "A Treasure House of Broadcast History," Journal of Broadcasting, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 75-78.
- ³⁹Kendrick, p. 517.
- ⁴⁰Prentice A. Meador, Jr., "Rhetoric and Humanism in Cicero," Philosophy and Rhetoric, No. 3, 1970, p. 11. See also H.A.K. Hunt, The Humanism of Cicero, 1954.
- ⁴¹Meador, p. 2.
- ⁴²Meador, p. 6.
- ⁴³Marcus Tullius Cicero, De Oratore, translation by E.W. Sutton and H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1967, Book I, pp. 16-23. Hereafter referred to as De Oratore.
- ⁴⁴De Oratore, I, 17.
- ⁴⁵Erwin Edmunds, "The War with Inflections," The American Scholar, Winter, 1950-51, p. 109.
- ⁴⁶De Oratore, III, 56.
- ⁴⁷De Oratore, I, 53.
- ⁴⁸Woolley, p. 109.
- ⁴⁹Reynolds and Thonssen, pp. 313-330.

- ⁵⁰Bess Sondell, Humanity of Words, World Publishing Co., New York, 1958, p. 21.
- ⁵¹Archibald MacLeish, "Superstition is Destroyed," In Honor of a Man and an Ideal . . . Three Talks on Freedom, (n.p., 1942?), p. 10.
- ⁵²Kendrick, p. 8.
- ⁵³MacLeish, p. 7.
- ⁵⁴The tapes are included in the CBS-KIRO Collection, The Milo Ryan Phonoarchive.
- ⁵⁵CBS News, "The World Today," February 25, 1944, Tape No. 2934, Phonoarchive, University of Washington.
- ⁵⁶Edward R. Murrow, "This is London," February 25, 1944, Tape No. 799, Phonoarchive, University of Washington.
- ⁵⁷"The World Today," February 25, 1944, Tape No. 2934, Phonoarchive, University of Washington.
- ⁵⁸Norman Runyon, Interview of Edward R. Murrow, KIRO-AM, January 29, 1945, Tape No. 780b, Phonoarchive, University of Washington.
- ⁵⁹Kendrick, p. 103.
- ⁶⁰Donovan J. Ochs, "Cicero's Rhetorical Theory," A Synoptic History of Classical Rhetoric, ed. James J. Murphy, Random House, New York, 1972, p. 122. See also De Oratore, III, 80-90.
- ⁶¹De Oratore, III, 186.
- ⁶²De Oratore, II, 189.
- ⁶³De Oratore, I, 110.
- ⁶⁴Ochs, p. 118. See also De Oratore, II.
- ⁶⁵De Oratore, III, 19-20.
- ⁶⁶De Oratore, II, 182.
- ⁶⁷Kendrick, p. 8.
- ⁶⁸Kendrick, p. 178.
- ⁶⁹De Oratore, I, 16-23.
- ⁷⁰MacLeish, pp. 7-9.
- ⁷¹Kendrick, p. 473.