

WORLD WAR I, PUBLIC INTELLECTUALS, AND THE FOUR MINUTE MEN: CONVERGENT IDEALS OF PUBLIC SPEAKING AND CIVIC PARTICIPATION

LISA MASTRANGELO

How can we reach [the people]? Not through the press, for they do not read; not through patriotic rallies, for they do not come. Every night eight to ten million people of all classes, all degrees of intelligence, black and white, young and old, rich and poor, meet in the moving picture houses of this country, and among them are many of these silent ones who do not read or attend meetings but who must be reached.

PUBLIC SPEAKING PROFESSOR BERTRAM NELSON, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF THE FOUR MINUTE MEN DIVISION

The onset of World War I occurred during a particularly rich period of social, political, and educational change in the United States. During this time there were tremendous educational changes, including revisions in the overall university structure and the first appeals from the

LISA MASTRANGELO is Professor of English and Coordinator of Women's Studies at The College of St. Elizabeth in Morristown, New Jersey.

State for professional consultations from university and college faculty. In addition, large social shifts included appeals from progressives for more social reforms and more access to democratic education, and the first large-scale development of the intellectual as a public figure. Although many histories cover this time period, very few rhetorical histories make in-depth references to World War I or to war-related rhetorical educational activities in which students might have participated.¹ Instead, most gloss over the complexities that the war brought to rhetorical activities such as public speaking, declamation, and debate. Fewer still refer to the ways in which rhetorical education was affected. And yet these histories would have ready-made source material if they chose to use it; one of the best examples of a public, rhetorical, intellectual endeavor can be seen through the Four Minute Men public speaking initiative. The Four Minute Men, developed and overseen by the United States Government's Committee on Public Information (CPI), was so widespread and so successful that its disappearance in rhetorical history is both surprising and unfortunate. Of particular interest to rhetorical historians are the ways in which the Four Minute Men promoted public rhetorical engagement and a large-scale display of public intellectualism, used a select, educated American public to spread a government message, and created and fostered connections between universities and their local communities.

THE FOUR MINUTE MEN

The Four Minute Men was a public speaking initiative, designed and implemented in 1917 to garner public support for the United States' entrance into World War I. Woodrow Wilson had run for reelection with the promise of peace, and with more than forty official peace organizations in the United States, needed to convince U.S. citizens that entry into the war was necessary and desirable. He appealed to George Creel, a muckraking journalist who had worked on Wilson's 1912 and 1916 campaigns, for help with this goal.² Creel was hired by the Wilson administration to direct programs designed and overseen by the government's Committee for Public Information. The goal of the CPI, under Creel's direction, was to "use every possible rhetorical technique to sell the United States on war."³ To do so, Creel created divisions within the CPI and used such rhetorical media as pamphlets, posters, news items, magazine advertisements, films, school campaigns, and the Four Minute Men.⁴

Main 9404
A 3277

4 MINUTE MEN 4
ASSIGNMENT AND REPORT CARD

719 South Hill Street
Los Angeles, Cal.

To MARSHALL STIMSON, Chairman,
Los Angeles, Cal.

Dear Sir:

I have given four minute addresses as indicated below on the subject of Liberty Loan

Loyally yours,
John E. Biby . Speaker

Date April 22nd 1948.

Time of Day	Theatre	Address or Town	Estimated No.
Mon			
Tue	9:30 Symphony	614 S. Broadway	250
Wed	9:00 7th St. Palace	318 W. 7th St. ✓	250
Thu	8:00 Symphony & 7th St. Palace.	✓	200
Fri	9:00		250
Sat			
Extra			

REMARKS:

Four Minute Man Assignment and Report Card. Courtesy of the Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.

The Four Minute Men were named after the Revolutionary War “minute men,” who stood ready to fight at a moment’s notice, and four minutes was the time it took for movie theaters to change reels. This gave volunteer public speakers four minutes to address a CPI-assigned topic, prepared individually with the help of CPI guidelines, to a movie-going audience.⁵ By the end of the 18-month program (the duration of U.S. involvement in the war), Four Minute Men associations across the country spoke publicly about the war effort in movie theaters and eventually in other locations, reaching audiences from varying racial, economic, and social levels.⁶

The success of the program was considerable in terms of its public outreach, especially given the challenges of reaching mass audiences in the days before radio and television. The Four Minute Men were able to reach such audiences by giving speeches first in theaters and eventually in churches, lodges, fraternal

organizations, labor unions, logging camps, and other public meeting places.⁷ Their efforts had significant impact. By the end of the war, Creel could claim “that his 75,000 amateur orators had delivered over 7.5 million speeches to more than 314 million people.”⁸ The organization was ubiquitous: journalist Mark Sullivan commented that “it became difficult for half a dozen persons to come together without having a Four Minute Man descend upon them.”⁹

Local records were typically kept of locations, speakers, and the estimated size of the audience. The figure is an example of the records submitted by a speaker in Los Angeles County in 1918 and gives a sense of the number of people exposed to the speeches (in this case, nearly 1,000 people in a single city in less than a week).¹⁰

Potential speakers were chosen by CPI-sanctioned representatives and given written guidelines as a form of training. Speakers were chosen primarily for their positions as respected peers and upstanding citizens within the community. To educate the speakers, 46 “Bulletins” were distributed with suggested topics covering 36 different government “campaigns,” including buying Liberty Bonds, registering for the draft, rationing food, recruiting shipbuilders, and supporting Red Cross programs.¹¹ In addition, the speakers often worked under the guidance of local or state representatives or college/university instructors. Bertram G. Nelson, a public speaking professor at the University of Chicago, served on the Board of Directors, ensuring that a trained speech professional was on staff to help “choose, train, and evaluate speakers.”¹² Nelson, of course, could not vet every speaker who volunteered for the program, and overall the quality of speakers must have varied greatly. To combat this, a local chairman was appointed to oversee individual speakers. Alfred Cornebise comments in *War as Advertised* that “each chairman managed an average of ten speakers and kept close tabs on his charges.”¹³ Nelson visited local organizations and met with the chairmen to offer advice.¹⁴

The speeches were used to convey government and presidential messages supporting the war and its various campaigns. Speeches were even given in different languages including Italian, Polish, Lithuanian, Magyar-Hungarian, Russian, Ukranian, Armenian, Bohemian-Slovak, and Yiddish.¹⁵ Particular appeals were made to different groups, including African Americans and Native Americans. In this vein, a Tulalip Indian in Washington and a full-blooded Sioux were recruited to give speeches to Native Americans.¹⁶ Amazingly enough, the program cost the government little more than \$100,000 overall, a fraction of the CPI’s overall budget and an incredibly inexpensive campaign by today’s standards.¹⁷

President Wilson supported and advocated the use of the CPI and the volunteer speakers of the Four Minute Men to influence public opinion and to spread his messages. Stephen Vaughn, in *Holding Fast the Inner Lines*, speculates that Wilson was more involved in the dissemination of information than many of his predecessors, using the CPI as an information clearinghouse to control when (and whether) information was released to the public.¹⁸ By directing the information that the public had, and by directing its dissemination through trained volunteers, the government successfully influenced public perceptions of the war.¹⁹ Although governments typically work for public support of wars, the United States' entry into World War I involved government-sanctioned propaganda on a scale that had never been seen before in the United States. As Robert A. Wells notes, "while governmental activities to generate public support for foreign policies are common in American history, the scope of activities of these official propaganda agencies during times of war represented governmentally directed propaganda campaigns of an unprecedented scale in the history of American foreign policy."²⁰ The use of the Four Minute Men to disseminate information contributed directly to this.²¹ First, it drew in people who were interested in participating in the war effort as members of the speaking group, and second, it communicated vital war information to mass audiences.

Through Four Minute Men speeches, government agencies in particular sought support for their efforts and those of their Commander in Chief. According to Elmer E. Cornwell, although the speeches were typically aimed at support for a "wide range of wartime activities, fully one-quarter of all the campaigns were largely or entirely involved in communicating presidential ideas and appeals."²² In addition, a full 45 percent of the campaign materials either mentioned or directly discussed the president himself, giving him unprecedented publicity prior to radio or television news dissemination.²³

President Wilson used the Four Minute Men in other ways as well. Wilson was known for his disdain and mistrust of the press, and he shied away from them whenever possible.²⁴ At the same time, Wilson was a "moralizing evangelist who longed with a religious fervor to sway the public mind with the power of his person and his rhetoric."²⁵ He was a powerful rhetorician and former debater who clearly understood the value of the Four Minute Men speakers. He was able to use them as a way of involving the American public in his campaign, while also communicating his ideas directly to the public, bypassing the press entirely.²⁶

Four Minute Men speeches were typically individually prepared, but

President Wilson also used the group as a vehicle for delivering entire speeches for him. For example, his July Fourth speech in 1918 was distributed to the public via the Four Minute Men, thereby ensuring that it reached huge audiences and perpetuating his desire to avoid the press but reach the people. As Katherine Adams notes, “their verbatim reading of Wilson’s July Fourth message of 1918 came as close to approximating a presidential radio speech as was possible before network radio.”²⁷ The ability of the Four Minute Men to disseminate large quantities of information was proven through their deliverance of such a speech.

The speeches had a tremendous impact on the draft issue in particular. Wilson and other government officials were concerned about public reaction to the draft, which began on June 5, 1917. Civil War drafts had caused large-scale rioting in the United States, so the government had good cause for concern. “Remembering the draft riots of the Civil War, Senator James Reed of Missouri had warned Secretary of War Newton Baker that the streets of American cities would ‘run red with blood on registration day,’” according to Thomas Fleming.²⁸ In an effort to avoid this outcome, the first public campaign of the Four Minute Men was “Universal Service by Selective Draft,” a speech that encouraged moviegoers and other audiences to meet the draft day with pride and celebration. The CPI measured the success of the Four Minute Men program immediately when ten million men signed up for the draft on June 5. According to official versions, there were no publicized riots and few protests.²⁹ War veterans escorted new soldiers to the railroad stations, and public banquets were held across the country to celebrate the new soldiers.³⁰ Although it is difficult to show that the Four Minute Men were a direct cause for such an effect, Creel’s program took direct credit for its success. In fact, its success seems more largely derived from its particular moment in time and the desire for the American people to be involved in the war effort.

Academics assisted in the effort to garner support for the war as well.³¹ Education was a key element of progressivism, and the public as a whole was supportive of educational institutions. In addition, at this particular moment in time the intellectual or “expert” was gaining influence in American society. According to Richard Hofstadter, “partly as expert, partly as social critic, the intellectual now came back to a central position such as he had not held in American politics for a century.”³² In part because the professoriate as a whole was still relatively new and working to establish itself as a professional entity, academics were eager to be of service to the government and to showcase

their democratic tendencies (speaking to all types and groups of people), newly compartmentalized knowledge (departments were relatively new at this point in educational history), and service-oriented views.³³ J. Michael Sproule observes that this kind of faculty participation also “served the immediate purpose of boosting the self-esteem of faculty members who no longer saw themselves as useless ivory-tower pedants.”³⁴ Taking on this role also provided faculty, many of whom were too old for active duty, with a public, supportive role in the war effort. In addition, Wilson’s cause was furthered when well-respected and highly educated groups such as the American Library Association and American Association for University Women felt Wilson’s siren call and immediately announced their support for the war effort.³⁵ Overall, then, public support for the war effort was high, and this provided an enthusiastic base for the Four Minute Men to develop and to expand their ranks quickly and efficiently. It also allowed them to develop branches of the Four Minute Men on college and university campuses, and allowed students, professors, and alumni to showcase their intellectualism to a captive public.

THE FOUR MINUTE MEN SPEECHES

Regardless of their educational levels, there remained a need to regulate both the speakers and their speeches. Consequently, the CPI worked to distribute a constant flow of information to the Four Minute Men. This information was divided between bulletins (some 46 in all) and newsletters. The initial bulletins were brief, and offered general suggestions to speakers. Later bulletins included inspirational poems, stories of successful speeches, outlines for the different campaigns, and inspirational messages about the good work of the group. Suggestions moved from general suggestions for giving good speeches to specific suggestions on giving particular speeches on various topics, reflecting the CPI’s desire to be sure that solid, appropriate speeches were being delivered. Later bulletins were more extensive, offering sample speeches, current information on the war situation, and elaborate justifications for the various campaigns. The newsletters, in contrast, were more administrative in nature, listing state and local representatives (and changes to the aforementioned), presenting stories about successful speeches, and generally reporting on the program. For the most part, the bulletins provided speaker instructions.

The Four Minute Men speeches were clearly outlined in the publications. They were derived from a basic declamatory model of a short, fact-based speech, with an introduction, body, and conclusion, appealing as much as possible to the emotions of the listener. The speeches also picked up on the Protestant Evangelical approach that had come into vogue in the late 1800s and was used by William Jennings Bryan and Theodore Roosevelt, and to some extent by Woodrow Wilson as well. This approach “blended emotional and symbolic appeals with their educational expositions.”³⁶ George Creel worked directly to create speeches and topics for speeches that appealed to emotion, were swift and powerful, and dissuaded questioning. Short, emphatic expositions were used to communicate ideas most effectively. In a society that had a large peace movement prior to the war, “buy-in” for the war was extremely important and the appeal to emotion viewed as necessary.

The emotional aspect of the program is made clear throughout the bulletins, although speakers were encouraged to use facts to convey their messages. As Vaughn notes, “speakers were told that if appeals were made to emotion they must be based on truth, and emotional appeals were an important part of the Four Minute Man’s strategy,” although the word “emotion” was rarely used.³⁷ A 1918 *New York Times* column described the Four Minute Men approach and the best way to appeal to people: “Not an appeal to emotionalism, but an appeal to the emotions through conviction by statement of facts secures true converts, converts who when once convinced remain convinced.”³⁸ To help speakers accomplish such conviction, several of the bulletins contain a section in the suggested outline entitled “To feel the sentiment that moves to action.” Bulletin 3, “The Liberty Loan,” for example, points out that it is not enough for a speaker to know his or her topic. Under the “To feel the sentiment that moves to action” section, the bulletin notes:

a man may know all the foregoing and yet do nothing at all about it because he does not feel the facts as well as know them. Here is where the great art of the speaker comes in. And when feeling is aroused, it must be directed into the kind of action we want, buying a bond, and buying it at once.³⁹

Creel also encouraged speakers to appeal to a “higher” emotional level. For instance, the Four Minute Men Bulletin encouraged speakers to appeal to idealism (the war to end all wars), patriotism (the war would end more

quickly if everyone did their part), and even fear. According to the bulletins, fear was “an important element to be bred in the civilian population. It is difficult to unite a people by talking only on the highest ethical plane. To fight for an ideal, perhaps, must be coupled with thoughts of self-preservation.”⁴⁰ In addition, speech topics such as “The Danger to Democracy” or “The Danger to America” helped justify American intervention in Europe and were used to change the minds of the undecided.⁴¹

Factual information and sincerity were continually stressed. In the *Four Minute Men News*, Edition D, an article titled “Words Evaporate—Facts Remain” reminds speakers to not “let sound and gesture substitute for logic.” Further, the article admonishes speakers that “sound and fury never can understudy sincerity and knowledge. Not for long may noise masquerade as force, nor fine phrases serve instead of facts.”⁴² Such facts required knowledge of the topic at hand. Presentation was important and emphasized, but the column was a reminder to speakers that this did not mean that they should take liberty with factual information.⁴³

To provide speakers with material, the board of the Four Minute Men wrote and distributed bulletins that outlined topics, offered “appropriate quotations and catch phrases, and [offered] sample speeches.”⁴⁴ In the first Four Minute Men Bulletin, distributed in 1917, organization and presentation were stressed, as were revision for the next speech. The bulletin notes that speeches didn’t have to be memorized, but encouraged the speaker to go over the speech repeatedly so that “the ideas are firmly fixed in their mind and can not be forgotten.” In addition, the bulletin offers suggestions for timing and organization:

Divide your speech carefully into certain divisions, say 15 seconds for final appeal; 45 seconds to describe the bond; 15 seconds for opening words, etc., etc. Any plan is better than none, and can be amended every day in light of experience.⁴⁵

These guidelines echoed contemporary speech education and would have been especially important for those speakers with no formal training, or those who were many years removed from a college speech course. Overall, the Four Minute Men speeches were relatively easy to prepare for because of the CPI’s constant distribution of information. According to O. A. Hilton’s “Oklahoma Council of Defense and the First World War,” “the speakers were well provided with an imposing array of pamphlets and hand-made

speeches which required little more than inserting the proper words for the local audience.”⁴⁶ Speakers could create their own speeches, but they clearly did not have to.

Throughout the bulletins, and occasionally in the newsletters, the various parts of speech writing and practice were also emphasized in instructions to speakers. Speakers were encouraged to develop outlines and not to depart from them, and to develop closing appeals with particular care. The guidelines do not mention the fact that the last thing that people hear tends to be what they remember most, but the instructions are clear in making the closing the strongest part of the speech.⁴⁷ Indeed, the outlines offered in the bulletins emphasize this model. Every bulletin on a new topic offers a six- or seven-point outline on the topic. For example, the key points from the initial Liberty Loan outline include the following categories: “A. To realize the situation. . . . B. To feel the obligation. . . . C. To know what they can do to help. . . . D. To see the issue clearly. . . . E. To understand what the bond is and how to get it. . . . F. To feel the sentiment that moves to action.”⁴⁸ Attached to these are more specific examples a speaker might use to elaborate. Pathos-based appeals were used strategically in all parts of the speeches, but particularly in the closing. Bulletin number 5, for example, on the Red Cross Week Campaign, offers “To feel the sentiment that moves to action” as the final point in the outline. Under this point, the CPI tells speakers, “Mere information about the Red Cross and its campaign will not be enough. People must be made to feel.”⁴⁹ In addition to emotional appeal, sincerity was also stressed, although the status of the Four Minute Men as unpaid volunteers automatically conferred a certain amount of sincerity on their part.⁵⁰

By using volunteers across the country, the Four Minute Men program also reached people where they lived. Speakers were continually encouraged to adapt speeches to the needs of their particular audience, with the understanding that because they were members of the communities they would be addressing, they would have a greater understanding of the rhetorical needs of the audience. Speakers were also typically well-known, “upstanding” members of the local community. The audience, then, would have greater trust in the speaker (and by extension, the speech) if they knew the speaker or knew he or she was an active member of the community. With this in mind, doctors, lawyers, and businesspeople above the draft age were among the first recruited for Four Minute Men work.⁵¹ Any successful propaganda also relies on speaker trust, and movements are typically created when those who are unsure of their position adopt the position of a trusted peer.⁵² In

addition, support for the public intellectual meant that America's educated men and women were looking for public roles for themselves, but were also generally well received by the public. Speakers' status as well-spoken, intellectual volunteer members of an already-known community were used to convert those who were undecided to the side of the war effort.

In addition, there was no expectation of contentious audience response or debate with the audience members. Speakers were told either to ignore questions and comments from the audience or to indicate that they didn't have time to answer such queries.⁵³ Reflections offered in Cornebise, however, seem to reflect that audiences often got perturbed with speakers not because of what they were saying, but because they were occasionally perceived as government employees rather than volunteers. Likewise, speakers encountered difficult audiences when their speeches interrupted a good movie. One speaker recalled revising his speech time, and he "insisted on waiting until the villain was shipped and the girl had her lover back" before speaking to ensure gaining audience attention.⁵⁴ Heckling as a result of audience disagreement seems to have been slight, however. The highly stylized nature and the time constraint of the speeches left little chance for audience interaction anyway.

Both for personal benefit and in cases of audience feedback, revising the speeches was also clearly encouraged. The early guidelines note that "there never was a speech that couldn't be improved. Never be satisfied with success." Speakers were encouraged to revise speeches as they found new ideas, and to revise them after they were given based on experience and feedback. Likewise practice was strongly advocated. Not only were speakers encouraged to practice speeches enough that they were nearly or wholly memorized, but they were also encouraged to practice in front of others: "Get your friends to criticize you pitilessly. We all want to do our best and naturally like to be praised, but there is nothing so dangerous as 'josh' and 'jolly'."⁵⁵ Such guidelines from the CPI indicate some concern about the quality of the speeches. Every bulletin offered significant guidelines and encouraged the participants to continue to work on their speeches to be consistently competent, polished, serious, and deliberate speakers.

Bulletins also offer talking points that caution speakers against using clichés ("doing your bit," for example), advocate having speakers read the local and national papers on a daily basis, and encourage them to use a "new slogan, or a new phraseology, or a new idea."⁵⁶ One suggestion for use in the speeches is, "No country was ever saved by the other fellow; it must be done by you, by a hundred million yous, or it will not be done at all."⁵⁷ Such an

appeal directly to the individual, to the need for action to “save the country,” reached many listeners and encouraged them to engage in wartime activities at many levels, including buying bonds, conserving food, participating in Red Cross activities, and even signing up for the draft. The use of talking points, outlines, and substantial background information allowed the CPI to create standardized, easy-to-follow instructions for speakers, providing consistency regardless of the speaker’s experience or geographical location.

THE FOUR MINUTE MEN AND RHETORICAL EDUCATION

Timing was absolutely crucial to the success of the Four Minute Men. Their approaches were also adopted at a peculiar moment in American education and generalized American philosophy, which is one of the reasons why the operation was so successful. America was moving away from a largely personalized approach to thought and even rhetorical education. Society (via Progressivism) was generally shifting toward a social rather than individualistic approach to social issues and to education.⁵⁸ Many progressives, in fact, saw the war as a way to continue their own agenda toward a centralized society, dedicated to social reform and a common welfare. According to David Kennedy, “the war presented an opportunity pregnant with ‘social possibilities,’ which were not the direct objects of the martial enterprise, but which it might be made to yield.”⁵⁹ In particular, progressives saw that the war had potential for uniting people and moving from individualism to a larger social view. Scholars and social activists such as Jane Addams and John Dewey spoke and wrote about this extensively. For example, as Carol Gruber observed, because of the increases in government planning and national interest, “Dewey saw the prospect of permanent socialization, permanent replacement of private and possessive interest by public and social interest, both within and among nations.”⁶⁰ This move away from individualism and toward a social awareness was easily co-opted by groups like the CPI and used to maximum effect. As Cornebise observed, “men in the field also endeavored to develop the Four Minute Men as a ‘democratic army,’ both in theory and practice,” comprising groups of citizen-speakers who were asked to participate in their public campaign.⁶¹

Colleges and universities were not immune to the public campaigns for war support, and the Four Minute Men program on college and university campuses, although short-lived, offers an interesting opportunity for study.

As Gruber notes in *Mars and Minerva*, college and universities' "service to the state at war was not a departure from the past practice but a logical culmination of what had gone before." College and university faculty at the time of World War I had indeed begun to serve as liaisons to the community and "expert advisers to municipal, state, and federal agencies."⁶² Especially because of this connection, many altered their curriculum to lend support to the war effort and promote nationalism. American history faculty were recruited to serve for the government as recorders of the war.⁶³ According to Gerald Graff in *Professing Literature*, at the University of Illinois, politics, history, economics, and literature all altered their curricula to have a pro-ally focus. English departments in particular served as vehicles to reaffirm nationalism and patriotism. Charles Mills Gayley at Berkeley, for example, changed his "Great Books" course into "Books of the Great War."⁶⁴ Columbia University instituted a course called "War Issues" that had as its goal to prepare students to "meet the arguments of the opponents of decency and sound government."⁶⁵ The "War Issues" course was actually a national course, designed by Frank Aydelotte (an English professor at MIT) to give students and soldiers the "historical background of the war and the dangerous social philosophies of the belligerent nations." Aydelotte also oversaw a program designed to have English teachers devote their course time to practicing the writing of military reports.⁶⁶ Graff notes that World War I "provoked a general reassessment of educational values" and comments on the "widespread acceptance among American professors of the Wilsonian view of the war as a holy crusade."⁶⁷ Because of their newly recognized roles as public intellectuals, the focus on education as a progressive era concern, and the desire of Americans to participate in the war effort, America's educational institutions were well primed to begin such programs as the Four Minute Men.

In the October 1, 1918, issue of the *Four Minute Men News*, a small announcement proclaimed that "colleges and universities are now being organized along the lines of four minute speaking."⁶⁸ In total, only 153 colleges and universities took up the Four Minute Men program for their students.⁶⁹ This seems odd given the opportunities that such a program brought for active student participation in an audience-based program. However, the short duration of the program must surely have been a factor. The college program was announced on October 1, 1918, and by December 24 of the same year, the war had ended and the entire Four Minute Men program had been disbanded, leaving less than a semester for colleges to participate.

Regardless of its short duration, the Four Minute Men program arrived

on campuses at a peculiar time in rhetorical history in general and speech history in particular. Great changes were taking place in rhetorical education. Speech teachers had collectively begun, between 1880 and 1920, to form associations and autonomous departments, interested in elocution, debate, and other facets of public speaking and communication.⁷⁰ In particular, this occurred after the 1914 walkout of speech teachers from the annual meeting of the National Council of Teachers of English. Prompted by the need for greater recognition and for their own disciplinary organization, the teachers formed the National Association of Academic Teachers of Public Speaking and began the *Quarterly Journal of Public Speaking*.⁷¹ The dates, of course, coincided with the beginning of the war. Still looking for academic recognition in a relatively new field, the Four Minute Men offered a unique opportunity for new speech departments to take up a national cause that required their expertise by starting programs on their own campuses.

In addition to the newly formed departments, the Four Minute Men movement coincided with the peak of college and intercollegiate debating in the United States, marking a significant interest in public expression. Egbert Ray Nicols, in “A Historical Sketch of Intercollegiate Debating: II,” defines 1903 to 1913 as the decade of “rising interest” in debate and the period just after as one of intense activity.⁷² Colleges had held on-campus debates (and often had public speaking requirements such as courses in declamation and oration) dating far earlier, but the first intercollegiate debates date to the late 1800s.⁷³ Intercollegiate debating had more than a 20-year history prior to the start of the war. It is a vigorous history, with colleges and universities initially forming debates against one other school, followed by the advent of triangle and quadrangle debates and then debate leagues. Advocates of debate noted that it trained young men (and women) in a centuries-old civic tradition.⁷⁴ This preceding history of debate and its popularity meant that there were trained public speakers from which to choose, especially since the Four Minute Men were chosen from “upstanding” citizens, many of whom would have been college educated, given their professions.

In addition, as part of the training for debates (and for declamations), many people had been trained to write out speeches and memorize them. This would have meant that the form they had learned in debating was particularly close and easily adaptable to that of the Four Minute Men speeches. In William Trufant Foster’s popular handbook for debate instruction, *Argumentation and Debating*, he notes five methods for delivering a speech:

- (1) To write it out in full and read it;
- (2) to write it out in full and commit it to memory;
- (3) to write out and memorize the opening and closing sentences, and other especially important parts, leaving the rest for extempore delivery;
- (4) to use an outline or a brief which suggests the headings in logical order;
- (5) to extemporize the whole speech, appearing before the audience without visible manuscript or notes.⁷⁵

Foster comments that the third, fourth, and fifth methods would have been most effective for debaters. William Keith seconds this when he notes that “until the 1920s, there was a general consensus that pre-written opening statements were fine.”⁷⁶ Foster notes in his book that any of these forms require a trained public speaker—one who has great facility with voice, enunciation, position, and gestures. These models would have worked well for Four Minute Men speakers as well, and are echoed in the bulletin instructions.

Likewise, Esenwein and Carnagey’s *The Art of Public Speaking* begins by offering discussions on emphasis, pitch, pace, voice, gesture, and enthusiasm. In later chapters, they advise speakers to memorize key points of their argument, rather than actual words: “Your power as a speaker will depend to a large extent upon your ability to retain impressions and call them forth when occasion demands.”⁷⁷ Those words might well have appeared in a Four Minute Men bulletin. All of these facets of public speaking and debate training would have served Four Minute speakers well, and many of them would have been exposed to such ideas as students. Ultimately, because of the timing of the rise of the public speaking movement, the Four Minute Men had a cadre of trained (if a bit rusty) alumni of various institutions, ready-made at their disposal to advance their cause. Speech departments also had a ready-made program at their disposal to encourage further practice in public speaking in a “live” rhetorical setting.

The Four Minute Men’s method of the short, emphatic speech strayed from the new traditions of debate, but it still played on the skills acquired in different aspects of rhetorical education. The use of public speeches rather than debates was actually a far more effective means of dissemination and persuasion, in no small part because it did not allow for debate, nor was any kind of question-and-answer period expected of the speaker. In many ways, such an approach was also easier to train for than the more popular debates. Debating required substantial skill and knowledge in presenting both sides of an argument, and preparing to respond to others. The speeches given by

the Four Minute Men required knowledge of the topic, but only one side of it. Even so, the amount of detailed information included in the bulletins makes it clear that the Four Minute Men speeches required knowledge of the topic and ample preparation.

Overall, there does not seem to be much evidence remaining of the program as it existed at individual colleges and universities. Creel's *How We Advertised America* devotes a scant paragraph to the College Four Minute Men, noting only that

College Four Minute Men were organized, under instructors acting as chairmen, to study the regular Four Minute Men bulletins, and practise speaking upon the subjects thereof, each student being required to deliver at least one four-minute speech to the student body during the semester, in addition to securing satisfactory credits, in order to qualify as a Four Minute Man.⁷⁸

However, the speeches did clearly affect student experience and curriculum. The speeches that aimed at having students influence one another were particularly successful on coeducational campuses, where male students were encouraged to leave college and register for the draft. In this respect, the collegiate curriculum itself became a form of civic participation and military recruitment.

There does not seem to be much existing information about where and when Four Minute Men students might have spoken. Although local records were kept of all Four Minute Men activities, most of these do not seem to have survived.⁷⁹ Buried in the back of the last issue of the *Four Minute Men News*, issued in December of 1918, however, is a list of the participating colleges and universities and their faculty sponsors. They included Harvard University, Cornell University, University of California, Loyola University, University of Notre Dame, and Boston University. In addition, smaller colleges such as Smith, Vassar, Clemson, Ouachita, and Berea also had programs.⁸⁰ In all, 44 states, Washington, D.C., and Puerto Rico all had collegiate representation in the Four Minute Men program. Little evidence remains of what those programs looked like; for example, neither the Smith College archives nor the Vassar College archives has any record of them.

The best evidence of the program at Vassar comes from an article written by faculty member Mary Yost in 1919 titled "Training Four Minute Men at Vassar" and published in the *Quarterly Journal of Speech Education*. Yost coordinated the program at Vassar (she is indeed listed as the faculty member

of record in the *Four Minute Men News*) with the help of a Professor Cochran, whom she identifies as the head of the English speech courses.

Yost's analysis of the Four Minute Men program at Vassar reveals a highly specialized and highly successful public speaking program. Yost notes that the prior existence of debating and debate clubs—Vassar in particular belonged to the Debating League, comprised of six of the eastern women's colleges—had stimulated interest in public speaking prior to the formation of the Four Minute Men. However, she also notes that the administration decided that no one should participate in the Four Minute Men if they weren't already "taking the training work," that is, enrolled in speech courses at the college.⁸¹ This is consistent with Creel's admonition that students should be securing "satisfactory credits" while they participated in the program.

It was apparently not difficult, at least at Vassar, to recruit students to participate in the program. As Yost notes:

The fact, however, that the Government had asked this service of [students] was perhaps the most potent cause of the thoughtful way in which they studied the subjects. To some of them this work came as an opportunity for immediate patriotic service, an opportunity which they had been greatly desiring, and the spirit of these students stimulated the others.⁸²

Clearly, the students' eagerness to participate in the program also contributed to their success as speakers and to the program's overall enrollment.

Yost's article also gives some insight into the operation of the Four Minute Men on college campuses. For example, her article shows that students were trained extensively in many of the Four Minute Men tenets through the speech courses. The relationship between speaker and audience was stressed, as were such aspects of speech as organization and content. Consistent with Creel's recommendation in the bulletin, students also criticized each other's work and spoke to their peers under a number of different "four minute" circumstances, including giving one speech a semester to fellow students in dining halls during meals and speaking on the campus from soap boxes "at the noon recess and as the students were on their way to the evening chapel service."⁸³ This moving audience must have been the most challenging.

Yost indicates that the program was an overall success at Vassar, especially for conveying messages of war support, yet she expressed some discomfort with the speed at which students were expected to become polished public speakers and publicly presentable intellectuals. She notes that although all

of the students in the program were given credit and a passing grade for the course, which in turn earned them “the insignia of the Four Minute Men,” ultimately the speeches were not as polished as she would have liked: “The rambling sentence, the misuse of words, the ‘and-ers,’ and the nasal quality of voice appear with too great frequency to make us feel at all complacent.”⁸⁴ Yost’s students, however, did receive the Four Minute Men insignia, so despite her concerns, they were considered qualified public speakers by the CPI. Based on Yost’s comments, it is not difficult to see that the quality of all Four Minute Men speakers, especially those not under the direct instruction of a speech teacher, must have been variable. On the other hand, as a teacher of speech, Yost’s expectations for her students may well have been higher.

Yost was not alone in wishing for better training for her speakers. Glenn Merry, a speech teacher from the University of Iowa and the chairman of the Iowa National Council of Defense Speaker’s Bureau, recommended in 1919 the development of resources for those in charge of speech training for the war effort. Merry not only wished for an “accumulative bibliography of the best speeches delivered in this epoch of the world’s development,” particularly argumentative speeches, but also the issuance of a handbook. Concerned about the variable quality of speaker’s handbooks, much the same way that Yost was concerned about the variable quality of student speeches, Merry recommended either the constructive criticism of extant handbooks, or preferably, “to issue one ourselves in conjunction with some organization that could finance the project.”⁸⁵ Presumably because of the short duration of direct U.S. involvement in the war and of the Four Minute Men organization, such a handbook was never developed. The closest thing were the Four Minute Men newsletters and bulletins produced by the CPI, with its full instructions for public speakers.⁸⁶



The Four Minute Men program, after having reached over 300 million listeners, was disbanded on December 24, 1918, as the war came to a close. It is tempting to dismiss the influence of the Four Minute Men as a frozen moment in time, an interesting but vestigial piece of American rhetorical history, with little reason to continue any theoretical assessment. In fact, many of the articles that I read in researching the movement attempt no such analysis, and rather do little more than present the movement as an anachronistic moment.⁸⁷ But the work of the Four Minute Men reveals

important messages about the ways in which social, political, and educational factors can converge to create circumstances that cannot typically be repeated. It was a tremendous propaganda campaign, and it is hard to imagine such a face-to-face campaign being organized or successfully carried out today.⁸⁸ The public speaking training that students and citizens received was certainly a positive outcome of the program, as were the heightened citizen participation in the workings of national government and the heightened distribution of information to people all across the country in a time when such distribution was much more challenging than it is today. In movie theaters, churches, lodges, granges, and on college and university campuses, public speaking and citizen involvement in government campaigns gained attention as never before. From both rhetorical and public intellectual perspectives, the Four Minute Men were an unqualified success, spreading messages of support for the war to a vast audience. For public speaking instructors, the group offered an unprecedented opportunity for war activism and civic participation, but also for a live, public audience, an opportunity that students in public speaking classes rarely received.

The movement did have one other clear effect, and that was to further the establishment of an intellectual public speaker.⁸⁹ In fact, progressives like John Dewey had made this one of their goals for the progressive movement. Dewey “exhorted that critical inquiry should be geared towards helping citizens understand and respond to the political and social issues of their day.”⁹⁰ According to Dewey, knowledge was power, and it should be tied to action.⁹¹ Learning about something and believing in it was not enough. The term “public intellectual” was not used at the time, but such a person’s role certainly was firmly understood. Daniel C. Brouwer and Catherine R. Squires’s 2003 definition of a public intellectual closely matches George Creel’s vision of the Four Minute Men: “One comes to occupy such a role through the deployment of individual knowledge to the benefit of society.”⁹² In addition, the public intellectual should speak on serious topics “involving universal values or national and international (rather than local) issues,” using plain, accessible language.⁹³ The Four Minute Men was a ready-made program offering a body of knowledge and a ready-made audience where public intellectuals could flourish.

The war itself allowed university professors, their students, and their educated alumni to put their intellect to public use and to create and strengthen relationships between the universities and their local communities.⁹⁴ At a time when people were eager to participate in the war effort, and intellectuals

in particular had made themselves previously available as servants of the government, the convergence of forces makes it quite clear that the Four Minute Men provided a vehicle for success. Although the Four Minute Men were likely not the “critical inquiry” that Dewey was thinking of, they did produce a mass citizenry who not only approached a single issue but acted upon it in a public way. Vestiges of this commitment can certainly be seen in public speaking everywhere—protestors speaking on street corners and village greens, students speaking in dining halls and from campus corners, the larger venue of national political conventions, and mass mailings soliciting help (both financial and otherwise) for different organizations and causes.

Despite its success during its own time, it seems highly unlikely that the accomplishments of the Four Minute Men in championing a single, government-supported cause could be repeated today, given shifts in social views, developments in technology, and changes in rhetorical education. It seems nearly impossible to imagine that a large group of committed citizen public speakers could be organized to speak on behalf of the government. However, attention should be given to the possibilities offered by different forms of civic participation. Communication specialists in particular see new opportunities for civic participation in venues such as the Internet.

Many historians proclaimed the work of the Four Minute Men an unprecedented success for the war effort, and it certainly met the goals set forth by the CPI. Millions of people were exposed to information about the war effort, and the government succeeded in championing their support for an initially unpopular cause. Many people shifted their views from peace to preparedness and joined in the public democratic participation offered them by the Four Minute Men. Their war views were translated, successfully, into activism in service to their government on an unprecedented scale. Perhaps no one can sum up the success of the Four Minute Men better than George Creel himself, although his gun metaphor certainly reminds historians of rhetoric of the power of words: “And let it be borne in mind that these were no haphazard talks by nondescripts, but the careful, studied, and rehearsed efforts of the *best* men in each community, each speech aimed as a rifle is aimed, and driving to its mark with the precision of a bullet.”⁹⁵

“I AM”

I am the man who speaks through the length and breadth of our country.
I look east out past the Statue of Liberty toward the flaming battle line.
The sun sets in the Pacific as I work along our western shores.

The Southland hears my call. Canada knows I am her friend.
 I am in the War Department, the Treasury, the cantonments, factories, and
 shipyards, in
 the busy city office, and in the country store beside the cracker barrel.
 I am on active duty every evening.
 I see the city's dazzling lights and the country's twinkling lamps.
 I am poor and rich, young and old.
 I build morale and confidence in the right.
 I defeat fear, mistrust and ignorance.
 Lies are cut down and fall naked before my sword.
 False rumor flies before the searchlight of my truth as does the mist at sunrise.
 I make clear the issues so that all may know and understand.
 It is my duty "to hold unbroken the inner lines" [and] "to inspire to highest
 action and
 noblest sacrifice."
 I am everywhere helping to win this greatest of wars and to save the world
 for God and
 man.
 I am here to stay on duty and fight until the fight is won.
 I am the Four Minute Man.

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NOTES

1. Katherine H. Adams's *Progressive Politics and the Training of America's Persuaders* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1999) is one of the few rhetorical histories that looks at World War I, particularly in terms of the use of public persuasion. Other histories cover the time frame, but without much specific focus on the war and its impact on rhetoric and rhetorical education; see, for example, L. Leroy Cowperthwaite and A. Craig Baird's "Intercollegiate Debating," Giles Wilkeson Gray's "Some Teachers and the Transition to Twentieth-Century Speech Education," and Marie Hochmuth and Richard Murphy, "Rhetorical and Elocutionary Training in Nineteenth-Century Colleges," all in *History of Speech Education in America*, ed. Karl Wallace (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1954), 259–76, 422–46, 153–77.
2. Thomas Fleming, "Propagandist George Creel's Drumbeat for War," *Military History* 93 (December 1995): 26.

3. Adams, *Progressive Politics and the Training of America's Persuaders*, 118.
4. Adams, *Progressive Politics and the Training of America's Persuaders*, 122. Also see J. Michael Sproule, *Propaganda and Democracy: The American Experience of Media and Mass Persuasion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 11.
5. In November of 1917 the *Frankfurter Zeitung* made fun of the program ("Ridicules Campaign Here," *New York Times*, November 25, 1917, Proquest UMI, College of St. Elizabeth Library, Morristown, NJ, <http://www.umi.com/proquest/> [accessed March 30, 2006]), saying that "speeches will be limited to four minutes because America has done so little up to the present that four minutes will be ample time."
6. George Creel, *How We Advertised America* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1920), 85. Also see Jeanne Graham "The Four Minute Men: Volunteers for Propaganda," *Southern Speech Journal* 32 (1966): 50.
7. Creel, *How We Advertised America*, 90.
8. "Four Minute Men: Volunteer Speeches During World War I," *History Matters*, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/4970/> (accessed March 29, 2006).
9. Mark Sullivan in George T. Blakey, *Historians on the Homefront: American Propagandists for the Great War* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), 57.
10. "Four Minute Man Assignment and Report Card," Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, Seaver Center for Western Research. Record Grouping 1134, Box 1.
11. "Lauds Four-Minute Men," *New York Times*, December 26, 1918, Proquest UMI, College of St. Elizabeth Library, Morristown, NJ, <http://www.umi.com/proquest/> (accessed March 30, 2006); James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words that Won the War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1939), 116.
12. Adams, *Progressive Politics and the Training of America's Persuaders*, 122.
13. Alfred E. Cornebise, *War as Advertised: The Four Minute Men and America's Crusade, 1917-1918* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984), 12.
14. Cornebise, *War as Advertised*, 16.
15. *Four Minute Men News*, Edition E, October 1, 1918, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD, Record Group 63, Box 3, Entry #67, 20.
16. Cornebise, *War as Advertised*, 25; *Four Minute Men News*, Edition E, 20.
17. Fleming, "Propagandist George Creel's Drumbeat for War," 32.
18. Stephen Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines: Democracy, Nationalism, and the Committee on Public Information* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 194.
19. J. Michael Sproule, in *Propaganda and Democracy*, also examines the ways in which this information was distributed. Sproule looks closely at the development of propaganda and its role within a democratic state.

20. Robert A. Wells, "Mobilizing Public Support for War: An Analysis of American Propaganda During World War I," 28 March 2006, <http://isanet.ccit.arizona.edu/noarchive/robertwells.html> (accessed August 12, 2009).
21. In fact, up until that time, there had not been any word to describe this kind of manipulation of words to move people to a desired action during war (Wells, "Mobilizing Public Support for War," 2). The *Oxford English Dictionary* chronicles earlier usage of the term (examples are from 1882 to 1886), but all of the examples relate to discussions of communism and are European in usage. Terms such as "propaganda film," "propaganda leaflet," and "propaganda poster" are all dated 1916–1918 and attributed to American sources ("Propaganda," *Oxford English Dictionary*, OED Online, College of St. Elizabeth Library, Morristown, NJ, October 21, 2007, http://dictionary.oed.com.cseproxy1.cse.edu/cgi/entry/50190074?query_type=word&queryword=propaganda&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=1&search_id=BHCO-bWzUbT-7844&hilite=50190074 (accessed August 12, 2009).
22. Elmer E. Cornwell Jr., *Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965), 52.
23. Cornwell, *Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion*, 52.
24. Part of his insecurity about his image and the press may have stemmed from his narrow victory in 1917 for his second presidential term. Wilson actually considered proposals for a censorship law in 1917 that would have given him full control over the American press, but eventually decided against it (Fleming, "Propagandist George Creel's Drumbeat for War," 26). Congressional passage of the Espionage Act in 1917 and the Sedition Act in 1918, however, prohibited antiwar speeches, writing, and publications.
25. David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 48.
26. Cornwell, *Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion*, 48.
27. Adams, *Progressive Politics and the Training of America's Persuaders*, 123.
28. Fleming, "Propagandist George Creel's Drumbeat for War," 28.
29. Although many people were indeed eager to be involved in the war effort, scholars record specific conflicts between locals, general war protestors, and draft resisters, which often led to violence and sometimes even death. Not all citizens, then, were as compliant and enthusiastic as the CPI depicts. See Joseph Caruth, "World War I Propaganda and Its Effects in Arkansas," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 56 (1997): 385–98.
30. Fleming, "Propagandist George Creel's Drumbeat for War," 28.
31. Some faculty on individual campuses did protest, but many were fired for doing so. Most, however, were either silent or supportive. See Carol S. Gruber, *Mars and Minerva: World War I and the Uses of Higher Learning in America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975).

32. Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1963), 198.
33. Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 28.
34. Sproule, *Propaganda and Democracy*, 12.
35. Will Manley, "When We Were Hawks," *American Libraries* (March 2007): 96; Marion Talbot and Lois Kimball Mathews Rosenberry, *The History of the American Association of University Women, 1881-1931* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931), 242.
36. John Milton Cooper, "The Film and More," PBS-American Experience: Woodrow Wilson, www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/wilson/filmmore/fr_cooper.html (accessed March 30, 2006).
37. Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines*, 125.
38. "Bar 'Hymns of Hate,'" *New York Times*, February 4, 1918, Proquest UMI, College of St. Elizabeth Library, Morristown, NJ, March 30, 2006, <http://www.umi.com/proquest/>.
39. Four Minute Men, Bulletin 3, June 9, 1917, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD, Record Group 63, Box 2, Entry #62, 1.
40. Four Minute Men, Bulletin 1, May 22, 1917, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD, Record Group 63, Box 2, Entry #62.
41. Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines*, 123.
42. *Four Minute Men News*, Edition D. June 19, 1918, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD, Record Group 63, Box 3, Entry #67, 14.
43. As Vaughn points out, the CPI did not always follow its own rules and, in fact, distributed pamphlets containing unverified atrocity stories, which many of the Four Minute speakers would have seen. As well, at least one committee pamphlet seems to have been based on forged documents. See Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines*, 81. In addition, Sproule observes that "although appeals to fact more than hate and fear were emphasized in bulletins prepared for the Four Minute Men, observations of Creel's orators suggest that actual practice deviated considerably from the published ideal." Sproule, *Propaganda and Democracy*, 11.
44. Adams, *Progressive Politics and the Training of America's Persuaders*, 122.
45. Four Minute Men, Bulletin 1, 1.
46. O. A. Hilton, "The Oklahoma Council of Defense and the First World War," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 20, no.1 (March 1942), <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Chronicles/v020/v020p018.html#18> (accessed August 12, 2009).
47. Four Minute Men, Bulletin 1, 1.
48. Four Minute Men, Bulletin 3, 1.
49. Four Minute Men, Bulletin 5, June 14, 1917, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD, Record Group 63, Box 2, Entry #62, 2.
50. Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines*, 122.

51. Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines*, 122. The draft age when the Four Minute Men program began was 21–31. The second round of registrations targeted those who turned 21 after June 5, 1917; the third and final round of registrations on September 12, 1918, was for men age 18–45. Because of their status and age, many of the early volunteers for the Four Minute Men, then, would have been college-educated and would have had exposure to public speaking instruction. See “World War I Selective Service System Draft Registration Cards, M1509,” U.S. Archives and Records Administration, 30 June 2008, <http://www.archives.gov/genealogy/military/ww1/draft-registration> (accessed August 5, 2009).
52. Garth Jowett and Victoria O’Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1986), 27.
53. Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines*, 123.
54. Cornebise, *War as Advertised*, 54–55.
55. Four Minute Men, Bulletin 1, 1.
56. Four Minute Men, Bulletin 1, 1.
57. “Four Minute Men: Volunteer Speeches During World War I.”
58. Catherine Peaden, “Jane Addams and the Social Rhetoric of Democracy,” in *Oratorical Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Gregory Clark and S. Michael Halloran (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993), 184. Peaden is referring here to the movements and organizations aimed at collective action to solve social problems, such as Jane Addams’s Hull House.
59. Kennedy, *Over Here*, 50.
60. Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 92.
61. Cornebise, *War as Advertised*, 19.
62. Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 5.
63. Blakey, *Historians on the Homefront*, 1.
64. Gerald Graff, *Professing Literature: An Institutional History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 129.
65. Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 244.
66. Adams, *Progressive Politics and the Training of America’s Persuaders*, 125, 126.
67. Graff, *Professing Literature*, 128.
68. *Four Minute Men News*, Edition C, October 1, 1918, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD, Record Group 63, Box 3, Entry #67, 4.
69. *The Statistical History of the United States* indicates that in 1918, there were 980 institutions of higher education in the United States. Therefore, only 15.6 percent of colleges and universities participated in the program. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *The Statistical History of the United States, from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Basic Books,

- 1976), 384.
70. William Keith, *Democracy as Discussion: Civic Education and the American Forum Movement* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007), 35.
 71. Donald K. Smith, "Origin and Development of Departments of Speech," in *History of Speech Education in America*, 455; Keith, *Democracy as Discussion*, 33.
 72. Egbert Ray Nichols, "A Historical Sketch of Inter-Collegiate Debating: II," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 22 (1936): 591.
 73. Cowperthwaite and Baird, "Intercollegiate Debating," 259.
 74. Keith, *Democracy as Discussion*, 61, 68.
 75. William Trufant Foster, *Argumentation and Debating* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1908), 316.
 76. Keith, *Democracy as Discussion*, 68.
 77. J. Berg Esenwein and Dale Carnegie, *The Art of Public Speaking* (Springfield, MA: The Home Correspondence School, 1915), 345.
 78. Creel, *How We Advertised America*, 90–91.
 79. A search of the National Archives Records for the CPI revealed one group of Four Minute Men records, but these mostly included Four Minute Men bulletins and newsletters. No specific records on the college/university division were indexed in the record grouping.
 80. *Four Minute Men News*, Edition F, December 24, 1918, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD, Record Group 63, Box 3, Entry #67, 70.
 81. Mary Yost, "Training Four Minute Men at Vassar," *Quarterly Journal of Speech Education* 5 (1919): 246.
 82. Yost, "Four Minute Men at Vassar," 249.
 83. Yost, "Four Minute Men at Vassar," 250–51.
 84. Yost, "Four Minute Men at Vassar," 253.
 85. Glenn Merry, "National Defense and Public Speaking," *Quarterly Journal of Speech Education* 4 (1918), 60.
 86. My research revealed an interesting publication called *The Handbook of the War for Public Speakers*, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart and Arthur O. Lovejoy and sponsored by the Committee on Patriotism Through Education of the National Security League. However, this work does not offer any advice for public speakers, instead providing sample speeches on various topics, already written, to be used for quotations and ideas to support points about the war. See Albert Bushnell Hart and Arthur O. Lovejoy, *Handbook of the War for Public Speakers* (New York: National Security League, 1917).
 87. See Carol Oukrop, "The Four Minute Men Became National Network During World War I," *Journalism Quarterly* 52 (1975): 632–37; Graham, "The Four Minute Men"; or M.

- Guy Bishop, "Strong Voices and 100 Percent Patriotism: The Four-Minute Men of Los Angeles County, 1917–1918," *Southern California Quarterly* 77 (1995): 199–214.
88. Movie theaters, however, are still used as avenues for supporting causes. The Muscular Dystrophy Foundation, for example, often shows a brief film and then collects donations from moviegoers toward its research.
 89. For more information on the role of the public intellectual during World War I, see Christopher Lasch's *The New Radicalism in American, 1889–1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1965), and Randolph Bourne's *War and the Intellectuals: Collected Essays, 1915–1919* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964).
 90. Robert Asen and Daniel C. Brouwer, "Introduction: John Dewey and the Public Sphere," *Argumentation and Advocacy* 39 (2003): 158.
 91. Gruber, *Mars and Minerva*, 42.
 92. Daniel C. Brouwer and Catherine R. Squires, "Public Intellectuals, Public Life, and the University," *Argumentation and Advocacy* 39 (2003): 203. Giroux seconds this definition in "Beyond the Ivory Tower," noting that the job of the public intellectual is to produce "social relations that deepen democratic life by extending the range of critical cultures across diverse economic, cultural, and social spheres." Scholars like Giroux, however, usually call on government critique, not government support, as a method for reaching such goals. Henry Giroux, "Beyond the Ivory Tower: Public Intellectuals and the Crisis of Higher Education" in *Higher Education Under Fire*, ed. Michael Bérubé and Cary Nelson (New York: Routledge Press, 1995), 228.
 93. Brouwer and Squires, "Public Intellectuals, Public Life, and the University," 204.
 94. Brouwer and Squires, "Public Intellectuals, Public Life, and the University," 214.
 95. Creel, *How We Advertised America*, 94.

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