

THE CONFERENCE ON COLLEGE COMPOSITION AND COMMUNICATION:  
A HISTORICAL STUDY OF ITS CONTINUING EDUCATION AND  
PROFESSIONALIZATION ACTIVITIES, 1949-1975

by

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE PROBLEM SITUATION

In a society in which knowledge is increasing at an ever-accelerating rate, the continuing education of professional persons is a vital function. Since World War II, increased attention has been devoted to continuing professional education. This increased attention has come about as a part of, and because of, the growing body of knowledge about how adults learn and about how they incorporate continuing education activities into the patterns of their lives. One of the major vehicles for continuing professional education is the learned society or professional association, which has proliferated as increasing numbers of occupational groups and their various specialties and sub-specialties have moved toward professional status. These organizations fund research; publish journals, monographs, and books; and hold conferences, workshops, and training sessions. They are, therefore, acting as vehicles of continuing education and may be studied in some of the ways that continuing education institutions are studied.

Professional associations are not a new phenomenon. Many occupational and professional associations were well established in Europe during the Middle Ages. Near the end of the eighteenth century, such additional groups as attorneys, solicitors, and engineers began to meet

periodically in dining clubs, in which they mingled social activities with discussions of their common professional interests and problems. These groups were the beginning of a great new wave of professional associations.<sup>1</sup>

Professional association activity in recent years has often been characterized by the politicization observed in the educational enterprise as a whole. During the late 1960's radical and dissident elements became visible and vociferous in several American learned and professional societies. These groups often attempted with some success to involve the associations in current issues and events outside the traditional scope of their activities. On occasion they were the scene of conflict over the basic role of education in our society. Indeed, these conflicts have not entirely subsided.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of the proliferation and significance of learned and professional societies, however, there has been very little examination of their functions. In the preface to the first volume in a new series on the development of American learned societies, I. Bernard Cohen pointed out that despite the long tradition and current importance of such groups, their roles throughout history have been a neglected area of scholarship. He maintained that most histories of such groups have been mere records of events which fail to interpret the

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<sup>1</sup>A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, "The Rise and Aims of Professional Associations," The Professions (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1933), pp. 298-304.

<sup>2</sup>Harland G. Bloland and Sue M. Bloland, American Learned Societies in Transition: The Impact of Dissent and Recession (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974).



ways in which such associations have shaped and been shaped by society and by the subject matter to which they are dedicated.<sup>3</sup>

One such professional association is the Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC), an affiliate of the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE). This organization was founded in 1949 by a group of college composition teachers who were seeking a systematic way of exchanging opinions and information about their specialty, which they felt had received insufficient attention in the more generalized associations for English professors. Feeling a need for a coordinated program of research in their field, they also sought a means for developing it and disseminating it. In summary, this group was seeking to develop an increased sense of professionalism among its members.

Today the Conference on College Composition and Communication counts over 2,000 members in the nation's colleges and universities. It has evolved during the quarter century of its existence from a nucleus of Midwesterners seeking a forum for their problems into an influential and sometimes controversial organization which conducts a major national conference and coordinates several regional ones, publishes a substantial quarterly journal, and deals on a major scale with issues involving the preparation and continuing education of teachers and the professionalization of the field of college composition teaching.

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<sup>3</sup>Alexandra Oleson and Sanborn C. Brown, eds., The Pursuit of Knowledge in the Early American Republic: American Scientific and Learned Societies from Colonial Times to the Civil War (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976).

In 1952 and again in 1955, College Composition and Communication (CCC), the official journal of the Conference on College Composition and Communication, published brief accounts of the history of the organization.<sup>4</sup> In 1967 CCC published another article which was somewhat historical in character.<sup>5</sup> However, no history of CCCC had been written in recent years, and no studies had been made of the manner in which the organization has carried out its primary functions. This study focused on how CCCC has conceived itself as an agent for the continuing education of college composition teachers and for the professionalization of the field of college composition teaching.

#### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The problem investigated in this study was: How has the Conference on College Composition and Communication evolved from 1949 through 1975 as a vehicle for the continuing professional education of its members and for the professionalization of the field of college composition teaching?

In order to answer this broad question, several subordinate questions were framed to serve as a guide to the investigation.

1. For what reasons and under what circumstances related to continuing education and professionalism was CCCC founded?

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<sup>4</sup> John C. Gerber, "Three-Year History of the CCCC," College Composition and Communication, III (October, 1952), 17-19, and Jerome W. Archer, "Six-Year History of the CCCC," College Composition and Communication, VI (December, 1955), 221-23.

<sup>5</sup> Gordon Wilson, "CCCC in Retrospect," College Composition and Communication, XVIII (October, 1967), 127-34.

2. How has the organization's continuing education and professionalizing activity responded to educational movements and social forces during the years of its existence?

3. What has CCCC conceived its continuing education function to be, and how has this conception changed?

- a. What continuing education activities has the CCCC promoted?
- b. How have such activities been planned?
- c. Upon what theory has the organization based its continuing education activities?
- d. What evaluative studies of its continuing education activities has it done?

4. How has CCCC conceived professionalism, and what efforts has it made to professionalize the field of college composition teaching?

- a. To what extent has CCCC contributed to the development of a body of specialized knowledge as a basis for the practice of the profession?
- b. How has it influenced training for and access to the profession?
- c. What efforts has it made to set forth a list of qualifications or statement of expertise that members of the profession should possess?
- d. What efforts has it made to formulate a code of ethics or conduct?
- e. What efforts has it made to gain public acceptance of teachers of college composition as the legitimate authorities on matters of language usage and teaching?

5. How have the continuing education and professionalizing activities of CCCC been related to the National Council of Teachers of English?

#### OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The major objective of this study was to trace the development of CCCC as a vehicle for the continuing education of college composition teachers and for the professionalization of the field of college composition teaching. Secondary objectives were: (1) to identify the circumstances of its founding; (2) to identify the ways its conceptualization of its purposes has changed; (3) to identify specific efforts in continuing education and how they have evolved; and (4) to identify specific efforts in professionalization and how they have evolved.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Participation in professional associations is generally acknowledged to be an important activity for the professional person. Continuing education is often conceded to be the major purpose of the professional association. Furthermore, most studies of the professionalization process cite the development of the professional association as an essential step in the professionalization of an occupational group. Educators, in particular, often belong to several professional associations whose activities they support with their membership fees.

These associations sponsor such varied activities as conferences, workshops, journals, and research projects. Considering the resources

expended in these activities, it seems important that they be as productive as possible for the persons who participate and for the professions to which they belong.

Because of the widespread impact of professional associations, then, the results of this study should prove to be useful in several different ways. First, the study should add to the body of literature on continuing professional education as it is practiced by the professional associations. This case study of one organization's continuing education activities could help future researchers in developing models for professional association activity.

Additionally, the study should help to increase understanding of the professionalization process as it is furthered by professional associations.

Finally, the study described several aspects of CCCC which should prove useful to those persons charged with charting the future course of the organization. This summary of the contributions of CCCC to professional development and professionalization should prove useful in helping the organization assess its own effectiveness. The analysis of the phases through which its activities have passed should help in setting new goals for future activities.

#### DEFINITION OF TERMS

Important terms used in this study are defined as follows. These definitions, which were written for the purposes of this study, should not be confused with the definitions reported in the review of the literature.

Continuing education -- organized activity, under the sponsorship of an educational institution or organization, designed to supplement the specialized knowledge or skills already possessed by the persons for whom it is organized. In this study, continuing education refers to the efforts of CCCC to disseminate knowledge and skills to its members and to other teachers of college composition.

Profession -- an occupational group in which the following conditions exist: (1) the possession of a basic body of abstract knowledge which is continually being generated by the members of the occupational group; (2) specialized skills in applying that knowledge to solve actual problems; (3) general recognition by society of the specialized competencies of the members of the occupational group; and (4) the establishment of a strong association through which the members regulate access to the profession and establish a code of ethics for its members.

Professionalization -- the evolution of an occupational group toward the status of a profession.

Social forces -- events or trends in one or more subgroups of a society which exert influence on the beliefs and actions of members of other subgroups.

Educational movements -- trends in beliefs and practices of educators which develop and gain prominence for a period of time.

#### DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study was not designed as a comprehensive history of the Conference on College Composition and Communication, but rather as a

history of the ways in which it has evolved as a vehicle for the purposes of continuing education and professionalization. It did not attempt a detailed analysis of such issues as growth patterns, finances, and leadership problems, except as they related to the organization's continuing education and professionalization activities. The study is not to be considered an evaluation of the effectiveness of CCCC, although inevitably it is the responsibility of the historian to make some inferences and judgments, and some were made. It did not attempt to conduct a comprehensive survey of the opinions of the members of the organization, although many were interviewed. It was, rather, primarily a survey of the written records and of the leadership of the organization to determine the ways in which they perceived their responsibilities and set out to fulfill them.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This study is organized into an introductory chapter, four chapters detailing the history of the organization, and a concluding chapter. The introductory chapter presents a statement of the problem, its background, and its significance. It also identifies a series of research questions, defines important terms employed in the study, states the objectives of the study, discusses the delimitations of the study, sets forth the organization and methodology of the study, and reviews relevant literature.

The second chapter describes the founding of the CCCC in 1949. It explores the factors which led to the formation of the association and the manner in which it functioned in the years 1949-1954. Chapters 3

through 5 describe the development of CCCC through 1975. Chapter 3 covers the period of 1955-1958; Chapter 4 covers 1959-1967; and Chapter 5 covers 1968-1975. Within each of these periods, three specific areas are examined: the overall development of the organization, the continuing education activities of CCCC, and its efforts to professionalize the field of college composition teaching.

A final chapter summarizes the findings and makes conclusions about the points raised in the research questions.

#### REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

In order to establish a conceptual framework for this study, three kinds of literature were reviewed. First, a search was made to determine what had been written about professional associations. General questions considered in reviewing this literature included: (1) What is known about the ways in which professional associations evolve historically? and (2) What are the major functions and problems of professional associations? Next, some of the major works on professions and professionalization were examined to determine how these terms had been defined and what had been learned about the professionalization process. Questions guiding this review included: (1) What are the characteristics of a profession? (2) What stages do occupations pass through in the process of professionalization? and (3) What problems are encountered in the professionalization process? Finally, some of the major works on adult education were examined to determine what are generally believed to be the characteristics of effective adult education programs.



The Historical Evolution of Professional Associations

There appear to have been no comprehensive studies of the historical evolution of professional associations. However, since these organizations have been classified in the literature as both voluntary associations and adult education institutions, and since they have been compared to political movements, it is useful to examine research on the evolution of these kinds of organizations.

Chapin and Tsouderos defined a voluntary association as "a group of people which has some sort of formal organizational structure in which membership is open to all who share a particular occupation or profess a common aspiration or interest and in which people become members by their own decision." In a study of ten voluntary associations, they found a typical growth pattern consisting of five stages: (1) an informal stage in which the leader or leaders enjoy higher social prestige than their followers and possess personal-discretionary authority limited only by the response of the membership to their actions; (2) a codification stage in which powers and positions are defined; (3) a differentiation stage in which standing committees are formed and the volume of executive and staff work increases; (4) the multiplication of the membership units and the increasing professionalization and power of the staff group; and (5) the reinforcement of the control machinery of the association through the formation of a nominating committee and control boards.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>F. Stuart Chapin and John E. Tsouderos, "Formalization Observed in Ten Voluntary Associations: Concepts, Morphology, Process," Social Forces, XXXIII (May, 1955), p. 306.

Chapman has pointed out that the major function of a professional association is to educate the members.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, it may be relevant to consider a study by Griffith of the growth patterns of institutions of adult education. He identified six stages through which adult education institutions develop: (1) A sense of issue in a leader or leaders creates a basic sense of need, which becomes a nucleus around which the organization forms. (2) Ideas are shared by leaders and group; objectives are discussed; and decisions are made concerning the structure and function of the new institution. (3) The new institution comes into being, begins its activities, and acquires the beginnings of a personality. (4) Expansion accelerates. (5) Expansion begins to decelerate and internal restructuring continues to take place. (6) Growth and structural adjustments cease; personnel direct their efforts into increasing the efficiency of separate segments and may lose sight of the larger purposes of the institution. Appropriate reaction to changes in the environment may be difficult.<sup>8</sup>

Glaser and Sills felt that associations could be compared to social movements and included in their volume of readings on associations a study by King on the developmental patterns of social movements. King reported that social movements evolve through three phases: (1) The incipient phase, in which a small nucleus of followers share a leader's enthusiasm and general goals, which are sometimes regarded as immediately attainable. There is strong loyalty and cohesion, but nebulous ideology

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<sup>7</sup>F. T. Chapman, "The Implications of Membership of a Professional Body: Education," The British Management Review, II (1952), p. 159.

<sup>8</sup>William S. Griffith, "Implications for Administrators in the Changing Adult Education Agency," Adult Education, XV (Spring, 1965), 138-44.

and unformulated tactics. (2) The organizational phase, which is characterized by more systematic activities and organization, elaboration of a hierarchy, development of channels of communication and control, and the working out of rituals. Original goals are redefined and made more specific, and behavioral norms are specified. Rapid growth, new internal dissension, and success over external threats may be noted. (3) The stable phase, in which goals and values are clarified and organization becomes more clearcut and orderly. Positions of authority are routinized and legitimized. Legal rather than charismatic authority is required. "Perspiration replaces inspiration as the basis of accomplishment."<sup>9</sup>

Historical studies of specific professional education associations have revealed similar patterns. For example, the National Education Association was inaugurated in 1857 by a group of state teachers' associations which recognized the growing need for classroom teachers to band together to meet the needs of their rapidly growing profession. The NEA expanded rapidly in its early years as the American school system expanded. It formed departments and divisions to meet the specialized needs of various segments of its membership. Its staff, committees, and involvement with other associations increased as it became a mature organization. By the end of its first century, NEA had become a major advocate of teacher welfare, and it was flourishing.

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<sup>9</sup>C. Wendell King, "Career Patterns of Social Movements," The Government of Associations: Selections from the Behavioral Sciences, eds. W. S. Glaser and D. L. Sills (Totowa, New Jersey: Bedminster Press, 1966), pp. 13-15.

<sup>10</sup>Edgar B. Wesley, NEA: The First Hundred Years (New York: Harper, 1957).

The Progressive Education Association, a more specialized organization than the NEA, was formed in 1919 by a group of enthusiastic proponents of the "new education" devoted to publicizing its experiments. They attracted national support, published an important journal, and conducted national and regional meetings, exerting considerable influence into the 1930's.

However, in the 1940's the fortunes of the PEA began to wane along with those of the progressive education movement. Having no statement of philosophy or purpose, the association began to move the focus of its activities from the learning process to the democratization of education. Many members left the association, charging that its primary efforts were directed toward using the schools and teachers as agents of social change. Leaders of the PEA, however, ignoring major shifts of public and professional opinion away from the more liberal tenets of progressive education, continued to press for the kinds of curriculum reforms which had lost favor. The organization declined, ceasing its activities altogether in 1955.<sup>11</sup>

#### The Characteristics of Professional Associations

Professional associations have also been classified as mutual benefit associations and compared to political movements. Again, no specific studies of the characteristics of professional associations have been conducted. Blau and Scott defined a mutual-benefit association as an association whose basic purpose is to benefit the members

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<sup>11</sup>Patricia A. Graham, Progressive Education from Arcady to Academe: A History of the Progressive Education Association, 1919-1955 (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967).

in some way. They stated that mutual benefit associations have the twofold formal purpose of accomplishing their objectives and providing members with a mechanism for agreeing on those objectives. According to Blau and Scott, the crucial issue facing this type of organization is the maintenance of democratic control by the members. They explained that such internal democracy is difficult because most members of professional associations are willing to leave the governance of these organizations to an active minority. Once a minority is in control, business meetings usually become uninteresting and discourage participation even further. They also pointed out that democratic controls are often sacrificed in the interests of efficient and effective achievement of objectives. These researchers found that widespread enthusiasm is typical only in the early stages of the development of mutual benefit associations.<sup>12</sup> In support of their findings, they cited Michels, who reported the general tendency of associations to succumb to increased centralized control and bureaucratic hierarchy in their organizational structure. In fact, Michels formulated what he called the "iron law of oligarchy" to describe the situation in which he found that bureaucratization threatens democracy.<sup>13</sup>

Bucher and Strauss found that like political movements, specialized professional associations have missions, brotherhoods of colleagues,

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<sup>12</sup>Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1962), pp. 45-48.

<sup>13</sup>Robert Michels, Political Parties (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1949), p. 52.

leadership, organizational forms, and tactics for implementing their positions.<sup>14</sup>

It can be seen by the foregoing classifications that various writers have conceptualized professional associations in different ways, providing several different perspectives from which to view these organizations. There is some agreement that professional associations go through recognizable growth patterns, beginning with an early stage in which the organizations are formed and progressing through succeeding stages in which they become larger, more highly structured, and finally stabilized. It has also been found that mature associations are controlled by a minority of the members by means of a bureaucratic hierarchy.

#### Professions and Professionalization

The term profession has been defined by a number of researchers who have developed theories about the characteristics of a profession. In addition, a considerable amount of research has been conducted on the process that an occupational group goes through as it moves toward the status of a profession.

Definitions. There are multiple definitions of the term profession. One typical definition is that of Timperley and Osbaldeston, who defined a profession as an occupational group which possesses the following

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<sup>14</sup>Rue Bucher and Anselm Strauss, "Professions in Progress," The American Journal of Sociology, LXVI (January, 1961), pp. 325-34.

characteristics: (1) academic qualifications, (2) an accepted code of conduct, (3) special expertise, (4) member involvement and commitment, and (5) a body of accumulated knowledge.<sup>15</sup>

Goode advanced a theory of two generating traits of professionalism: (1) a basic body of abstract knowledge, and (2) the ideal of service. He said that each of these is a continuum. Of the body of knowledge, he listed several requirements. It should be abstract and organized into a codified body of principles, and it should be applicable to the concrete problems of living. Society should believe that the knowledge can actually solve these problems and should believe it proper that these problems be given over to this group for solution. The profession should be accepted as the final arbiter in any disputes over the validity of a technical solution in its area of competence. Finally, society should view the profession as possessing a kind of mystery which ordinary persons cannot acquire.

With reference to the service ideal, he believed it necessary that the practitioner decide on the client's needs. The true profession demands real sacrifice from its practitioners as an ideal and sometimes as a fact, and it uses its own resources to develop new knowledge and to recruit talented young people. Furthermore, society actually believes that the profession accepts and follows these ideals. Finally, the professional community sets up a system of rewards and punishments for practitioners who live or do not live by the rules. In his discussion Goode

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<sup>15</sup>Stuart R. Timperley and Michael D. Osbaldeston, "Professionalization Process: A Study of An Aspiring Occupational Organization," Sociological Research, XXIII (August, 1975), pp. 607-27.

frequently referred to what he called "the four great traditional professions": medicine, law, the clergy, and the university professoriate.<sup>16</sup>

Houle also defined a profession:

An occupational group that has attained a high level of accomplishment in certain criteria, such as the existence of a sophisticated code of ethics, the establishment of a legally sanctioned licensing procedure, and the maintenance of a strong self-regulating association.

However, like Goode, he saw these qualities not as absolutes but as continuums, and he proposed defining profession as an ideal state toward which occupational groups may strive. Houle further cited several common problems in the continuing education of professionals: (1) laggards, (2) compulsion as a spur to continuing education, (3) allocation of responsibility for determining whether skills are maintained, and (4) motivation to want to continue learning. He also found a great need for research into methods and techniques used in various professions for continuing education.<sup>17</sup>

Stages in professionalization. Several writers have delineated the stages in the professionalization process. Wilensky cited these steps through which a "semi-profession" becomes a profession: (1) full-time activity at the task; (2) establishment of university training; (3) a national professional association; (4) redefinition of the core task so

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<sup>16</sup>William J. Goode, "The Theoretical Limits of Professionalization," The Semi-Professions and Their Organization, ed. Amitai Etzioni (New York: The Free Press, 1969), pp. 277-78.

<sup>17</sup>Cyril O. Houle, "The Comparative Study of Continuing Professional Education," Comparative Studies in Adult Education: An Anthology, eds. Clif Bennett, J. Roby Kidd, and Jindra Kulich (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education, 1975), p. 167.



as to give the "dirty work" to subordinates; (5) conflict between the old-timers and new persons who seek to upgrade the job; (6) competition between the new occupation and neighboring ones; (7) political agitation in order to gain legal protection; and (8) a code of ethics.

Wilensky believed that occupations in the present era are more likely than those of a hundred years ago to create a formal occupational association to solve problems, so that today's emerging professions are more likely to form such organizations early in their development.<sup>18</sup>

Goode observed the following patterns in the upward mobility of occupations toward professionalization: (1) a semi-profession arises from a non-occupation (for example, social work from individual philanthropy); (2) it claims to have a "special package" of skills; (3) it specializes in a task that another had considered partial; (4) it builds its professional specialty on new instruments and techniques.<sup>19</sup>

Similarly, Elliott found that professionalization is more likely to occur in cases in which the new occupation has some relationship with an already established profession. That relationship may exist through a subdivision of one larger body of knowledge or through a close working relationship. He also discovered that a strong sense of mission or service is most likely to be found among the members of an occupational group in the early stage of the professionalization process. Such groups commonly claim that the service they render is important or indeed vital

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<sup>18</sup>Howard Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?" American Journal of Sociology, LXX (September, 1964), pp. 127-34.

<sup>19</sup>Goode, p. 272.

to society. In analyzing the beginnings of a professionalizing group, he found that persons initially enter the group from many different routes and become united first through their common concern. As the professionalization process continues, qualifications will be established for entry, and entry processes institutionalized. As professionalization develops, good intentions become insufficient for entry into the group.<sup>20</sup>

Chapman pointed out that a professional consciousness is partially developed among potential members of a profession during university and graduate school training. But he further maintained that that consciousness is profoundly influenced and reinforced in later years by regular association with other members of the profession through the structure of the professional association. He believed that "professional consciousness develops out of an awareness of the position or status of the occupation in the larger society, and out of an understanding of what social contribution the occupation is making."<sup>21</sup>

Education is generally referred to as a profession. However, Lieberman pointed out that educators fall short of full professional status in such areas as moral and intellectual authority and professional autonomy. He faulted the group in general for its failure to

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<sup>20</sup>Philip Elliott, The Sociology of the Professions (London: Macmillan, 1972), pp. 112-14.

<sup>21</sup>Chapman, p. 159.

understand the significance of professional status and thus to marshal its resources in a push toward professionalization.<sup>22</sup>

Summary. The various studies cited in this section all suggested that a professionalized occupation possesses a specialized body of knowledge and skills and a high degree of responsibility to society. Most of these researchers found that professional groups enjoy a high degree of independence and self direction not commonly possessed by non-professional groups. The typical pattern of professionalization they observed included a gradual raising of standards for the practice of the profession, with entry becoming more difficult as professionalization progressed. In addition, several studies cited the important role of the professional association in this process.

#### Adult and Continuing Education

It would be far beyond the scope of this study to conduct a complete review of the literature on adult and continuing education. However, it seems desirable to offer some standard for making conclusions about the continuing education activities of the Conference on College Composition and Communication. Therefore, selection was made of two seminal works in the field which have appeared in recent years: The Modern Practice of Adult Education, by Malcolm S. Knowles (1970), and The Design of Education, by Cyril O. Houle (1972). The major themes of these works as they relate to this study will be briefly summarized.

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<sup>22</sup>Myron Lieberman, Education as a Profession (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1956).

The Modern Practice of Adult Education. A major theme of Knowles' work is that adults cannot successfully be taught as children are taught. He rejected the term pedagogy, which he said refers by implication to a method of education based on the philosophy that the purpose of education is to transmit knowledge, a philosophy which he rejected. He wrote instead that education must now be defined as "a lifelong process of discovering what is not known," and coined the term andragogy to refer specifically to "the art and science of helping adults learn." Knowles went on to explain that andragogy is based on four critical assumptions about the nature of adult learners, and he maintained that all adult education activities should be designed so as to incorporate these concepts. The assumptions are: (1) the adult self-concept has moved from one of being a dependent personality toward one of being a self-directing person; (2) adults have accumulated reservoirs of experience which should serve as important resources for their learning; (3) adults' readiness to learn is oriented to the developmental tasks of their social roles; and (4) their time perspective is one of immediacy of application in contrast to the child's perspective of postponed application of knowledge.

Knowles explained that educational programs for adults based on andragogical assumptions would include the following phases:

1. The establishment of a climate conducive to adult learning.
2. The creation of an organizational structure for participative planning.
3. The diagnosis of needs for learning.
4. The formulation of directions of learning (objectives).
5. The development of a design of activities.
6. The operation of the activities.
7. The rediagnosis of needs for learning (evaluation).

The Modern Practice of Adult Education contains elaboration of all of these points.<sup>23</sup>

The Design of Education. In this book Houle presented a system of designing educational activities for adults which grew out of his analysis of adult learning processes. In the initial chapter he analyzed the philosophies and systems which have influenced the structures of adult education that exist today. In the second chapter he defined adult education as:

The process by which men and women (alone, in groups, or in institutional settings) seek to improve themselves or their society by increasing their skill, knowledge, or sensitiveness; or it is any process by which individuals, groups, or institutions try to help men and women improve in these ways.

Houle proposed a system of planning educational activities for adults which he said requires two complementary actions: first, the examination of the situation in which the learning activity occurs to determine the basic category to which it belongs, and second, the application to that situation of an appropriate basic framework or model in order to develop the program. He then went on to develop a detailed system of categorizing all adult learning situations, and he discussed in detail the implications of the conditions existing in each of these situations.

Then Houle went on to propose a method for developing entire systems or large programs of adult education activities. He elaborated

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<sup>23</sup>Malcolm S. Knowles, The Modern Practice of Adult Education (New York: Association Press, 1970).

at some length on each of the following steps: (1) deciding to proceed, (2) identifying and refining objectives, (3) developing a format, (4) fitting the program into the life patterns of the persons involved, (5) effecting the program, (6) measuring and appraising the results, and (7) repeating the educational cycle.<sup>24</sup>

### Conclusions

It may be seen from the literature reviewed here that there has been a considerable amount of investigation into the characteristics of a profession and into the process of the development of an occupational group into a profession. This literature can be used as a framework for viewing the efforts of the Conference on College Composition and Communication in professionalizing the field of college composition teaching.

Although there exists a considerable body of theory on what constitutes effective continuing education programs for adults, there appear to be no historical studies of the continuing education functions of the professional associations which may be assumed to exist primarily for that purpose. Further, it should be noted that little research has been done into the manner in which professional associations carry out their professionalization and continuing education activities. It seems, then, that an examination of the continuing education and professionalization functions of an organization such as CCCC is needed.

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<sup>24</sup>Cyril O. Houle, The Design of Education (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974).

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

This research project traced the ways in which the Conference on College Composition and Communication has responded to the continuing education needs of college composition teachers and the manner in which it has worked toward the professionalization of the field of college composition teaching from 1949 through 1975. The historical method was used. Historical research may be defined as the search for answers to questions about the past which involves the historian in the processes of analysis, synthesis, and judgment. The historical method offers the advantage of providing a developmental perspective on the response of the CCCC to its perceptions of its role. It is the most appropriate way to trace the development of an organization's activities over a period of time.

The Conference on College Composition and Communication was examined from 1949 through 1975 to determine the answers to the research questions posed earlier. In addition to studying the written records of the organization, the researcher sought to learn how the leaders of the organization thought and why they made the decisions they made.

Sources of Data

Sources of data were selected according to their capacity to show how CCCC has conducted its continuing education and professionalization activity. Almost all the sources of data used were primary sources. They included the following.

Published materials. The major source of published material was the official journal of the organization, College Composition and Communication. This quarterly journal includes professional articles, minutes of executive committee meetings, summaries of the national conferences, announcements of workshop sessions, proposed and approved revisions in the constitution, and other regular and special features. Other publications included magazine and journal articles on topics related to the activities of CCCC.

Unpublished materials. The National Council of Teachers of English archives, located in the headquarters in Urbana, Illinois, contain reports, correspondence, conference programs, annual reports, minutes of meetings, and other records significant to the development of CCCC. NCTE made these archives available for this study. Other correspondence relevant to the study was in the hands of past and present officers of the organization, some of whom also made these materials available for the study.

Persons. Also included among the major sources of data for this study were various persons who have played significant roles in the development of CCCC. These included the journal editors, the officers and board members (in particular the chairmen and program chairmen), staff members of NCTE, the founders of CCCC, and other persons who were identified during the course of this research as being especially influential during the history of the association.



### Collection of Data

Several methods were used to collect data for this study. The published and unpublished materials cited above were read and analyzed. All living journal editors and former chairmen of the organization were asked to contribute information in person, by telephone, or by a written list of questions through the mails. A total of seventeen former CCCC chairmen provided information through personal or telephone interviews or through the mails. Five journal editors, whose total tenure in that position represented 21 years, also responded. Responses to written questions are cited in the study as "correspondence." In addition, the author conducted interviews with other persons identified during the course of the study as being able to provide significant information about the organization.

The design of both the written questions and the interview questions followed guidelines suggested in The Art of Asking Questions, by Stanley L. Payne,<sup>25</sup> and Elite and Specialized Interviewing, by Lewis A. Dexter.<sup>26</sup> The content of the questions reflected the purposes of this study as indicated in the research questions posed earlier in this chapter. They were designed to supplement and verify information revealed in the reading, and they focused on the experiences in CCCC of the persons being questioned. Copies of the written questions are contained in Appendices B and C.

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<sup>25</sup>(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951).

<sup>26</sup>(Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1970).

### Treatment of Data

After the data were collected, the findings were examined to determine what they revealed about CCCC's continuing education and professionalization activities, and about the educational movements and social forces influencing them. They were also examined to determine how they organized themselves into time periods. That examination resulted in the decision to organize the history of CCCC into four divisions: (1) 1949-1954, during which the CCCC was founded and established a foothold as an emerging professional association; (2) 1955-1958, during which the organization experienced very rapid growth; (3) 1959-1967, during which the organization became firmly established as an influential association; and (4) 1968-1975, during which the CCCC's focus seemed to be on its concern for social justice. These time periods were studied to determine how the organization's conceptualization of its activities changed through the years.

## Chapter 2

### SEEKING A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY: 1949-1954

As World War II drew to a close, American colleges and universities stood on the eve of one of the most dramatic upheavals in their 300-year history. The upheaval was to be greater than even the most farsighted among their leaders were predicting. Its consequences were to be more widespread and longer-lasting than persons inside or outside the academic establishment could envision. The prime cause of this academic revolution was a little-remarked, totally noncontroversial piece of legislation named the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, more popularly referred to as the G. I. Bill.

### CHANGES ON THE CAMPUS

The emergence of the Conference on College Composition and Communication can be traced to the postwar revolution that quickly and inexorably changed life styles and learning styles on American campuses. The return of prewar academic life, to which many academicians looked forward eagerly during the war, was never to take place.

Those prewar campuses were characterized by a leisurely, unhurried atmosphere. Virtually the entire enrollment consisted of young persons freshly graduated from high school, with career goals often unformulated and with a general expectation of spending at least

four years of reading, studying, playing, and growing into maturity. Campuses and classes were for the most part small; colleges were typically located in small communities well removed from major metropolitan areas. The entire student population of American colleges and universities in the 1939-1940 school year numbered 1,500,000.<sup>1</sup>

By 1944-45 this number had shrunk to 800,000 as young people by the thousands, and many of their professors, had left the campuses for the armed services or for essential war-related jobs.<sup>2</sup> But when they returned to academic life after the war, these individuals found it to be very different. In 1945-46 the total enrollment jumped to 1,676,851 as veterans of the armed services began to take advantage of the G. I. Bill. The next year it grew to 2,078,095; and by 1949-50 it peaked at 2,444,900. Even more remarkable are the percentages: in 1946-47 the percentage of male students who were veterans was 71.5; in the next two years it was 69.3 and 56.9.<sup>3</sup> The number of veterans who decided to accept the government's offer to send them to school exceeded all the predictions. The G. I. Bill became the largest scholarship program in the history of the world.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Francis J. Brown, "Post-War Developments," The American College, Percy F. Valentine, ed. (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1949), p. 30.

<sup>2</sup>Brown, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup>Keith W. Olson, The G. I. Bill, the Veterans, and the Colleges (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1974), p. 44.

<sup>4</sup>Brown, p. 47.

The universities and colleges changed in many ways as the flood of veterans poured in. Temporary housing units of every description appeared to accommodate the students and their families. Class size grew as it became impossible to hire enough faculty members to maintain prewar student-teacher ratios. And the new group of students proved to be different in many ways from their predecessors. Older, more experienced, more motivated, often with families, these students made different demands on the administrators and the teachers at their colleges. Many had been admitted on the basis of G.E.D. scores or military experience rather than the traditional high school diplomas and college preparatory curricula. Never had college classrooms contained such a diverse group of students. However, study after study showed these new students to be hard-working high achievers who set standards and dominated dean's lists. Their eagerness to learn, their nontraditional backgrounds, and their great numbers created new challenges for the faculty members working with them in the classrooms.

As a result of these new conditions, colleges everywhere instituted changes in their curricula and teaching procedures. One of the new courses which appeared at this time was commonly called Basic Communication or Communication Skills. Frequently combining subject matter previously taught in freshman English or English composition and in basic public speaking, it commonly replaced these courses in the list of requirements. Perhaps typical of some of these new courses was the one devised at the University of Minnesota. This course was based on the assumption that the common denominator in all communication is the use of language and that, therefore, it is profitable to

study writing, speaking, reading, and listening in relationship to each other. The content was centered on the principles of sound linguistic usage, the use of language in logical organization to influence behavior, and the use of language in mass communication.<sup>5</sup> Other communication courses, such as the one developed at the University of Denver, had a somewhat different emphasis. Though also designed to improve the skills of reading, writing, speaking, and listening, this course had as its subject matter the students' "own personal vital needs." The objectives were broad; they sought to cultivate in the students "behaviors which will make them more effective students, more stable citizens, and better adjusted individuals." The teachers of the course recognized the individual differences of the students, making use of laboratories and clinics in reading, writing, and speech.<sup>6</sup>

The new communication course was not inaugurated in every college; many retained the more traditional separate courses in English and in speech. But even those who retained the traditional courses found themselves in need of new resources and new skills to cope with their increased numbers of different kinds of students. One source to which college teachers turned was the professional association.

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<sup>5</sup>Harold B. Allen, "The Minnesota Communication Program," Communication in General Education, Earl J. McGrath, ed. (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Company, 1949).

<sup>6</sup>Edward J. Allen, "Experimenting in College Instruction," The American College, Percy F. Valentine, ed. (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1949), p. 178.

## THE RESPONSES OF THE ASSOCIATIONS

In the late winter of 1947, cooperating committees of the Speech Association of America and the National Council of Teachers of English held a conference on college courses in communication in Chicago. Participants presented papers on four topics: content and method of the communication course, selection and training of staff, testing and evaluation, and administration of the courses. Presenters included Professors Porter G. Perrin (Colgate), John C. Gerber (Iowa), Harold B. Allen (Minnesota), and others. However, the meeting was marked by considerable differences of opinion among those attending. Hopes that this meeting would mark the beginning of a new organized effort to deal with the problems of communication and composition teachers were not realized.

In November of the following year, members of the National Council of Teachers of English convened for their annual meeting in Chicago. One of the scheduled sessions in the "College Undergraduate Training" program category was entitled "Required Freshman English." George S. Wykoff of Purdue University, the third speaker, was scheduled to present a paper describing his institution's freshman course, but he changed his mind and spoke instead of the usefulness and value of the composition course. W. Wilbur Hatfield, founder and then secretary-treasurer of NCTE, described Professor Wykoff's presentation as a "clarion call to the profession to alert itself to improve the climate for the teaching of freshman English."<sup>7</sup> The resulting discussion was animated and

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<sup>7</sup>"The Chicago Convention," College English, XX (February, 1949), p. 283.

lengthy, as the participants found among one another sympathetic listeners who shared their own problems and concerns. John Gerber, then director of the communication skills program at the University of Iowa, who was chairing the meeting, became concerned as it stretched beyond the scheduled time and the hour of the annual banquet approached. The featured speaker was to be James Michener, who had just won the Pulitzer prize for Tales of the South Pacific. Finally Professor Gerber made a suggestion: what if the group held a one- or two-day meeting the next spring, devoted entirely to composition, at which they could continue the discussion of their problems? Readily endorsing the suggestion, the members disbanded.

After the meeting John Gerber invited several persons concerned with the afternoon's discussions to meet with him after the banquet. This group included George Wykoff, Mentor Williams of the Illinois Institute of Technology, Carlton Wells of the University of Michigan, T. A. Barnhart of St. Cloud State College (Minnesota), Karl Dykema of Youngstown University, and Harold Allen of Minnesota. After discussing the structure and format of the proposed spring meeting, they agreed by common consent to send John Gerber as their representative to the NCTE Executive Committee. Late the next afternoon Gerber met with that committee, which granted the freshman English group permission to hold a meeting the following spring under the sponsorship of NCTE.

The planning committee for the meeting, headed by John Gerber, also included Wilbur Hatfield, Charles Roberts (director of freshman rhetoric at the University of Illinois), and Wallace Douglas and Ernest



Samuels of Northwestern University. Professor Samuels took on the job of local chairman for the meeting, and Professor Wykoff the task of publicity chairman. Letters of invitation to the meeting went out to all four-year and two-year colleges in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio.

On April 1-2, 1949, the Conference on College Freshman Courses in Composition and Communication met at the Stevens Hotel in Chicago. The program reflected the perceptions of Professor Gerber and other members of the planning committee of the chief problems of college composition and communication teachers. Designed as a series of general sessions, this meeting drew over 500 people. Session topics included "Concepts Basic to Freshman Courses in Composition and Communication," "Curriculum: Four Theories of Course Organization," "The Needs and Possibilities for Research," "Integrating High School and College Work," "Instructional Methods," and "Obtaining, Training, and Keeping a Competent Staff." The program listed a number of speakers who were to exert major influence on the teaching of language. They included Professors Robert C. Pooley, the structural grammarian; James M. McCrimmon, author of one of the classic freshman rhetoric texts; S. I. Hayakawa, who became famous for his work in semantics; and several others.

As the sessions went on, those present voiced a great many doubts about the capacity of current faculties to do an effective job of teaching writing and the other communication skills. Adequacy of the graduate training of future composition and communication teachers was seriously questioned. The need for a stronger professional identity and a higher status for those teachers was generally acknowledged.

On the second day the schedule included a luncheon meeting for chairmen and directors of freshman programs. This group requested that John Gerber and other members of the planning committee try to effect a permanent organization for directors and chairmen of composition/communication programs and to investigate the possibility of developing it within the framework of the National Council of Teachers of English, with its established identity and strength. At the general business meeting which followed the luncheon, the committee was further requested to hold another convention in Chicago the next year (1950).

John Gerber, acting for the ad hoc committee, took its request for permanent status to the NCTE Executive Committee at its regular fall meeting on November 23, 1949, prior to the NCTE Buffalo convention. The Executive Committee agreed to recognize the Conference on College Composition and Communication for a trial period of three years. But it took certain precautions in granting this status. The Council had no wish to experience the fragmentation of its ranks which had occurred some years before when first the speech teachers and then the journalism teachers had split from NCTE to form their own separate organizations. The provisions of the recognition of CCCC included the following: the NCTE treasurer would also serve as treasurer of CCCC; all members of CCCC must also be members of NCTE; NCTE would publish and distribute a CCCC-edited periodical, whose editorial board must be approved by the NCTE Executive Committee; and CCCC's annual business meeting would be held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the NCTE. (All these provisions except the last one remain in force today.)

Two days later, on November 25, 1949, the 55 persons present at the luncheon for organizing the Conference on College Composition and Communication voted to accept the NCTE Executive Committee's proposal and elected its first slate of officers: chairman, John Gerber, University of Iowa; secretary, George Wykoff, Purdue University; and editor, Charles W. Roberts, University of Illinois. The Four C's, as it quickly came to be known, was officially established.

#### ORGANIZATIONAL CHALLENGES

One problem which the new organization faced immediately was accommodating the wide concerns of its membership. Initially, in the minds of some of its founders, CCCC was an organization for persons who headed composition/communication programs. In an early discussion of possible names for the organization, one given serious consideration was "American Association of Directors of Freshman English: A Department of the NCTE." But from the very beginning the meetings drew not just directors but large numbers of instructors; hence the idea of a more narrow membership was abandoned.

Another aspect of the breadth of CCCC was that its members came from various kinds of colleges. From the beginning the executive committee membership included representatives of each of several different classifications of institutions: universities, teachers' colleges, liberal arts colleges, junior colleges, and technical institutes. The membership elected committee members from each group. This practice remained in force until 1959, when the distinctions between these kinds of colleges had become blurred.

Also from the beginning a rivalry arose between the proponents of the "communication" course and those who advocated teaching "composition." The communication advocates favored a basic course containing instruction in several aspects of communication--speaking, reading, listening, group discussion, and other interpersonal skills--in addition to the traditional writing. On the other hand, the composition advocates favored an emphasis on the development of writing ability in the freshman course. The writing assignments in these courses often took the form of literary analysis, while the assignments in the communication course were more apt to be based upon the personal interests and experiences of the writers.

This dichotomy was visible in the conference programs of the first few years, in which some sessions were designated for communication teachers and some for the composition group. Sometimes the two groups discussed the same topics at the same times in separate rooms. The composition teachers remained in the majority, but the communication teachers were a vigorous minority, as evidenced by their success in putting the name of their course into the title of the new organization.

However, in spite of their continuing debate, the two groups agreed on one important fact: "their common enemy was the senior professor of literature."<sup>8</sup> This enemy, they felt, dominated departments to the detriment of good research and teaching in language skills. It was the typical practice for departments of English to allow only literary topics to be pursued in master's theses and Ph.D. dissertations. Then when

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<sup>8</sup>John Gerber, address ("Loomings") at the CCCC annual meeting, St. Louis, Missouri, March, 1975 (tape available from the National Council of Teachers of English).

young faculty members sought to gain promotion and tenure through research, they quickly learned that, once again, only research on literary topics or historical philology would be recognized as evidence of scholarly accomplishment. This was true even though the majority or even all of their teaching assignments might be in composition or communication.

Another early challenge to CCCC was that of making itself nationally known. The lists of the founders and the early officers reveal a Midwestern, indeed a Big 10, dominance. Those from Minnesota, Michigan State, Iowa, Purdue, and other Midwestern institutions outnumbered those from other regions. Furthermore, four of the first five meetings were held in Chicago. As the organization became better known, however, membership became more evenly spread across the country. And as travel became faster and cheaper, the meeting planners began to venture farther and farther from Chicago. In an effort to provide direction for this growth, Karl Dykema of Youngstown College, who was immediate past chairman of CCCC in 1954, circulated a questionnaire among college English teachers across the country, asking whether they belonged, if not why not, what other organizations they belonged to, and what kind of freshman course they taught. As membership spread geographically, it grew in numbers, though not always steadily. During the period from 1950 to 1954, CCCC's membership ranged from approximately 300 to 450.

In addition to numerical and geographical growth, the early years also saw CCCC struggling to define itself. At the November, 1951, annual business meeting, chairman George Wykoff pointed out that the organization had no constitution, and he asked the secretary to prepare

a code of conduct of affairs. In 1952, when the National Council of Teachers of English authorized the CCCC to continue its activities for another three-year trial period, the Executive Committee, and subsequently the membership, accepted a constitution which had been prepared by a committee. Article I spelled out the purposes of the new organization:

The broad object of the CCCC is to unite teachers of college composition and communication in an organization which can consider all matters relevant to their teaching, including teachers, subject-matter, administration, methods, and students. The specific objects are: (1) to provide an opportunity for discussion of problems relating to the organization and teaching of college composition and communication courses, (2) to encourage studies and research in the field, and (3) to publish a bulletin containing reports of conferences and articles of interest to teachers of composition and communication.

At the end of 1951, chairman Harold Allen wrote in the NCTE Annual Report that the CCCC had "measurably strengthened its position," having learned that its increasingly complex and dynamic activity demanded a better defined organization.

Another issue with which CCCC was preoccupied during its first few years was its relationship with NCTE. As a conference group within the NCTE structure, it enjoyed considerable autonomy. Many CCCC members, however, did not see the need to be tied to NCTE at all; they especially did not like the requirement that they must pay NCTE dues in order to join CCCC. (In 1954 the NCTE dues were \$4, and the CCCC dues were \$2.) The NCTE Executive Committee was struggling to avoid further fragmentation of that organization. However, Executive Secretary J. N. Hook feared the worst when he wrote the following about the 1954 spring meeting in a letter to Lou LaBrant, John Gerber, and Brice Harris: "Secession was in

the air even though most persons avoided the word. If we let matters drift, I believe a split is likely to come before long." The impetus for this secession movement was provided by the speech-oriented instructors in communication courses, many of whom already belonged to the Speech Association of America. In an effort to compromise and avert the secession, he proposed amending the constitution to allow non-members to subscribe to the journal for \$2. During the next year (1955) the constitution was revised to grant to Speech Association members an associate, non-voting membership for the payment of CCCC dues only. This action pacified the secessionists, whose proposals were to surface only occasionally at future meetings.

#### CONTINUING EDUCATION ACTIVITIES

From its inception CCCC has been actively engaged in the continuing education of its members and, indeed, of composition teachers as a group. Its annual meetings and its journal, College Composition and Communication (CCC), have been the two major vehicles for this continuing education. Continuing education was even more crucial for college composition teachers than it was for members of many other professions because of the peculiar system of preparing college English teachers. The Workshop Reports printed each year in CCC reveal that one of the earliest problems discussed at CCCC meetings was the fact that almost everyone teaching freshman English courses had been trained exclusively or almost exclusively as a literary scholar. At best their backgrounds included a

few scattered courses on the history of the language, grammar, and theme grading. And yet these new teachers found themselves spending the great majority if not all of their time teaching writing. Furthermore, in the communication courses instructors trained in speech were teaching writing, and instructors trained in the discipline of English found themselves teaching speech and other related topics. As a result of these situations, many teachers were actively seeking new knowledge and skills to bring to bear on their teaching assignments.

### The Annual Meetings

It is possible to understand much of the spirit and substance of the earliest CCCC meetings by examining the way they were planned, the format which they followed, and the content of the discussions.

Planning. The first official CCCC spring meeting in 1950 was planned by the chairman, John Gerber, in consultation with other CCCC members including Professors George Wykoff (Purdue), Harold Allen (Minnesota), Karl Dykema (Youngstown College), and Wallace Douglas (Northwestern), all of whom later became chairmen of the organization. This group identified what they felt to be the most pressing concerns of composition/communication teachers and built the program around those concerns, realizing that the CCCC meeting was the only one that made it possible for teachers of composition and communication to get to know one another and to begin to establish a sense of professional dignity and worth. The planners of these early meetings were trying to contend with attitudes exemplified in a presentation at the 1949 NCTE meeting in Buffalo



by an Ivy League professor of English. While reading his paper, this man threw in the remark, "and as for the grubbers who read themes and teach composition, they are not worth our attention."<sup>9</sup>

The planning group felt that the desired learning could best be achieved through talks by experts and through structured discussions in which everyone could participate. The 1950 speakers were selected from a group of outstanding chairmen of freshman programs who had been active in NCTE. Beginning in 1951, the associate chairman was in charge of planning the meetings.

Format. The format established for the 1950 conference was to be used with some variation at CCCC meetings for the next 20 years. This format consisted of a two-day program (Friday morning through early Saturday afternoon) including two general sessions with speakers (an opening session and a luncheon), a series of workshop sessions on designated topics for which participants registered in advance, and alternate non-workshop group meetings. The number of participants in each workshop was held to 20-25. At the 1950 meeting the workshop leaders were asked to participate the evening before the general session in a "tune-up" session conducted by an expert in group dynamics. This meeting was intended to help the leaders to facilitate more effectively the discussions in the groups. In 1951 a speech at the opening session by a well known discussion teacher served the same purpose. The group meetings emphasized prepared speeches followed by some discussion, while

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<sup>9</sup>George S. Wykoff, correspondence with the author, May 27, 1977.

the workshops emphasized group discussion, which was abetted by seating the participants around tables put together to form large squares. The workshop groups met for two (or, in later years, more) separate sessions, producing written reports and often recommendations. Often during the early years a workshop met for two or more years in succession, working its way progressively through a topic. By 1953 the group meetings had evolved into "panel discussions" and did not compete for time slots on the program with the workshop sessions.

Content. The topics selected for early CCCC programs were for the most part broad practical problems related to the planning, teaching, or administration of the composition/communication course. Examples of workshop titles from the 1950 spring meeting included "Semantics in the Freshman Course," "Grammar in the Freshman Course," "The Organization and Use of a Writing Laboratory," and "Articulating High School and College Work." Rudolf Flesch of New York University, author of The Art of Readable Writing and The Art of Plain Talk and later of Why Johnny Can't Read, addressed the group at the 1950 opening session on the topic, "Let's Face the Facts About Writing: A Look at Our Common Problems." The tone set by the meeting topics in 1950 was one of exploration and definition.

In subsequent conferences the spirit of exploration continued, but the topics began to grow more specific. By 1953, although some of the topics were the same--"Integration of High School and College Teaching," for example--the conference addressed topics like "The Terminal Student," "The Psychology of the Student: How He Learns to

Communicate," and "National Entrance Tests and Minimum Standards." In 1954 an increasing variety to topics was addressed as evidenced by the following examples: "The Freshman English Teacher as Counselor," "Improving Reading Ability," "Writing from Source Materials: The Documented Paper," "Imaginative Writing in the Freshman Course," and "Modern Linguistics and the Teaching of Freshman English."

From their beginning in 1949, the CCCC meetings were generally acknowledged to be quite successful because of their large attendance and the enthusiastic responses of the participants. According to Gordon Wilson, a professor at Miami University of Ohio and 1966 CCCC chairman, "a sense of a common enterprise and mutual discovery" permeated those early meetings. He recorded that "for the first time, those of us engaged in teaching and directing freshman composition were able to meet and discuss our problems. . . . For many of us the conferences gave us the first sense of being professionals."<sup>10</sup>

### The Journal

From its beginning as an official organization in 1950, CCCC has distributed a quarterly publication to its members and to institutional subscribers. As NCTE had specified, this publication was designed not to overlap or compete with its sister publication of the NCTE College Section, College English. This quarterly was first edited by Charles W. Roberts, director of freshman rhetoric at the University

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<sup>10</sup>Gordon Wilson, "CCCC in Retrospect," College Composition and Communication, XVIII (October, 1967), p. 128.

of Illinois, who for some years had edited the Illinois English Bulletin for the Illinois Council of Teachers of English. Appropriately titled College Composition and Communication (CCC), it had a modest beginning; in fact, for the first few years of its publication it was officially referred to as a "bulletin." The first several issues ran to 16 pages each, including two or three articles, an editorial, and if timely, a secretary's report. An exception was an annual issue of 34 to 40 pages, containing the reports produced by the workshops at the spring meeting. These early bulletins were covered with the same white stock on which their contents were printed, and they bore the table of contents on their cover.

In 1952 Charles Roberts resigned a few months before his term as editor was to have ended, announcing in the journal that new battle lines were being drawn in the education profession and that he wished to be free to participate in that battle.<sup>11</sup> Privately, he told CCCC Chairman Harold Allen "that he was so strongly opposed to the positions taken by contributors to CCC, by CCCC leadership, and by others to matters of language, especially points of usage, that he no longer could sympathetically serve as editor." His opposition arose from his stance as a rigid purist on language use at a time when a more liberal philosophy based on modern linguistic study was beginning to surface.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Charles Roberts, "Editorial Comment," College Composition and Communication, III (February, 1952), p. 19.

<sup>12</sup>Harold B. Allen, quoted in correspondence with the author, June 4, 1977.

In 1952 George S. Wykoff of Purdue University succeeded Professor Roberts as editor. Under Professor Wykoff's editorship the bulletin began a gradual expansion, reaching a typical size of 60 pages and adding several new features: "Notes and Comment" (October, 1952); "Some of the Year's Work in College Composition and Communication" (May, 1953), summaries of articles in the field from many other periodicals; "CCCC Bulletin Board" (October, 1953), and "Correspondence" (May, 1954). Also appearing for the first time in the December, 1953, issue was the "NSSC News." This last feature, which ran for several years, was written first by Donald Bird of Stephens College, the official liaison representative in matters involving CCCC and the National Association of Speech Communication, and later by Jean Malmstrom of Western Michigan College. This organization, also formed in 1949, had as its purposes the study of the nature of communication and assistance in teaching communication courses. "NSSC News" represented the efforts to maintain ties between the two organizations, whose purposes overlapped somewhat.

The secretary's reports published in CCC reveal that for the first few years the bulletin editors often found it difficult to obtain enough good manuscripts for publication and repeatedly asked the Executive Committee for help in getting them. Articles came from a variety of sources. Some were submitted voluntarily; some were solicited. Several were papers presented at CCCC meetings. Papers and invited articles were accepted by the editor acting alone. George Wykoff sent all unsolicited manuscripts to one or more members of the editorial board for review. Two "no's" were final. But there were few rejections.

## PROFESSIONALIZATION ACTIVITIES

From the beginning one of CCCC's primary concerns has been the professional status of the composition teacher. This topic was the subject of group meetings and workshops at the 1951 and 1953 conferences. Reflected in the reports of these sessions is the concern that composition teachers needed to establish themselves as a unique group with professional skills built upon a distinct body of knowledge. In 1952 a standing Committee for the Study of the Professional Status of the Composition/Communication Teacher was appointed. Chaired by Irwin Griggs of Temple University, the committee began to prepare for a national survey. It set out first to conduct a pilot study of Indiana colleges under the direction of William Sutton of Ball State Teachers College.

In 1954 the workshop on administering the freshman course formed a committee chaired by George Kelly of the University of Maryland to investigate teaching conditions in freshman composition. This committee eventually published the results of its investigations in a CCC article.<sup>13</sup> The committee devised a survey form consisting of 16 questions dealing primarily with teaching load. One hundred fifty forms were mailed to a sampling of six different types of institutions; 84 usable replies were received. The article presented tabulations of the results but did not include percentages and made no attempt to analyze or draw conclusions from the figures presented. The presentation of the data seriously

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<sup>13</sup>George Kelly, "A Study of Teaching Conditions in Freshman Composition in 1954," College Composition and Communication, VII (May, 1956), pp. 75-78.

limits its usefulness, especially if it is judged by contemporary standards for statistical research. But its significance lies in the fact that it is one of the earliest examples of systematic efforts to acquire statistical data about the teaching of college composition.

Several CCCC members made an effort to identify areas of needed research in the field. The May, 1954, issue of CCC devoted its first two articles to this topic. Harold Allen referred to the new climate in this field, which he called "The Great Awakening." He stated that CCCC had provided "extraordinary stimulus to constructive thinking and positive action" about the problems of the freshman course. He called for research to support professional arguments and to base professional decisions on. In particular, he cited the need for more quantitative and statistical research to answer important questions about the teaching of language. Professor Allen posed a number of these questions on which research was needed. They arose from the basic question, "What evidence have I for the validity of what I am doing with these students in this class at this time?" The questions fell into three groups-- those dealing with content, those with method, and those with testing. Furthermore, Allen wrote, they all reflected the important larger question of the objective of the course.<sup>14</sup>

The second article called for categorizing data on rhetoric and making it accessible. The author cited specifically the need for

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<sup>14</sup>Harold B. Allen, "Linguistic Research Needed in Composition and Communication," College Composition and Communication, V (May, 1954), pp. 55-60.

translations of Medieval and Renaissance works on rhetoric.<sup>15</sup> Also, by 1954, the bulletin began to print the reports of studies such as William D. Baker's "An Investigation of Characteristics of Poor Writers," which appeared in February, 1954. Similarly, in an effort to establish a theoretical base for professional practice, a 1953 conference workshop concerned itself with the topic "The Psychology of the Student: How He Learns to Communicate."

The subject of teacher training for composition and communication received a great amount of attention in the early years. It was the topic of continuing conference workshops in the years 1951-1954. This group first explored the topic, agreeing that the great majority of instructors were receiving inadequate training. They then identified components of a successful training program, which included the following: assistance in developing a practical philosophy of communication, information about recent practices and current experiments in the teaching of composition and communication, training in the skills of classroom teaching, the theory of rhetoric and other areas within the province of communication, the orientation of traditional courses toward the training of composition/communication teachers, and the modification of the Ph.D. thesis to allow research in the problems of teaching composition/communication. More specifically, they agreed that such training should include "(a) modern English grammar, (b) levels of current usage, (c) punctuation and spelling, (d) reading and remedial

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<sup>15</sup>Henry W. Sams, "Fields of Research in Rhetoric," College Composition and Communication, V (May, 1954), pp. 60-65.



reading, (e) theme grading, (f) testing, (g) audio-visual devices, (h) special fields such as logic, semantics, and linguistics." The group also heard reports of new programs on several campuses, including Boston, Columbia, Florida, Florida State, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Minnesota, and Peabody, and made some efforts to plan a program themselves.<sup>16</sup>

From time to time CCC carried accounts of existing new training courses and proposals for such programs. The major publications on this topic appeared in the May, 1952, issue, in which Harold Allen reported the findings of extensive research conducted on a Ford Foundation fellowship which had taken him to 57 college campuses. Professor Allen found very little preparation of teachers to teach composition/communication, apparently because of the widespread attitude that a good literary scholar was ipso facto a good writing teacher. He described the needs he had identified and called for CCCC to press for good preparation of future teachers. The needs identified in this study were the following: (a) knowledge of current issues and trends in the field of higher education; (b) knowledge about how people learn; (c) skill in constructing efficient and fair examinations; (d) a sound familiarity with the structural principles of Modern American English, including phonetics, phonemics, and lexicography; (e) knowledge of rhetorical theory, semantics, and logic; (f) knowledge of the principles of theme grading and student speaking; (g) understanding of the

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<sup>16</sup>"Preparation of the Composition/Communication Teacher: The Report of Workshop No. 4," College Composition and Communication, V (October, 1954), pp. 99-102.

procedures of effective group discussion; (h) knowledge of the principles of teaching reading; (i) skill in teaching standard usage and spelling; (j) knowledge of how to teach literary values; (k) skill in planning teaching; (l) the ability to conduct a personal conference; (m) familiarity with available audio-visual aids; (n) awareness of the situation in high school English teaching; and (o) knowledge about the changes and trends in the teaching of freshman English.<sup>17</sup>

One recurring theme in all these articles was the strong feeling that preparation and in-service training of composition teachers belonged in English departments, not in schools of education. Composition/communication teachers were exhibiting a strong desire to control their own professional destiny.

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<sup>17</sup>Harold B. Allen, "Preparing the Teacher of Composition and Communication," College Composition and Communication, III (May, 1952), pp. 3-13.

## Chapter 3

### GROWTH AND EXPANSION: 1955-1958

In 1955 the National Council of Teachers of English voted to grant permanent status to the Conference on College Composition and Communication. However, CCCC had not really feared for its life. By this time the organization was so committed to its purposes that it had taken for granted the fact that its existence was secure. The years from 1955 through 1958 were characterized by a phenomenal growth in the membership and by a steady expansion of the scope of its activities.

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION

The years 1955 through 1958 were marked by a number of changes which signified the increasing maturity of CCCC. One of the most notable of these changes was the remarkable growth in membership during the period. The treasurer's report of November, 1955, reported that the membership numbered 1,076, up from 382 the year before. By February 1957, according to the NCTE Annual Report for that year, the membership had reached 1,357. The 1958 report showed that it had climbed again, to 1,794. The treasurer's reports indicated a corresponding increase in the financial balance of the organization. Although it had never experienced serious financial difficulty, now for the first time CCCC could be said to enjoy a moderate amount of power and prosperity. Furthermore, because of the requirement that CCCC members join NCTE, the latter organization found its own numbers swelling as well. There is little wonder that it did not hesitate to grant permanent status to CCCC in 1955.

Another evidence of CCCC's growing maturity was its increasing acceptance of its role as a national rather than a Midwestern organization, marked especially by its 1956 convention at the Hotel Statler in New York, the first to be held in the East. The 1956 NCTE Annual Report indicated that this meeting was well attended, with many persons coming from other sections of the country, even the Far West. Accordingly, the organization began to make plans for other wide-ranging meeting sites, including a San Francisco location in 1959. Increasingly cognizant of the growing significance of its meetings, CCCC appointed a committee to develop a cycle of geographic locations for future meetings. Evidence that the CCCC meetings had become recognized as having considerable economic importance was seen in a May 15, 1955, letter to CCCC Chairman Jerome Archer, in which Secretary Falk Johnson reported that "a battle [in Chicago] between the Morrison and the Congress hotels . . . for the CCCC meeting in 1957 is developing. . . ."

The year 1955 also saw the adoption of a revised constitution, which had been drawn up by a committee chaired by Jerome W. Archer (Marquette University), Beverly E. Fisher (Santa Monica City College), J. N. Hook (executive secretary of NCTE), and Robert E. Tuttle (General Motors Institute). One revision specified that members of the Speech Association of America could be granted associate, non-voting membership for the payment of CCCC dues only (without joining NCTE). This act of cooperation was indicative of the importance still attached to the communication skills courses at that time. Another revision clarified the terms of new officers and provided for election of officers by mail rather than at the annual business meeting in an effort to make the

elections more nearly reflective of the will of the total membership. Other minor changes in the wording of the constitution were made in an attempt to achieve greater clarity and consistency.<sup>1</sup>

In the four-year period of 1955-1958, the management of CCCC's activities became increasingly complex, as illustrated by the evolution of Executive Committee meetings. In 1955 the spring meeting was concluded in less than five hours, with most of the items on the agenda being relatively routine matters of organizational maintenance. But by January, 1957, Chairman Francis Shoemaker informed the Executive Committee members in a preliminary letter that their spring meeting would require three sessions spread over two days to cover the items on the agenda. The matters discussed at that meeting reflected the expanding role of CCCC in such activities as placement service, liaison with other professional associations, current movements in the field of language teaching and research, and CCCC-sponsored research projects. In fact, the possibility of extending the meeting into a fourth session was discussed but abandoned because of travel schedules.<sup>2</sup>

The year 1956 was seen to be a turning point by Irwin Griggs, CCCC chairman. From the beginning CCCC had been viewed by many in the profession as operating in the shadow of the older, larger, much more

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<sup>1</sup>"Proposed Revision of the CCCC Constitution," CCC, VI (February, 1955), pp. 59-60.

<sup>2</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 19," College Composition and Communication, (May, 1957), pp. 115-118.

prestigious Modern Language Association and its journal, Publications of the Modern Language Association. The MLA and PMLA had played the dominant role in English scholarship for many years. So it was with some degree of satisfaction that Professor Griggs wrote the following for the NCTE Annual Report in 1956: "One final indication of CCCC's 'arriving' should be recorded. Through the efforts of last year's chairman, Jerome Archer, CCCC is now listed in that academic social register, the PMLA Directory of Useful Addresses."

In 1956 highlights in the life of CCCC were discussed by John Gerber, the first chairman, in CCC. Professor Gerber pointed out that the organization had provided a forum from which members of the profession could talk about their problems, needs, and concerns. However, he characterized the organization as an adolescent and went on to challenge it to move beyond the talking of adolescence into the action of adulthood. In particular, he advocated a more active concern with the status and well-being of teachers of college composition/communication.<sup>3</sup>

In a speech at CCCC's twenty-fifth anniversary meeting in St. Louis in 1975, Professor Gerber further discussed the concerns he had had about CCCC during the 1950's. He faulted the organization during those years for fragmentation of its thought, explaining that it had failed to place its activity in broad intellectual, social and educational contexts. He stated that while CCCC members had shared their

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<sup>3</sup>John Gerber, "CCCC Facts -- 1956," College Composition and Communication, (October, 1956), pp. 117-120.

thinking about many topics, they rarely tried to assess their activities within the larger range of human thought and activity that would have given them broader significance and the members a sense of contributing to human welfare. There was a lack of sufficient concern, he felt, for the nature of the students and the context of the times.<sup>4</sup>

A more active attempt to change the direction of CCCC began in 1958. At the November meeting of the Executive Committee, J. N. Hook, the executive secretary of NCTE, suggested that since the group had been so successful in what it had set out to do so far, it might consider expanding its activities into new directions in which it could perhaps be equally successful. The idea was received with some favor by the committee but the outgoing chairman, Robert E. Tuttle of General Motors Institute, turned over the job of appointing the members of this committee to his successor, Albert Kitzhaber of the University of Kansas. The activities of this committee will be discussed in the next chapter.

#### CONTINUING EDUCATION ACTIVITIES

Continuing education activities in the form of an expanding journal and lively annual meetings continued to be a major focus of the Conference on College Composition and Communication during the years from 1955 through 1958.

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<sup>4</sup>John Gerber, "Loomings," address at the CCCC annual meeting, St. Louis, Missouri, March, 1975 (tape available from the National Council of Teachers of English).

## Conferences

Planning. The planning of the programs for the annual meetings continued to be the responsibility of the associate chairmen. They were assisted by the assistant chairmen and, in an advisory capacity, by the other members of the CCCC Executive Committee. CCCC meetings during these years did not have themes. One former chairman expressed the opinion that themes are appropriate to problem-solving conferences only and would be stultifying and limiting for meetings as broad in scope as those of CCCC. The chairmen generally attempted to include on the conference programs a wide variety of topics of concern to the conference participants. Those who wished to focus on one or two topics or problems could often select a series of related sessions at which they could concentrate on those topics. Those who wished to sample a wider variety of topics could also do so.

Topics were selected in a variety of ways. Those that had been popular at previous programs were often repeated. Program chairmen were also receptive to topics suggested by the members. Sometimes these suggestions were actively solicited from members as part of written evaluation forms. The program chairmen also used considerable independent judgment in selecting topics based on their knowledge of the state of the profession and the needs of its members.

Persons selected for presentations were chosen on much the same basis. Some were suggested on written evaluations. Some volunteered. Some were known by the program chairmen to be excellent speakers or discussion leaders and were sought for that purpose. Often, workshop officers were asked to identify from among participants in their sessions



likely possibilities for future conferences. One criterion for choosing speakers that began to operate early in the history of CCCC was the ability of potential participants to get travel money from their colleges. Robert Tuttle, who planned the 1957 program, attempted to make effective choices of program personnel by setting up a card file of participants on the previous five years' programs, with topics and dates of each presentation. He found that some individuals had been over-used and made a special effort to bring competent new people into the program.

The program chairmen during these years evaluated the conferences through a variety of methods. Often this evaluation was admittedly not very systematic. Informal feedback through conversations and correspondence was widely used, as was the attendance, both total attendance at the conferences and specific attendance at the various sessions. However, some use was made of more formalized evaluation procedures as well. Both the 1956 and the 1957 program chairmen used written evaluation forms, the results of which were studied, summarized, and sent on to the next year's program chairman. Suggestions for future topics and participants were frequently accepted, as indicated in the preceding paragraphs. In 1957 Robert Tuttle organized an informal panel which attempted to assess the various aspects of that conference program and became the basis for a more formalized evaluation committee which was to operate in later years.

Format. The basic format of the CCCC annual meetings remained the same from 1955 through 1958, with minor variations. The conferences began with a general session early on Thursday afternoon and ended with a

luncheon early on Saturday afternoon. The program also included a third general session held one evening, with the other evening left free for individual pursuits. All the general sessions featured formal speeches by prominent members of the organization or invited guests. Also included on these programs were two one and one-half or one and three-fourths hour time slots wherein participants could choose among two or more panel discussions featuring several speakers each.

But the heart of the CCCC conference programs continued to be the workshop sessions, which met for either two or four sessions of from one and a half to two hours each. There was a strong feeling among the program planners that participants in the conference should not only listen to the ideas presented in speeches and papers but should also actively engage in discussions, in which they could contribute their own experience and knowledge and exchange views with the others at the meetings. The workshop sessions were the primary vehicle for this participative learning. Accordingly, the program chairmen and other planners devoted considerable effort to insuring that these sessions operated in an effective manner. Before the workshop sessions of each conference began, the workshop officers met for an orientation session. Each workshop had five or six appointed officers including chairman, co-chairman, secretary, co-secretary, and one or more resource persons. At the orientation sessions these officers were given written and oral instructions on how to conduct effective workshops. The written instructions were formalized into a "Manual for Workshop Leaders," which was printed in the December 1957 issue of College Composition and Communication.

This manual was prepared by a committee chaired by Erwin R. Steinberg of the Carnegie Institute of Technology and consisting of Francis E. Bowman, Duke University; Francis Shoemaker, Teachers College, Columbia University; Robert E. Tuttle, General Motors Institute; and Richard A. Wells, Carnegie Institute of Technology. It delineated specific responsibilities for each of the workshop officers and explained the procedures which they should follow in planning and conducting the workshops and in writing the final reports. The manual stressed the participative nature of the workshops, suggesting that the chairmen should not only refrain from dominating the discussion themselves but should be prepared to restrain any participants who wanted to talk too much. The importance of creating an informal atmosphere was stressed. Resource persons were instructed to limit their contributions to brief comments supplying matters of fact or information.

The "Manual for Workshop Leaders" relied heavily on the research of Irving J. Lee, a professor at The School of Speech, Northwestern University, who had presented a paper at the 1953 CCCC meeting entitled, "Design for Talking Together." He stressed the importance of planning a workshop agenda but of making the plan flexible enough to accommodate the needs and desires of the workshop participants. The co-chairman and co-secretary were instructed to be prepared to lead an independent workshop on the same topic if there were sufficient persons to warrant one, and occasionally that procedure proved necessary. Techniques for leading the workshop group through the sessions to a final period of summary, discussion, and conclusions were set forth. Finally, the manual spelled out the procedures to be used in the preparation of the workshop reports,

which were subsequently published in College Composition and Communication. A bibliography listing articles and books on group discussion and decision-making and on effective oral communication procedures concluded the manual.

Even though participation was stressed most heavily in the workshop sessions, it was not neglected in the panel discussion sessions. Chairmen of these panels were also instructed to control the length of their comments and to leave time for discussion among the members of the audience as well as the panel members.

The efforts of the program planners to make every workshop, and to a lesser extent every panel, an exercise in participative learning were successful in most cases during these years. Occasionally a workshop leader failed to heed the instructions, producing complaints from workshop participants, but these instances were the exceptions. As a result, CCCC meetings gained something of a unique reputation. As 1958 Chairman Robert Tuttle put it, "The business of discussion is, I believe, the quintessence of the CCCC as distinguished from MLA and NCTE."<sup>5</sup>

Content. A survey of the content of the conference programs from 1955 through 1958 reveals a considerable expansion both in the numbers of sessions and in the range of topics. This expansion continued the trend begun in the earlier years of the first CCCC conferences. From 1954 to 1958 the number of workshops increased from 17 to 25, and the number of

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<sup>5</sup>Correspondence with the author, April 22, 1977.

panels from eight to twelve, for an increase of 50 percent in the size of the program. This expansion was, of course, corollary to the expansion in the membership of CCCC during this same period. Program planners felt that any topic relative to the purposes of the organization was appropriate. Since the stated purpose of CCCC was to consider all matters relevant to the teaching of composition/communication courses, the contents of the programs included a broad range of topics.

These topics may be classified into six categories: (1) professional issues, (2) course content, (3) teaching procedures, (4) special problems of teachers in various settings, (5) administration and planning, and (6) courses other than the freshman course in composition or communication. The professional issues included such topics as teacher preparation and in-service education, national standards and accreditation of composition/communication courses, and the shortage of composition/communication teachers. Discussions of course content covered such topics as spelling, vocabulary, grammar, logic, rhetoric, and the research paper. Sessions on teaching procedures were concerned with such issues as final examinations and the uses of laboratories and clinics. The special problems discussed included provisions for the foreign student, the gifted student, and the under-prepared student.

The 1956 conference saw the beginnings of CCCC's concern for the special needs and problems of the two-year college teacher, which was to develop into one of its major emphases. This program included a session called "Communication in General Education in Technical Schools and Community Colleges," which considered the problems of teaching both technical writing and freshman composition. In 1957 another workshop

entitled "Special Problems in Junior College Teaching of Composition and Communication" held four meetings. This group discussed problems submitted in advance by chairmen of English departments from several junior colleges. At the end of this workshop, the participants voted to continue to meet at subsequent conferences and set topics for consideration at the next two years' meetings.

Since many persons who came to the CCCC meetings were directors of freshman programs, the sessions on administering the freshman course and on articulating high school and college courses continued to be popular. Even though the major business of CCCC remained the freshman course, the organization did not exclude itself from concern with other courses, so sessions on business and technical writing, expository writing, and advanced composition occasionally appeared. The continued influence of the communication approach to the freshman course was demonstrated by the inclusion of sessions on such topics as listening, reading, community theory, mass media, and the psychology of communication. It is interesting to note that the programs of 1955-1958 began in a somewhat limited fashion to add reports of relevant research in the fields of composition and communication to the discussions of needs and problems that were the primary activities of the meetings.

In 1956 and 1957 CCC editor Francis Bowman cast himself in the role of a "roving participant" at the meetings and wrote informal, anonymous reports for the journal. He described the 1956 conference as being dominated by two major topics: structural linguistics and the problems of teaching the rapidly increasing numbers of students, topics which cropped up repeatedly even in sessions in which they were

not the major subjects under discussion. In 1957, he reported, structural linguistics was again the topic of the largest and liveliest workshop. According to The Roving Participant, the particularly dedicated linguists were characterized by an "evangelical zeal."<sup>6</sup> The CCCC conferences of these years provided the first major forum for the practitioners of this new linguistic science, which was to make a considerable impact on language teaching in American schools and colleges during the late 1950's and the 1960's.

### The Journal

During the years 1955-1958, College Composition and Communication, like CCCC, enjoyed some expansion in its circulation and scope. George S. Wykoff of Purdue University served as editor through 1955. He was succeeded for the following three years by Professor Francis Bowman of Duke University. Both the format and the content of CCC underwent change during these years.

Format. CCC continued to be published four times a year in February, May, October, and December. Its physical appearance remained much the same from 1955 through 1958. It was still covered in the white stock used for its contents, which were listed on the cover. It was still designated as "the official bulletin of the Conference on College Composition and Communication." A typical issue contained 60 pages,

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<sup>6</sup>"CCCC Conference, 1956," College Composition and Communication, VII (May, 1956), pp. 106-108; "CCCC Spring Meeting, 1957," College Composition and Communication, VIII (May, 1957), pp. 112-115.

with the conference issue in October, which printed the reports of the panels and workshops, containing 70 or more pages. The report of the CCC editor in the NCTE annual report of 1957 announced that over 1600 copies of each issue were being printed. The increasing significance of CCC was symbolized by the copyrighting of the journal, which began with the October, 1955, issue.

Two proposed changes in format were widely discussed but not adopted during this period. Some CCCC Executive Committee members and others felt that the journal should carry advertising from book publishers. However, this practice was not begun during this time. The other proposal called for a new cover design and corresponding new typography. In 1956 designs were submitted, and members of the Executive Committee were asked to record their preferences. However, the Executive Committee, at a March, 1958, meeting, rejected a cover change.

In addition to the new "Roving Participant's" report of the annual conference, Editor Francis Bowman added two other departments to the journal. In the December, 1956, issue first appeared "Among the New Texts," a column in which the editor and members of the editorial board wrote brief reviews of new and revised textbooks. Likewise, in December of 1956 the new "Staff Room Interchange" appeared. For this department the editor sought contributions describing classroom procedures which had proved successful for composition/communication teachers. Requirements for these contributions were "usefulness, clarity, and brevity."<sup>7</sup> These

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<sup>7</sup>"Staff Room Interchange," College Composition and Communication, VII (December, 1956), p. 224.



new features provided additional variety for the journal's pages and proved to be popular additions which were to continue for a number of years.

Content. Earlier editors had assumed virtually the sole responsibility for selecting the contents of College Composition and Communication. Francis Bowman involved the editorial board more heavily in the selection of articles through annual meetings of the group at the CCCC conferences. He also circulated among them for comment and approval articles offered for publication. A number of the articles appearing in CCC had first been presented as papers or speeches at the annual conferences.

In 1957 Editor Bowman and other CCCC officers were concerned with staking out the jurisdiction of CCC with regard to College English, the journal of NCTE's College Section. They felt that all articles dealing with college composition should be published in CCC, leaving College English to publish all articles dealing with literature. College English, however, did not accept this restriction. CCCC further sought to clarify and define the role of its journal during this period by discussing the appropriateness of publishing articles concerned with the teaching of expository and technical writing. Such articles continued to appear.

In addition to the new features inaugurated by Professor Bowman, old ones continued to appear. These included the "CCCC Bulletin Board," containing a variety of announcements of interest and importance to members of the profession; "NSSC News," the result of continuing efforts to achieve liaison with speech teachers; and "Some of the Year's Work in College Composition and Communication," which brought news of the latest

research and professional activities, often gleaned from other professional publications. A fat issue each October continued to publish reports of the panel discussion and workshops at the spring meeting, thereby disseminating the essence of these meetings to those members who were unable to attend. In addition, the journal published the Secretary's Reports, detailing the actions of the Executive Committee; proposed and approved constitutional revisions; and occasional notices or articles about the activities and the status of CCCC.

The major substance of CCC continued to be the traditional articles, which covered the same general topic areas included in the conference programs -- course content, teaching procedures, course management, and professional issues and trends, with an occasional report of research in the field. Editor Bowman expressed some concern in one of his annual reports to NCTE that the colleges of the authors were not evenly distributed geographically. In particular, he felt, the Southern and New England states were not sufficiently represented.

#### Professionalization Activities

During the years 1955 to 1958, CCCC continued to involve itself in the professionalization of the field of college composition teaching, which had been one of the most urgent concerns of its founders. This involvement took the form of deliberation and action by CCCC committees and workshop groups, particularly in the areas of status of composition/communication teachers, training of these teachers, and professional issues and research.

Status of the profession. In 1956 "The Professional Status of the Composition/Communication Staff" was the subject of a workshop at the annual spring meeting. The group produced two resolutions: (1) that CCCC/NCTE establish a permanent committee on the ethics of employment; and (2) that officers of the various English professional associations continue to study teaching loads, class sizes, salaries, hiring and promotion criteria, departmental organization, and teacher participation in decisions, "especially as these elements . . . bear upon professional achievement by and professional status for college English Teachers."<sup>8</sup> In 1957 this same topic was addressed in one of the general sessions of the conference, at which three speakers, including Edward J. Sparling, the president of Roosevelt University, presented various proposals for raising the status of the profession. Measures advocated included obtaining the most experienced and competent teachers possible and paying them well, quite the opposite of the prevalent practice of assigning composition/communication classes to the newest untried members of the profession and paying them at the minimum. Other proposals included involving faculty from all departments in working together to teach good writing, making an effort in all departments to choose textbooks that exemplify good writing, making composition/communication classes smaller, abolishing remedial programs, conducting experimental research and reporting the results in journals like CCC, and assuming more control of the profession by a cooperative effort of the members to work out their own solutions to the problems ahead.

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<sup>8</sup>"Professional Status of the Composition/Communication Staff," College Composition and Communication, VII (October, 1956), pp. 120-122.

CCC articles in 1957 and 1958 also addressed the issue and gave insight into some of the obstacles to raising the professional status of the group. Donald Tuttle of Fenn College argued that academic matters in composition/communication must be controlled by the teaching faculty. He urged that department chairman choose that faculty, who must have reasonable teaching loads and all faculty privileges.<sup>9</sup> Eugene Grew of the University of Detroit pointed out future problems of professional status rising from the rapidly growing numbers of junior colleges. He explained that these colleges handled teachers more like high schools than like four-year colleges, with the problem being that high school teachers enjoyed a much lower professional status than college and university teachers.<sup>10</sup>

Teacher training. The discussion of the appropriate components of the training program for the teacher of college composition/communication continued to be one of the important activities of CCCC. The organization provided the major national forum for this discussion. The consensus seemed to be that the proper training, if it could be defined, would have major beneficial effects on the learning of the students and on the professional well-being of the instructors. A lone dissenting voice in this discussion was that of Ellsworth Barnard, who proclaimed that "teachers are born, not made" and that teaching is not a science

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<sup>9</sup>"Toward Standards: Goals for the Program and Staff," College Composition and Communication, IX (May, 1958), pp. 80-86.

<sup>10</sup>"A Teacher Looks at His Professional Status," College Composition and Communication, VIII (December, 1957), pp. 214-220.

but an art which has "no standard technique and no body of knowledge, aside from a particular subject matter, that can be specified as essential." Professor Barnard's proposals for improving the quality of composition/communication teaching were to "find more effective ways of recruiting those persons who have a natural talent for this most exacting of arts" and to find a way to discover good teaching and reward it tangibly.<sup>11</sup>

Much more typical were the deliberations at the conference workshops, which sought during these years to define good teacher training. The 1955 workshop made the far-sighted observation that "there are too many Ph.D. aspirants for the available posts calling for the traditional historical scholarship or for the newer critical scholarship and too few for the kind of work multiplying in the junior and community colleges." The workshop report suggested a pilot course to be used in introducing a new communication program. This course would be open for observation by trainees and others, with the various units being taught by the various best-prepared staff members.<sup>12</sup> If the 1956 workshop, which built on the work of the previous year, centered around the question of what changes should be made in the graduate curriculum of prospective composition/communication teachers, M.A. and Ph.D. The participants completed the discussion of only the M.A., recommending training in modern grammar, the critical approach to English and American literature,

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<sup>11</sup>"On Teaching Teachers," College Composition and Communication, VI (February, 1955), pp. 25-28.

<sup>12</sup>"Preparation of the Composition/Communication Teacher," College Composition and Communication, VI (October, 1955), pp. 131-132.

and oral communications. In addition they stated that the M.A. should develop the candidate's own ability to write. They further recommended that English Departments should provide reduced loads in the first year of teaching to allow time for directed study in areas not covered in graduate school. The members of this workshop agreed not to continue meeting at the annual conference, recommending instead that their function be transferred to a committee appointed by the CCCC Executive Committee.<sup>13</sup>

In December of 1955, CCC published several accounts of training programs which had been set up by universities for new instructors or teaching assistants on the certain knowledge that these persons' previous graduate programs had not prepared them for their new assignments. These included a Marquette University seminar containing numerous "how-to" exercises and discussing the importance of linguistics and rhetoric; a University of Kansas course which included rhetorical tradition, linguistics and rhetoric, literary theory, English prose style, semantics and rhetoric, logic and rhetoric, placement and entrance examinations, prose style and language, and textbook critique; and a University of Illinois course which covered primarily the criticizing and evaluating of student papers. A major motivating factor for the institution of such courses by English departments was apparently the strong desire to retain control over the training for their profession. Both Professor Roberts and Professor Schwartz referred to the need to keep such

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<sup>13</sup>,"Preparation of Composition/Communication Teachers," College Composition and Communication, VII (October, 1956), pp. 138-140.

training programs in English departments and out of the control of education departments.<sup>14</sup>

Research. The role of CCCC in research in the teaching of composition/communication continued to be small during 1955-1958, even though the encouragement of such research was one of its constitutional purposes. A panel report from the 1957 conference stated that there was no definitive data to demonstrate the relative effectiveness of programs in composition and communication. The reason advanced in this report echoed a familiar complaint: English departments did not accept doctoral theses based on such problems or recognize and reward such research by their faculties.<sup>15</sup> A critical assessment and a challenge were presented by Herbert Hackett of the University of Utah in 1955. Hackett said that composition/communication teachers had no discipline of their own, being engaged in the teaching of skills, an activity without any substantial body of data based on controlled observation or experiment. He deplored the prevalence of impressionistic observation and called instead for scientific observation which could lead to the formation of generalizations. Sounding a familiar note, he wrote, "Most of us deplore the work of educationalists and their intrusion into the field of English, but the fault is ours."<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Joseph Schwartz, "One Method of Training the Composition Teacher," College Composition and Communication, pp. 200-204; "The University of Kansas Course in the College Teaching of English," pp. 194-200; Charles W. Roberts, "A Course for Training Rhetoric Teachers at the University of Illinois," pp. 190-194.

<sup>15</sup> "Research in Communication Skills," College Composition and Communication, VIII (October, 1957), pp. 143-145.

<sup>16</sup> "A Discipline of the Communication Skills," College Composition and Communication, VI (February, 1955), p. 15.

Other professional issues. Two other professional issues surfaced in CCC during 1955-1958, one of which was to become a growing concern of the profession for many years and another which was not to become a lasting major concern. The first of those issues was evaluation of teaching. The first CCC article on that topic appeared in 1958. This article reported the results of a survey conducted by Herman Estrin of what was then the Newark College of Engineering (now the New Jersey Institute of Technology). The questions on the survey stemmed from a 1957 conference workshop. This exploratory survey revealed that 43 percent of the colleges represented used a systematic evaluation of teaching and that the most widely used type was the student evaluation, which was also the first choice of the majority of instructors responding to the survey.<sup>17</sup>

The other issue concerned the possible establishment of national standards of accreditation and the establishment of an agency for evaluating English departments on the basis of these standards. In 1958 one of the panels at the annual conference had been planned by the Interim Committee on National Standards in Composition and Communication, chaired by Edgar Wham of Ohio University. The group attending this session heard William Selden, executive secretary of the National Commission on Accrediting, discuss CCCC's relative lack of power to accredit. Mr. Selden pointed out that established accreditation programs in such disciplines as chemistry, psychology, and music were possible because

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<sup>17</sup>Herman Estrin, "Measuring the Quality of the Teaching of English," College Composition and Communication, IX (May, 1958), pp. 111-113.



those disciplines were better organized and more forceful than English composition. He urged careful analysis before establishing an accrediting agency, which gives rise to many administrative problems.<sup>18</sup>

It seems clear that by the end of 1958, CCCC had developed a major emphasis on the professionalization of the field of college composition teaching. Individuals and groups were beginning to define problems in the move toward professionalization and explore methods of solving them.

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<sup>18</sup>"National Standards and Accreditation," College Composition and Communication, IX (October, 1958), pp. 142-145.

## Chapter 4

### ACHIEVING PROFESSIONAL MATURITY: 1959-1967

The years 1959 through 1967 were marked first by an intensive inward searching to determine what CCCC had become and how it should continue to develop. At the end of this self-searching, the organization emerged with greater confidence and maturity to carry out its work in the professionalization of college composition teaching and the continuing education of college composition teachers. Extending its activities, it reached new heights of influence over the profession.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION

The evolution of CCCC during this period was marked by a very large increase in members; an extended self-assessment which stirred up controversy over the proper role and function of the organization, including even its name; and the formation of a group of regional organizations for English instructors in two-year colleges.

#### Growth

The remarkable growth in members that CCCC had begun to experience in the mid-1950's continued through the mid-1960's. The NCTE Annual Reports indicate that in March of 1959 the membership totaled 2,377, up more than 30 percent from the preceding year. In 1960 it grew another 24 percent. By 1964 it had reached 4,052 and by 1966, it was 5,317. This increase of 300 percent in eight years reflected the fact that the organization was becoming better known among members of the profession.

It was also indicative of the very rapid growth in the numbers and enrollments of colleges and universities during this period.

### Future Directions

At the Executive Committee meeting in November of 1958, J. N. Hook, executive secretary of the National Council of Teachers of English and ex officio treasurer of CCCC, had suggested that CCCC investigate possible new directions in which it could extend its activities. Chairman Robert Tuttle, one month from the expiration of his term of office, deferred to his successor, Albert R. Kitzhaber of the University of Kansas, for the appointment of the committee. Professor Kitzhaber appointed John Gerber, the first CCCC chairman, to head the committee, whose other members were Dudley Bailey, University of Nebraska; Gerhard Friedrich; Robert Gorrell, University of Nevada; and W. C. Jackman. This group's report was presented to the Executive Committee in November of 1959, revised in December, and published in February, 1960.

The report addressed the basic purpose of CCCC, its province, and its annual meetings. It proposed projects for the future in eight different areas. Specifically, the committee first felt that the organization had outgrown its statement of purpose. It recommended changing the focus from the freshman course and its teachers to the discipline. The original statement read: "The broad object of the CCCC is to unite teachers of college composition and communication in an organization which can consider all matters relevant to their teaching, including teachers, subject-matter, administration, methods, and students." The proposed revision stated that "the basic purpose of the CCCC is to

improve college students' understanding and use of the English language, especially in written discourse." Correspondingly, they favored broadening the province of CCCC to include writing done in all undergraduate courses.

While acknowledging the "obvious excellences" of the annual conference, the committee stated that "three criticisms have been levelled at the national meetings . . . frequently enough to warrant concern. These are that the meetings lack direction, that the speeches are often mediocre, and that the workshop discussions from year to year are repetitious." They therefore recommended four changes in procedure: (1) that each conference be limited to discussing three or four basic subjects, (2) that major speakers for the general sessions be paid, (3) that the panels allow more time for questions and discussions from the floor, and (4) that some or all of the workshops be turned into seminars or short courses taught by an instructor who would allow for "useful discussion" and fewer "lofty testimonials and irrelevancies."

Under the heading of projects for the future, the committee made several recommendations. They first stressed the need to be concerned more actively with the articulation of high school and college programs. Specifically, they advocated (1) experimentation with sequential and cumulative high school through college freshman language programs, (2) the creation of a joint national committee of high school and college teachers of English language, (3) efforts to raise certification requirements for language arts teachers at the elementary and secondary level, and (4) assistance to elementary and secondary language arts teachers in improving their professional status.

In addition, the committee believed that CCCC should give increased attention to advanced courses in language and writing, attempt to persuade faculties in other departments to accept some of the responsibility for teaching good writing, work more closely with the producers of standardized tests in writing to help them develop better instruments, conduct more research to determine the best methods of teaching composition, determine and publicize the components of an effective graduate program for future composition teachers, and take a more active interest in the professional status of composition teachers. In spite of this recommended expansion of concerns, however, the committee members felt that the organization should continue to place primary emphasis and concern on the content of the freshman course and standards for freshman writing.<sup>1</sup>

This report produced a flurry of controversy within CCCC. Some members felt that the report, if adopted, would destroy the organization. It was widely and heatedly discussed at the Cincinnati conference in 1960, where the second general session was devoted to consideration of the report. This discussion was intended to guide the Executive Committee in its future actions on the report. Four persons presented prepared papers on various aspects of the report -- Jerome W. Archer on the purpose of the CCCC, Harold Allen on its province, Dudley Bailey on the conference programs, and Robert Gorrell on the proposed concentration on the content and standards of the freshman course. Professor

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<sup>1</sup>"Report of the Committee on Future Directions," College Composition and Communication, XI (February, 1960), pp. 3-7.

Bailey's criticisms of previous CCCC conferences evoked much argument. At the end of this general session, CCCC chairman Glenn Leggett suggested that the membership continue the discussion in workshops, and he also called a special meeting of the Executive Committee to deal with the topic.

The controversy continued as many members accepted an invitation to write their reactions to Glenn Leggett. The February, 1961, issue of CCC carried a summary of these responses.<sup>2</sup> Opinions were widely divergent. The proposal for changing the annual conference drew the most reaction, most of it negative. Most people felt that it would be a serious mistake to narrow the focus of the conference, with some pointing out that it was already possible for an individual to choose from the program offerings one or two areas for emphasis. Some respondents expressed great concern over the proposal to change the workshops, with their emphasis on conferring, into courses, with an emphasis on lecturing-listening. The proposal for paying key speakers was quite unpopular, although in fact this was already being done in some cases. One lengthy counter-proposal appeared in its entirety. Eugene Grewe of the University of Detroit called for a change in purpose and province that would require the reorganization of NCTE and the revision of its journals. Professor Grewe proposed that CCCC be concerned with the teaching of all English during the first two years of college. This proposal was based partly on the then widespread belief that the basic freshman writing course,

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<sup>2</sup>Robert S. Gorrell, "Philosophy and Structure," College Composition and Communication, XII (February, 1961), pp. 14-18.

which a few institutions were thinking of discontinuing, might well be on the way out across the nation.<sup>3</sup>

In the meanwhile, the Executive Committee decided to appoint another committee to deal with the report of the Committee on Future Directions or, in the words of one member of that group, "to quietly shelve its recommendations." Called the Committee on Philosophy and Structure, this group was appointed in May of 1960 by CCCC chairman Glenn Leggett. Its members included Robert Gorrell, chairman (University of Nevada); William Baker, L. M. Myers, Priscilla Tyler, John Gerber (University of Iowa), Albert Kitzhaber (University of Kansas), James Squire (associate executive secretary of NCTE), and Robert Tuttle (General Motors Institute). Professors Gerber and Gorrell had been chairman and member, respectively, of the Committee on Future Directions. Professors Kitzhaber and Tuttle were the two immediate past chairmen of the organization. This new committee was given the task of recommending to the Executive Committee and to the membership "the adoption of a guiding philosophy of purpose and province and an organizational structure to implement such a philosophy."<sup>4</sup> After summarizing the responses from members that were published in the February, 1961, issue of CCC, the committee sponsored a meeting of all CCCC members who were present at the NCTE annual conference in Chicago in November, 1960. At this meeting, too, there was much argument. In the words of Robert Gorrell, "Most

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<sup>3</sup>Eugene F. Grewe, "A Counter-Proposal Affecting the Future Direction of the CCCC," College Composition and Communication, XII (February, 1961), pp. 18-22.

<sup>4</sup>Letter from Glen Leggett, 1960 CCCC Chairman, to members of the Committee on Philosophy and Structure, May 25, 1960.

people were agreed only on one thing: that we should quit squabbling about statements and get on with our business."<sup>5</sup>

After that November meeting Professor Gorrell, who had accepted a Fulbright appointment in Finland, was succeeded as chairman of the Committee on Philosophy and Structure by Gordon Wilson of Miami University (Ohio). Professor Wilson listed various alternative procedures on a ballot circulated to members of the committee in March, 1961. On the basis of this balloting, he compiled the committee's report, which recommended that CCCC do the following:

1. Retain the original statement of purpose.
2. Record an interest in and take action on the projects suggested by the Committee on Future Directions.
3. Retain the format of the annual conferences with some modifications and experiments.
4. Appoint a committee on testing skill in composition.
5. Appoint a committee on the education of college composition teachers.
6. Appoint a committee on writing outside the composition class.

On April 6, 1961, this report was accepted by the Executive Committee.

In April of 1962, CCCC chairman Francis Bowman appointed a committee to consider constitutional and organizational changes needed to carry out the recommendations of the Committee on Philosophy and Structure. This committee consisted of Richard Braddock, University of

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<sup>5</sup>Quoted in a letter from Gordon Wilson to Robert Tuttle, March 6, 1961.



Iowa, chairman; Jerome Archer, Marquette University; Francis Bowman, Duke University (ex officio), and CCCC Associate Chairman Priscilla Tyler, Harvard University (also ex officio). This committee considered several questions, including the possible need for extending the terms of the chairman beyond one year, a proposal for an annual business meeting at the conference, the streamlining of the Executive Committee, the possible need for an executive secretary other than the NCTE executive secretary, and different methods of electing officers. In November, 1962, this committee presented its report to the CCCC Executive Committee during the Miami conference of NCTE. This report, which in essence was the final outcome of the activities which had begun four years earlier with the decision to investigate possible future directions, suggested that no constitutional amendments were necessary to accomplish the desired broadening of CCCC activities but that the following policies be endorsed by the Executive Committee:

1. That the assistant chairman serve as an ex officio member of all committees and be the channel through which their reports are passed to the chairman.
2. That CCCC did not need an executive secretary but should request that NCTE provide the part-time services of an assistant executive secretary.
3. That the chairman be recognized as having the power to call meetings of officers or committees between conferences if necessary.
4. That the CCCC hold a "cracker barrel" general meeting at each spring conference to increase communication between members and the Executive Committee.

5. That policy decisions be kept in a special notebook by the secretary.

6. That CCC enlarge "Staffroom Interchange" and invite each CCCC chairman during his tenure in office to contribute an article presenting his views on the organization or on the profession.

The Executive Committee adopted these recommendations.

### Name Change

At the same time that the discussion on future directions was beginning, some CCCC members became concerned about the names of the organization and the journal. These names were felt by many to be too long and complicated. Some people did not like the use of the word conference to denote an organization rather than a meeting. Various alternatives were proposed. Therefore, at its meeting in San Francisco in the spring of 1959, the CCCC Executive Committee authorized Chairman Albert R. Kitzhaber to appoint a committee to study possible name changes for the organization and its journal. Those appointed were Professor Cecil B. Williams of Texas Christian University (then editor of CCC), chairman; James M. McCrimmon of the University of Illinois; and Paul Roberts of San Jose State College.

This committee compiled a list of various suggested names and circulated 50 questionnaires to NCTE and CCCC officials, asking them to rank their first three preferences. The choices were:

1. Council on College Rhetoric
2. Council on College Composition
3. Council on College Writing

4. Conference on College Composition
5. Council on Freshman English
6. Council on English Composition
7. Council on English Communications
8. College Communications Council
9. College Writing Council
10. College Writing Association

Numbers two and four received the most votes; however, some persons expressed vehement opposition to making a change. The chairman of the committee felt that no conclusion had been reached but recommended that efforts to choose a new name continue. By the next year (1960) the future directions controversy had erupted, and the Executive Committee decided to table the name change proposals until CCCC decided how it should restructure its organization and its activities.<sup>6</sup>

### Two-Year Colleges

During the 1960's the number of two-year colleges in the country and their total enrollment of students grew at a rapid rate. By 1965 there were over 700 such colleges, and they were enrolling 25 percent of all new college students. Predictions were that by 1970 they would enroll 75 percent of those students.<sup>7</sup> From its earliest years CCCC's members had included faculty members from some two-year colleges, although these persons had played a rather minor role in the organization.

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<sup>6</sup>Paul Roberts, "Report on Name Change Questionnaire," c. 1960.

<sup>7</sup>Samuel Weingarten and Frederick P. Kroeger, English in the Two-Year College, (Champaign, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965), p. xi.

Leaders in the English-teaching profession began to realize that these teachers, while sharing many professional concerns with their colleagues in four-year colleges, had a group of unique problems. In November, 1963, incoming NCTE President Albert R. Kitzhaber (1959 CCCC chairman) discussed the two-year college situation in a report to the NCTE Executive Committee. He identified several problems of the two-year colleges: low-ability students, a high attrition rate, a faculty more like that of a public school than of a four-year college, and the need for teaching remedial English. He felt that some two-year colleges were confusing training with education, and he said that NCTE should provide assistance to two-year college English teachers.<sup>8</sup> In the same year "Junior Colleges" appeared as an item on the agenda of a CCCC Officers' Meeting on June 20-21, as this group began to discuss how it could better accommodate the growing numbers of its members in these institutions.

In April, 1962, CCCC and NCTE appointed a joint committee to collect information about the teaching of English in two-year colleges throughout the country. The two organizations intended to use the data collected to evaluate the adequacy of this instruction. The committee was chaired by Samuel Weingarten, Wright Campus of Chicago City Junior College; Frederick P. Kroeger of Flint Community Junior College in Flint, Michigan, was named associate chairman. Other members were William C. Doster of Miami-Dade Junior College, Earle G. Eley of the Wilson Campus of Chicago City Junior College, Dorothea Fry of California State College

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<sup>8</sup> Albert R. Kitzhaber, The Two-Year College and the Teaching of English, ERIC Document ED 038 433, November, 1963.

at Los Angeles, and Leon Reisman of the General College of the University of Minnesota.

The data were collected using two survey forms, one addressed to chairmen of English departments and one to English teachers. The questionnaires were sent to all schools listed in the Junior College Directory of the American Association of Junior Colleges and in the Junior College Index of the American Council on Education. Replies were received from 187 department chairmen and 292 teachers representing many types of two-year institutions in 44 states and territories. In 1965 a summary and analysis of the results were published by NCTE in a paperback book popularly known as the Weingarten Report.<sup>9</sup>

The surveys collected information on numerous topics. One section covered the type, purpose, and size of the colleges, as well as the scope of the English program, staff load, class size, and recruitment and qualifications of teachers. Other sections asked questions about English requirements for graduation, placement of students in composition courses, content of the composition courses, honors and remedial courses, unique problems of two-year college English teachers, needed research studies, and recommendations for the professional improvement of teachers.

As a result of the information collected, the committee made several recommendations.

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<sup>9</sup>Weingarten and Kroeger.

1. Two-year colleges should follow more democratic procedures in hiring and dismissing teachers and in granting tenure and appointing department chairmen.
2. English teachers in two-year colleges should teach a maximum of 75 students in no more than three sections of composition. The remainder of the teaching assignment should be in other related courses.
3. Placement of students in the appropriate English classes is crucial and should be the subject of additional research and discussion.
4. The remedial course should be strengthened.
5. Two-year college English teachers are not familiar with recent developments in linguistics. Therefore, those persons already teaching should bring themselves up to date on the study of language, and university graduate schools should incorporate programs to better prepare teachers in this area.
6. Research should be conducted on the development of special English courses for vocational programs.
7. Many two-year college English teachers have an attitude of contempt for schools of education, even though these schools can offer answers to many of their problems. Therefore, a great effort should be made "to bridge the gap between subject matter respectability and professional training" in the minds of these teachers.
8. The universities which prepare two-year college English teachers should offer courses in the teaching of English in the two-year college, taught by persons with a thorough acquaintance with those institutions, as well as instruction in semantics, logic, linguistics, and rhetoric, and an internship to provide practice teaching in two-year colleges.

9. National meetings and journals of professional associations should give increased time and space to the discussion of two-year college English.

10. The National Council of Teachers of English and the Conference on College Composition and Communication should take steps to organize a group of regional affiliate organizations for English teachers in two-year colleges.<sup>10</sup>

As the results of the surveys were being compiled, plans were underway for a national conference on the teaching of English in the junior college. The conference, which was held in Tempe, Arizona, was sponsored by Arizona State University in cooperation with NCTE and CCCC. Funded by a grant received through the Cooperative Research Program of the Office of Education, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the conference brought together 70 invited participants on February 21-23, 1965. The conference was directed by Jerome W. Archer (1955 CCCC chairman and chairman of the Department of English at Arizona State) and Wilfred A. Ferrell (director of freshman English at Arizona State). The participants represented two-year college instructors and administrators, professors of higher education, professors of English in four-year colleges, research specialists, and officers of national agencies and associations.

This group met in three general sessions and six study groups over the three-day period. They heard nine papers covering major issues

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<sup>10</sup>Weingarten and Kroeger, p. 83.

and research needs and discussing the implications of the Weingarten Report. The study groups addressed the topics of (1) the education of junior college English teachers, (2) the relation of junior college English programs to high school programs, (3) the relation of junior college English programs to four-year colleges and universities, (4) English courses for adults and community services, (5) English programs for transfer students, and (6) English programs for terminal students.

These groups produced numerous recommendations, many of which were similar to those of the Weingarten Report. The recommendations covered (1) components in the preparation and continuing education of junior college English teachers, as well as the responsibilities of the junior college and the university in this training; (2) measures to facilitate better communication and cooperation of junior college and high school English departments; (3) procedures for insuring the successful transfer of students from junior colleges to four-year colleges and increased cooperation between their English departments; (4) procedures for better instruction for adult students; (5) better dissemination of information regarding college transfer English programs; and (6) a wider variety of English courses for terminal students. Each study group also identified subjects on which research should be conducted. NCTE published the papers, reports, and accounts of this conference as a paperback book.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Jerome W. Archer and Wilfred A. Ferrell, Research and the Development of English Programs in the Junior College, (Champaign, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965).



As a result of the Weingarten-Kroeger study and the Tempe Conference, the CCCC Executive Committee, at its meeting on April 7, 1965, in St. Louis, approved a plan presented by NCTE executive secretary James Squire for a series of regional conferences. Jointly sponsored by NCTE and CCCC, these meetings were to be set up by the junior college representatives who had attended the Tempe meeting. NCTE/CCCC were to help with the planning and the funding, and supply main speakers for the conference. The following schedule of meetings was established for 1966:

February 18-19	Loop Junior College, Chicago, Illinois
March 4-5	San Bernardino Valley College, San Bernardino, California
March 18-19	Central Piedmont Community College, Charlotte, North Carolina
April 1-2	Cazenovia College, Cazenovia, New York
April 22-23	Clark College, Vancouver, Washington
April 22-23	Forest Park Community College, St. Louis, Missouri

At their March 23, 1966, meeting in Denver, the CCCC Executive Committee approved a proposal for organizing six regional conferences on a four-year experimental basis as an integral part of CCCC. In October of 1966 CCCC and NCTE brought together at NCTE headquarters in Champaign, Illinois, the six regional steering committee chairmen elected after the spring conferences, the six chairmen of the 1967 spring conferences, the chairman of CCCC (Gordon Wilson of Miami University of Ohio), the chairman of the College Section of NCTE, a representative of the Modern Language Association, and NCTE personnel. This

group spent three days producing the Bylaws for Regional CCCC Conferences on English in the Two-Year College. Also in 1966 NCTE brought Richard Worthen, chairman of the Department of English at Diablo Valley College, Concord, California, to its Champaign headquarters to serve as coordinator of two-year college affairs.

At its November, 1966, meeting in Houston, the CCCC Executive Committee approved the creation of a National Junior College Committee as a part of the CCCC organization. This committee was to consist of one representative to be elected by each region and the editor of a national junior college newsletter which was to be published by the group. In 1967 the six regional groups met again, this time assuming complete responsibility for planning their own programs. The response of the participants was overwhelmingly enthusiastic.

In November of 1967, at its meeting in Honolulu, the CCCC Executive Committee approved a constitutional change which allowed the seven members of the National Junior College Committee to become ex officio voting members of the Executive Committee. Thus, the Executive Committee increased its size to 35, with one-fifth of its members representing two-year colleges. Not every member of the committee felt comfortable with this decision, even though it passed unanimously. The NJCC members present during the discussion and voting were aware that some were worried about possible overweighting of the committee with the junior college representatives.<sup>12</sup> However, the Executive Committee

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<sup>12</sup>Minutes of the National Junior College Committee, Honolulu, Hawaii, November 23 and 26, 1967.

members were apparently convinced of the need to expand their circle to allow the two-year colleges a voice commensurate with their numbers. Like NCTE in 1949, they avoided a possible fragmentation of their organization. Just as CCCC had been spawned to meet a new specialized need within the English-teaching profession, it had in turn spawned a new set of organizations to accommodate a new set of emerging professional needs.

#### CONTINUING EDUCATION ACTIVITIES

During the period of 1959-1967 the Conference on College Composition and Communication continued to engage actively in the continuing education of college composition teachers through its meetings and its journal.

##### The Annual Meetings

The annual meetings held between 1959 and 1967 were noted for their individual characteristics and highlights.

1959, San Francisco: Glenn Leggett, program chairman. This meeting incorporated two important firsts for CCCC. It was the first time the organization ventured to the West for its annual convention. It was also the first time it had held a joint meeting with another professional association. Joining CCCC members at the Sheraton Palace Hotel were members of the California State Conference on English. Each group planned and conducted its own sessions but opened them to members of the other group as well.

The CCCC program was organized into a typical format of three general sessions, 20 panels, and 15 workshops. Most of the workshops

embraced broad topics, with one series considering the composition/communication course in each of several different kinds of institutions: liberal arts colleges, technical and engineering schools, junior colleges, and universities. Another group of workshops looked at the course for each of several types of students: general education students, superior students, remedial students, and foreign students.

Various movements in linguistic study and teaching were represented. The debate between the proponents of traditional grammar and those of modern linguistics was reflected in some of the panel discussions, with such prominent linguists as Paul Roberts and Robert Pooley appearing on the program. S. I. Hayakawa of San Francisco State College appeared again to advocate an emphasis on semantics and logic in the composition/communication course. Noted poet Stephen Spender spoke at the luncheon.

An aura of excitement and optimism pervaded the 1959 CCCC convention. As Program Chairman Glenn Leggett explained, "1959 was a year when higher education was in full prosperity. People believed in it and supported it. Colleges and universities were getting more money every year. Teachers could pick and choose among job offers, and salaries were going up every year. There was confidence in the air, and we English teachers thought we were getting closer and closer to the solution of how to teach people to write -- that is, if we could just stop arguing among ourselves!"<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Letter from Glenn Leggett, May 23, 1977.

1960, Cincinnati: Erwin Steinberg, program chairman. The 1960 program closely resembled that of 1959. It featured three general sessions, 18 workshops, and 12 panels. Many workshops were continued from the previous year. Brice Harris of Pennsylvania State University, president of NCTE, spoke at the opening general session. The second general session featured a discussion of the controversial report of the Committee on Future Directions, discussed earlier in this chapter.

1961, Washington, D. C.: Francis Bowman, program chairman. The site of this meeting exerted some influence on its content and flavor. Over 700 participants had to contend for hotel rooms with 90,000 tourists who had come to town for the Cherry Blossom Festival.<sup>14</sup> The federal presence was evident in the agenda for the opening general session on writing for the federal government, which featured speakers from the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture and the Atomic Energy Commission, and at the annual luncheon, which featured George W. Allen, the immediate past director of the United States Information Agency, as speaker. In other respects the program was, again, quite similar to those of the preceding years, with 11 panels and 20 workshops in addition to the three general sessions.

1962, Chicago: Priscilla Tyler, program chairman. This meeting differed considerably in style and substance from any previous CCCC conference. It was the result of an attempt to provide more focus and unity for the

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<sup>14</sup>"The Roving Participant in Washington, D. C.," College Composition and Communication, XII (May, 1961), p. 116.

program. Professor Tyler was the first program chairman to select a theme: "New Approaches to English."

Announcing on the first page of the program that the primary purpose of the conference was to determine "what can English teachers, linguists and psychologists discover from sharing what they know about speaking and writing a language," Professor Tyler brought to the meetings a number of outstanding scholars in language and psychology, many of whom were not English teachers. These included Raven I. McDavid, Jr., of the University of Chicago; Noam Chomsky of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; John Carroll, Harold Martin, and Douglas Porter of Harvard; Walker Gibson of New York University; Edward Robbins of Ohio State; Thomas Wilcox of Bennington College; H. A. Gleason of Hartford Seminary Foundation; Martin Joos of the University of Wisconsin; Ruth Dunbar of the Chicago Sun-Times; Philip Gove, editor of Webster's Third New International Dictionary; and C. C. Fries of the University of Michigan.

In addition to the traditional three general sessions, Priscilla Tyler organized two evening colloquiums and two round tables, all of which were general meetings. The program also featured seven demonstrations of teaching equipment and class procedures. The traditional panels, which some members had objected to on the grounds that they had become merely series of lectures, were gone. However, a large number of workshops (28) were featured. These were grouped into five general categories, with each workshop being one sub-category.

Another innovation was the Interpretation Committee, a group which ranged the conference and presented a report at its close, giving an overview of the kinds of thinking about language and composing that had seemed uppermost during the conference.

1963, Los Angeles: Robert Gorrell, program chairman. Like his predecessor, Program Chairman Gorrell chose a theme: "The Content of English." He sought to combat the notion that composition teachers have no unique subject matter to teach by stressing rhetoric and the composing process in this program.

As in 1959, this convention was held jointly with the California Association of Teachers of English. The program featured 24 CCCC workshops on general topics which had been featured at previous programs and on such specific topics as "Writing Assignments for Composition," "Content of the Course in Grammar for Teachers," "Teaching Students to Organize a Composition," and "Planning Summer Workshops for Teachers." The panels were back this year, many on familiar topics such as articulation, textbooks, and teacher workload. In addition, the program featured nine seminars held at nearby Woodbury College. These seminars were restricted to 15 participants each, but additional persons were allowed to observe. The seminars considered relatively specific technical subjects such as lexicography, writing from research, programmed instruction, and usage and regional dialects. Five general sessions featured such speakers as Albert R. Kitzhaber, 1959 CCCC chairman and director of the Project English Curriculum Center at the University of Oregon; Richard Beal of Boston University; Wayne Booth of the University of Chicago; and Kester Svendsen of the University of Oregon, who spoke, respectively, of language, rhetoric, and literature in the English course. The luncheon speaker was Walter Van Tilburg Clark, University of Nevada, author of The Ox-Bow Incident, Track of the Cat, and numerous short stories.

1964, New York City: Richard Beal, program chairman. "Freshman English: Return to Composition" was the theme of this meeting. Planned for an anticipated 1500 participants, this conference featured the conventional panels (22) and workshops (25) with some innovations. A number of nationally and internationally known linguists and rhetoricians appeared in the panels: Kenneth Pike, Noam Chomsky, James H. Sledd, L. M. Myers, Nelson Francis, and Daniel Fogarty. The panels and workshops were designed sequentially, usually from a general panel, through a workshop, to more specialized panels. One such sequence was devoted to the special problems of the part-time evening student. One general session featured three scholar-administrators in a discussion of the freshman course: John H. Fisher, professor of English at New York University and executive secretary of the Modern Language Association; Robert Hoopes, English department chairman at Oakland University, Michigan; and Henry W. Sams, English department chairman at Pennsylvania State University. The featured luncheon speaker was Howard Nemerov of Bennington College, well known poet and consultant in poetry at the Library of Congress.

1965, St. Louis: Gordon Wilson, program chairman. With the theme "Appraisals and Prospects," this meeting featured 26 panels and 30 workshops. Professor Wilson attempted to set up a format in which the participants could consider the directions from which they had come and the routes they should plan for the future of the organization and the profession. This concern arose out of his work as chairman of the Committee on Philosophy and Structure. In the "Report of the Evaluating Committee," Cecil B. Williams wrote that this conference was "characterized most by sober maturity. I believe teachers of composition, in a



decade and a half of meeting and discussing their problems, have found out that there is no simple gimmick, no magic formula, which will waft them to their land of heart's desire. . . . We are coming to realize that learning to write well will never be an easy proceeding for most of us or our students."<sup>15</sup>

1966, Denver: Richard Braddock, program chairman. This conference had no theme to headline it, but its unifying purpose was to clarify the fundamental aims of the freshman writing course. This topic was addressed in the opening general session by speakers Thomas W. Wilcox, University of Connecticut; and James Sledd, University of Texas. The general meeting was followed immediately by a group of five panels on "Issues in Defining the Aims of Freshman Composition Courses," along with other panels on various topics. To accommodate the large number of participants, Professor Braddock's program featured five general sessions, 25 panels, and 39 workshops. One new feature was two invitational workshops (for a limited number of persons) on advanced composition and English teacher preparation.

1967, Louisville: Dudley Bailey, program chairman. This meeting turned out to be a rather conventional one, even though the program chairman initially set out to do something different. A self-confessed maverick in CCCC circles, Professor Bailey held longstanding convictions that CCCC

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<sup>15</sup>College Composition and Communication, XVI (October, 1965), pp. 210.

meetings could be vastly improved by making them more particular and less general and by getting people to listen quietly to others who knew more about a topic than they did. He proposed the theme "As Others See Us," with the idea of bringing to the conference views from other disciplines and from other levels of education. He proposed a central program of coordinated general and small group sessions based upon the concept of a continuously widening discussion of a limited set of ideas. In addition, he proposed an adjunct program of a limited number of panels and workshops dealing with activities which had been planned to carry over from 1966, and which the Executive Committee believed should be undertaken in exploratory sessions. But several factors worked against these proposals. As Professor Bailey explained, "NCTE/CCCC didn't have money to pay for visiting speakers; some people I wanted couldn't be in Louisville; and a sort of momentum of program worked against my notions -- we apparently had to continue workshops and programs which had been going on since the inception of the organization."<sup>16</sup> The resulting program contained approximately 19 panels and 17 workshops, which covered such traditional topics as the administration of freshman English in various kinds of colleges, teaching techniques, and the evaluation of themes. The invitational workshop on advanced composition which had first convened in 1966 met again.

Trends. A number of trends can be traced in the conference programs of this period. Some were developments in the subject matter of the

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<sup>16</sup>Correspondence with the author, June, 1977.

meetings, and others were changes in their form and style. One of the most significant changes in the conference topics was the emphasis on the writing or composing process, as exemplified in a resurgence of interest in rhetoric, including the development of a "new rhetoric." A 1961 session on "Rhetoric -- The Neglected Art?" was indicative of this trend, as was a major segment of the 1962 program devoted to composing. The emphasis of the entire 1963 program was on rhetoric and the composing process, and these topics combined to appear with increasing frequency on the programs of subsequent years. Another facet of this interest in the composing process was a growing interest in bridging the gap between creative writing and academic rhetoric, which resulted in bringing several noted writers and editors to the conferences as general session speakers: Stephen Spender in 1959, Robie McCauley of the Kenyon Review in 1960, Walter Van Tilburg Clark and Albert Guerard in 1963, Howard Nemerov in 1964, and Mark Schorer in 1966.

Another change in the content of the programs can be noted in the gradual disappearance of the word "communication" from the program, at least in its prior definition as the name of a particular course. [By the early 1960's communication was losing definition as a particular movement and assuming a more general meaning.] By 1959 the program no longer included separate sessions for "communication" teachers, and the 1961 program was the last one to use the dual term "composition/communication" in the titles for its sessions. These changes reflected the fact that the communication course had been absorbed into speech departments and schools, and that the freshman writing course had in most colleges become

"freshman English" or "freshman composition." CCCC had few members who were still teaching the comprehensive communication course.

The major change in the style of the conference was a movement away from the traditional workshops. The program chairmen continued to schedule them in increasing numbers, but it became more and more difficult to operate them so that they retained their participative character. As conference attendance grew, it was often impossible to keep them small and to insure that the leaders followed the procedures outlined by the program chairmen. In the fall of 1963, CCCC issued a revised "Manual for Workshop Leaders" prepared by Robert Gorrell. Omitting the theoretical background contained in the first edition, Professor Gorrell outlined in three succinct pages the procedures and responsibilities for the conducting of these workshops.

The development of themes for the conferences and the attempts to design them to focus on more specific areas were apparently reactions to the discussion of future directions and philosophy and structure. There were also occasional letters to CCCC officers from members criticizing the tendency of the meetings to cover the whole universe of topics at every meeting and thus to engage in much repetition. These letters were given careful consideration, but most of the officers felt that since so many of the participants each year were attending for the first time and since there was so much diversity among the conferees, the organization should continue to stage broad-based conferences. The evaluation committees which operated at some conferences during these years were another attempt to insure that the meetings were as effective as possible. Appointed by the program chairman, they consisted of

several experienced CCCC members who observed and interviewed and pooled their findings in a critical assessment at the end of the conference. Written participant evaluations were not generally used, although Robert Gorrell employed them in 1963.

### The Journal

During the years of 1959-1967, College Composition and Communication was served by three editors. Each brought a markedly different style and tone to the publication, and it is useful to examine the history of CCC during this period in terms of the editorships of each of these individuals.

1959-1961: Cecil B. Williams, Oklahoma State University and Texas Christian University, editor. With the May, 1959, issue, the second to be edited by Professor Williams, CCC took on a new look. A heavier cover stock replaced the previous light weight cover; a two-inch bright green horizontal stripe slashed across the cover below the title; the table of contents was moved inside; and for the first time the publication referred to itself as the official journal (no longer bulletin) of the organization. Inside the cover the readers found the contents set in a new type style. These design changes had been determined by the editorial board with the authorization of the Executive Committee.

In his April 2, 1959, report to the CCCC Executive Committee, Editor Williams reported that the journal was growing up as a professional journal. No longer chiefly a bulletin for the publication of convention material, it had become a significant forum for the discussion of professional issues and theory. He reported that College English, the

older and more established journal of the NCTE College Section, had begun sending articles on language and composition to CCC. The Executive Committee gave careful consideration to a proposal by Erwin Steinberg that the journal should discontinue publication of individual panel and workshop reports in favor of a more general analytical summary of the meetings. They decided to continue to publish the reports and to supplement them with an analytical article.<sup>17</sup>

At the 1961 conference Editor Williams presided at a workshop on the editorial policy of the journal. The editor and 12 other persons discussed certain common criticisms of the journal, which included too heavy a stress on pedagogy and the lack of usefulness of some of the articles. They felt that it should become the authoritative journal in its field and that it should reflect more heavily the taste and views of its editor. In addition, the participants in the workshop debated two basic issues: (1) whether the journal should stress discussion of provocative and controversial issues or of technical teaching matters, and (2) whether certain issues should focus on one topic or problem. They decided that the journal should continue to include a variety of types of articles and that focused issues should be approached with caution. The group also recommended that more space be devoted to book reviews; that a "Letter to the Editor" section would be valuable; that the journal publish a "Year's Work in Composition," which had previously been discontinued; and that it publish a membership directory, possibly identifying

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<sup>17</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 26," College Composition and Communication, X (May, 1959), pp. 128-129.

the directors of freshman English programs. The group also discussed the problems of finding suitable material for publication in the journal, recommending increased assistance from the editorial board and some solicitation of articles.

From 1959 to 1961, the content of CCC did not change as noticeably as the appearance. The journal continued to carry a variety of articles and features. In addition to the regular features and those articles reporting on organizational concerns such as the future directions and the proposed name change, the subjects of the articles could be divided into five broad classifications: teaching techniques and devices, the management of writing courses, miscellaneous professional issues such as teacher training and standardized testing, reports of research, and discussion of theory. Those concerned with teaching techniques and course management appeared most frequently; the journal printed over 50 articles on those topics in the three-year period. Professional issues were next with approximately 20 articles. Discussions of research and language theory lagged far behind with 5 and 12 articles, respectively.

1962-1964: Ken Macrorie, Western Michigan University, editor. With the accession of Ken Macrorie to the office of editor, CCC underwent major changes in both appearance and content, as Professor Macrorie enthusiastically embraced the 1961 workshop recommendation that the publication should incorporate more of its editor's style and philosophy. At the time he took over CCC in 1962, he was developing a considerable disenchantment with his own and his colleagues' behavior in the writing

classroom. He felt that their methods were not working. Students were producing flat, ineffectual, dead prose no matter how avidly teachers experimented with the techniques propounded in the pages of CCC -- general semantics, logic, structural and transformational linguistics, Aristotelian rhetoric, painstaking correction of themes, group dynamics. He was convinced that this journal was "one of the most remarkable feats in public blindness in the history of that remarkably blind bunch of people we call teachers" because it was "one of the great recorders of one of the greatest jokes and fallacies of all time." He was convinced that few subscribers actually read CCC. The articles were dead, he thought, providing evidence that their authors had not mastered the craft they sought to teach. Furthermore, the journal looked bad -- "like a parts catalog from an automobile manufacturing company." However, he agreed to become editor, deciding he would do the best he could at the job.<sup>18</sup>

The new editor's first project was to change the appearance of CCC. Having worked briefly as a typographer after college, he wanted to re-design the magazine, as he liked to refer to it, to be more handsome and more readable. For the cover he obtained a sunburst design which had first appeared on an announcement published by the San Francisco Museum of Art, which gave permission for its use. Arnold N. Fujita, the artist, declined CCCC's offer of payment for his design, which soon became the logo of the organization. Professor Macrorie

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<sup>18</sup>Ken Macrorie, answers to written questions, July, 1977 (tape recording in the possession of the author).



praised Mr. Fujita for "a rare achievement in graphics -- a design that has vigor and yet does not tire." Also at this time the green striped, black-on-white cover was replaced by a cycle of bright colors of paper and ink. To complete the metamorphosis of the cover, the new editor proposed a change of title and suggested several for consideration by the Executive Committee and the membership: Statement, Cadmus, Pro-metheus, Say, and Helios.<sup>19</sup> But the widespread reluctance to alter the traditional title prevailed.

On the inside Macrorie instituted many other changes. He felt that the first purpose of CCC should be to wake up composition teachers to the fact that even with the best intentions and notions, they were not helping their students to write well. Then it should show them how they could help students. He set out to do these things by trying to select articles and features of a high quality which were "alive." He sought to keep CCC in close proximity to the central act of teaching but to do more than publish "little gimmicks about what to do in the classroom." He also wanted to leave space for basic theoretical and philosophical statements. In his pursuit of quality he sent back to their authors at least 80 percent of the articles he received because he found them to be badly written -- dull and verbose like students' prose. Virtually every rejection included a critique suggesting how the article could be improved -- a dangerous practice, he admitted, because some of them came back again and again, usually with little real improvement. He was devoted throughout to the principle that

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<sup>19</sup>"Miscellany," College Composition and Communication, XIII (February, 1962), p. 57.

writers in a magazine about writing and the teaching of writing should themselves be strong, vigorous writers.<sup>20</sup>

To move away from the "parts catalog" format, he began the practice of centering at least half the articles in each issue on a theme. For his first issue in February, 1962, he invited eight persons, some of them prominent college teachers and some of them undergraduate students, to write accounts of their experience as students in freshman English. Subsequent issues were centered on such themes as "Polemics" (December, 1963), "The Campus as Classroom" (February, 1963), "Graduate Students as Teachers" (May, 1963), and "Composition as Art" (February, 1964). One particularly memorable issue in October, 1963, centered on the theme "Toward a New Rhetoric" and contained Wayne C. Booth's important article "The Rhetorical Stance." Macrorie's final issue (December, 1964) had as its theme "The Graduate Experience in English." For this issue he invited ten anonymous college professors to write accounts of their own graduate training, and the result was a jarring indictment of the treatment of students in American graduate schools.

Another major change in format was the discontinuing of the practice of publishing reports of all the panels and workshops at the annual meetings. Professor Macrorie observed that the conference workshops had become increasingly repetitive and that the most influential

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<sup>20</sup>Macrorie, answers to written questions.

ideas in the field were coming not in the form of panel or workshop reports but of articles sent to the editor of CCC. He printed only the newest and most exciting panel and workshop reports -- 35 pages in 1962, 15 pages in 1963. Hence only a portion of the annual conference issue was devoted to these reports.

In November, 1963, CCC published a special supplemental issue containing a national directory of assistantships and fellowships in English. This directory edition became an annual feature. In 1964 a list of directors of freshman English was added. This directory was a product of the cooperative efforts of CCCC, NCTE, and the U. S. Office of Education. It was edited by NCTE staff members.

Other new features in CCC during this time included an expanded book review section and a "Miscellany" section containing miniature essays, correspondence, and announcements. The journal also began to publish original poetry. Macrorie selected the poems with great care. As a result CCC published some of the first work of people who went on to become noted poets: Frank C. Polite, Marvin Bell, Robert Pawlowski, and Conrad Hilberry.

More than any previous editor, Ken Macrorie left his stamp on College Composition and Communication. He succeeded to a considerable extent in making the journal attractive, readable, stimulating, and (to use one of his favorite words) "alive." The tone of the articles became considerably more personal and informal. If he was unable to find someone to write a piece that he wanted to publish, he occasionally wrote it himself. It is significant that his editorship of CCC coincided with the turning point in his own teaching career in 1964, the

year he discovered a "third way" of teaching which he has described in his books Uptaught and A Vulnerable Teacher.<sup>21</sup> The reader of these works can trace the evolution of Ken Macrorie's thinking in the pages of CCC from 1962 to 1964.

1965-1967: William F. Irmscher, University of Washington, editor.

Professor Irmscher served three full terms as editor of College Composition and Communication, far longer than any other editor. Having served for ten years as a director of freshman English, first at the University of Arizona and then at the University of Washington, he brought a broad knowledge of his field to the position. Under his leadership the journal made major advancements as a professional and scholarly publication. His first three-year term as editor will be discussed in this chapter with the remainder of his terms being considered in the next chapter.

Professor Irmscher brought several concerns about the journal to his new position. The primary problem he saw was that after 15 years of publication, it was still not well known. It was not, for example, indexed in either the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature or in the Education Index. He felt strongly that its failure to make more of an impact lay in the fact that it lacked substance in the form of important articles and research reports. He observed that few of the prominent names in the field appeared in its indexes. Even active CCCC members seemed to be publishing more of their work in College English. He came

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<sup>21</sup>Uptaught (New York: Hayden Book Company, 1970); A Vulnerable Teacher (Rochelle Park, New York: Hayden, 1974).

across one scholar who confessed to omitting his CCC articles from his resume for fear they would make a poor impression.<sup>22</sup>

As a remedy to this problem, Professor Irmscher proposed several changes. First, he would remove or at least reduce the number of articles which described the organization of freshman English programs, the training of teaching assistants, and procedures for grading papers. He also felt that fiction and poetry had no rightful place in the journal. Instead, he would turn CCC into an organ primarily for the study of "the craftsmen of the language." He wanted it to become the major periodical for non-fiction studies, publishing rhetorical studies, stylistic analyses, and thematic and critical treatments of great essayists. Additionally, it would "serve as a miscellany for articles on the relationship between language and composition, grammar and composition, and literature and composition."<sup>23</sup>

At the beginning of Irmscher's term, CCCC sent out an announcement of his appointment to English departments in colleges all over the country. The announcement solicited manuscripts of the kinds the new editor sought. And with his first issue he began to effect the changes he had advocated. So that he might include a wider variety of topics and publish articles sooner after their receipt, he abandoned Ken Macrorie's use of thematic issues. He felt that one of the major

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<sup>22</sup>William F. Irmscher, interview with the author, Kansas City, Missouri, March 31, 1977.

<sup>23</sup>William F. Irmscher, letter to James R. Squire, March 2, 1964.

obligations of the journal was to reflect all the movements within the organization. He added to the journal a new section called "Counter-statement," a term he borrowed from rhetorician Kenneth Burke, in which readers could voice their disagreements with or criticisms of articles they had read in its pages. He also made special efforts to read letters from readers and talk with members at meetings. He reported that it took him three years to develop a sense of audience for CCC.<sup>24</sup>

Another change which Editor Irmscher effected in the last issue of his first term was the introduction of advertising by book companies into the journal. Ken Macrorie had opposed such advertising on the grounds that it would destroy the esthetic qualities which he sought to foster in CCC. But as Irmscher began to receive more good articles than he had the budget to publish, he realized that income from advertisements would make it possible for him to enlarge the journal. The CCCC Executive Committee agreed.

The dominant topic of CCC articles during William Irmscher's first term was rhetoric. The journal reflected the intensified interest of the profession and the organization in this field of study. Numerous articles of rhetorical theory and analysis were published during this three-year period. A series of articles on the paragraph appeared in October, 1965; February, 1966; and December, 1966. Their respective authors were Francis Christensen, Paul Rodgers, Jr., and A. L. Becker. Then the editor asked each to write comments on the others' articles. To these comments he added another by Josephine Miles and an unsolicited

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<sup>24</sup>Irmscher, interview with the author.

article by David H. Karrfalt, which used as its point of departure the article by Christensen, and published the lot as a "Symposium on the Paragraph" in the May, 1966, issue. Other noteworthy discussions of rhetoric included "Sentences in Action: A Technique for Analyzing Paragraphs," by Richard Larson, in February, 1967; "Concerning 'Generative' Rhetoric," by David R. Stevens, October, 1967; "The Stadium of Discourse," by Paul Rodgers, October, 1967; and "The Four Faces of Rhetoric: A Progress Report," by James J. Murphy, May, 1966.

Three other major categories of articles appeared: general linguistic analysis, stylistic analysis of prose writers, and substantive articles on language teaching. The linguistic analysts wrote such articles as "Sequence of Tenses," by David DeCamp, February, 1967; "Shall-Will: A Modern Analysis," by Sidney Landau, October, 1967; "The Rhetoric of the Series," by Winston Weathers, December, 1966; and "Linguistics and the Performance of Poetry," by Garland Cannon, February, 1965.

The stylistic analyses of prose writers which the editor had solicited came in. These included Phyllis Brown Burke's "Rhetorical Considerations of Bacon's Style," February, 1967; Bud T. Cochran's "Lincoln Steffens and the Art of Autobiography," May, 1965; Sister M. Jolene Heue's "Some Thoughts on Lincoln's Style," October, 1966; D. L. Emblen's "Peter Mark Roget: Style as Symptom," October, 1966; and "Julian Huxley: The Specialist as Rhetorician," February, 1965.

The "how-to-do-it" articles appeared as brief selections in "Staffroom Interchange." The editor assigned primary spots in the journal to more philosophical and analytical articles on teaching, such

as "The Composition-Rhetoric Pyramid," by Virginia M. Burke, February, 1965; "Reflections on the State of Our Knowledge of Terminal English," by Raymond D. Liedlich, December, 1966; "Some Thoughts on Teaching Grammar to Improve Writing," by Bernard Baum, February, 1967; and "The Government and English Teaching: A Retrospective View," by Albert R. Kitzhaber, October, 1967.

Just as Ken Macrorie had accomplished many of his major goals for CCC at the end of his term, William Irmischer also accomplished many of his from 1965 to 1967. Prominent scholars such as Wayne Booth, University of Chicago rhetorician, were serving on the editorial board. Substantive articles were coming in with much greater frequency. CCC was beginning to look more like a scholarly journal, while retaining much of the literary style and originality injected into it by Ken Macrorie.

#### PROFESSIONALIZATION ACTIVITIES

From 1959 to 1967, CCCC devoted some efforts toward raising the professional status of the field of college composition teaching. In the early 1960's the Executive Committee, becoming more actively concerned with such matters, began to devote a large portion of its meetings to the discussion of general professional issues and the proper role of CCCC in relation to them. These deliberations resulted in several activities which can be broadly classified as efforts to develop the knowledge base of the profession and efforts to exert influence over the practice of the profession.



Developing the Knowledge Base  
of the Profession

CCCC officers had for some time expressed the feeling that the organization needed to do more to encourage, sponsor, and disseminate research in composition. Some members felt that research could demonstrate conclusively the most suitable methods of teaching college composition. In the early 1960's a Research Committee chaired by Herbert Hackett studied research methodology and statistical procedures and compiled a bibliography on the subject.

CCC published articles reporting research when the editors could get them, which was not often. The October, 1964, CCC contained a review of Research in Written Composition, a major study by Richard Braddock, Richard Lloyd-Jones, and Lowell Schoer published by NCTE the previous year. In this study the authors found "extensive professional irresponsibility" in the conducting of research on teaching composition, showing most such studies to be unreliable. They also listed 24 important questions almost untouched by research.

There were other efforts in specific subjects. Some members hoped to sponsor a workshop on communication theory during the summer of 1960, with financial support from large foundations. But the money was not available. Also in 1960, Chairman Glenn Leggett appointed an Advisory Committee on Linguistics chaired by Nelson Francis. Other prominent linguists served on the committee: John McLaughlin, Sumner Ives, James Sledd, and Paul Roberts. By and large, however, CCCC's hopes of becoming actively involved in research projects did not materialize.

In 1962 and 1963 CCCC did reprint in booklet form two series of major papers from the conferences of those years: Linguistics, Composing,

and Verbal Learning and Toward a New Rhetoric. These titles are indicative of major trends in scholarship during those years. Linguistics had made a great impact on language scholarship and teaching; rhetoric was enjoying the beginning of a major revival as a subject of study and research and as an approach to teaching.

Another noteworthy response to the rhetoric movement was the first CCCC Scholar's Seminar, originated by Chairman Robert Gorrell in 1964, and approved by the Executive Committee in response to significant developments at that year's annual meeting. Convening in Denver on September 11-12, this invitational seminar on rhetoric brought together ten noted rhetoricians and teachers to assess the state and implications of the movement. Participants were Wayne Booth, University of Chicago; Virginia Burke, University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee; Francis Christensen, University of Southern California; Edward P. J. Corbett, Creighton University; Robert Gorrell, University of Nevada, who chaired the seminar; Albert Kitzhaber, University of Oregon; Richard Ohmann, Wesleyan University; James R. Squire, University of Illinois; Richard Young, University of Michigan; and Karl Wallace, University of Illinois.

Professor Gorrell wrote a report of that seminar for the October, 1965, CCC. The report was not a summary of the proceedings but rather a number of comments influenced by the seminar. He pointed out that rhetoric meant many different things to many people and went on to discuss (1) ways in which rhetoric may be called "new," (2) problems and direction of contemporary rhetoric, and (3) relations of rhetoric to the teaching of English. A new rhetoric was developed because it was needed, as evidenced by the revival of interest in old rhetoric.

Rhetoric should be defined in two senses, he wrote: (1) the study of what happens in communication, and (2) precepts or advice that we can offer to writers or speakers. Rhetoric as advice to writers must grow from rhetorical theory. It must attempt to describe the choices available, not prescribe rules. Rhetoric should serve as the subject matter for the freshman course, being much more valuable in that role than literature or grammar.<sup>25</sup>

Exerting Control Over the  
Practice of the Profession

Like the members of other emerging professions, many college composition teachers have expressed concern that they do not exercise enough control over the practice of their own profession. In a 1963 CCC article Donald Tighe deplored the widespread criticism of English departments by other faculty and the fact that English instructors and departments had almost no say about the content of their courses. Deploping the "spineless subservience" of English faculty, he declared that the situation would last until they realized "that the freshman English instructor should teach rhetoric, not something else." He further wrote, "We deserve criticism for designing our freshman English programs to meet the requirements of those whose interest in writing is limited to a distaste for spelling errors and a self-righteous pride in their ability to spy a split infinitive."<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Robert M. Gorrell, "Very Like a Whale -- A Report on Rhetoric," College Composition and Communication, XVI (October, 1965), pp 138-143.

<sup>26</sup>"The Shame of Freshman English," College Composition and Communication, XIV (February, 1963), pp. 34-35.

From 1959 to 1967, several CCCC committees made studies and led efforts to exert more influence on various procedures in college composition teaching. Their activities were varied, but not all of them produced significant results.

In the late 1950's a Committee on Preparation of Linguistic Recordings began efforts to produce tapes for classroom use. In 1959 they reported the completion of a recording on intonation and writing and the near-completion of another on punctuation. A joint CCCC/NCTE Committee on the Use of Educational Television began in the early 1960's to produce a series of kinescopes on the proper use of educational television.

In November, 1962, Chairman Francis Bowman announced the appointment of three new major committees: (1) a Committee on the Education and Training of College Composition Teachers, chaired by Wallace Douglas, which was dissolved in 1965 because it seemed to be duplicating the work of other groups; (2) a Committee on College Composition Beyond the Freshman Year, chaired by Robert Hunting, which gathered data on post-freshman courses; and (3) a Committee on Testing Skills in Composition, chaired by John Sherwood, which presented a report in March, 1966. This committee called upon CCCC members to recognize the dangers of objective testing in composition. It made suggestions on "how tests might rationally be employed and abuses avoided."<sup>27</sup> Another committee was then named to make further studies of such tests. In 1963 a committee chaired by

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<sup>27</sup>"Committee on Testing: Terminal Report," College Composition and Communication, XVII (December, 1966), p. 269.

William Doster began to compile a collection of course descriptions from various types of colleges across the country. The original intention had been to publish these as a guide, but in 1967 CCCC discontinued the project for fear that such a book would prove too prescriptive.

By March of 1966, three other committees were operating: (1) a Committee on Preparing a Book of Readings from NCTE and CCCC Publications for Graduate Assistants; (2) a Committee on Preparing an Annotated Bibliography on the Teaching of College English to supplement two previous ones published in College English; and (3) a Committee on Undergraduate English Programs in Four-Year Colleges. These committees operated in cooperation with NCTE.

During the mid-1960's the CCCC Executive Committee began the trend of making public statements on various issues. This practice was to grow, becoming one of CCCC's familiar patterns of operation in later years. In November of 1963, the Executive Committee decided to instruct the Committee on Teacher Education to prepare a statement on the responsibility of graduate schools in the preparation of composition teachers. In March, 1964, it decided to issue a statement on the maximum teaching loads for composition teachers. Also in that month it adopted a resolution from the Report of the Commission on the Humanities of the American Council of Learned Societies, deploring any refusal by English departments to accept the responsibility of teaching students to write well or any attempt to shift that responsibility to the high schools.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>"CCCC Secretary's Reports," Nos. 45-48, College Composition and Communication, XV (October, 1964), pp. 200-206.

During the period from 1959 to 1967, the professionalizing activities of the Conference on College Composition and Communication were still relatively weak. The organization seemed not yet ready to mount the kind of well organized and well financed long-term efforts to strengthen the professional position of college composition teachers that it was to undertake later. Most of its resources were directed during this period to identifying its appropriate role and functions and to bringing the journal and the annual meetings to national prominence and greater professional respectability.

## Chapter 5

### RESPONDING TO SOCIAL AGITATION: 1968-1975

On April 4, 1968, as the members of the Conference on College Composition and Communication were gathering in Minneapolis for their annual spring meetings, Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated. The news sent shock waves through the conference. Some participants thought that the meetings should be cancelled. The officers, however, decided that cancellation would not be appropriate since most of the participants had already arrived and since the organization had made a commitment to the hotel. So the meetings continued, though not quite as usual. The year 1968 marked the beginning of a period in the life of CCCC which was characterized primarily by a greatly increased concern for social justice.

Like other professional associations and learned societies, CCCC was presented with a variety of challenges arising from a number of social movements reaching a peak of activity during this period: the peace movement, the Black movement, the women's movement, and the student movement. Their responses to the challenges took the forms of official statements and actions committing the organization to a variety of sociological and professional stances. Some of these activities were directly related to the teaching of English composition; some were not. Considerable controversy arose over whether CCCC should confine itself to strictly professional issues or whether it should define its concern for writing and

language and education broadly enough to include social patterns which influenced the lives of students and teachers.

The concern for social justice was reflected in almost every phase of CCCC's activities during this period. Its consequences were evident in the journal, the conferences, the decisions and actions, and the structure and development of CCCC.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION

##### The Radical Movement

During the late 1960's and early 1970's American higher education institutions and professional associations were the scene of a number of activities conducted by groups which sought to effect profound changes in the role and structure of these institutions and organizations. The most vocal of these dissidents were a group of graduate students and professors identifying themselves with the New Left. Rejecting the tradition that political activism had no rightful part in the role of the professional association, they sought to involve several of these groups in various social controversies of the times.<sup>1</sup>

Between 1968 and 1972 a group known as the New University Conference served as the focal organization for many of these radical activists. The NUC program called for providing universal access to higher education, which would be financed by increased corporation taxes; ending all possibility of failure by eliminating grading; dropping standardized tests;

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<sup>1</sup>Harland G. Bloland and Sue M. Bloland, American Learned Societies in Transition: The Impact of Dissent and Recession (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974).



doing away with vocational training as such; letting students and teachers decide among themselves the content of all courses; and providing free day care for the children of students.<sup>2</sup>

At the 1968 Modern Language Association meeting, the New University Conference succeeded in electing to the position of second vice president one of its members who had been arrested after scuffling with hotel security guards over some posters protesting the Vietnam War. In addition, it successfully sponsored several resolutions condemning the Vietnam War and the draft. To accomplish this coup, the NUC turned out large numbers of its members and supporters at the annual business meeting, which was attended by at least 550 MLA members, in sharp contrast to the approximately 50 persons who had attended the previous year.<sup>3</sup>

In 1969 the New University Conference turned its attention toward the CCCC. Registrants arriving for the spring meetings in Miami found inserted into their programs a supplementary sheet listing 16 sessions presented by the NUC "in cooperation with CCCC." These sessions carried such titles as "New Left Literary Criticism," "Teachers as Political Beings," "The English Teacher and Student Rebellions," and "Reactionary Biases our Curricula Promote." NUC discussion leaders for these sessions included Louis Kampf of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the NUC candidate who had been elected to the MLA second vice presidency; and Richard Ohmann, then and now editor of College English.

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<sup>2</sup>Charles A. Krause, "New University Conference," The New Republic, March 20, 1971, pp. 17-18.

<sup>3</sup>Bloland and Bloland, pp. 70-71.

However, many CCCC members and officers, including Program Chairman Ronald Freeman, were very displeased with the NUC activities. NUC had not gone through the regular channels of program planning. Their leaders had requested program slots well after the program planning was completed and then had made their overtures not to the program chairman but to the National Council of Teachers of English headquarters. Under persuasion from Robert Hogan of the NCTE staff, Professor Freeman agreed to permit the supplementary program to be inserted into the regular program and to provide meeting space for the NUC sessions after all the regular meetings had been assigned rooms. NUC had asked for priority in room assignments. A pressing concern of the CCCC officers during all of these negotiations was the potential for tension and even disruption during the conference. Emotions were running high, and the memory of the troubles at the MLA a few months ago was still fresh. But the officers' worst fears were not realized. Aside from some minor problems with broken air conditioning and overcrowded rooms, the meetings proceeded without incident.<sup>4</sup>

The CCCC Executive Committee took steps promptly to avoid a similar problem at future meetings. On April 16, 1969, they voted that any group not affiliated with CCCC or NCTE which wanted to present a substantial program at a CCCC convention be required to submit the

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<sup>4</sup>Ronald Freeman, telephone interview with the author, July 27, 1977.

program in writing to the Executive Committee in time for consideration at its November meeting.<sup>5</sup>

At the 1970 CCCC convention, the New University Conference was again visible. Louis Kampf spoke at the opening general session on the topic "Must We Have a Cultural Revolution?" At the open discussion meeting on Saturday morning, the NUC offered four resolutions on women, anti-war, anti-colonialism, and political firings. However, no official records were kept and subsequent confusion arose about how they were to be presented and distributed to the members for action. No official action was taken.

In 1971 the open discussion meeting included a heated controversy over the appropriateness of political action by CCCC. One of the issues the members were asked to consider was the People's Peace Treaty, a document drawn up and signed in North Vietnam by a group of American and North and South Vietnamese students. This document proclaimed the independence of the American and South Vietnamese peoples from their governments and set forth terms of peace which the people themselves agreed to, including an immediate and total withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam. The treaty had been signed by numerous individuals and endorsed by various anti-war organizations.<sup>6</sup> Introduced at the meeting by Gregory Cowan of Forest Park Community College, the motion to endorse the

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<sup>5</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 61-A," College Composition and Communication, XX (October, 1969), p. 271. CCC printed both this report and the subsequent report as "Report No. 61." For purposes of distinction, they will be cited as Reports No. 61-A and 61-B.

<sup>6</sup>"A Declaration of Independence from the Vietnam War," Ramparts, April, 1971, p. 15.

People's Peace Treaty passed 44 to 31 with 10 abstentions.<sup>7</sup> The year 1972 saw the demise of the New University Conference, but its effect, and that of other radical and liberal elements, was to outlive the NUC itself.

#### Evolution of the Business Meeting

The original constitution of CCCC had provided that the organization hold its annual business meeting during the November convention of its parent organization, the National Council of Teachers of English. This practice continued until the early 1970's. However, because very few CCCC members were able to attend the NCTE meetings in addition to the spring CCCC conference, the so-called business meeting was in fact a pleasant luncheon at which a small group heard a guest speaker and transacted no significant business. Officers were elected by mail, and actual decisions about the business of CCCC were made at the semi-annual Executive Committee meetings. During the 1960's, however, some members began to complain that they felt out of touch with the organization. Therefore, in 1970 the CCCC conference program began to include an open discussion meeting at which all members could meet with the officers and offer comments, criticisms, and suggestions about the organization and about the conference programs. It soon became apparent that many of the persons present at these meetings wanted to do more than offer comments, criticisms, and suggestions; they wanted to adopt resolutions. But the group

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<sup>7</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 64," College Composition and Communication, XXII (October, 1971), p. 301.

could not legally conduct such votes, and confusion arose about how the resolutions could be properly introduced and voted upon.

Subsequently, at the meeting of the CCCC Executive Committee on March 24, 1971, Robert Hogan, executive secretary of NCTE, suggested that CCCC amend its constitution to hold its annual business meeting at its own spring conference rather than at the NCTE conference. A motion to that effect passed unanimously and was later ratified by the membership. Beginning in 1972, CCCC held its annual business meeting on the last day of its spring conference. It is interesting to note that the impetus for this change came from the NCTE staff, which had been the source of the original requirement that CCCC must hold its business meeting where it could be closely scrutinized--at the NCTE convention.

### Resolutions

The most prominent result of the moving of the business meeting was the spate of resolutions introduced and passed each year beginning in 1972. It soon became apparent that the organization needed an efficient system of dealing with resolutions. Therefore, in 1973 CCCC adopted a set of procedural rules for the discussion and disposition of resolutions, including a provision for submitting them to a Resolutions Committee well in advance of the conference.

Some of the resolutions passed during this period were directly concerned with the teaching of college composition. They will be discussed in the section of this chapter on professionalization activities. Others, however, were of a more general character, dealing with broader educational or social issues. Some of the resolutions were primarily

the result of the activities of the radical and liberal groups within the organization. Several of them originated in the various special interest caucuses that were organized during this period: the Women's Caucus, the Black Caucus, and the Chicano Caucus.

At the 1972 business meeting the members adopted several resolutions which had been passed as sense-of-the-house motions in 1971. These included a two-pronged resolution from the Black Caucus "that a substantial number of Black members of the profession be program participants in significant roles at the annual meetings of the CCCC" and that the CCCC endorse a resolution on "instant Black scholars" passed by the College Language Association, an organization of teachers at predominantly Black institutions. This resolution deplored the fact that many colleges seemed prone to adopt ill-conceived Black Studies programs and textbooks prepared by persons with little knowledge and experience of Black people and their history. Other resolutions adopted in 1972 supported the Women's Caucus in calling for an end to discriminatory hiring and admissions practices; urged NCTE to investigate and publish findings on learning skills centers, which seemed to threaten the personal relationship between teacher and student; and supported all necessary means to achieve school integration.

### Decisions

CCCC made a number of policy decisions and took several steps during 1968-1975 which reflected its concern for social justice. Beginning in 1968 the CCCC program chairmen made a concerted effort to include more Blacks on the convention program. The 1968 program chairman,

Wallace Douglas, sought suggestions and volunteers from predominantly Black colleges and other sources. He succeeded in placing more Blacks on the program, including novelist and poet Margaret Walker Alexander of Jackson (Mississippi) State College, who spoke at the final luncheon session.

In 1969 Program Chairman Ronald Freeman continued this concern, and he also addressed himself to the special needs of those persons teaching in areas with large Mexican-American populations. In 1969, for the first time, the program chairman appropriated funds from the program budget to help defray the expenses of Black program participants who otherwise would have been unable to come to the conference. This effort to include on the program a significant number of Blacks, and later, members of other minorities such as Chicanos, continued throughout this period. In addition, the Executive Committee decided to seek Blacks to serve on the editorial board of CCC.

Also in 1969, the CCCC Executive Committee voted not to hold the organization's 1971 convention in Chicago as previously scheduled because of the events surrounding the Democratic convention there in 1968, during which police and demonstrators had engaged in violent confrontations. In explaining their action to the hotel with which they had contracted and to the CCCC members, the Executive Committee adopted a statement objecting to "the language of the nightstick" in place of "the language of words." The statement expressed the opinion that the action was "in the long-range interests of all teachers of English." Subsequently, the membership of CCCC endorsed the Executive Committee's decision two to

one in a mail vote. This action was consistent with that of the Modern Language Association and several other professional associations, which had adopted an informal five-year moratorium on professional conferences in Chicago.<sup>8</sup>

In 1970 Ernece Kelly, a Black member of the CCCC Executive Committee, introduced a motion that the committee urge the Editorial Board of CCC not to accept advertisements for books "which could reasonably be expected to embrace cultural and racial variety, but which do not," to prohibit publishers from exhibiting such books at the conference, and to encourage members not to buy them. Professor Kelly served as chairman of NCTE's new Task Force on Racism and Bias in the Teaching of English. Some members of the group expressed concern that such action might constitute censorship and might be legally questionable. CCCC Chairman Ronald Freeman felt that such a resolution was an affront to the publishing companies who gave significant support to CCCC through their conference exhibits and journal advertisements.<sup>9</sup> But most members of the Executive Committee felt that the resolution would promote greater honesty and accuracy, and they voted overwhelmingly for the motion, with the provision that the restrictions not be implemented until criteria could be set forth and accepted. In 1971 the criteria developed by Professor Kelly's task force were adopted.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 61-A," pp. 270-71.

<sup>9</sup>Ronald Freeman, telephone interview with the author, July 27, 1977.

<sup>10</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 62," College Composition and Communication, XXI (October, 1970), pp. 305-306.



In the early 1970's it became the practice to contract to hold CCCC conferences only in hotels which followed fair employment practices--specifically, those which did not practice racial discrimination. This procedure never became much of an issue, but it is worth noting as part of the pattern of CCCC decisions during this period.

It is important to note one final way in which CCCC responded to the great social movements of this period--the choice of its officers. In 1969 Elisabeth McPherson of Forest Park Community College was elected assistant chairman, which meant that she would automatically become associate chairman/program chairman the next year, and then chairman the year after that. Professor McPherson was the first woman to be regularly elected to this position, as 1963 chairman Priscilla Tyler was named by the Executive Committee to fill a vacancy caused by an elected officer's acceptance of a year's sabbatical leave. Then in 1972 Marianna Davis of Benedict College became the first Black elected to the top CCCC office. In 1974 CCCC began the unofficial policy of designating its chief executives and committee heads as "chairs" rather than "chairmen," thus eliminating the use of a designation which some members had found sexist and thus offensive.

### Directions

During the late 1960's another extended discussion of the appropriate purpose and province of CCCC began. It was not to have the impact on the organization of the "future directions" controversy of a decade earlier, but it did produce some modifications in the activities of CCCC and in its relationship with the National Council of Teachers of English.

This new discussion of future directions began much as the earlier one had, with a statement and a suggestion by Chairman Dudley Bailey at the November, 1968, Executive Committee meeting. "Bailey stated that the organization was approaching the watershed year with finances in good shape, all committees reporting, and rather well developed and varied program interests. He felt that now the organization would have some freedom to consider the direction in which it might go in the years to follow."<sup>11</sup> In 1969 Executive Committee member and future CCCC chairman Richard Larson expressed the feelings of a sizable number of members in a formal proposal that CCCC define its concern as the first two years of college English, concentrating on the unit of education rather than on the activity. This proposal grew partly out of the fact that a number of colleges and universities during this period were eliminating the traditional requirement that all students take freshman composition.

In 1970, for two days preceding the annual conference in Seattle, the CCCC Executive Committee met as a past chairman's seminar led by Wallace Douglas to discuss the future province and role of CCCC in the profession. This group produced the following resolution:

Resolved that CCCC express its active interest in and concern with all teaching of English at the college level with particular concern for the substance of courses and the quality of teaching for the non-major student; and express its intent that its interest and concern be reflected in its program; and that we further express this interest and concern with the specific proviso that we do not thereby renounce a continuing active emphasis on writing

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<sup>11</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 59," College Composition and Communication, XX (October, 1969), p. 266.

in both the initial year and all undergraduate years. To this end we recommend to NCTE Executive Committee the establishment of an expanded interlocking directorate with the College Section.<sup>12</sup>

Some members expressed concern that this expansion of the official scope of CCCC would result in too much overlapping with NCTE's College Section. They did not want CCCC to lose its unique identity within the NCTE structure. Other NCTE constituent groups were also concerned. In January of 1971, NCTE Associate Executive Secretary Robert Hogan wrote to CCCC Chairman Edward P. J. Corbett expressing concern that the Conference on English Education and CCCC were about to collide or at least encroach into each other's territory in the areas of the preparation of junior college English teachers and the problems of undergraduate English education. However, CCCC maintained amiable relationships with its sister organizations during this period, even if they did occasionally look askance on some of its more aggressive proposals. NCTE turned down a CCCC request to allow it to place a representative on each NCTE committee, but it joined forces with CCCC in such efforts as the Task Force on Racism and Bias, the committee to draw up guidelines for the preparation of junior college English teachers, and the sponsorship of study groups prior to NCTE conventions on such topics as The Joint Responsibility of High Schools and Colleges toward English, which was held in 1971. In addition, CCCC and CEE sent representatives to each other's conferences and Executive Committee meetings.

One issue which arose occasionally during the late 1960's and early 1970's was whether the organization should hold regional

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<sup>12</sup>NCTE Annual Reports, 1970, p. D-3.

conferences in some years so as to enable more members to attend. Actually, this idea was not new; it had been suggested during the early years too. However, it was never adopted, probably because of the greatly increased cost and work of planning a series of regional meetings as opposed to one national meeting.

In spite of all the proposals for changes of purpose and province between 1968 and 1975, the organization stopped short of major formalized action, just as it had during the previous future directions controversy. On March 12, 1975, the CCCC Executive Committee defeated a motion that a task force be appointed to study the by-laws and organizational structure to see whether changes would be desirable.

#### The Two-Year Regional Conferences

During the period 1968 to 1975, the six regional conferences on English in the Two-Year College continued to function and, in some cases, to flourish. Over 1,200 persons attended these meetings in the spring of 1968. The number reached 1,500 in 1968-69, 1969-70, and 1971-72, dropped to 1,400 for the next two years, and then to 1,200 in 1974-75. However, it jumped back up to 1,500 in 1975-76.<sup>13</sup>

The National Junior College Committee, composed of representatives from each of the regions, engaged in a variety of activities. It published a national newsletter three times a year which was distributed to all the members of the regional organizations. In 1969 it drew up a

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<sup>13</sup>NCTE Annual Reports, 1968-1976.

guidebook for planning the regional conferences. This book was edited by Nancy Prichard, former NJCC member from Shoreline Community College who had become a member of the NCTE staff.<sup>14</sup> The NJCC assisted CCCC program chairmen in placing two-year college faculty on the CCCC conference programs. In cooperation with NCTE and CCCC, it drew up recommendations for the training of junior college English teachers. It selected a special kit of NCTE publications for exhibit at regional meetings. And in 1975 it began an extended discussion and investigation of English programs in two-year colleges and the needs of teachers in these programs. It was expected that this discussion would lead to greater involvement of the regional organizations in the work of teachers in their areas, to new in-service programs, and to the development of new communication channels within the regional organizations and between NCTE/CCCC and the regional groups. In addition, the members of the NJCC continued to sit on the CCCC Executive Committee, where they exerted influence on the decisions of that group.

### Membership

As the previous period was one of growth for CCCC, the years from 1968 to 1975 were a period of shrinkage, at least in the number of members. It is ironic that, during the years when the organization was reaching the height of its professional activity and influence, it should

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<sup>14</sup>A Guide to Planning the Regional Conferences on English in the Two-Year College (Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1969).

suffer a great loss in membership, but that was indeed what happened.

The figures looked like this:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Members</u>
May 1968	5045
May 1969	4802
May 1970	4491
May 1971	4116
May 1972	3797
May 1973	3558
May 1974	3278
May 1975	3140 <sup>15</sup>

It is possible to offer several explanations for this steady decline. One is that membership grew more expensive. CCCC dues increased from \$2 to \$3 in 1966 and to \$5 in 1974. At the same time, NCTE dues were raised to \$15 in 1973, with the total membership dues for CCC members thus being \$20 by 1974. It is also likely that some persons who held conservative or moderate philosophies declined to renew their memberships because of the various controversial stands taken by CCCC during this period. However, it is important to note that what happened to CCCC's membership was also happening to that of other professional associations. The year 1968 saw the beginning of what has been called the academic recession. In 1968 the number of new faculty members hired each year by American colleges and universities began to decrease. At the same time the rate

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<sup>15</sup>Letter from Carl D. Johnson, NCTE Executive Administrator for Business Affairs, August 5, 1977.

of production of Ph.D.'s remained high, creating in many fields, including English, a great job crisis, with the bargaining power of the individual faculty member for jobs and status growing very weak. Thus during this period an increasing number of these persons turned to faculty unions such as the American Association of University Professors, the National Education Association, and the American Federation of Teachers, which were much more strongly oriented toward strengthening the job security and bargaining power of their members than were the traditional professional associations, which had worked to strengthen the influence of particular disciplines rather than individual members of those disciplines. Furthermore, as departmental travel budgets shrank in the academic recession, fewer persons could obtain funds to pay their expenses to attend professional meetings.<sup>16</sup>

#### PROFESSIONALIZATION ACTIVITIES

During 1968-1975 CCCC became increasingly assertive in its efforts to exert professional control over the field of college composition teaching. Its committees and task forces conducted research and issued statements about how teachers should be trained, what they should teach, how they should evaluate, and how they should be evaluated. CCCC concerned itself with tenure and academic freedom. It greatly stepped up its efforts to influence the decisions of college administrators over a wide range of topics and to keep control of matters related to college English teaching in the hands of college English teachers. In the process of these

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<sup>16</sup>Bloland and Bloland.

activities, it attracted considerable notice in the educational community and even in the popular press.

### "The Students' Right to Their Own Language"

Of all the actions taken by CCCC since it was formed in 1949, none has attracted as much attention or caused as much controversy as the resolution known as "The Students' Right to Their Own Language," which was passed in 1974 at the Anaheim convention. The origins of this resolution go back several years. Its emergence and acceptance are very much the result of the social climate of the times as well as the result of modern linguistic research and theory.

History. The impetus for a statement about language can be traced back to the development of modern linguistic scholarship, which began to make its impact in the 1950's. Modern linguists, or "new grammarians," concentrated on an analysis of the language as it was currently used, especially in the spoken form. Traditional linguists concentrated on language as it was used in literature, often using a historical approach to analyze the development of linguistic patterns. During the 1950's a debate arose between the traditional prescriptive grammarians, who felt that the grammatical analyses of the English language should be used as devices to teach all students which structures were correct and which were incorrect, and the new descriptive grammarians, who felt that grammatical analyses should be used merely as objective descriptions of the ways language was used. The descriptive grammarians stressed that English usage--for example, choice of verb forms--depended on many



factors such as ethnic background, regional customs, and social class. They developed the concept of different levels of varieties of usage which were characteristic not only of different groups of people but also of the language of any one person in different circumstances.

A serious controversy arose over the concept of "standard" American English. The traditionalists argued that standard English-- the language used by the best educated and most influential Americans-- was a language which the schools must teach to all students because it was a language in which government and business and most important communications were conducted. A great amount of prestige was associated with the ability to use standard English well, and the traditionalists were concerned that if students could not use it with some degree of proficiency, they would be unable to hold most responsible jobs and thus to become upwardly mobile. Most of the new grammarians, however, argued that what was called standard English was actually only another variety or dialect of the language which was intrinsically no better than any other variety. They felt that persons using what the traditionalists would call non-standard English could communicate with others who used the same dialect just as effectively as users of standard English could communicate with each other. They pointed out that the basic grammatical structure of the English sentence was the same in all dialects and that the differences were actually a matter of usage, not of grammar itself.

The controversy raged around, among other events, the publication of the Merriam-Webster Company's Third New International Dictionary in

1961. This work, unlike previous editions, did not always label certain usages as being preferred, but often simply reported instances of various usages. Those who believed that a dictionary had a responsibility to uphold certain traditional standards of usage debated those who pointed out that living languages are always changing and felt that a dictionary's responsibility was simply to describe, not to prescribe. Furthermore, those scholars who held the more liberal and radical ideologies deplored the way in which persons were labelled and channeled into various social and economic roles because of the dialects they used. They felt that it was the listener's attitude that was the problem, not the speaker's usage. Many of them felt this situation to be morally wrong and advocated major changes in the very philosophy of American education as well as the structure of American society.

In November, 1969, at the CCCC Executive Committee meeting, New University Conference member Neal Resnikoff met with the group and presented for their consideration a number of resolutions prepared by the NUC. The first one began with the statement that "all NCTE and section meetings and Executive Committees shall work actively to make non-Standard dialects acceptable in all schools from kindergarten on." After some discussion of the possible implications of such a resolution, the Executive Committee voted to form a CCCC committee to formulate a statement "concerning the relationship between language and social attitudes, especially in the case of teachers, and to suggest a direction toward which CCCC could develop." CCCC Chairman Wallace Douglas later

appointed Juanita Williamson, John Ashmead, and Richard Young to this committee.<sup>17</sup>

In the meantime, NCTE formed its own Commission on Language, which prepared a rather mild preliminary statement that was read and discussed at the November, 1970, meeting of the CCCC Executive Committee. The CCCC committee had not drawn up a statement. However, another CCCC group chaired by Gregory Cowan of Forest Park Community College, which had been charged with the responsibility of preparing a set of guidelines for preparation of junior college English teachers, wrote its own statement on levels of language and dialects as part of these guidelines. The guidelines provided that these prospective teachers should possess competency in modern linguistics, including the concept of levels of language and dialects. At their meeting in March, 1971, the Executive Committee strengthened this position by changing the competency statement to read that junior college English teachers should "recognize that all levels of language and all dialects are equally valuable and that academic insistence on a so-called 'standard' English for all situations is an unrealistic political and social shibboleth based on unsound linguistic information." Only one negative vote was cast. In addition, the Executive Committee added another statement to the effect that there was no such dialect as standard American English and that "the choice between one item or another is a matter of sociology and etiquette, not of grammar or linguistics."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 61-B," College Composition and Communication, XXI (October, 1970), p. 301.

<sup>18</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 64."

Later at this same meeting Wallace Douglas reported "that the NCTE Executive Committee and the Commission on Composition were distressed by the statement on usage written by the Commission on Language." He proposed that the CCCC Executive Committee send NCTE a strong statement indicating that CCCC would "not tolerate anything short of a lucid statement indicating the linguistic and social problems that are involved in current teacher attitudes toward the language of their students." The group then passed a motion stating that if the NCTE commission did not produce such a statement, CCCC would issue its own.<sup>19</sup>

In late 1971, as a result of Executive Committee action at its November meeting, CCCC formed a new committee to make another effort to formulate a statement "affirming the student's right to his own language."<sup>20</sup> Professor Richard Lloyd-Jones of the University of Iowa was named chairman. This committee presented a preliminary statement to the Executive Committee at its meeting in March, 1972. After making some changes in wording, the Executive Committee approved the following statement by a vote of 22 to one with one abstension.

We affirm the student's right to his own language--the dialect of his nurture in which he finds his identity and style. Any claim that only one dialect is acceptable should be viewed as attempts of one social group to exert its dominance over another, not as either true or sound advice to speakers and writers, nor as moral advice to human beings. A nation which is proud of its diverse heritage and of its cultural and racial variety ought to preserve

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<sup>19</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 64," p. 300.

<sup>20</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 65," College Composition and Communication, XXIII (October, 1972), p. 322.

its heritage of dialects. We affirm strongly the need for teachers to have such training as will enable them to support this goal of diversity and this right of the student to his own language.<sup>21</sup>

Realizing that the document would create controversy, especially among laymen, the Executive Committee also instructed CCCC Chairman Elisabeth McPherson to appoint a task force to write a background statement of explanation to accompany the resolution. Professor Melvin Butler of Southern University was named chairman of this task force. This group met with NCTE staff members in October of 1972 and made preliminary plans for a document which would contain sections on (1) dialect, (2) schoolroom concerns, and (3) post-schoolroom concerns. Each section would contain a bibliography. The task force continued its work during the November NCTE convention.<sup>22</sup>

At the April 4, 1973, CCCC Executive Committee meeting, task force chairman Melvin Butler presented his report. Among other things, the task force had eliminated all sexist pronouns and attempted to aim the document at a general audience. A three-hour discussion full of parliamentary maneuvering ensued. Many members suggested revisions. Considerable disagreement arose over whether the document should be aimed at the English-teaching profession or at the general public or at both. Motions were made, amended, tabled. The committee finally

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<sup>21</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 66," College Composition and Communication, XXIII (October, 1972), p. 325.

<sup>22</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 67," College Composition and Communication, XXIV (October, 1973), p. 333.

voted to end the discussion, with the provision that individuals should send suggestions for further changes to the task force.<sup>23</sup>

At the November, 1973, Executive Committee meeting, CCCC Chairman James Barry announced the death of Melvin Butler. He then presented the report of the task force. Again, a very lengthy discussion of the background statement ensued. The committee then voted to accept the statement, to transmit the statement and the resolution to the membership by mail in early 1974, and to place the resolution on the agenda of the business meeting of the Anaheim conference.<sup>24</sup>

At the official CCCC business meeting on April 6, 1974, the members present affirmed "The Students' Right to Their Own Language" as Resolution No. 7 in a vote of 79 to 20.<sup>25</sup> The final version of the statement read as follows:

We affirm the students' right to their own patterns and varieties of language--the dialects of their nurture or whatever dialects in which they find their own identity and style. Language scholars long ago denied that the myth of a standard American dialect has any validity. The claim that any one dialect is unacceptable amounts to an attempt of one social group to exert its dominance over another. Such a claim leads to false advice for speakers and writers, and immoral advice for humans. A nation proud of its diverse heritage and its cultural and racial variety will preserve its heritage of dialects. We affirm

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<sup>23</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 68," College Composition and Communication, XXIV (October, 1973), pp. 338-40.

<sup>24</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 69," College Composition and Communication, XXV (October, 1974), p. 339.

<sup>25</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 70," College Composition and Communication, XXV (October, 1974), p. 339.

strongly that teachers must have the experiences and training that will enable them to respect diversity and uphold the right of students to their own language.<sup>26</sup>

The complete document, which was edited by Richard Lloyd-Jones, was published in the fall of 1974 as a 32-page special issue of CCC. This issue contained an introductory section including the resolution; 15 questions and answers covering dialect, writing, grammar, testing, and the recommended linguistic competencies for English teachers; and an annotated bibliography of 129 entries keyed to the 15 questions. The numerous CCCC members who had worked for years to produce this document doubtless felt a great sense of relief when it finally appeared. But the controversy was not over.

Reaction. The Executive Committee's almost unanimous votes in favor of the CCCC language statement, as well as the large majority by which the resolution was approved in Anaheim, might suggest that the membership was solidly in favor of the resolution. However, there was considerable opposition within the organization from those members who held a more traditional view of language teaching. It could be argued that the statement was written and adopted because the more liberal and activist members had worked their way into positions of leadership and made it a point to attend the Anaheim business meeting. CCCC members who objected to the resolution pointed out that attendance at the conference in Anaheim was only about 50 to 60 percent of the usual

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<sup>26</sup>"Students' Right to Their Own Language," College Composition and Communication, XXV (Fall, 1974, Special Issue), pp 2-3.

figure for these meetings, and that the 100 persons in attendance at the business meeting represented a very small percentage of the members, who numbered approximately 3200 at that time. On the other hand, the proponents of the language statement would probably argue that CCCC leaders were chosen because of their scholarship and professional competence, and that it was inevitable that the most knowledgeable and competent members of the profession would take this position. They seemed to feel that some members of the profession misunderstood the statement because they had not been trained in modern linguistics.

In any case, "The Students' Right to Their Own Language" began to stir up controversy well before its adoption in Anaheim. In October, 1972, CCC carried two negative responses to the Executive Committee's actions, one straightforward and one ironic, the latter written in a "non-standard dialect."<sup>27</sup> In December of 1972 another CCC response called for the compromise of making every dialect a tool for exact, precise language.<sup>28</sup> That suggestion drew a reaction in May, 1973, in which Adam A. Casmier criticized the author for making the resolution "seem radical."<sup>29</sup> In December, 1973, Garland Cannon discussed the difficulties

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<sup>27</sup>William Pixton and John R. Hendrickson, "Responses to CCCC Executive Committee's Resolution 'The Student's Right to His Own Language,'" College Composition and Communication, XXIII (October, 1972), pp. 298-301.

<sup>28</sup>Robert P. Saalback, "Response to CCCC Executive Committee's Resolution 'The Student's Right to His Own Language' and Replies in the October, 1972 Issue," College Composition and Communication, XXIII (December, 1972), p. 416.

<sup>29</sup>"Response to the Counterstatement of Robert P. Saalback, CCC (December, 1972), 416," College Composition and Communication, XXIV (May, 1973), pp. 226-27.



of implementing the resolution, citing lack of knowledge of various dialects, inadequate teaching materials, impossibility of training teachers, and unpredictable social aspects of interdialectal communication in the schools.<sup>30</sup>

After official passage of the resolution, the CCC articles continued. They included one which argued against the assumptions of the resolution<sup>31</sup> and a response to it which discussed the distinctions among various dialects,<sup>32</sup> one which discussed a way of implementing the resolution,<sup>33</sup> one which discussed laws and court decisions suggesting support for the resolution,<sup>34</sup> and a response which maintained that those arguments were based on faulty assumptions.<sup>35</sup> A pair of responses printed in May, 1975, criticized the resolution from two different points of view.

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<sup>30</sup>Garland Cannon, "Multidialects: the Student's Right to His Own Language," College Composition and Communication, XXIV (December, 1973), pp. 382-85.

<sup>31</sup>William Pixton, "A Contemporary Dilemma: The Question of Standard English," College Composition and Communication, XXV (October, 1974), pp. 274-53.

<sup>32</sup>Constance Weaver, "Response to William Pixton, 'A Contemporary Dilemma: The Question of Standard English,'" CCC, 25 (October, 1974), 274-253," College Composition and Communication, XXVI (May, 1975), p. 218.

<sup>33</sup>Lou Kelly, "Is Competent Copyreading a Violation of the Students' Right to their Own Language?" College Composition and Communication, XXV (October, 1974), pp. 254-58.

<sup>34</sup>Lawrence Freeman, "The Students' Right to Their Own Language: Its Legal Bases," College Composition and Communication, XXVI (February, 1975), pp. 25-29.

<sup>35</sup>Harvey Minkoff and Evelyn B. Melamed, "Response to Lawrence D. Freeman, 'The Students' Right to Their Own Language: Its Legal Bases,'" CCC, 26 (February, 1975), 25-29," College Composition and Communication, XXVI (October, 1975), pp. 311-12.

One accused the statement of "sham scholarship," and the other accused it of endorsing standard English.<sup>36</sup>

If the resolution was opposed and perhaps misunderstood by some members of the English-teaching profession, its effect on those outside the profession was almost totally negative. Laymen's responses suggested that in the minds of the general public, teaching standard English usage was not only equivalent to teaching effective writing but also morally imperative. The proponents of "The Students' Right to Their Own Language," of course, vehemently rejected both of those beliefs. Several newspapers and magazines around the country made negative references to the statement. However, the most notable attack on the resolution and, by implication, on the members of CCCC appeared as part of a Newsweek cover story on December 8, 1975. The writer of this article, which attempted to find reasons for a reported national decline in students' writing ability, suggested strongly that CCCC had taken a politically motivated, professionally irresponsible action. The article printed some quotations from an interview with Elisabeth McPherson, who had been CCCC chairman in 1972 when the resolution was first written, and implied that she and others of like mind were denying students the opportunity to learn standard English and thus to survive in society.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Ann E. Berthoff and William G. Clark, "Responses to 'The Students' Right to Their Own Language,' CCC, 25 (Special Fall Issue, 1974)," College Composition and Communication, XXVI (May, 1975), pp. 216-17.

<sup>37</sup>Merrill Shiels, "Why Johnny Can't Write," Newsweek, December 8, 1975, pp. 58-66.

Professor McPherson commented later that her remarks were misquoted and taken out of context. She resented the implication that she was refusing to teach standard English, explaining that she and her colleagues at Forest Park Community College approached the teaching of writing by putting more emphasis at the beginning on clarity, coherence, and style, after which they began to work on mechanical errors, giving students the choice of whether they wanted to learn edited English.<sup>38</sup>

It is far too early to assess the full effect of "The Students' Right to Their Own Language" on the teaching of college composition or on the education of composition teachers. The resolution remains, in at least some professional circles, a highly controversial topic. More than any other single event, however, it illustrates the fact that the Conference on College Composition and Communication conceives itself as the authoritative body in this country on matters relating to the teaching of college composition and that it has rejected any tendency to wait for the National Council of Teachers of English to lead the way in professional activities.

#### Other Concerns about Teaching

A number of other groups within CCCC addressed themselves energetically to issues involved in the teaching of composition. Just as the adoption of the resolution on language usage was partly the result of the Black movement that intensified in the 1960's, so also was the support for

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<sup>38</sup>Kathe Dunlop, "Can Johnny (or Jane) Write?" English in the Two-Year College, VIII (Winter, 1976), pp. 4-6.

NCTE's Task Force on Racism and Bias. Created by the NCTE Executive Committee in 1969, this group also received substantial endorsement, cooperation, and financial support from CCCC. Directed by Professor Ernece B. Kelly, a CCCC Executive Committee member from Chicago City College, this group formulated criteria for equitable representation of American minority groups in American literature textbooks. It conducted a survey to identify the 12 most frequently adopted literature anthologies and then reviewed them according to the criteria. This series of reviews, accompanied by four background essays, was published jointly by CCCC and NCTE in 1972 under the title Searching for America. This book was widely if not universally acclaimed, and Ernece Kelly became a popular speaker at meetings of English teachers around the country.

Another recurring CCCC concern was the status of freshman composition. In the early 1970's Professor Ron Smith of Utah State University conducted extensive research into this topic, on which he reported periodically to the CCCC Executive Committee, which expressed a great concern. Still at issue was the fear that a great number of additional colleges and universities would eliminate or reduce their freshman composition requirements. In 1973 CCCC passed a resolution establishing a task force "to survey and periodically report on requirements in composition in our colleges and universities and where appropriate, to propose action for the Executive Committee to take." In May of 1974, CCC published Professor Smith's final report.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>Ron Smith, "The Composition Requirement Today: A Report On a Nationwide Survey of Four-Year Colleges and Universities," College Composition and Communication, XXV (May, 1974), pp. 138-48.

Other national trends in education captured the attention of CCCC. In 1970 CCC printed and thus implicitly supported a 1969 NCTE resolution "On the Need for Caution in the Use of Behavioral Objectives in the Teaching of English." This resolution urged insistence on the retention of humanistic goals for education whether or not there were instruments for measuring them.<sup>40</sup> The spread of learning skills centers resulted in the formation in 1973 of a committee to study them. In 1974 this committee, chaired by Professor Robert Blackwood of Wilbur Wright College, circulated a seven-page questionnaire to colleges and universities in an effort to determine how widely the centers were being used and how they were being operated. In 1975 it sent out a supplementary questionnaire to students in an attempt to determine their effects. The underlying concern in this area was that such centers might prevent the development of an effective individual relationship between teacher and student. As a growing number of state systems of higher education began to adopt common course numbering systems for all the institutions under their jurisdiction, many CCCC members began to worry that desirable flexibility might be lost. This fear produced a resolution in 1975 expressing concern about common course-numbering systems and directing that a committee be appointed to study their advantages and disadvantages.

One of the oldest problems that composition teachers had dealt with was the matter of testing writing ability. In the 1960's and early

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<sup>40</sup>College Composition and Communication, XXI (February, 1970), p. 110.

1970's a realization grew that objective tests were by their very nature poor indicators of ability to compose. Many English teachers were especially concerned about the standardized tests used nationally for such purposes as college admissions. In 1973 CCCC formed a Committee to Study Testing Procedures in Composition, chaired by Professor James L. Brown of Hampton Institute. This group set out to gather information and planned to work with other NCTE groups to deal with the issues involved in testing. In 1974 CCCC passed a resolution protesting the inclusion of an objective usage test in the Scholastic Aptitude Test of the College Entrance Examination Board "on the grounds that such tests are a measure of copyreading skill rather than a measure of student ability to use language effectively in connected discourse of their own composing." The resolution encouraged CCCC members to resist the use of SAT scores in admission and placement of students.<sup>41</sup>

The committee's report, which the Executive Committee accepted in late 1974, recommended that English teachers increase their participation in test construction, selection, and scoring and accept the professional responsibility of educating themselves in all areas of testing. The committee also recommended that NCTE and CCCC exert leadership in providing information to teachers through publications and conferences. The Executive Committee voted to fund an extensive program to gather and evaluate more information on testing.<sup>42</sup> As a result of these

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<sup>41</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 70," p. 339.

<sup>42</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 70," p. 335.

activities, the CCCC chairman and past chairman and the members of the Committee to Study Testing Procedures in Composition, by that time chaired by Professor Jenefer Giannasi, were invited to a meeting with the College Entrance Examination Board's English Discipline Committee to review that group's work and the present CEEB examinations.

In 1973 the CCCC Executive Committee adopted a resolution "that a grading policy applicable to college English be developed, adopted, and publicized."<sup>43</sup> This resolution grew primarily out of practices in many two-year colleges which had abandoned the assigning of failing grades in English composition, allowing students instead either to withdraw without penalty from classes they were not passing or to take an incomplete grade and complete the work later. Many four-year colleges to which these students transferred, however, had adopted the policy of converting these W or I grades to F's for the purpose of computing grade point averages. A committee chaired by Professor Ken M. Symes of Western Washington State College prepared the statement and sent it back to the Executive Committee in April of 1974. Calling the transfer institutions' practice of interpreting W or I as F "pernicious," this report favored allowing more than one term to complete work and eliminating all penalty grades, recording only A, B, C, or the equivalents. The Executive Committee voted to accept this statement.<sup>44</sup>

Just as CCCC concerned itself with evaluation of students, it also addressed itself to the evaluation of teachers. Around 1970 active

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<sup>43</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 70," p. 334.

<sup>44</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 69," p. 328.

CCCC member and future chairman Richard Larson of the University of Hawaii conducted extensive research into the evaluation of the teaching of English, publishing the results in a monograph, "The Evaluation of College Teaching in English." In 1971 he proposed to the CCCC Executive Committee that it sponsor a workshop on the topic which would include persons from other fields which might be able to contribute to the knowledge about evaluation. The Committee voted to finance such an endeavor, and the workshop was held on October 19 through 23, 1973, in Chicago under the leadership of Richard Larson. Participants included six representatives from English and six from other fields such as anthropology, psychology, and sociology. In his report on the workshop to the Executive Committee in November of 1973, Professor Larson said that it had revealed a lack of knowledge about evaluation and that the other disciplines represented were not able to offer much help or new insights. However, the workshop also revealed great pressures to evaluate. Some administrators were proceeding as if they did in fact know a great deal about the process.

The workshop recommended that CCCC form a joint committee with the Association of Departments of English (an affiliate of the Modern Language Association) which would have five purposes: (1) to prepare and distribute an annotated bibliography on the evaluation of teaching, (2) to appoint an expert on the topic to the CCCC Speakers' Bureau, (3) to conduct workshops and discussions on evaluation at regional meetings, (4) to hold a preconvention meeting on the topic at the next NCTE



convention, (5) to work to identify other areas for investigation or research and to commission research in the area. These recommendations were adopted by the Executive Committee.<sup>45</sup>

The recommended joint CCCC/ADE committee was formed and began to plan its activities. However, in 1975 a financial crisis forced the MLA to freeze all its committees' funds, so the activities were postponed. The CCCC Executive Committee began to explore how it could continue the work on its own. In 1975, concerned with some of the methods and uses of teacher evaluations in many colleges, CCCC passed a resolution. It put the organization on record as saying that in the evaluation of the teaching of college English teachers, a committee from the department be elected and that it declare the procedures, criteria, and uses to be made of the evaluations in writing in advance.

In 1968 some members of the CCCC Executive Committee began to discuss the idea of awarding cash prizes for the best articles published in CCC. However, several members felt that such prizes would be inappropriate and unprofessional, and the committee took no action.<sup>46</sup> However, the idea came up again, and in 1974 the CCCC officers recommended that the organization institute an annual award for the best article on the teaching of composition published in all the NCTE journals. The recipient was to be selected by a committee of CCCC members. The award consisted not of cash but of a plaque and, of course, of a considerable

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<sup>45</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 69," p. 328.

<sup>46</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 58," College Composition and Communication, XIX (October, 1968), p. 264.

amount of professional recognition. It was named the Richard Braddock Memorial Award in honor of the late Professor Richard Braddock of the University of Iowa, who had served as CCCC chairman in 1967 and who had devoted the major portion of his career to the improvement of the teaching of freshman writing. In 1975 the first Braddock Award was given posthumously to Richard Braddock himself for his article, "The Frequency and Placement of Topic Sentences in Expository Prose," which had appeared in the Winter, 1974, issue of Research in the Teaching of English.

#### Concerns about the Teacher

From 1968 to 1975, CCCC worked more actively than it ever had to establish its influence over the preparation of composition teachers. It also endorsed statements about workloads and engaged in other efforts to enhance the security and status of the members of the profession.

Of particular concern to CCCC during the late 1960's and early 1970's was the proliferation of two-year colleges and all the resulting implications for the education of the persons who were engaged by them to teach English. There was a widespread recognition that while they needed many of the same competencies of their colleagues in four-year colleges, they also had special needs. There was considerable concern that some of the new training programs for these teachers were hastily and ill conceived by persons with little understanding of the true needs of those they sought to prepare. Several CCC articles discussed these needs. In 1969 Jean Wilkinson wrote an account of her experience with a UCLA Extension course, "Junior College English: Teaching Workshop."

Cautioning against turning over control of teacher preparation to administrators and to schools of education, she wrote,

Credentialed teachers, it must be remembered, are the only large body of people calling themselves professionals who have allowed their pre-service training and apprenticeship to be directed by a faculty outside the control of the academic departments of the schools of letters and science which grant their degrees, and of the practitioners who constitute the profession.<sup>47</sup>

In 1970 Nancy Prichard discussed the specific needs and problems of the junior college English teacher, stopping short of recommending a specific program.<sup>48</sup>

In 1970 the CCCC Executive Committee authorized the National Junior College Committee, chaired by Gregory Cowan of Forest Park Community College, to draw up specific guidelines for junior college English teacher training programs. In March of 1971 Professor Cowan presented these guidelines to the Executive Committee, which endorsed them "with enthusiasm" after making some changes in the statements on dialects and on recognizing "acceptable" training programs. The Executive Committee also voted to form a group to work out a plan to enforce the guidelines.<sup>49</sup>

The NJCC guidelines listed 21 competencies that junior college English teachers should possess. These covered the areas of language, dialects, reading, literature, evaluation, instructional design,

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<sup>47</sup>Jean Wilkinson, "A Program to Improve the Education of Junior College English Teachers," College Composition and Communication, XX (May, 1969), pp. 110-17.

<sup>48</sup>Nancy S. Prichard, "The Training of Junior College English Teachers," College Composition and Communication, XXI (February, 1970), pp. 48-54.

<sup>49</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 64," pp. 299-300.

interpersonal skills, and attitudes toward students. The statement then spoke of "three areas of equally significant and complementary study": linguistics, literature, and rhetoric. The report also detailed the need for special training programs, discussed some ways that the desired competencies could be obtained, and offered suggestions for administering such training programs.<sup>50</sup>

At the 1973 CCCC conference, members passed a resolution calling for additional efforts to publicize and gain acceptance of the guidelines. In 1974 Gregory Cowan reported the results of a survey that he had conducted. Out of a reported 43 programs in 23 states, 25 required the use of the CCCC guidelines.<sup>51</sup> It is interesting to note the relative speed with which CCCC formulated, endorsed, and worked to enforce these guidelines. In 1971 the Conference on English Education, another NCTE constituent group, made plans to conduct a four-year study of how junior college English teachers should be trained, and then to take action. CCCC was establishing a reputation as the most activist group within NCTE.

CCCC was not only concerned with the training of two-year college teachers during this period, however. In 1970 the Executive Committee voted to appoint a committee to investigate plans for the new Doctor of Arts or other degrees being offered by several universities and to recommend the role that the CCCC might play in regard to them. In 1973

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<sup>50</sup>"Guidelines for Junior College English Teacher Training Programs," College Composition and Communication, XXII (October, 1971), pp. 303-13.

<sup>51</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 71," College Composition and Communication, XXVI (October, 1975), p. 314.

the annual conference endorsed a resolution calling for a committee to establish guidelines for the training of four-year college English teachers. This committee was formed but had not produced guidelines by the end of 1975.

In spite of all its activism in the area of teacher qualifications, CCCC has stopped short of the ultimate action which many associations in other professions have taken: certification. At the 1975 conference the members defeated a resolution calling for the establishment of a committee to consider the development of standards appropriate to the certification of composition teachers.

The subject of the workloads of college English teachers received some notice from CCCC but did not become one of its major concerns, apparently because NCTE moved first to deal with it. In 1968 CCC published and thus implicitly endorsed a 1966 NCTE statement, "The Workload of a College English Teacher: A Statement of Policy by the National Council of Teachers of English." This statement called for maximum weekly loads of nine to twelve hours, with no more than three preparations in one term and a maximum composition load of 50-75 students. On the facing page, the journal also published "The Workload of the Two-Year College English Teacher: A Statement of Policy by the National Junior College Committee of the Conference on College Composition and Communication." This statement endorsed the details of the NCTE statement and made comments on why it also applied to two-year colleges.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>College Composition and Communication, XIX (October, 1968), pp. 266-69.

Another effort to assert the authority of composition teachers in matters directly relating to the practice of their profession arose from a 1973 CCCC resolution expressing concern that in the nontraditional programs springing up in many colleges, responsibility for certifying the attainment of proficiency in composition would be given to an administrative office rather than to the practitioners of the discipline. CCCC appointed a committee chaired by Donald C. Stewart of Kansas State University to investigate the situation.

A 1974 resolution indicated the continuation of a problem that CCCC had discussed since its founding. This resolution urged universities, colleges, and departments of English "to give full recognition to research and publication in the areas of freshman English, composition skills, and English education in matters of promotion, tenure, and salary increases." It also called for CCCC to provide tenure and promotion committees a current bibliography of resources in all areas of college composition.

Other actions in 1974 revealed the concerns that many CCCC members had developed about the job security of themselves and their colleagues. Reports circulated about decreasing enrollments, budget cuts, and dismissals of faculty members with little or no notice, often ignoring tenure and bypassing procedural safeguards. A 1974 resolution expressed condemnation of such practices and urged that all decisions to dismiss faculty members be based on careful evaluations of all factors. Also in 1974, acting as a result of a vote in the CCCC business meeting, NCTE Executive Secretary Robert Hogan wrote a letter of protest to Dana B.

Hamel, Chancellor of the Virginia Community College System. Speaking on behalf of CCCC, he expressed the "displeasure and alarm" of that group over the action of Virginia's State Board for Community Colleges, which in 1972 had discontinued the practice of granting tenure to teachers in community colleges.

#### Cooperation with Other Professional Associations

As CCCC gained strength and influence in the profession, it entered into cooperation with numerous other professional associations to work toward the achievement of its various goals. For example, in 1969 the CCCC Executive Committee agreed to work with the NCTE Inter-commission Committee on Social and Cultural Problems of the Profession and the Schools. In the early 1970's CCCC also began to send representatives to the National Humanities Conferences and occasionally sponsored panel discussions on issues in composition at those meetings. In 1972 CCCC began to send representatives to the meetings of the Conference on English Education, the Visual Literacy Conference, and the College Language Association. From time to time representatives of these groups also sent representatives to meetings of CCCC and its Executive Committee.

Around 1971 CCCC formed its own Affiliate Speakers' Bureau, patterned after the Distinguished Lecturer Program of the NCTE. Under this plan a group of six to eight prominent CCCC members in various parts of the country would be available to serve as speakers at the meetings of any NCTE affiliate organization in their areas, including

state and local associations and the regional two-year college groups. CCCC would pay the speakers' transportation costs, and the affiliates would pay their local expenses. The purpose of this speakers' bureau was to provide greater articulation between schools and colleges. The program proved popular for some years, with most speakers being called upon two or three times a year.

By the mid-1970's CCCC had established its position as an assertive professional organization which did not hesitate to commit money and effort to the accomplishment of goals which the association's leadership viewed as important to the status of the profession and the welfare of its practitioners. In the 1974 NCTE Annual Reports CCCC Chairman Richard Larson wrote,

CCCC has in short, embarked upon a program to investigate and make recommendations to its members and to administrators--and even legislators--about the professional concerns of its members. We want to be an active professional group and to influence what happens within our profession.<sup>53</sup>

#### CONTINUING EDUCATION ACTIVITIES

During the period 1968-1975 CCCC's conception of its role in the continuing education of its members and other members of the profession broadened. It continued its concern with disseminating the results of research and new theories and techniques. But it also moved strongly into the area of shaping attitudes of composition teachers toward students, toward teaching, toward the discipline,

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<sup>53</sup>NCTE Annual Reports, 1974, p. 68.



toward themselves, and even toward society. The content and shape of the meetings and the journal reveal these efforts.

### The Annual Conferences

In spite of shrinking travel budgets, fewer members, and greatly fluctuating attendance, the annual spring meetings continued to be major professional events. In fact, with the moving of the annual business meeting to this conference, they became in many ways more significant. The new members and others attending for the first time each year kept them from becoming stale. Some of CCCC's most talented and energetic members were elected to the position of program chairman, and they approached the development of the programs with zeal and conviction.

1968, Minneapolis: Wallace W. Douglas, program chairman. Over 1200 persons registered for the 1968 spring conference. Though declining to choose a theme for the meetings, Professor Douglas devised a tightly structured program centered on the composing process and its implications for the composition course. The program consisted basically of two parts. The first part began on the opening day with a series of 11 panels on the use of language study, rhetoric, literature, and stylistics in the composition class; dialect studies and social values; trends and research in freshman composition; the process of composing; advanced composition; technical writing; and advanced placement programs. Each panel was subsequently divided into two workshop groups which continued to discuss the topic in two subsequent sessions later

that day and early the next morning. The second half of the program began with another series of panels on various administrative and professional issues which had traditionally appeared at CCCC meetings, such as teacher preparation and the administration of the freshman course. The junior college influence was visible in three workshops specifically for teachers in the two-year colleges. In addition, the group examining dialect studies and social values continued their work into the second half of the program. Another indication of a broader approach to composition which was to become noteworthy during the next few years was a panel on visual composition entitled "Using Movies and Pictures to Motivate Writing." As before, each of these panels split into two workshops which met for two subsequent sessions. In addition to the sequences of panels and workshops, the program included five general sessions featuring a variety of speakers and topics, including former CCC editor Ken Macrorie, poet Gwendolyn Brooks, novelist Margaret Walker Alexander, NCTE Executive Secretary Robert F. Hogan, rhetorician Hans Guth, and others.

1969, Miami Beach: Ronald E. Freeman, program chairman. In planning the 1969 program, Ronald Freeman concerned himself with the need to satisfy the tastes and needs of a great many different groups of people. He set out to design a busy and varied program to accommodate those people. Like his predecessor, he sought particularly to include greater numbers of Blacks on the program, as well as members from two-year colleges and from colleges in the South. He was assisted by a number of CCCC members in this effort. The program that he devised was similar

in form to the coordinated panel-workshop arrangement of the previous year, with one major innovation: as an alternate to the workshop sessions, conference participants could select from a list of discussion groups designed to operate more informally than the workshops, which had steadily become larger and more structured in spite of repeated attempts to restore their original informal character. In addition, the sessions sponsored by the New University Conference discussed earlier in this chapter added variety to the program. Social concerns, however, were not limited to the NUC sessions. For example, one general session addressed itself to "The Role of English in the College Education of Minorities." Those attending heard students from Miami-Dade Junior College discuss their experiences in English classes. Additional evidence of the program planners' concern for the Black minority may be seen in other titles on the program: "Black Rage in the Composition Classroom," "Black Power in Black Language," and "Black Literature in College English Courses." The student movement was apparent in such sessions as "Using Popular Culture and Current Issues in Composition Courses" and "Student Culture and the Freshman English Classroom." In addition, many familiar topics reappeared: rhetorical analysis and composing, technical writing, and various approaches to the composition course. The practice of featuring a well known figure as luncheon speaker was continued, although the pattern of poets or novelists was broken with the appearance of scholar and critic Lionel Trilling, whose topic was "The Relevance of Criticism."

1970, Seattle: Edward P. J. Corbett, program chairman. Professor Corbett continued the concerted effort to place new people on the conference program. He was assisted in this effort by the members of the NCTE staff and by the CCCC Executive Committee, although 90 percent of those he put on the program had written him and asked to be included. In addition, he was one of the first program chairmen to invite graduate students to appear on the program. The format of Professor Corbett's program departed slightly from that of its immediate predecessors. The first half of the conference was devoted to a series of 10 panels, each followed by a two-session workshop on the same topic. In addition, an invitational workshop dealt with "Crucial Issues in Teaching English in Two-Year Colleges." Subsequently, another series of 11 panels was followed with a corresponding series of one-session workshops. The Saturday morning agenda listed a series of 10 discussion groups and an alternate choice of a series of Third-World films. Four general sessions completed the program format.

One of Professor Corbett's primary concerns was curtailing the prepared talks and leaving more time for discussion. As he explained,

The greatest thing I did was to insist, in very strong language, that speakers observe carefully the time limit set for their talks. I urged chairmen of panels to pole-ax speakers who exceeded the designated time and to shove the cadaver under the rostrum. . . . I don't know that this directive permanently cured the long-windedness of talks at the convention, but it did put a stop-watch on most of the speakers at my meeting.<sup>54</sup>

In keeping with the beginning of a new decade, and unable to resist the subtle pun, Corbett selected the theme "Foreseeing the

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<sup>54</sup> Edward P. J. Corbett, correspondence with the author, May 24, 1977.

1970's." He felt that the program should concentrate on the concerns of teachers and teacher trainers in college composition. He believed that the program should incorporate all the traditional topics of concern to those individuals. In addition, since 1970 was a year of intense campus unrest, of growing student demand for more relevant, popular courses, he felt that the conference should address the issues of the Vietnam War and its effect on students. The result was an agenda which included such titles as "'Relevance' and Language Study," "Is Relevance Relevant?", "Making Freshman English A Happening Revisited, Like," and "The Exorcising of Traditionalism in Freshman English." A growing number of sessions considered the use of film and other media in composition. Several meetings were devoted to Black literature and language. The program also suggested the development of trends in linguistic and rhetorical analysis. One panel presented new methods for the analysis of discourse. Others addressed new techniques for helping students generate sentences and problems in stylistic theory. Among the speakers at the general sessions were NUC member Louis Kampf, Michael F. Shugrue of the staff of the Modern Language Association, and Robert B. Heilman, chairman of the Department of English at the University of Washington.

1971, Cincinnati: Elisabeth McPherson, program chairman. CCCC members still talk about the 1971 conference, because it stands out in many people's minds as the most distinctive in the history of the organization. After the meeting one member wrote, "This year's Conference on College Composition and Communication was characterized, in contrast

with the past meetings, by heavy student involvement, demonstrations and workshops rather than set speeches, and greater audience participation. It was no coincidence that the program director was Elisabeth McPherson, a junior college teacher."<sup>55</sup> None of these trends originated with Elisabeth McPherson, of course. Greater audience participation had been an objective of most program chairmen for two decades. Concerted efforts to place more students on the program had begun the year before. Organized efforts to place more minorities on the program went back at least to 1968. A concern for pressing social issues was noted in the analysis of the 1970 program. But the 1971 program went farther than any previous conference in emphasizing these and other movements which had been operating in the organization.

Elisabeth McPherson believed that a CCCC conference should present new, exciting, controversial ideas about teaching college writing and provide plenty of opportunities for people to discuss them. Her program format included a group of 12 three-and-one-half-hour workshops on the first day followed by two groups of 90-minute workshops. The second day began with a series of four large group meetings, which were followed by corresponding smaller discussion groups for each topic. Then another group of long and short workshops met. Many of the workshops consisted of demonstrations of various teaching approaches. The conference began and ended with general sessions featuring formal speeches. Numerous special features were also woven into the program.

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<sup>55</sup>Ray Kytte, "Slaves, Serfs, or Colleagues--Who Shall Teach College Composition?" College Composition and Communication, XXII (December, 1971), pp. 339-41.

On the first evening participants could choose to attend oral interpretations of Black literature, readings of their original poetry by CCCC members, a series of student-made films, and a program on using commercial films on composition. The second evening featured a performance by a New York company of Lorraine Hansberry's play To Be Young, Gifted, and Black, followed by a seminar/discussion with the cast. The program also allotted space and time for meetings of various special interest groups, such as the College Language Association and the New University Conference.

Because of the growing feeling among the CCCC membership that student voices should be heard at the conferences, the Executive Committee appropriated \$3000 to subsidize expenses of students at the 1971 meetings. As a result, about 75 students were placed on the program as respondents and recorders with their expenses partially paid. They included both undergraduates and graduate students. In addition, a growing number of Black teachers appeared--approximately 65. Selection of topics and speakers was made on the basis of recommendations from many members obtained at the previous year's conference and by mail as a result of a request printed in CCC. Professor McPherson believed that the CCCC meetings should particularly address the issues of language and dialect, open classrooms versus traditional ones, needs of minority students, accountability, and behavioral objectives. In addition, she thought it appropriate to deal with the social concerns of student unrest, the Vietnam War, and racism.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Elisabeth McPherson, correspondence with the author, July, 1977.

Her program was the result of those convictions. Traditional discussions such as teacher training, remedial reading and writing, technical writing, and advanced composition shared space on the program with such untraditional topics as "Protecting Students from Teachers," "The Rhetoric of Pornography," "To Grade or Not to Grade," and "Teaching Minorities Fairly." Noticeably absent were the theoretical papers on rhetoric and linguistics which had appeared prominently in many previous years. An examination of the program reveals an absence of the superficially clever but cryptic titles which had occasionally appeared in previous years. In their places were titles which gave a clear indication of what the listener might expect to happen. And to remove further doubt, the conference-goer could consult the large annotated program, a McPherson innovation distributed to participants in addition to the regular one. The annotated program contained 250-word abstracts of each prepared presentation.

Professor McPherson sought to evaluate the program by asking people to complete written questionnaires in each session. These she read and then forwarded to the next year's program chairman. Not everyone was entirely pleased with the 1971 conference. Several objections were voiced about ideas advocated at the meetings. One writer in CCC protested the "non-professional attitudes toward the craft of writing" which she heard frequently expressed. She cited one workshop that turned into a "therapy group" and then into chaos, and she rejected the idea that "blatant departures from standard usage . . . will be accepted



in a serious and respected manner by the larger community of readers. . . ." However, she praised the way in which another workshop stuck to the craft of writing.<sup>57</sup>

1972, Boston: James D. Barry, program chairman. In several ways the 1972 program resembled that of 1971. The emphasis on students continued. Spurred by the favorable response from both students and teachers at the 1971 conference, the CCCC Executive Committee voted to increase the amount for financing student participation to \$4000. Students desiring to participate were invited to make application. A total of 81 were invited to participate, all but two accepted, and another 25 to 30 on a waiting list could not be invited.<sup>58</sup> These students served primarily as respondents to the various presentations in panels and workshops. The format of the 1972 program featured long and short workshops, large group meetings followed by small group discussions, and various special interest group meetings. A new feature appeared in the form of discussions of each of the three speeches given at the opening general session. A conferee could choose one of these discussion groups as an alternate to the first group of workshops. These followup options were apparently designed to satisfy those members who had wished for the opportunity to explore more topics in depth.

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<sup>57</sup>Jacqueline Berke, "A Defense of Craft: One Response to the Cincinnati Conference," College Composition and Communication, XXII (October, 1971), pp. 251-55.

<sup>58</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 66," p. 323.

Professor Barry selected as his theme "Reconsidering Roles: What Are We About?" The various meetings were designed to allow consideration of the roles of the freshman English student, the teaching assistant, the director of freshman English, and the teacher of writing today and tomorrow. Graduate students were offered reduced registration fees. Professor Barry believed that a CCCC conference should serve those attending for the first time, which typically numbered several hundred, by providing them with a "dramatic demonstration of the variety and vitality of the profession." At the same time, it should provide for "important revitalizations of regular attenders." The various concerns which underlay the development of his program were for the most part typical of those shared by CCCC leadership at this time: the need to be student centered, the importance of imagination and the relatively lesser importance of mechanical considerations, the problem of attaching more prestige to the teaching of writing, the importance of education as a means of improving society, and the promotion of a deeper appreciation of the cultural pluralism of the United States. He incorporated into the design of the program the evaluations of the previous year's meetings as well as the suggestions of many members. Also a believer in the value of participative learning, he worked out careful plans and instructions for workshop and discussion leaders aimed at insuring that group participation would take place. He continued the previous year's innovation of the annotated program, which was felt to be quite successful,

both in helping participants decide what sessions they would attend and in providing a more detailed record of the proceedings.<sup>59</sup>

The conference opened with a general session offering a broad overview of the profession. The first speaker was James M. McCrimmon of Florida State University, a long-time participant in CCCC programs and the author of one of the most widely adopted freshman composition textbooks, who presented a historical review of the freshman composition course. Professor Barry's concern for cultural pluralism was manifested in a session on Chicano literature and composition, a session on American Indian literature and composition, and three sessions on Black literature and language. In addition, William Arrowsmith of Boston University, the featured speaker at the final luncheon, addressed the topic "Cultural Pluralism and the Recovery of the Classic." The concern with student-centered courses was apparent in such titles as "Special Problems in Teaching Adults," "The Student in Freshman English: His Role," "Planning the Curriculum: The Role of the Student," "The Student as Author," and "Student Evaluation of Teachers: Its Utility." The status of the profession was discussed in "The Future of Freshman English in the Four-Year College" and "The Profession Today."

1973, New Orleans: Richard L. Larson, program chairman. The 1973 CCCC conference drew a particularly large number of persons--1700. Of that number, 580 served in some capacity on the program, including 108

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<sup>59</sup>James Barry, correspondence with the author, May, 1977.

students whose expenses were once again partially subsidized by CCCC. The Executive Committee had raised the amount for this purpose to \$5000 for the New Orleans meetings. Program Chairman Richard Larson chose the theme "Issues, Challenges, and Opportunities." He took an approach to program development that had not been tried before. He set up 14 categories or sequences of meetings, classifying each session or workshop into a particular category. He labelled each meeting according to its classification, thus making it easy for persons who wanted to devote their time toward the pursuit of one or two particular areas of interest to locate appropriate meetings. These categories included most of the major traditional as well as more recent areas of CCCC concern: teacher preparation, classroom management, structure and organization of freshman English programs, language study, minority concerns, remedial programs, rhetorical theory, and others. Some of the newer topics under discussion included the "university without walls," prisoner education, the "systems approach" to teaching writing, interdisciplinary studies, and contract grading. After an absence of several years, the word semantics again appeared on the program. More prominent than in the most recent years were reports of research and the development of theory. There was also a heavy focus on what went on in the writing classroom. The general session speakers were writing teachers who discussed current trends with which they were concerned as well as the development of rhetorical theory. Topics of a primarily social nature were virtually nonexistent on the program, although there were a large number of programs on minority literature and language,

including that of women, Blacks, Chicanos, and American Indians. More than 10 workshops, 140 individual sessions, and four general meetings were held. In addition, the local committee had arranged for several small New Orleans bands to perform during breaks. On Friday night of the conference, the Dashiki Theatre of New Orleans presented two short plays concerned with the experiences of modern American Blacks.

1974, Anaheim: Lionel Sharp, program chairman. Attendance at the 1974 conference was the lowest that CCCC had experienced for a number of years--under 850. In the 1974 NCTE Annual Reports Chairman Richard Larson offered three reasons: the distance from the East and Midwest, the diminishing travel budgets of colleges, and the energy shortage which had resulted in curtailments of gasoline sales and commercial airline schedules a few weeks before the conference. Among those attending were students, supported once more by the organization. Special efforts were made to recruit minority students for this program. For the first time, the CCCC Executive Committee had also voted to encourage new full-time composition teachers at nearby colleges and universities to attend the meetings by appropriating funds to help pay their expenses. About 60 students and the new "conference associates" came to Anaheim.<sup>60</sup>

Program chairman Lionel Sharp selected as his theme "Hidden Agendas: What Are We Doing When We Do What We Do?" The program consisted of two general sessions, 111 group meetings, and the annual

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<sup>60</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 68," p. 336.

business meeting as well as the meetings of various special interest groups which had come to be a standard feature of CCCC conferences. A group of 17 workshops met for two sessions each. Also featured were numerous panels, which were defined not as discussions but as meetings in which two or more speakers presented information or took positions on an issue. Several demonstrations were conducted on such topics as using media in instruction, techniques in remedial English, and getting students to write poetry. Three sessions were designated as laboratories, in which a director involved all participants in a task or series of tasks. Topics of these were "A Qualifying Grammar Test," "The Collaborative Writing of Poetry," and "How to Be a First-Term Freshman and Write." The topics of the sessions resembled the ones of the previous year. They indicated a continuing concern for disadvantaged students and minority students. One additional minority group became the topic of a workshop: "Devising Agendas for the Teaching of Asian-American Literature and Culture." An old topic resurfaced in a workshop entitled "What Ever Happened to Communications Courses?" The final luncheon session featured writer John A. Williams, distinguished professor at Fiorello H. LaGuardia Community College of the City University of New York, in a moving address which some members felt was the highlight of the program.

Some in attendance found the impact of the program to be disturbing, however. This view was expressed in a CCC article published after the meetings. Susan Passler said that the conference sessions did not consider enough "how," but talked too much about "whether" and

"why." They generated a common feeling of self-doubt, she felt, encouraging "too much slightly paranoid guilt." She also proposed that CCCC members needed to be more assertive about making demands for the improvement of conditions affecting composition teaching.<sup>61</sup>

1975, St. Louis: Marianna W. Davis, program chairman. The 1975 conference marked the 25th anniversary of the founding of CCCC. Program Chairman Marianna Davis set out to celebrate the anniversary with a number of special events. All past chairmen of CCCC were invited to attend, and all accepted the invitation. At the opening general session John Gerber, the first chairman, reviewed the history of the organization during the 1950's. Wallace Douglas (1969 chairman) and Elisabeth McPherson (1972 chairman) discussed some of the movements within the organization during the 1960's and 1970's. Other special events included a talent show with performances of CCCC members, a dance, and a film festival. At the final luncheon Ruby Dee, actress, writer, and producer, entertained the audience with a series of readings.

Professor Davis chose as her theme "Untapped Resources: Let the Minds of Our Students Be the Supreme Resource!" She felt that the conference should provide information for and raise the consciousness levels of participants on the issues of learning theories, evaluation, communication skills, writing theory and practice, cultural pluralism, the state of the teaching profession, and the preparation of composition

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<sup>61</sup>Susan M. Passler, "Our Hidden Agendas: Some Notes on a Trip to the Magic Kingdom," College Composition and Communication, XXV (October, 1974), pp. 298-99.

teachers. The program she developed included sessions designed to accomplish those objectives. Panels, workshops, laboratories, and demonstrations similar in format to those of the previous year were organized. In addition, she provided for a group of seminars, in each of which a director and one or two consultants spent four consecutive sessions with no more than 20 participants concentrating on one subject "for the purpose of probing and clarifying attitudes and issues, and for the purpose of surveying resources, discussing teaching techniques, curricular patterns, and any other matters that appear relevant to the subjects."<sup>62</sup> These seminars addressed three topics: rhetoric, language, and evaluation of teachers and teaching. Other sessions dealt with the topics of teaching methodology, creative processes, mass media, writing and literature, dialects, linguistic theories, competency-based testing, accountability, the influence of the government and certain interest groups on curriculum development, and the publishing and selection of textbooks. Professor Davis made additional efforts to place more members of minority groups on the program to make more teachers aware of this professional peer group and to increase the exchange of ideas with them.<sup>63</sup>

### The Journal

In spite of the attention and effort given to the planning and staging of the annual conference, College Composition and Communication remained the major continuing education activity of CCCC. By the late

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<sup>62</sup>Marianna W. Davis, memorandum to the CCCC Executive Committee, October 1, 1974.

<sup>63</sup>Marianna W. Davis, correspondence with the author, July, 1977.



1960's it had found a place on the library shelves of virtually every major college and university, and many smaller ones. It reached the desks of thousands of CCCC members four times a year. It was being indexed and its articles referenced, anthologized, and abstracted in a growing number of publications. During the period from 1968 to 1975 CCC had two editors, William F. Irscher, whose first term had begun in 1965 and who continued to hold the position through 1973, and Edward P. J. Corbett, who assumed the editorship in 1974.

1968-1973: William F. Irscher, University of Washington, editor. The members and officers of CCCC were pleased with their journal during the first three years of William Irscher's leadership, and they named him to serve a second three-year term. By 1968 the circulation had reached more than 6,000, and excellent unsolicited manuscripts were coming in ample numbers.<sup>64</sup> By 1969 CCC was being indexed by Education Index, Current Contents, Current Index to Journals in Education, and ERIC.<sup>65</sup> In 1970, at the end of his second term as editor, the CCCC officers recommended that William Irscher be reappointed to a third term. The Executive Committee gladly concurred, passing the following resolution:

The Executive Committee, grateful for the devoted services and the high professionalism rendered by William Irscher to the journal of the CCCC, urgently expresses its hope that as the journal enters into a new decade of increasing influence and usefulness it will continue under Professor Irscher's effective and expert direction.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>NCTE Annual Reports, 1968, p. A-27.

<sup>65</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 61-A," p. 269.

<sup>66</sup>"Secretary's Report No. 62," p. 302.

William Irscher held a strong conviction that the CCC editor had an obligation to reflect in a balanced way the interests and concerns of CCCC members. He did not feel that a professional journal should reflect the particular philosophy of its editor at the expense of such a balance. In that respect CCC remained a contrast to NCTE's College English, which during this same period strongly reflected the radical philosophy of Richard Ohmann, its editor. In contrast to Professor Ohmann, William Irscher never solicited articles, making up each issue from only those articles which their authors had initiated.<sup>67</sup>

In any attempt to classify the articles from 1968 to 1973, by far the largest number would fall into a group concerned directly with the teaching of composition. These articles comprised more than 35 percent of the total. Many of them revealed the effects of the widespread student dissatisfaction and dissent of the times. Another group which could be classified as articles dealing with social and minority group concerns was also concerned with teaching. These articles represented another 10 percent of the total. The December, 1968, issue contained a group of seven articles on intercultural relations in the teaching of English. The interest in rhetoric, particularly in the development of new modes of analyzing discourse, was evident in another large group of articles. The December, 1969,

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<sup>67</sup>William F. Irscher, interview with the author, Kansas City, Missouri, March 31, 1977.

issue contained five articles headlined "Emphasis on Rhetoric." At least 20 percent of the articles printed from 1968 to 1973 dealt with rhetorical theory and analysis. One other particularly popular topic with CCC contributors continued to be language study, which was the central topic of approximately 20 percent of the articles. Their authors analyzed usage, punctuation, sentence structure, word selection, and related topics. A few articles addressed the composing process and the special interests of junior college teachers. A dozen or so other articles of interest to writing teachers defied classification in any of the above groups. Several of the outstanding speeches of the annual conferences were printed as articles. Contributors to CCC included many persons whose work had not appeared previously in the journal as well as such well-known scholars and teachers as Francis Christensen, whose last CCC article was published after his death in 1970, Wayne Booth, Richard Lloyd-Jones, Sumner Ives, and James W. McCrimmon.

In addition to articles, CCC printed an occasional poem about language or teaching, often humorous, "Staffroom Exchange," "Counter-statement," and various announcements and reports. The major portion of the February issue each year was devoted to substantial reviews of books in such categories as language, literature and criticism, composition and rhetoric, and the profession. The annual special issue containing the directories of graduate assistantships and fellowships and of chairmen of freshman composition programs continued through 1973. However, the CCCC Executive Committee voted to discontinue its publication after that year because of the increasing costs of printing and distribution and the decreasing income of the organization.

1974-1975: Edward P. J. Corbett, Ohio State University, editor. In 1974, when CCC changed editors for the first time in nine years, most readers did not notice any differences. Professor Corbett had been a staunch admirer of William Irmscher's work on the journal, particularly of the way he managed to appeal to so many of the varied interests of the members. He approved of the way in which Irmscher had continued to publish articles of perennial concern while at the same time making room for the airing of such new issues as the open-classroom concept, the accountability of teachers, and the political and social implications of teaching. He approved of the "nice balance between theoretical and pedagogical articles" and of the various special features. In applying for the position, he proposed no major changes.<sup>68</sup> The CCCC Executive Committee must have agreed with Professor Corbett, because they selected him to succeed Professor Irmscher from a group of several applicants.

Like his predecessor, Editor Corbett himself made virtually all the decisions about what to publish. He continued to use the Editorial Board largely to help make policy decisions. He did institute some rather minor changes. With the approval of the Executive Committee, he discontinued the publication of the workshop reports of the annual conference after 1974. The consensus was that few members read them. He asked contributors to submit shorter book reviews so that he could print reviews of more books. In October, 1974, he instituted a new feature called "Jeu D'Esprit"--light, humorous or satirical pieces

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<sup>68</sup>Edward P. J. Corbett, letter to Robert F. Hogan, November 19, 1972.

about teaching writing. The journal grew thicker under Corbett's editorship, with alternating issues of 128 pages and 96 pages, including advertising. In previous years it had rarely exceeded 64 or 78 pages.

It would probably be premature, after only two years, to make extensive comparisons of the content of CCC articles under E. P. J. Corbett to that of the articles published under William Irmscher or any other editor. However, it is possible to make some general observations. True to his announced intentions, Professor Corbett continued to select articles on much the same basis as did his predecessor. The percentages of articles on minority and social concerns, rhetoric, and language study differed not more than five percent from those during 1968-1973. However, it is interesting to note that the percentage of articles concerned primarily with the teaching of composition rose from approximately 35 percent to approximately 46 percent. The percentage of articles of a miscellaneous nature dropped from eight percent to only two percent. CCC articles in 1974 and 1975 continued to present new analyses of language, many suggestions for teaching students to write, continuing analysis of rhetoric and the writing process, and regular calls for a more humanistic and egalitarian approach for dealing with students.

By the end of 1975, there were several signs that the influence of the social concerns which had shaped much of the content and format of CCCC's continuing education activities for several years was beginning to recede. The Vietnam War had ended, racial relations had improved, and college students were quieter. The strongest emotions had spent themselves.

## Chapter 6

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

#### SUMMARY

Continuing education for professional persons is a rapidly expanding activity. One of the primary vehicles for this activity is the professional association, which also engages in various efforts to enhance the professional status of the occupational groups which it serves. Professional associations have grown rapidly in size and in influence during the past few decades.

One such professional association is the Conference on College Composition and Communication, an affiliate of the National Council of Teachers of English which concerns itself with issues surrounding the teaching of college writing courses. This organization, abbreviated CCCC and referred to as the "Four C's," has become a large, active, and influential group.

The problem investigated in this study was: How did the Conference on College Composition and Communication evolve from 1949 through 1975 as a vehicle for the continuing professional education of its members and for the professionalization of the field of college composition teaching? Using the historical method, the study traced the ways in which CCCC responded to the continuing education needs of college composition teachers and the manner in which it worked toward

the professionalization of the field of college composition teaching. The study identified four distinct periods in the history of the organization: 1949-1954, during which the members came together to seek a new professional identity and to found a new organization; 1955-1958, which was characterized primarily by phenomenal growth in membership and expansion of activities; 1959-1967, during which CCCC conducted an inward search for new directions and emerged as a more mature and confident organization; and 1968-1975, a period marked particularly by a greatly increased concern for social justice. The chief sources of information for this study included College Composition and Communication, the official journal of the organization; the programs for the annual conferences; correspondence, minutes, and reports housed in the headquarters of the National Council of Teachers of English in Urbana, Illinois; and a series of interviews with former officers of CCCC conducted in person, by telephone, and through the mail. In addition, some former officers lent materials from their personal files.

From 1949 through 1975, the CCCC evolved from a small group of primarily Midwestern professors to an active and influential national organization numbering several thousand members. Its conception of its continuing education function expanded steadily, and it also became increasingly assertive in its efforts to professionalize the field of composition teaching.

#### 1949-1954

The Conference on College Composition and Communication had its impetus in certain social and educational movements that came about at

the end of World War II. In 1944 the United States Congress passed the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, better known as the G. I. Bill. As a result, college enrollments tripled during the next five years. Many of the new students were adults with backgrounds different from the traditional college preparatory training of young undergraduates. Many American colleges instituted new courses in communication skills to teach these students to read, write, and speak effectively. These new courses, growing enrollments, and new kinds of students placed many pressures on teachers of writing and the other communication skills. Furthermore, teachers of composition were by and large dominated and relegated to second-class status by the literary scholars who controlled English departments. All these pressures led many instructors to seek help from professional associations such as the National Council of Teachers of English. In 1949 some of the members of NCTE's College Section, working in cooperation with NCTE officers, organized a new professional group concerned specifically with the teaching of college composition and communication courses. Christened the Conference on College Composition and Communication, this group was designed to function within the NCTE structure, holding its own separate annual meetings but conducting its business meeting at the NCTE conventions.

During the organizational years of 1949-1954, the CCCC grew rapidly. College composition teachers began to develop a sense of being professionals. A spirit of enthusiasm and discovery permeated the organization; members felt that for the first time they had a forum in which to meet and discuss their problems. CCCC established



its own quarterly journal, and its annual conferences were well attended from the beginning. It addressed itself to the wide concerns of its members, who taught both the traditional composition course and the new communication course and who represented both directors and instructors in freshman programs in several different kinds of institutions. The major issues which CCCC took up included the preparation, continuing education, and professional status of the freshman composition/communication teacher, the content and organization of the freshman course, teaching techniques, the marking and grading of written compositions, and effective articulation with high school English programs.

With administrative and financial backing from NCTE, the CCCC was on a sound footing by 1954. Its founders had set in motion an organization through which members could improve their competencies with continuing education and begin to professionalize the field of composition teaching by means of research, improved training programs for teachers, and the establishment of a unique professional identity.

#### 1955-1958

The years from 1955 through 1958 can best be described as a period of rapid growth. The membership more than quadrupled during this period. CCCC became firmly established as a national organization with increasingly complex activities. It received recognition from other professional associations such as the Modern Language Association. It also became increasingly involved with various movements in the field of language teaching and research.

The principal continuing education activities of CCCC were the annual conference and the journal. The annual spring CCCC meetings became a highlight of the academic year for the several hundred persons who attended. They were characterized primarily by workshops, in which relatively small groups of persons discussed topics among themselves and produced written reports, which were published by the journal in a special annual issue. This participative learning distinguished the CCCC meetings from those of other organizations such as NCTE and the Modern Language Association, at whose meetings a more formal style of presentation was typical. During this period the current research on structural linguistics attracted a great deal of attention at the conferences. Other topics of major interest included the elements of the "communication" course (listening, reading, community theory, mass media, and the psychology of communication), course content, teaching methods, administration and planning, and special problems of teachers in various institutional settings.

The journal, too, continued to enlarge its size and increase its influence. Its articles covered the same general topics dealt with at the conferences. The journal and the conference gained increasing recognition as the major national forums for the discussion of issues surrounding the teaching of college composition.

From 1955 through 1958 the major professionalization activities of the Conference on College Composition and Communication centered on the status of the profession. Conference workshops and general sessions addressed the issue. Speakers, workshop reports, and journal articles advocated that the organization work more actively to accomplish three

general goals: (1) better working conditions and higher salaries, (2) increased recognition as a specialized discipline upon which academic careers could be based, and (3) more research to establish a body of professional knowledge on which to base practice.

### 1959-1967

The years of 1959-1967 may best be characterized as a period in which CCCC established itself as a mature, influential, activist organization. In 1959 CCCC began a lengthy self-assessment during which many members and committees made suggestions for changes in the purpose and province of the organization and even for a different name. However, the end result was only a few minor changes. Also during this period the organization continued to grow rapidly, more than doubling again its size. Responding to the rapidly increasing numbers of two-year colleges, it conducted a major study of their English programs, including a national conference of representatives from various levels of education. As a result, in 1966 it organized a series of six regional associations specifically for English teachers in these institutions.

The conferences of the CCCC continued to grow in size and scope. Some of them were held in locations such as San Francisco and Los Angeles, which were far from the Midwestern birthplace of the organization. As the meetings became larger, however, it became more difficult to retain their participative character. More persons presented prepared speeches, and there were fewer opportunities to sit around tables and discuss issues and problems. Most program chairmen selected themes

for the conferences and attempted to give them a more specific focus, although topics continued to cover a wide range of interests. Major topics on the conference programs included new issues in language study and teaching such as generative grammar, traditional and "new" rhetoric, and the psychology of language. The 1961 publication of Webster's Third New International Dictionary stimulated interest in sessions on lexicography, regional dialects, and usage.

The journal was edited by three different persons, each of whom had a distinctly different approach to the publication. Cecil B. Williams (1959-1961) changed the cover but continued the gradual evolution of the contents from discussions primarily of problems and techniques to more scholarly discussions of professional issues and theory. Ken Macrorie (1962-1964) felt that the journal articles had been totally ineffective and poorly written as well, so he effected major changes in the substance and style of CCC, inaugurating another new cover with dazzling colors and a new sunburst logo, as well as a series of thematic issues. He devoted less space to panel and workshop reports from the conferences, and he effected a shift to a more personal, informal, student-centered tone. William Irscher (1965-1967) set out to make CCC more substantial and scholarly and better known. He turned it into a periodical primarily for the study of non-fiction writing. He introduced advertising and used the revenue to increase the number of pages.

Between 1959 and 1967 CCCC made efforts to become more heavily involved in research in the teaching of composition; however, most of

its efforts did not materialize. But other professional activities went on. The first Scholars' Seminar, which took as its topic rhetoric, was held in 1964. Two series of conference papers on rhetoric and linguistics were published. And the journal published more results of language research and theory development. Also during this period a group of CCCC committees began to address such problems as composition beyond the freshman year, testing in composition, and various other issues in the teaching of composition.

### 1968-1975

The years from 1968 through 1975 were noted primarily for the response of CCCC to numerous challenges arising from a number of social movements. Most of the organization's major activities during this period could be related to its growing concern for social justice. The effects of various movements can be traced in CCCC: the Black movement, the movements of other minorities such as Chicanos, American Indians, and Asian Americans, the women's movement, the student movement, and the mounting opposition to the Vietnam War.

The most widely publicized action during this period was the adoption of a resolution declaring students' right to their own language. Other topics of significant concern fell into three categories: (1) the rights of minorities, (2) professional skills and qualifications, and (3) professional status. CCCC cooperated extensively with other constituent groups of the National Council of Teachers of English and additional professional associations on various projects. In spite of its increasing

activity, however, it steadily lost members. From a peak of over 5,000 members in 1968, it had dropped to just over 3,000 by 1975.

The annual spring conferences were the scene of a number of new developments and departures from traditional practices. Numerous new groups participated actively, such as the New University Conference, a radical group which first appeared at CCCC in 1969. Program planners worked actively to achieve increased participation by Blacks and other cultural minorities, new members of the profession, and graduate and undergraduate students. Program topics revealed a new concern for such topics as racial discrimination, student rights, and the Vietnam War.

College Composition and Communication extended its influence as a major professional journal. It became widely indexed, cited, and referenced. It grew considerably in size and attracted an increasing number of high-quality articles, many from well-known scholars. Both of its editors during this period believed that CCCC should reflect the interests and concerns of its members in a balanced fashion and consistently published a wide variety of articles and features. Book reviews occupied a prominent position, but the workshop reports were discontinued. Both editors maintained a balance between articles concerned primarily with classroom practices and those dealing with research and theory.

In 1975 the Conference on College Composition and Communication celebrated its silver anniversary. During the first quarter century of its existence, it had been formed to meet the needs of an emerging

professional group. It grew rapidly in members and steadily expanded the scope of its activities. Its major efforts centered on the continuing education of college composition teachers and on the professionalization of the field of college composition teaching. The last few years of CCCC's first quarter century were marked by a decrease in members but also by an increased concern for social justice which resulted in considerable efforts to make the organization more responsive to the concerns of minority and dissident groups in American society.

### CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation focused principally upon the efforts that the Conference on College Composition and Communication has directed toward the professionalization of the field of college composition teaching and toward the continuing education of college composition teachers. Therefore, it is possible to draw a number of conclusions about the work that the organization did in these two areas.

#### Professionalization

Since the close of World War II, the group of individuals engaged in the teaching of college composition has made noticeable gains in achieving professional status. How many of those gains can be credited to the Conference on College Composition and Communication might be debated. However, no other national organization has devoted itself exclusively to the concerns of this occupational group. It seems certain that the CCCC deserves more of the credit than any other organization, and certain specific gains can be traced unmistakably to CCCC

activity. On the other hand, the organization has failed to take some actions which might have further speeded up the professionalization process and enhanced the well-being of college composition teachers.

The efforts of CCCC to professionalize the field may be analyzed in terms of four primary characteristics of a profession identified by researchers: (1) a body of specialized knowledge, (2) skills in applying that knowledge, (3) recognition by society of the members of the profession as the acknowledged authorities on the practice of that profession, and (4) control over access to the profession by the members of that profession.

CCCC's efforts may also be viewed in terms of what researchers have observed to be the typical sequence in the professionalization process of an occupational group: (1) the beginning of full-time activity at a task which had been considered part time, (2) the development of a body of specialized knowledge, (3) the development of skills in applying that knowledge, (4) the establishment of specific qualifications for entry into the profession, and (5) the formulation of a code of ethics.

Development of a body of specialized knowledge. When CCCC was founded in 1949, the most knowledgeable composition teacher would have been hard pressed to put together a bibliography of writings about the composing process or the structure of expository prose. Such a list might have contained a few Ancient and Medieval works on rhetoric, some long-buried and others untranslated, supplemented by a spattering of modern works offering limited advice to writers. Today, however, any such



listing could be quite lengthy, and CCCC deserves much of the credit for this expansion of knowledge, which it encouraged by bringing members together, identifying research needs, and providing outlets for the dissemination of research.

As the journal grew in size, circulation, and status, it provided considerable stimulation for language research with its discussions of the needs and problems of writing teachers. In addition, it provided for the publication of research and theory an outlet which gradually gained prestige. The annual CCCC meetings also provided such a forum, eventually offering time to hundreds of persons each year to present their theories and their research and to discuss their implications for the teaching of writing. Numerous other activities also served to stimulate inquiry into the nature of language and writing: the scholars' seminars, the speakers' program, and the resolutions.

Many CCCC members engaged in research, which they published not only in CCC, but also in numerous other journals, in books, and in monographs. CCCC joined with NCTE to publish an occasional work, but it never became very active itself in the commissioning and funding of research. Its role remained a more subtle one of providing encouragement and outlets.

Specifically, CCCC's activities helped to create the climate in which several major fields of linguistic research were developed. One of the first was structural linguistics, a new approach to analyzing the structure of a sentence which captured much attention at CCCC

meetings in the 1950's. Next came transformational-generative grammar, which was an analysis of the process through which the mind works to structure sentences. In the 1960's CCCC played a large role in the revival of interest in rhetoric, resulting eventually in the development of a body of theory referred to as the "New Rhetoric," which analyzed the structures of units longer than the sentence. All of these movements have exerted major influence on the teaching of writing.

The facts strongly suggest that CCCC can take much of the credit for this great expansion of knowledge. CCCC put members of the profession in touch with each other, helped them to articulate the needs of the profession for new knowledge, and provided outlets for the dissemination of that knowledge.

Skills in applying specialized knowledge. Concurrently with the development of a body of specialized knowledge, college composition teachers also developed skills in applying that knowledge. Through the years a great many CCC articles and CCCC conference speakers have offered information and advice on applying knowledge about writing to the teaching of writing in the college classroom. CCCC became in effect a debating society for various theories. Writers and speakers have debated how much writing to assign, what kind of topics to assign, whether or not to mark papers, how to mark papers, how to teach organization, whether or not to teach grammar, what kind of grammar to teach, whether to work with students in individual conferences, in small groups, or in lectures, and various other issues. These debates

continue, but neither the profession nor CCCC itself has developed one commonly accepted theory about the teaching of writing. The field has not even been narrowed down to two or three such theories. This situation contrasts with that in other fields, notably mathematics, in which one fundamental approach to teaching (the "new math") has gained virtually total acceptance.

Several factors have prevented a similar consensus on how to teach writing. Most fundamental, perhaps, is that writing teachers have been unable to agree on what constitutes an effective piece of writing. Then, there are fundamental disagreements on the process of writing--the extent to which it is an art and the extent to which it is a science. Perhaps as a result, there is insufficient scientific evidence to support any one or two particular theories over all others. Virtually all the CCCC speakers and writers have reported their own success in using the techniques they have advocated. Some of this advice to composition teachers has grown from careful experimentation under controlled conditions, but most of it has resulted from personal, subjective experience.

From the beginning of the organization, CCCC leaders have recognized this problem and have called for more sound research to determine the most effective teaching methods, but little of it has been done. One of the greatest obstacles to such research has been the considerable difficulty in measuring skill in composition. An objective measure which would be generally accepted in the profession has not been developed. There is no indication that CCCC has

addressed itself to the production of such an instrument, although it has strongly opposed the use of devices which have claimed to measure composing skill in standardized testing programs.

Another obstacle to experimental research has been the continuing reluctance of many English professors who themselves are the products of traditional Ph.D. programs to seek cooperation with their colleagues in schools of education. Numerous articles, conference reports, and minutes contain negative references to these individuals and organizations. This attitude seems particularly regrettable in view of the great advances in recent years in the methods and technology of educational research and their potential applications to the longstanding concerns of CCCC. This situation suggests that in too zealously guarding their professional prerogatives, the members of an occupational group can actually hinder their progress toward professionalization.

Recognition by society. According to some researchers, the members of an occupational group which has achieved true professional status will be recognized by society as the legitimate authorities in matters pertaining to the practice of their profession. However, there are many indications that society is a long way from giving general recognition to college composition teachers as the acknowledged authorities over matters pertaining to the teaching of college composition. "Why Johnny Can't Write," an article in the December, 1975, issue of Newsweek, illustrates the fact that professors of other disciplines, business executives, fiction writers, journalists, and many other

persons seem to feel free to challenge the assumptions and procedures of composition teachers. Perhaps this lack of recognition is caused partly by the widespread disagreement among composition teachers themselves about the practice of their profession.

However, CCCC has presented a display of unanimity to the public on various professional issues. The members have apparently felt a right and an obligation to speak out and thus attempt to influence public and professional opinion on such matters as teacher preparation, teacher evaluation, teacher workloads, and job security. There are indications that these activities have had some degree of success. But they are not concerned specifically with classroom procedures.

The major issue involving classroom teachers was the resolution on the students' right to their own language, which CCCC passed in 1974. This resolution stated that all dialects were valuable and that it was not appropriate for teachers to force so-called standard English on persons who chose to communicate in another dialect. It is difficult to conclude that this resolution did not have, on balance, a negative effect on persons outside the profession. Deeply engrained feelings about the nature and role of language in American society and the emphatic wording of the resolution inevitably led most laymen to interpret CCCC's statement as meaning that anything should be acceptable in writing and that there should no longer be any standards in the use of language. As could have been expected, the carefully prepared background statement went unread by the general public and even by many

college composition teachers. The language statement, more than all its other activities, earned CCCC the reputation in some circles as being a radical organization and has probably weakened the effect of its other efforts to strengthen the professional authority of college composition teachers.

Control over access to the profession. CCCC has unquestionably exerted influence on who has gained access to the profession. In its earliest years it began to study the job of the college composition teacher and the knowledge and skills required to do that job well. This study has continued through the years in conference workshops and in committees. It appears that the reports of these groups have had some influence on the hiring policies of college English departments and the teacher training programs of universities, as there are now in existence several graduate programs in rhetoric, such as the one at the University of Southern California, whose graduates are sought by numerous institutions to teach their composition courses.

The basic recommendation of these study groups has been that a college composition teacher needs more specialized training in language than that normally included in the traditional M.A. and Ph.D. in English. In addition to the traditional knowledge of literature, the most frequently cited needs were familiarity with the findings of modern linguistic research, an understanding of rhetorical principles, a high degree of composing skill, and competence in evaluating

student writing. In addition to these reports, a special committee formulated a set of guidelines for junior college teacher training programs which were widely publicized and adopted.

In addition to spelling out qualifications for practitioners, some professional groups, most notably physicians, have managed to regulate the numbers of persons entering their professions to avoid the problems associated with an oversupply of applicants for available positions. In the early years of CCCC there was a shortage of composition teachers. However, during the late 1960's the situation reversed, with many at least nominally qualified persons being unable to find positions in college English departments. CCCC, however, has not taken steps to limit access to the profession. University departments continue to accept graduate students to be trained for positions which may not become available, and CCCC has seemed unwilling or unable to exert influence to change this situation.

CCCC has declined to take another step which associations in many other professions have used to limit access to their professions and to maintain the quality of its practitioners: certification. The idea of certification has never had much appeal to college professors, for there is a widespread belief that the knowledge and competence requisite to effective teaching can be acquired in a variety of ways. Many have regarded the doctorate or master's degree itself an adequate certification. However, it should be noted that other occupational groups recognized as professions have long histories of certification or licensing programs: medicine, the law, and the clergy, as well as

such newer groups as accountants, insurance underwriters, and engineers. These certification programs are administered by professional associations. And, of course, public school teachers in every state are certified by state agencies as meeting minimum requirements for competence in their various fields. If CCCC were to develop a certification program based on competencies needed to teach college composition and then work to gain the acceptance of the program, the organization might eventually strengthen its control over the practice of the profession and further raise the quality of the teaching of writing.

The major threat to the further professionalization of college composition teaching today may well be the academic unions. These unions have come into being primarily because professional organizations such as CCCC have been unwilling or unable to control the numbers of persons preparing themselves to enter these fields. The resulting surplus of qualified teachers enabled colleges to treat them with diminished respect and led them to the unions, which were organized to provide more help for the individual problems of their members than were the professional associations. The 40 percent decline in CCCC membership from 1968 to 1975 is indicative that potential members did not see CCCC membership as being vital to their professional well-being.

Steps toward professionalization. Researchers have noted that occupational groups take several steps in their evolution toward professionalization. To a considerable extent, the professionalization of college composition teaching parallels the developments that they found.



College composition teachers, like most other new professional groups, first began to achieve a unique identity when they began to engage in full-time activity at a task which had been considered part time. This new profession was related to an already established profession, that of teaching literature.<sup>1</sup> The formation of CCCC in 1949 was probably the major impetus for establishment of composition teaching as a career line rather than an activity which was secondary to the teaching of literature. By the early 1960's it was possible in at least a sizable number of colleges and universities for teachers of writing to direct their major research and teaching efforts toward language and writing instead of being forced to subordinate such activities to literary scholarship. This trend has continued to spread gradually. By 1975 some institutions had taken composition out of English departments, giving it independent and presumably equal status with literature and other liberal arts subjects. The incentive and reward system in some English departments still might not support the composition teacher as well as the literature teacher, but the situation is far different from the one in 1949.

After college composition teachers established themselves as a unique professional group, they set out to develop the specialized knowledge and skills recognized as essential to a profession and to

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<sup>1</sup>H. Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?" American Journal of Sociology, LXX (September, 1964), pp. 137-58; William J. Goode, "The Theoretical Limits of Professionalization," The Semi-Professions and Their Organization, Amitai Etzioni, ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1969); Philip Elliott, The Sociology of the Professions (London: Macmillan, 1972).

teach them in newly established university training programs.<sup>2</sup> The major expansion in the development of the specialized knowledge and skills which lie at the base of the composition teaching profession began in the late 1950's and accelerated during the 1960's and early 1970's.

In assessing the extent to which college composition teaching has achieved professional status, however, the observer can note some failures as well as some gains. Researchers have noted that the developing profession establishes specific qualifications for entry.<sup>3</sup> As discussed in the preceding section, while the profession has taken some steps to establish qualifications for entry, those qualifications have not met with total acceptance. It is still possible to gain entrance into the profession with little specialized knowledge of language and rhetoric and without specialized training in the teaching of composition.

Another step toward professionalization, which typically occurs in the final stages of the process, is the formulation of a code of ethics.<sup>4</sup> No such code for college composition teachers has been developed, and CCCC has taken no steps toward the defining of specific ethics for the practice of the profession.

The profession of college composition teaching is apparently still evolving toward full professional status. However, it has gone

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<sup>2</sup>Wilensky; Goode.

<sup>3</sup>Elliott, p. 112.

<sup>4</sup>Wilensky.

through several stages of this evolution, and CCCC has played one of the most decisive roles in the process. It could also be observed that if CCCC had more actively studied the specific characteristics of professions, it might have done even more to professionalize college composition teaching. As Myron Lieberman observed, members of an occupational group cannot achieve professional status until they understand the significance of that status and the problems associated with achieving it, and then work en masse to reach their objective.<sup>5</sup>

#### Continuing Education

The Conference on College Composition and Communication has developed since its founding into a major vehicle for the continuing education of college composition teachers, being the first and only professional association devoting its full efforts to that professional group. During its early years it relied on its parent, the National Council of Teachers of English, for leadership. Gradually, however, this relationship developed from one of dependence to one of partnership and even leadership as CCCC became increasingly assertive in matters related to the teaching of college composition. CCCC's role in this continuing education process may be understood through an examination of the activities it sponsored, the methods of planning those activities, and the theories of teaching and learning upon which those activities have been based.

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<sup>5</sup>Education As a Profession (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1956), p vii.

Activities. Although it has sponsored the publication of an occasional monograph and given help to an occasional workshop or seminar; and although it has held an annual luncheon at the November NCTE convention, the overwhelming portions of its continuing education efforts have been directed to the publication of its quarterly journal, College Composition and Communication, and the staging of its annual three-day spring meetings. In addition to these activities, it helps to sponsor the six annual regional conferences on English in the two-year college, initiated in 1966.

The journal has evolved from little more than a pamphlet, printing reports of the conference sessions and a few articles on what specific colleges were doing in their freshman writing programs, to a widely recognized professional journal which has provided the major outlet for important research and theory development of many of the outstanding language scholars in the country.

The conference has evolved from a series of informal, small-group, problem-solving meetings of primarily Midwestern professors to a complex program of many types of sessions for over a thousand participants, with hundreds of persons on the program. The topics addressed in the pages of the journal and at the sessions of the conference have evolved from a preponderance of relatively superficial issues in the early years to the development of new knowledge in more recent years. Even the casual readers of CCC and the persons who attended a conference every two years or so could manage to keep abreast of general

developments in the study of language and the teaching of composition. Regular readers of the journal and members who made it a point not to miss a conference increased their professional knowledge to a degree that would not have been possible in any other way.

Planning. As one of the early officers of CCCC explained, CCCC was a "grass roots affair" from the very beginning. From the earliest years its members have actively sought to gain new knowledge and skills. To a large degree the conferences have been the results of planning by a great number of those members. Program chairmen almost always invited members to send in suggestions through announcements in the journals. Many of them formed committees to help plan the emphases of the programs and to bring new persons and new ideas into the meetings. In its earliest years CCCC developed a reputation as an open organization, with an organizational structure which lent itself reasonably well to the participative planning advocated by Malcolm Knowles for adult education programming.<sup>6</sup>

The journal, too, developed a reputation for being open to a wide range of contributors and ideas, but it was much more the result of individual direction than were the conferences. Each editor left his personal stamp on the journal to a much greater degree than did each program chairman on the conference. CCC did not ordinarily operate as a refereed journal; the editors made almost all decisions about format and content.

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<sup>6</sup>The Modern Practice of Adult Education (New York: Association Press, 1970).

It is important to note, however, that formal attempts to determine the educational needs of CCCC members have not been as exhaustive as they might have been. The future directions controversy of the early 1960's and to some extent the reassessment of the organization's purpose and province a decade later included consideration of the form and content of the conference and the journal. Program chairmen made occasional attempts to collect written evaluations of individual conference sessions, and a few of them based the development of their conference programs partly on assessments of previous years' meetings.

CCCC has never attempted a comprehensive survey of members to gain information about their educational needs and their opinions about the directions of the organization. This omission might be viewed as surprising in an organization whose leaders sought to provide a service to the profession. However, the CCCC's leaders were apparently convinced that they were steering it in the right directions. It would have been difficult to give credence to a charge that CCCC was elitist, with its continuing efforts to include junior college teachers, women, and racial minorities in its activities. Indeed, some more traditional members have expressed the opinion that CCCC went too far toward egalitarianism, even creating a new "elite" composed of these newer groups.

Theory. Through the years CCCC has evolved a number of unofficial but recognizable theories upon which its continuing education activities have been based. Most of its program chairmen have attempted to design and carry out meetings that were characterized by participatory learning, a concept central to Malcolm Knowles' theory of andragogy, the art

of helping adults to learn. Efforts to insure that participants could contribute their own experiences and shape the sessions to their own needs included seating them around large tables, providing instruction sessions in group process to workshop leaders, sending detailed instructions on the management of conference sessions to the leaders, and preparing and distributing two editions of a manual for workshop leaders containing information on group process and participative learning. At the conferences of the earlier years these measures achieved considerable success.

However, these theories became unworkable because of the evolution of the organization, major developments in the profession, and changes in the nature of what was to be learned. One factor at work was the growing size of the meetings. With more sessions and larger numbers of participants, it became virtually impossible for program chairmen to maintain control over the conduct of the meetings. Furthermore, as the body of knowledge about the discipline of writing grew, conference topics evolved from very general discussions of problems during which participants shared ideas with each other to the dissemination of more specialized knowledge and theory. These sessions of necessity depended primarily on the leadership of a few people.

Another factor at work in the evolution of continuing education activities was the declining emphasis on the workshop format and the publication of the workshop reports in the journal. Whereas early conferences used the workshop as the major format, it had dwindled to only a small segment of the program by the 1970's. Space in the journal

allotted to the publication of workshop reports was reduced in the 1960's and eliminated in the 1970's. Those workshops tended to repeat topics year after year for the benefit of those attending the conference for the first time, and their reports grew understandably repetitive.

Whereas the primary purpose of the early meetings and journals had been for college composition teachers to get acquainted with each other and begin to establish a sense of professionalism, the primary purpose of later continuing education activities became the diffusion of knowledge about writing and the teaching of writing. However, a close examination of the journals and the conference programs suggests that another purpose of at least equal importance emerged in the late 1960's and early 1970's: the molding of attitudes of college composition teachers toward language, toward their students, and toward society. This trend was paralleled by similar events in other professional associations.<sup>7</sup> It was also paralleled by a 38 percent drop in the membership. Although other factors were also undoubtedly at work, this latter parallel cannot be ignored. The situation is reminiscent of that of the Progressive Education Association, which departed from its original purposes and thus lost members, many of whom deplored the efforts to use schools and teachers to change American society.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Harland G. Bloland and Sue M. Bloland, American Learned Societies in Transition: The Impact of Dissent and Recession (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974).

<sup>8</sup>Patricia A. Graham, Progressive Education: From Arcady to Academe; A History of the Progressive Education Association, 1919-1955 (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967).



### Planning for the Future

During the first quarter century of its existence, the Conference on College Composition and Communication evolved from a small group of persons struggling to establish a unique professional identity into a large, aggressive, influential professional association. Although it suffered a sizable drop in membership in recent years, it managed to continue its major activities. Composition teachers in virtually every college in the country have been directly or indirectly influenced by its activities, as it has been instrumental in the development and dissemination of vast amounts of knowledge about the nature and structure of language. It has established an elaborate and effective network through which composition teachers communicate with each other and through which they work to raise the quality of their own performance as teachers and to speed the process of the professionalization of the field of college composition teaching.

As the organization moves into its second quarter century, however, there remain a number of unresolved concerns and needed decisions. The findings of this study suggest that the leadership of CCCC might well come to grips with these issues and concerns as it makes decisions about the direction of the organization.

Evaluation of the organization. In the 1950's and again in the early 1960's, CCCC engaged in self-evaluations of its purpose and function. These studies appear to have had beneficial effects on the organization during those periods. However, even those studies did not attempt to

obtain a truly comprehensive picture of the usefulness of the organization to the members.

In view of the problems faced by CCCC in recent years, it would seem that the time is ripe for such a comprehensive study. With continuing controversy over basic professional issues, decreased membership, and diminished financial resources, it becomes more important than ever for the organization's leaders to make decisions with as much certainty as possible that they are based on the opinions and needs of the members and the profession. Such an assessment should certainly include, but not be limited to, a carefully constructed written survey of CCCC members, of former CCCC members, and of potential CCCC members. It should be designed to obtain information about the professional and continuing education needs of college composition teachers as well as to elicit members' opinions about organizational structure and function and about the allocation of organizational resources. It should attempt to learn how useful members have found the journal and the conference to be, and what other activities they would like the organization to undertake.

This researcher does not intend to suggest that the results of a comprehensive self-evaluation would enable CCCC to avoid controversy, or even that such avoidance would be desirable. It would probably be impossible for an association to educate its members and the public and to provide leadership in professional issues without stirring up controversy. However, all dissent carries a price, and it does seem desirable for an organization's leaders to make decisions with a reasonably accurate idea of what their price might be.

Evolution toward professional status. It is important that the leadership of an occupational group which aspires toward professional status understand the characteristics of a profession. This study has pointed out that the most highly professionalized occupational groups exercise a great deal of control over access to their professions, usually through formalized certification programs administered by professional associations. CCCC has laid much of the necessary groundwork for such a step by developing a list of necessary competencies for college composition teachers and incorporating them into guidelines for training programs. The establishment of a certification program, followed by efforts to gain its acceptance, would be the next logical step. Successful implementation of such a program would be a major effort involving a great deal of time and effort, but it would also advance the professional status of the field and increase the power and influence of the organization.

Another step toward professionalization, which would not require such a major effort, is the formulation of a code of ethics for the practice of the profession. It is frequently acknowledged among composition teachers that they have an unusually close relationship with their students because of the personal nature of much of their writing and of the tutorial nature of much instruction in composition. In this respect college composition teachers may be compared to such other professionals as attorneys, physicians, clergymen, and accountants. In college composition teaching, as in all such sensitive relationships, a code of ethics would seem appropriate, in large part because of the potential for abuse

of confidences and of the dependence of students upon instructors for the management of their learning and evaluation.

Research in college composition. An examination of the evolution of various professions suggests that in the life of every discipline, there is a movement from primarily descriptive research to more experimental research. As pointed out earlier in this study, there exist several barriers to extensive experimental research in the teaching of college composition. The leadership of the Conference on College Composition and Communication needs to confront these barriers and devote more efforts to doing away with them. Specifically, the organization needs to commit itself to the development of an objective, valid, reliable instrument to measure skill in composition, one that would be generally acceptable among the members of the profession. Once such an instrument is developed, the next step is to encourage through various means the undertaking of experimental research projects in the teaching of college composition. When and if college composition teachers are able to build up a substantial body of experimental research, they will be able to base their practices on more than the subjective experiences and descriptive studies of language that still serve as the basis for almost all the teaching of college composition today.

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## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CCCC CONFERENCES, CHAIRMEN, AND EDITORS

## CONFERENCES AND CHAIRMEN

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1950--Chicago<br>John C. Gerber<br>State University of Iowa                         | 1961--Washington, D. C.<br>Erwin R. Steinberg<br>Carnegie Institute of Technology |
| 1951--Chicago<br>George S. Wykoff<br>Purdue University                              | 1962--Chicago<br>Francis E. Bowman<br>Duke University                             |
| 1952--Cleveland<br>Harold B. Allen<br>University of Minnesota                       | 1963--Los Angeles<br>Pricilla Tyler<br>Harvard University                         |
| 1953--Chicago<br>Karl W. Dykema<br>Youngstown College                               | 1964--New York City<br>Robert M. Gorrell<br>University of Nevada                  |
| 1954--St. Louis<br>T. A. Barnhart<br>State Teachers College<br>St. Cloud, Minnesota | 1965--St. Louis<br>Richard S. Beal<br>Boston University                           |
| 1955--Chicago<br>Jerome W. Archer<br>Marquette University                           | 1966--Denver<br>Gordon Wilson<br>Miami University (Ohio)                          |
| 1956--New York City<br>Irwin Griggs<br>Temple University                            | 1967--Louisville<br>Richard Braddock<br>State University of Iowa                  |
| 1957--Chicago<br>Francis Shoemaker<br>Teachers College<br>Columbia University       | 1968--Minneapolis<br>Dudley Bailey<br>University of Nebraska                      |
| 1958--Philadelphia<br>Robert E. Tuttle<br>General Motors Institute                  | 1969--Miami Beach<br>Wallace W. Douglas<br>Northwestern University                |
| 1959--San Francisco<br>Albert R. Kitzhaber<br>University of Kansas                  | 1970--Seattle<br>Ronald E. Freeman<br>UCLA  |
| 1960--Cincinnati<br>Glenn Leggett<br>University of Washington                       | 1971--Cincinnati<br>Edward P. J. Corbett<br>Ohio State University                 |

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1972--Boston<br>Elisabeth McPherson<br>Forest Park Community College | 1975--St. Louis<br>Lionel Sharp<br>Cazenovia College        |
| 1973--New Orleans<br>James D. Barry<br>Loyola University, Chicago    | 1976--Philadelphia<br>Marianna W. Davis<br>Benedict College |
| 1974--Anaheim<br>Richard L. Larson<br>Herbert Lehman College         |   |

## EDITORS

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1950-1952<br>Charles W. Roberts<br>University of Illinois    | 1962-1964<br>Ken Macrorie<br>Western Michigan University      |
| 1953-1955<br>George W. Wykoff<br>Purdue University           | 1965-1973<br>William F. Irmischer<br>University of Washington |
| 1956-1958<br>Francis E. Bowman<br>Duke University            | 1974-<br>Edward P. J. Corbett<br>Ohio State University        |
| 1959-1961<br>Cecil B. Williams<br>Texas Christian University |   |

APPENDIX B

WRITTEN QUESTIONS SENT TO PROGRAM CHAIRMEN

1. What do you/did you believe that a CCCC conference should accomplish?
2. How do you/did you believe that people should go about learning at a conference?
3. In planning the program for 19\_\_, how did you select the theme of \_\_\_\_\_ and the particular emphases of the conference?
4. What were the issues or concerns in college composition which you believed that the conference should address?
5. What were the issues or concerns in education as a whole which you believed that the conference should address?
6. What were the general concerns of the larger society which you felt that the conference should address?
7. How were these issues or concerns (in numbers 4-6) identified? (By you, by a committee, by a survey of membership, by soliciting papers, etc.)
8. How did you select the persons who gave presentations at the conference?
9. What instructions did you give to the persons who were planning sessions or making presentations on the program? (That is, how did you help them to understand how and what they were expected to contribute to the program?)
10. What means did you use to assess the effectiveness of the conference?
11. If you had a written evaluation or evaluations, what did you do with them?
12. How were the evaluations used for planning subsequent conferences?

13. What did you do different on your program as a result of evaluations of previous conferences?
14. What changes in the content, method, and structure of conference programs have you observed through the years, and how do you feel about those changes?
15. What particular events that occurred during your tenure as chairperson or program chairperson were especially significant in terms of their influence on the professional development of college composition teachers?

APPENDIX C

WRITTEN QUESTIONS SENT TO JOURNAL EDITORS



1. What do you believe that CCC should accomplish?
2. How did your views differ from those of the editor who preceded you?
3. What were the issues or concerns in college composition which you believed that the journal should address?
4. What were the issues or concerns in education as a whole which you believed that the journal should address?
5. What were the general concerns of the larger society which you felt that the journal should address?
6. How were these issues or concerns identified? (By you, by a committee, by a survey of membership, etc.)
7. How did you select the articles and features for publication?
8. What means did you use to assess the effectiveness of the journal?
9. How were the evaluations used to plan subsequent journal issues (by you or the next editor)?
10. What changes have you observed in the journal through the years, and how do you feel about these changes?
11. You began/ended certain features. On what basis did you make these decisions?

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THE CONFERENCE ON COLLEGE COMPOSITION AND COMMUNICATION:  
A HISTORICAL STUDY OF ITS CONTINUING EDUCATION AND  
PROFESSIONALIZATION ACTIVITIES, 1949-1975

by

Nancy K. Bird

(ABSTRACT)

The purpose of this study was to investigate the development of the Conference on College Composition and Communication from 1949 through 1975 as a vehicle for the continuing professional education of its members and for the professionalization of the field of college composition teaching. A number of research questions were formulated to guide the investigation. These questions concerned (1) the circumstances under which the organization was founded, (2) its responses to educational movements and social forces, (3) its developing conception of its continuing education function, (4) its conception of and efforts toward professionalization, and (5) its relationship with its parent, the National Council of Teachers of English.

The chief sources of information for this study included College Composition and Communication, the official journal of the organization; the programs for the annual conferences; correspondence, minutes, and reports housed in the headquarters of the National Council of Teachers of English in Urbana, Illinois; and a series of interviews with former officers of CCCC conducted in person, by telephone, and through the mail. In addition, some former officers lent materials from their personal files.

Using the historical method, the study identified four distinct periods in the history of the organization: 1949-1954, during which the members came together to seek a new professional identity and to found a new organization; 1955-1958, which was characterized primarily by phenomenal growth in membership and expansion of activities; 1959-1967, during which CCCC conducted an inward search for new directions and emerged as a more mature and confident organization; and 1968-1975, a period in which CCCC's activities were marked particularly by a greatly increased concern for social justice.

The researcher concluded that CCCC had become the major national forum for the continuing education of college composition teachers. It played a vital role in this process, primarily through its annual conferences and its quarterly journal. The format of the earliest conferences emphasized the workshop/discussion method. However, as the size of the meetings and the body of knowledge about the discipline of writing grew, conference topics evolved from general discussions of problems to the dissemination of more specialized research and theory depending on the leadership of a few persons. The journal evolved from little more than a pamphlet, printing reports of the conference sessions and a few articles on what specific colleges were doing in their freshman writing programs, to a widely recognized professional journal which has provided the major outlet for important research and theory development of many of the outstanding language scholars in the country.

In addition, the organization also did much to further the professionalization of college composition teaching, particularly in the

areas of developing a knowledge base for the profession, developing skills in applying that knowledge, and strengthening the control of composition teachers over the practice of their own profession. It was also observed, however, that the professionalization process might be speeded if CCCC could encourage more research in the teaching of composition, exert more control over access to the profession, and establish a code of ethics for the practice of the profession. It was further suggested that some of the actions resulting from the organization's overwhelming concern for social justice during the late 1960's and early 1970's might have weakened the effects of its other efforts to professionalize the field of college composition teaching.