

Public Address Division Program
NCA 2016

THURSDAY

Rhetorical Approaches to Barack Obama's Eulogy for the Honorable Reverend Clementa Pinckney, Charleston, South Carolina, June 26, 2015

Thu, 11/10: 8:00 AM - 9:15 AM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 401 - Level 4

This panel will assemble a distinguished group of scholars and a renowned respondent in undertaking the analysis of a single rhetorical text: Barack Obama's eulogy for the Reverend Clementa Pinckney of Charleston, South Carolina. Reverend Pinckney was one of nine people summarily executed on June 26th, 2015 by a lone gunman during a bible study held at the Emanuel AME church.

Panelists will interrogate this unique text by applying unique theoretical and critical insights in an attempt to explore the complexities accompanying this particular rhetorical effort. Both the rhetorical and socio-cultural implications of Obama's efforts will be scrutinized. All three papers will rely upon this occasion to use the speech as a template to comment on the prospects for preserving and extending racial equality and justice in the United States.

Chair

[Denise M. Bostdorff](#), College of Wooster - [Contact Me](#)

Respondent

[Martin Medhurst](#), Baylor University - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

(Re)signing a Heritage of Hate: Barack Obama's Rhetoric of Racial Redemption

Barack Obama's eulogy for the Rev. Clementa C. Pinckney of the Emanuel AME Church in Charleston, S.C., and eight other parishioners killed by a white gunman arose in response to a rhetorical situation that demanded that he address the nation's longstanding exigency of racial injustice. This essay situates his address within the context of complicity theory to reconsider and reframe celebratory interpretations of the speech. My analysis reads the eulogy against Obama's earlier race discourse and offers a cautionary assessment of its emancipatory potential in the face of the sociopathy of white double (un)consciousness, the marginalizing of African American transformative consciousness, and the resistant psychodynamics of adaptive racism.

Author

[Mark L. McPhail](#), Indiana University Northwest - [Contact Me](#)

Prophetic Postracialism in Barack Obama's Eulogy for the Honorable Reverend Clementa Pinckney, Charleston, South Carolina, June 26, 2015

Michael Eric Dyson, in his book *The Black Presidency: Barack Obama and the Politics of Race in America*, argues that Obama's June 26, 2015, eulogy for Emanuel AME pastor Clementa Pinckney was "the most crucial speech of his presidency." Dyson devotes the final chapter of his book to an analysis of the speech, doing so after tracing the trajectory of Obama's presidential rhetoric on race in thirty seven speeches delivered between 2008 and 2015. Obama, Dyson writes, had "often shirked" the responsibility until the Charleston eulogy of using presidential rhetoric to advance the vision of racial rapprochement he had called for as a candidate in his March 18, 2008, Philadelphia address. The Charleston eulogy, Dyson writes, turned on the touchstone of grace, a gift God grants to all humans at the moment of creation. This gift is not earned or dependent on good works or on race.

I extend Dyson's insight with my argument that Obama's Charleston eulogy, grounded as it is in the notion of grace, should be seen as an expression of what Paul Taylor calls "prophetic postracialism." The term "postracialism" is an epithet in the rhetoric literature. I join Taylor in seeking to rescue it by suggesting that the theological notion of grace, which precedes and supersedes the empirical existence and consequences of race, infuses the prophetic postracialism at work in Obama's eulogy inverts the relationship between racism and postracialism by rendering the former a horrific fiction depicting racial hierarchies as an essential human characteristic with the latter resisting this representation with the preexisting reality of grace against which racism should be judged. I see in Obama's eulogy a prophetic postracialism that offers the theological resources needed to answer McPhail's call to move from complicity to coherence in the reconstruction of race in America.

Author

[David A. Frank](#), University of Oregon - [Contact Me](#)

Retrospect and Prospect in Barack Obama's Eulogy for the Reverend Clementa Pinckney, June 26, 2015

Starting with the 2008 presidential campaign President Obama raised high expectations in the African American community. However, disputation over promise and performance has been a hallmark of Obama's time in office. The proposed essay will argue that President Obama's eulogy for the Rev. Clementa Pinckney provides a template to critically examine how Obama navigated his rhetorical appeals and public policy initiatives within the complex context of African American history and religious experience. The essay will employ both a retrospective and a prospective theoretical interpretation of "kairos" to identify incremental changes in Obama's discourse over time reflecting his narratives on race and race relations and implicating the president's seemingly infrequent use of public policy initiatives as a means of substantive intervention.

I will advance the claim that Obama's eulogy sought to comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable while simultaneously building his own legacy and answering past critics. I will also argue that an analysis of this particular rhetorical effort can provide additional clues regarding Obama's evolving resolve to take up contentious issues as he approached his last year in office. Finally, it seems likely that the eulogy in South Carolina will ultimately be regarded as an exemplar for establishing the tone for Obama's post-presidency.

Author

[Steve Goldzwig](#), Marquette University - [Contact Me](#)

Constituting, Remembering, and Forgetting Gender, Publics, and Families

Thu, 11/10: 9:30 AM - 10:45 AM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 413 - Level 4

Four Public Address scholars examine issues related to constituting, remembering, forgetting and strategically appropriating gender and family roles.

Chair

[Jennifer A. Keohane](#), George Mason University - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

(Re)Constituting an Affective History: Vanguard Revisited as a Mode of Collective Memory

Vanguard Revisited is a digital archival project that seeks to reawaken the collective memory shared by original members of Vanguard, a queer rights coalition activist group based in San Francisco in the 1960s. This essay argues that the audiovisual and photographic components of the Vanguard Revisited digital archive invokes the collective memory of queer marginalization that had been established through the original Vanguard organization in the 1960s. In so doing, Revisited seeks to revitalize queer rights discourses and community activism in present-day queer rights coalitions. Revisited is not merely an historical venture that seeks to encapsulate a moment in time through artistic exhibition, nor is it purely a mode of queer activism. The project blends historical and political purposes by exhibiting the affective, visceral, bodily reality of being gay and homeless in 1966 and in the present-day and serves to constitute a community of queer youth of both eras who experience(d) similar hardship. Specifically, I focus on the rhetorical function of storytelling and witnessing that is facilitated by the Vanguard Revisited digital archive. Through the exhibition of queer voices and bodies online, Revisited deploys the affective resonance of marginalization. This particular affective iteration of marginalization characterizes the experiences shared by queer youth both in the 60s and in the present-day in order to mobilize the collective memory of those experiences and (re)cultivate the Vanguard community in the present-day.

Author

[Hilary A. Rasmussen](#), University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee - [Contact Me](#)

Forgetting Stonewall: Public Memory and the Loss of Militancy in Queer Activism

On the night of July 28, 1969, what began as a standard police raid on a small underground bar in Greenwich Village instead became a six day clash between police and protestors. As modern news coverage now frames these events, "[t]he Stonewall raid, and the demonstrations in the days after, became a rallying cry to fight back against the force used against the patrons of the bar that night" that continued over the next "four-and-a-half decades." This paper will argue that the commemoration of the Stonewall Riots entails a strategic forgetting of both its more violent and more multicultural past. Analyzing the initial riot along with the evolving commemorations that took place in the years after, forgetting has erased the specificity of Stonewall in order to make it more palatable to the general public.

Author

[Jeffrey Nagel](#), Baylor University - [Contact Me](#)

Public advocacy of privatized issues: Definitions, metaphors, and a lack of shared responsibility in unpaid family caregiving advocacy

This essay analyzes unpaid family caregiving advocacy; the rhetoric of individuals and organizations attempting to generate shared public responsibility about the traditionally privatized issue of unpaid family caregiving, or unremunerated adults caring for an aging elder. I argue that public advocates championing unpaid family caregiving issues undermine their own goals by creating persuasive definitions of care and metaphors that frame caregiving as domestic, familial, and primarily, a woman's obligation. More specifically, I contend that unpaid family caregiving advocates erect two barriers to shared responsibility in unpaid family caregiving issues: (1) advocates disguise a lack of realistic choice by advancing a dominant definition of care that assumes caring about leads to caring for and (2) advocates actively mask choice by deploying and encouraging a caregiving-as-personal-journey metaphor. The caregiving-as-personal-journey metaphor embedded in the advocates' definition of care emphasizes personal journey and reward for unpaid family caregivers which reinforces that one might voluntarily choose this path for self-gain. Together, these two rhetorical flaws in relation to care and choice reveal that shared responsibility is absent from pro-caregiving advocates' dominant definition of care. In making shared responsibility absent from this change rhetoric, I argue that public auditors may be less motivated to understand unpaid family caregiving as a shared responsibility because the dominant definition of care de-emphasizes the necessity for anyone to intervene in the unpaid family caregivers' already made choice. I conclude the essay offering ways in which advocates can reframe unpaid family caregiving from a private issue to a public one.

Author

[Rachel Davidson](#), Hanover College - [Contact Me](#)

Performing Citizenship in Grandma's Pantry

This essay explores the varied ways that activists are called to be civically engaged and the ways that the use communication to do so. It also argues that communication's transnational reach may call activists to engage beyond borders. I take as my case study the participation of American Communist women in a transnational petitioning drive that spanned the 1940s and 1950s. Deftly navigating anti-communism and hegemonic national security discourse, Communist women heard, answered, and re-circulated calls to act to protect life. Between 1948 and 1952, I argue, they used transnational performances of motherhood to broaden women's role in preventing nuclear war. Appropriating national security discourse that positioned women as mothers in charge of protecting their families, Communist women critiqued the white, middle-class valence of that discourse as they encouraged women to do more than stock their pantries and ride out the nuclear fallout. Rather than accept discourses of what motherhood meant, they remade it as a militant protectorship that conferred obligations to guide the macroeconomy. Meanwhile, in the embodied act of petitioning, they placed their bodies in citizenship venues that flouted government surveillance and its capitalist spaces. In the publication of peace appeals in the *Daily Worker*, women were uniquely called to witness the pain of mothers across the world, and by responding to these calls, Communist women showed the limitations of security discourse as a national endeavor, affirming that mothers had

obligations beyond the boundaries of the nation. Overall, in the action of peace petitioning and in their discourse promoting it, Communist women resignified motherhood as a militant, working-class identity that claimed ownership over the peace campaign, broadening their role in the Communist Party, and asserting the compatibility of motherhood with Communism.

Author

[Jennifer A. Keohane](#), George Mason University - [Contact Me](#)

Rhetoric, Religion, and the Constitution

Thu, 11/10: 9:30 AM - 10:45 AM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 401 - Level 4

These papers will examine how rhetorical appeals are used to manage religion's role in the United State's political and constitutional order.

Chair

[James Jasinski](#), University of Puget Sound - [Contact Me](#)

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Freedom of Expression Division

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Presentations

Bathroom Bills, Equal Rights, and "Biblical" Reasoning: Local Challenges to Transgender Protections

On November 3, 2015, the Houston Equal Rights Ordinance (also known as HERO) was defeated. Designed to ban discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, HERO would also have made prohibitions against discrimination "sex, race, color, ethnicity, national origin, familial status, marital status, military status, religion, disability, genetic information, and pregnancy." [1] Ultimately, HERO sought to bring Houston in line with federal regulations regarding non-discrimination. The opposition to HERO consisted of a series of ads that preyed on existing anxieties regarding the possibility of transgender women preying on cis-gender women and children in public restrooms, characterizing HERO as "the bathroom bill." The strategy for defeating this ordinance followed that of Michelle Duggar from "19 Kids and Counting," who recorded a robocall in August 2014 arguing that Fayetteville's anti-discrimination ordinance would allow "males with past child predator convictions. . . enter private areas reserved for women and girls." [2] As I argue, the arguments made by Duggar and the opposition to HERO relied on an understanding of sex (rooted in Christian fundamentalist thought) as biologically determined; this enabled them to define transgender individuals out of constitutional protections already determined on the federal level. In this essay, I examine the arguments made in opposition to the Fayetteville ERA and HERO in order to explore how local challenges are made to strip constitutional protection from transgender individuals. These cases provide an opportunity to better understand how religiously based reasoning (particularly of the Christian Fundamentalist type) is used to rhetorically construct an "other" who can be denied constitutional protections on the basis of sexual identity.

[1] Houston Equal Rights Amendment, 2014

[2] Duggar, Michelle. "Robocall Opposing Fayetteville Anti-discrimination Ordinance," Fayetteville Flyer, 8/18/2014. <http://www.fayettevilleflyer.com/2014/08/18/michelle-duggar-robocall-tries-to-rally-opposition-to-fayettevilles-anti-discrimination-proposal/>

Author

[Andrea J. Terry](#), California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo - [Contact Me](#)

Religion, Rhetoric, and the American Constitution: Calling Civitas to Order

Rhetoric and religion each aim to provoke some ordering of the social, and it is no coincidence that, like other modern constitution-writers, the American Founders felt keenly the need to manage both forces (cf. Mercieca 2010, Frank 2010, Gedicks 1995). This paper examines the founding moment of the United States with respect to the constitutional management of religion, suggesting that the rhetorical conditions that prevailed at founding-with regard to religion's ordering of public space in particular-have since shifted in ways that render founding compromises less effective. In particular, I argue that the establishment and free exercise clause of the U.S. Constitution's First Amendment reflects a state of religious suffusion that, in the interim, has become a state of religious mobilization. I raise the question of whether this changed state of affairs has been or can be adequately addressed by constitutional jurisprudence, or whether direct constitutional intervention is required to secure new rhetorical conditions for a religiously pluralistic American civitas.

As is well known, the United States Constitution takes a moderate, largely non-interventionist stance to the relation between religion and state-though exactly what this means has been the subject of contention since virtually the Founding itself. The Constitution neither quite establishes separation of church and state on the Virginia or Rhode Island models nor proclaims the United States a "Christian nation," as many at Founding and since have clamored for it to be. Article Six proscribes "religious tests" as a requirement for election to public office, and the First Amendment precludes state action that would establish religion or prevent the free exercise thereof. As frequently noted, this means that the Constitution preserves religion as a domain of public life that can rhetorically influence the state without being, in turn, subject to state management. Some commentators (e.g. Greenawalt 1988, Perry 1997, Gedicks 1995) have observed that this ensures a religiously charged atmosphere for political argumentation, and others (Sullivan 2005) have concluded that, in practice, religious freedom is thus an impossibility. Though intersecting with these concerns, my focus here is somewhat different. Arguing that the establishment and free exercise clause was the product of (Protestant) religious suffusion, I examine how religion in the United States (of several different varieties) has been mobilized throughout the late 20th century and beyond, especially with regard to Islam in the 2000s and 2010s (cf. Kuru 2009, 2013). Drawing on a rhetorical definition of religion, I query the conditions for religious pluralism today. "Freedom of religion" means something very different in a multireligious context where different religions make claims on public reason than in the (hotly contested nonetheless!) monoreligious context of American Founding. Contra Perry (1997), I suggest that ongoing legislative and jurisprudential negotiation of the First Amendment may be an insufficient political protection against religious chauvinism in our increasingly uncivil civitas (Crowley 2006). I ask, ultimately, how Americans might provide

constitutionally for a more civilly plural atmosphere for the negotiation of religions' public meanings.

Author

[Ira Allen](#), American University of Beirut - [Contact Me](#)

“[T]o permit every citizen to become a law unto himself”: Directional Argument (or Slippery Slope) Dynamics in Free Exercise Jurisprudence

In *Reynolds v. United States* (1878), the Supreme Court considered whether Mormon polygamy was protected by the First Amendment's Free Exercise clause. The Court concluded that it was not, maintaining:

So here, as a law of the organization of society under the exclusive dominion of the United States, it is provided that plural marriages shall not be allowed. Can a man excuse his practices to the contrary because of his religious belief? To permit this would be to make the professed doctrines of religious belief superior to the law of the land, and in effect to permit every citizen to become a law unto himself. Government could exist only in name under such circumstances. Since *Reynolds*, the federal courts have routinely relied on its directional (or slippery slope) logic to limit the Free Exercise clause's scope. But as the Court became more sensitive to citizens' claims regarding constitutional rights, it began to expand the Free Exercise clause's scope via "strict scrutiny" doctrinal arguments. The tension between doctrinal arguments flowing from strict scrutiny (and the prudential arguments needed to implement strict scrutiny analysis) and the directional logic announced in *Reynolds* is a key feature in Free Exercise jurisprudence. This paper will trace this tension in major Supreme Court cases (such as *Employment Division v. Smith*) and conclude with a discussion of how this tension manifests itself in the contraception cases (*Hobby Lobby* and *Geneva College v. Burwell*).

Author

[James Jasinski](#), University of Puget Sound - [Contact Me](#)

Religion's Civic Callings: Oblique Critique in the Public Performance of Religious Belief

Thu, 11/10: 11:00 AM - 12:15 PM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 401 - Level 4

This panel aims to explicate how religious engagement in civil society often proceeds through indirect means—through the unseen, other-worldly basis of religious belief. Panelists will explore four significant moments in American religious history: Joseph Smith's American Sublime, Cora Scott's trance lectures, the development of the serenity prayer, and Pope Francis's visit to the United States. The four papers will be followed by a response from a leading scholar on religious rhetoric.

Chair

[Paul H. Stob](#), Vanderbilt University - [Contact Me](#)

Respondent

[Kristy Maddux](#), University of Maryland - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

"We Have Defaulted on a Promissionary Note": Pope Francis I's Concatenate Circulation during His 2015 Visit to the United States

Prior to Pope Francis I's visit to the United States, the New York Times published Ross Douthat's opinion piece demonstrating the struggle to determine-or even define the terms of-the "Francis Effect." Since his election, Pope Francis I has been seen as a complex figure, his statements often being lauded as "liberalizing" the church, only to have careful reflection bring forth more questions than answers about traditional Catholic belief and practice in today's world. The Holy Father's first visit to the United States in September 2015 was no exception, and even a year later the visit's implications still confound. This paper explores the civic and religious addresses of Pope Francis I during his visit: the welcoming ceremony, the meeting with the U.S. bishops, address to the U.S. Congress, addresses at various religious organizations such as St. Patrick Parish and Our Lady, Queen of Heaven School, and his address at the Festival of Families. Using an understanding of rhetorical circulation, the paper analyzes how the Pope's arguments from example represented a concatenate circulation of Catholic belief and practice. In so doing, Francis reified particular U.S. civic values relating to justice and mercy, and called forth the necessity of individual, rather than societal change. The analysis demonstrates the opportunities and limits of such rhetoric, as well as how its influences contribute to the struggle to define the Francis Effect in the United States.

Author

[Sara A. Mehlretter Drury](#), Wabash College - [Contact Me](#)

And now, allow me to close ...: The Serenity Prayer as Spiritual Icing on Secular Cake

In the roughly 80 years since it first appeared, the Serenity Prayer has become a staple of therapeutic and inspirational rhetoric and a text particularly associated with Alcoholics Anonymous and addiction recovery movements. Yet the prayer has also enjoyed deep popularity as apt expression of spiritual insight-a capping sentiment in the face of turbulent and complex times. This paper traces the Serenity Prayer's broad circulation in American civic rhetoric from the 1930s through 1960s. During this period, the prayer found itself deployed in an astonishing range of performative settings, orally and in print,, and employed as a singular summation of the proper attitude for proceeding amidst situational ambiguities. It was especially popular as the concluding "wise words" of keynote addresses to trade conventions and other civic gatherings. As such, the prayer served as a kind of benediction elevating any assembly (e.g., labor unions, educators, ice cream manufacturers) and its concerns. Applying Kenneth Burke's notion of literature as equipment for living, the paper examines the uses of the prayer to celebrate and commend a proper attitude, at once stoic and hopeful. Moreover, it recognizes that the turn to prayer itself is a rhetorical strategy for leveraging spiritual resources in ostensibly secular contexts of civic and commercial life. Ultimately, the paper argues, the Serenity Prayer flourished in mid-twentieth century America because it spoke to anxieties associated with modernity in language deemed acceptable for a culture of religion pluralism.

Author

[William FitzGerald](#), Rutgers University, Camden - [Contact Me](#)

Joseph Smith's "King Follett Address" and The American Sublime

Historians have celebrated Joseph Smith's famous "King Follett Address" as a theological and philosophical breakthrough – a moment *sui generis* when a unique faith movement introduced challenging ideas to an unsuspecting world. But as I will demonstrate, a secular version of the themes of "King Follett" were being developed contemporaneously as part of a broader nineteenth-century movement in American universities, lyceums, and civic culture generally. The purpose of this paper is to link the early theological ideals of Mormonism, as drawn from the public rhetoric of Joseph Smith, to the early republic's ideals of political equality, experiential education, and the notion that learning has a transcendent, sanctifying power upon individuals and communities. In short, I argue that some of Mormonism's most radical theological ideals were obliquely drawn from – and found rhetorical traction within – an American civic culture yearning for the sublime. Early Mormonism becomes a case study of how a religion emerges within and relies upon civic culture even as it works to define itself against that very culture.

Author

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Spirits on Stage: The Performance of Space in the Trance Lectures of Cora Scott

Spiritualism, the nineteenth-century religious movement based on communication with the dead, was as much a matter of social reform as spiritual enlightenment. What's more, it gave women a prominent role as public speakers at a time when such roles were rare. As mediums through which spirits could speak, women were able to address "promiscuous" audiences on the most important matters of this life and the life beyond. However, while scholars have long understood the role women played in spiritualism, little work has been done on the actual operation of mediumistic discourse—on the appeals, strategies, and arguments of women on the spiritualist stage. This paper will explore the operation of mediumistic discourse by focusing on "trance lectures"—public lectures in which spirit guides delivered lengthy talks through trance mediums on religious, social, political, scientific, and cultural matters. I will focus specifically on the trance lectures of Cora Scott, one of the most prolific and influential spiritualists of the second half of the nineteenth century. Scott's lectures, I argue, reveal a performance of religion that draws power from spatial tensions—specifically, horizontal dynamics related to the here and now, and vertical dynamics related to an unseen, transcendent world. By playing off of these spatial tensions, Scott was able to critique modern society in a socially acceptable way—viz., through the transcendent position of her spirit guides. Her lectures established a sphere of influence above and beyond the audience, which allowed her to confront the social problems of nineteenth-century America. Ultimately, the vertical and horizontal dynamics of Scott's trance lectures point to a general mode of religious advocacy that not only pervaded the spiritualist movement but much religious discourse as well.

Author

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Sovereignty, Citizenship, and Indigeneity in and beyond the Settler State: Tracing the Rhetorical Contours of American Indian Public Address

Thu, 11/10: 12:30 PM - 1:45 PM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 413 - Level 4

This panel brings together a diverse collection of scholars working at the intersections of public address, social change, and indigenous studies to assess how public discourse and policy enhances, manages, and disciplines indigenous citizenship and activism. The essays included here work through case studies to attend to the opportunities, double binds, and tropes related to public policy and indigenous rhetoric. Such analysis can help reveal the civic constraints of indigenous citizenship and signal new rhetorical openings for political justice.

Chair

[Dominic Manthey](#), Penn State University - [Contact Me](#)

Respondent

[Danielle E. Endres](#), University of Utah - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

"Your Attack On Tribal Jurisdiction is an Attack On MY BODY": Consent and Tribal Sovereignty in Dollar General, Corp. vs. the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians

In 2003, a thirteen year old member of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians was sexually molested by his non-Indian supervisor while working at a Dollar General store located on tribal lands. Due to erosions of tribal sovereignty and systemic discrimination in the US Attorney's office, the survivor was denied the opportunity to press criminal charges. His parents instead took civil action against Dollar General in a Choctaw court. However, Dollar General maintains that the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians should have not have civil jurisdiction over their company or any non-Indians, unless the non-Indian person/entity has first provided "clear and unequivocal consent" to tribal jurisdiction. The case is currently before the Supreme Court. This paper analyzes transcripts of oral arguments heard by the Supreme Court, the amicus brief filed by the National Indigenous Women's Resource Center, Dollar General's reply brief, as well as speeches made by Native American activists during a protest that was held outside the Supreme Court on December 7th, 2015. It is argued that Dollar General's argument about consent is premised on racist stereotypes about the inability of tribes to govern themselves. Furthermore, it is argued that the many inefficiencies of U.S. law have ironically provided Dollar General with the rhetorical resources to paint tribal courts as inferior. The (U.S. created) obstacles to practicing law in Indian country are consistently described using terms like "jurisdictional maze," "jurisdictional void" and "schizophrenic." By relying on metaphors that portray law as utterly non-functional in Indian country, Dollar General is able to claim that non-Indians should not be subject to tribal law without first giving special consent. This disturbing argument places the power of consent in the hands of the assailant, adding urgency to the demands for expanded jurisdictional powers put forward by Native American judges, survivors, and advocates at the protest.

Author

[Bridget Sutherland](#), Indiana University - [Contact Me](#)

Mobilizing Urban Lumbee: Self-Determination Rhetoric

The rhetoric of federal "self-determination" policy in the late 1960s and early 1970s greatly impacted the Lumbee movement's dominant rhetorical frames and appeals. I argue that self-

determination rhetoric, an externally generated discourse, reimagined Robeson County American Indian citizenship as an economic integration and partnership with mainstream American society. By adopting this framework, the Lumbee movement creatively sutured an indigenous identity of "Lumbee" to a federal rhetoric, thus forming an effective urban social movement discourse that, at times, distanced the movement from rural indigenous voices. In fact, the tribal name "Lumbee" would become the main rhetorical wedge between urban and rural indigenous activists in the years to follow. This essay substantiates its argument through the close textual examination of two key presidential speeches, archival documents, and oral interview transcripts from Lumbee activists and the three NGOs that helped start the movement. The study of the Lumbee movement's rhetoric can inform scholars about the various ways federal policy can impact and inform the rhetorical dimensions of indigenous activism. The Lumbee movement also offers a robust historical case-study to rethink the dynamics of urban protest at the intersection of indigeneity and class. Social movement theorist Manuel Castells claims "urban social movements" combine struggles over consumption with "those for community culture" and "political self-determination." The Lumbee movement's rhetoric notably reflects a vernacular interpretation of these priorities, as well as an instance when they aligned with federal policy. "Lumbee," as a result, became the vehicle through which an indigenous community culture was mobilized, celebrated, and integrated into urban spaces.

* Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983): 300-305. See Margit Mayer's analysis of Castells, "Manuel Castells' *The City and the Grassroots*," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 30.1 (2006): 202.

Author

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Red Power Rhetoric, Poverty, and Epistemic (Dis)Advantage

From 1964 to 1967, National Indian Youth Council spokesman Clyde Warrior delivered a series of invectives on President Johnson's War on Poverty. From his controversial speech at the 1964 War on Poverty conference to his testimony before the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, Warrior linked extraordinarily high rates of American Indian poverty with the federal government's benevolent rhetoric of self-help and philanthropy. The War on Poverty's core failure, he argued, was that its architects, administrators, and spokespersons were for the poor but not of the poor. In this presentation, I argue that Warrior adopts the marginalized subject position of the poor to infuse government anti-poverty programs with the neglected category of indigenous experience. Warrior engaged in what Mary Triece (2013) calls "reality referencing," a strategy and epistemological stance that derives its authority by articulating realities lived to counteract dominant and privileged rhetorics about realities perceived. I contend the Warrior's particular vision of Red Power mobilized the collective experience of poverty and marginalization as an epistemic advantage that authorizes American Indians to speak with greater expertise than Euro-American policymakers.

Author

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Saying Indian: Postcolonial Rhetoric and Online Commentary during the Washington Redsk-ns Trademark Disputes

The time-tested controversy regarding the sustainability of the Washington Redsk-ns mascot has been reignited in the wake of a 2015 federal appeals court ruling to "hold" a revocation of six team trademarks. To be sure, the milieu has involved the tried-and-true clash of "honoring versus disrespecting" arguments that have punctuated the controversy from 1968 to the present. However, given that the current Redsk-ns ruling is the first time a palpable change to the Redsk-ns mascot is not just a possibility, but a likelihood, public comments have moved beyond stock arguments to deeper engagements of what keeping or removing the Rdsk-ns mascot (or finding a compromised position) might mean for our public negotiation of Native representations.

This essay analyzes 350 online comments from 5 national news sources appended to 16 key news stories about the Redsk-ns 2015 appeals court ruling to ascertain the particular rhetorical moves made from both the anti- and pro- positions on the Redsk-ns controversy. The argument presented is both descriptive and critical. In terms of the former, we create a catalog of rhetorical tactics for each side. Concerning the more critical lens, we position the "catalogs" into frames of decolonization and neocolonization, demonstrating a more historical anchor of and ideological underpinning to what Black (2002; 2014) deems "the mascotting of Native America."*

*Jason Edward Black, "Native American 'Mascotting' Reveals Neocolonial Logics," *Spectra* 50:3 (2014): 14-17; Jason Edward Black, "The Mascotting of Native America: Construction, Commodity, and Assimilation," *American Indian Quarterly* 26:4 (2002): 605-622.

Author

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Obama Goes to Cuba: Transnational Presidential Address and Democracy on the World Stage

Thu, 11/10: 2:00 PM - 3:15 PM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 413 - Level 4

Drawing on scholarship from media studies, spatial theory, linguistics, affect theory, and U.S. presidential rhetoric, this paper session analyzes the rhetorical significance of Obama's March 2016 trip to Cuba and considers the specific implications of this trip for scholars of public address.

Chair

[Robert Terrill](#), Indiana University - [Contact Me](#)

Respondent

[Robert Terrill](#), Indiana University - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

Agenda Setting in U.S. and Cuban Media Coverage of President Obama's Visit to Cuba

This paper will explore the differences in coverage of Obama's March 2016 visit between U.S. mainstream media and Cuba's state-run media, such as in the widely read daily paper Granma (the official paper of the Communist Party), and Trabajadores, the weekly paper of the Workers' Central Union of Cuba. Mainstream media has the potential to structure what issues publics find salient and frame how those issues are understood. While both Cuba and the U.S. have made overtures of reconciliation in recent years, the long-standing embargo and contentious history highlight the ideological differences between the countries and influence the coverage of news events. Obama's visit to Havana is an opportunity for a direct comparison of how media sources frame the interpretation of specific events and create and maintain media, public, and policy agendas. This agenda setting is particularly relevant in Cuba, where access to independent news sources or the Internet is tightly controlled. In this paper, I will use content analysis to explore how Obama's visit is framed in both Cuban and American media and explore the dominant themes of the visit and how these themes connect to dominant social and political ideologies, contextualized with my own experiences in Cuba during June 2015 on a faculty development program.

Author

[Michelle Calka](#), Manchester University - [Contact Me](#)

Hasta Siempre: Hope and Specters of [The] Revolution in Obama's Cuba

This essay charts the role of affect, particularly optimism, in the discursive field surrounding Barack Obama's 2016 state visit to Cuba to understand how optimism functions as a rhetorical device in this thawing of US-Cuban relations. In examining Obama's speeches and statements from the island and in using the theoretical work of Lauren Berlant, I want to suggest that hope is an audacious feeling as this opening between the two countries emerges, not only because Obama's visit coincided with deadly ISIL attacks in Turkey, Iraq, Mali, and Belgium, but also because the revolutionary impulse which he summons renders the optimism cruel when he applies it to the American democratic experiment. Conjuring images of both Cuban revolutionaries and Black Power insurgents, this paper lingers on the traces of revolution in this moment of détente to understand how Obama's limited rhetorical repertoire fails spectacularly in evoking meaningful and useful moments of revolutionary sentiment or history.

Author

[Lisa M. Corrigan](#), University of Arkansas - [Contact Me](#)

Obama and Castro's Joint Press Conference: Navigating Face, Revealing Division

Cuban and U.S. heads of state met for the first time in over fifty years on April 11, 2015, at the Summit of the Americas in Panama. There, they gave brief public speeches before entering into a private meeting, ending the Cold War estrangement of the two countries. Obama's trip to Cuba in March 2016 marked an even more symbolically significant moment for the two countries as the leaders engaged in a joint press conference. The joint press conference is a genre in which speakers display consensus-it is a "meditization of political action, which... often tell[s] the rest of the world that the meeting was successful and useful" to both of the engaged parties

(Bhatia, 176). In other words, Obama and Castro participated in collaborative epideictic speech.

This essay explores how Castro and Obama upheld the symbolic significance of their unified speech event despite profound historical grievances and current disagreements on human rights and national policies by navigating positive and negative face. Castro implicated Congress, as opposed to Obama, as actors in a continued violation of human rights in Cuba. Obama, rather than condemning Castro, pressured Castro to engage with the press on human rights. In analyzing how these leaders navigated the constraints of the joint press conference we see different national approaches to politics in transnational discourse.

Bahtia, Aditi. "Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Press Conferences." *Discourse & Society* 17.2 (March, 2006): 173-203.

Author

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Obama in Cuba: Presidential Presence in Place as a Symbolic Gesture and Material Embodiment of U.S.-Cuban Reconciliation and Renewal

On March 22, 2016, President Barack Obama spoke in Havana, Cuba, in a nationally televised address to an immediate audience of 1,100 (including Cuban president Raúl Castro) and to the 11 million people living on the island. In his opening remarks, Obama declared that he had traveled to Cuba "to bury the last remnant of the Cold War in the Americas" and "to extend the hand of friendship to the Cuban people" (Obama). As the first sitting U.S. president to visit the communist country in eighty-eight years, Obama's presidential presence in place functioned as a symbolic gesture and as a material embodiment of the president's determination to normalize diplomatic relations with Cuba.

In this paper, I analyze how the president employed relational, spatial, and temporal deictic indicators in his March 22 speech to build a rhetorical bridge between the United States and Cuba, one that he cemented with his presidential presence in place. Articulating his hopeful vision for Cuba's future to millions of Cuban citizens on their home turf, Obama gestured toward a new chapter in U.S.-Cuban relations even as he argued for the merits of democracy, equality, and human rights. This analysis suggests that presidential rhetoric in place activates the spatial, relational, and temporal coordinates of a speech act's location as a means of evidence and enthymematic proof.

Works Cited:

Obama, Barack. "Remarks by President Obama to the People of Cuba." Gran Teatro de la Habana, Havana, Cuba. 22 March 2016. Web.

Author

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Education's Civic Callings: Activism, Public Address, and Deliberation in Schools

Thu, 11/10: 3:30 PM - 4:45 PM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 413 - Level 4

Schools in United States are increasingly held accountable for their actions-and inaction-on issues such as racism, sexism, and homophobia. As such, the classroom, campus, and school board are crucial sites where educators, students, parents, and community members come together to deliberate. The four papers on this panel study a broad geographical range of educational discourses and controversies, all united by an interest in education's civic callings to address social justice.

Chair

[Carly S. Woods](#), University of Maryland - [Contact Me](#)

Respondent

[Robert Asen](#), University of Wisconsin-Madison - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

Boundaries of Whiteness: Mapping Debate over Bilingual Public Education

"Whiteness" is often characterized as a rhetorical construct—a structuring principle that exerts power not in spite of its invisibility, but largely as a result of its insidiously centered and normative nature. Scholars and activists committed to the mission of critical whiteness studies commonly work to "unmask," "disinter," or otherwise make manifest the wide reach of whiteness. This paper will contribute likewise, drawing upon theories that foreground spatial metaphors of mapping, borders, and boundaries to further refine a conceptual vocabulary. This vocabulary enables broad audiences to recognize whiteness as defining both the perimeters and also dominating the interiors of discursive space. The public debate over Colorado's failed Amendment 31 initiative, a 2002 English immersion/anti-bilingual education ballot measure, provides a complex case to map how whiteness functions pervasively. Mapping whiteness's pervasive position in this public debate, moreover, enables both scholars and advocates to imagine different paths toward more inclusive and less dominated deliberation.

Author

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School Boards and the Rhetoric of Digital Threats/Rights: First Amendment Complications of Regulating Cyberbullying

This essay examines contemporary legal and rhetorical issues school boards face regarding the regulation of cyberbullying speech. In several states, school boards are required to incorporate anti-bullying policies within local student codes of conduct. These policies are often inclusive of cyberbullying speech and are created with the purposes of protecting students and school employees from harassment, and of maintaining an orderly school environment. Such policies are sometimes found to be vague, difficult to enforce, and are occasionally considered unconstitutional. We look at several state laws that require school boards to regulate cyberbullying speech and explore the rhetorical strategies available to school boards for interpreting and operationalizing these laws into their school policies.

Author

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Co-Author

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The Problem with 'Purple Penguins:' Gender Trouble in Lincoln Public Schools

In Fall 2014, the Lincoln Public School District (LPS), a school district serving over 35,000 students in Nebraska, was thrust into the national spotlight. A controversy ignited when a faculty diversity liaison at Irving Middle School distributed a set of handouts about the gender spectrum in order to help educators counter the bullying of gender non-conforming students. School district staff and parents deemed this attempt at "gender inclusive training" an unwarranted use of school resources to enforce a politically correct, feminist, or gay agenda. One handout's recommendation that teachers use non-gendered terms (such as "purple penguins") in order to avoid gendered groupings in the classroom ("boys over here, girls over there") became a flashpoint for the controversy. Local and national media took note as LPS deliberated about the role of 21st century public education, bullying, parental involvement, and gender ideology. The pinnacle was on October 14, 2014, when over 200 concerned community members, including parents, faith leaders, students, and activists, appeared at a school board meeting eager to testify on both sides of the issue. This paper undertakes a close analysis of the testimony, highlighting how the speakers invoked accounts of discrimination on the basis of race, class, physical ability, and religious identity in order to argue for and against gender inclusivity in schools. I use this analysis to draw broader conclusions about how a rhetor's sense of belonging in disparate social institutions enables and constrains public deliberation about sex, gender, and sexuality.

Author

[Carly S. Woods](#), University of Maryland - [Contact Me](#)

What is a 'Rebel Man'? Deliberation and Identification in Vestavia Hills

With the removal of the Confederate flag from the South Carolina capital building in 2015, the Board of Education in Vestavia Hills, Alabama was forced to confront their own connections to the flag and question their school mascot: the "Rebel Man." Members of the community and the media calling the school logo, flag, and costumed mascot "racist" and "symbols of the Confederacy," and the district held a workshop to decide the future of the identifying images of the community. This essay explores how images function for a community in the process of identification, and considers how, when identification fails for some, the community is forced to deliberate over issues of public identity and not policy.

Author

[Scott N. Bredman](#), University of Iowa - [Contact Me](#)

**Public Address Landmarks in Philadelphia: Calls to Fulfill the Promises of America
Delivered in its Birthplace**

Thu, 11/10: 3:30 PM - 4:45 PM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 401 - Level 4

We are assembling in Philadelphia. Public address scholars should, then, consider not just the landmark buildings and memorials of the city but the landmark speeches. This session focuses on three: Hubert H. Humphrey's 1948 speech on civil rights to the Democratic National Convention meeting on Philly; Barack Obama's 2008 speech on race delivered at the city's Constitution Center; and Pope Francis' 2015 speech on the deeper meaning of religious freedom presented at the city's iconic Independence Hall. The paper take different tacks in illuminating the rhetoric of Philadelphia. The discussion of HHH puts the famous speech into the context of both party conventions, which were staged in Philadelphia. Considering the context makes the speech less a clarion call and more an attempt to prevent a rift in the party and nation. The discussion of Obama considers the speech in its 2008 time frame and, then, in a 2016 one, noting how the promise of the Obama address seems unfulfilled. The discussion of Pope Francis uses ideas from Burke and de Certeau to highlight a transcendent rhetoric that aligns religious freedom with respect for the immigrant using resources of place and the resonance of Philadelphia.

Chair

[Tracey Holden](#), University of Delaware - [Contact Me](#)

Respondent

[Nichola Gutgold](#), Penn State University - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

Hubert H. Humphrey in Philadelphia: An Inclusive Call Amidst the Divisive Rhetoric of the 1948 National Party Conventions

Then Minneapolis Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey's 1948 address to the Democratic National Convention on behalf of a motion to revise the party's platform is revered as an early clarion call for full civil rights for African Americans. The speech is eloquent and inclusive, but to understand it, one must put the address in context. Both the RNC and DNC met in Summer 1948 in Philadelphia. The RNC, after much debate, adopted a weak civil rights platform plank. Reflecting the position taken by those opposed in the debate, the plank was cautious. The GOP saw FDR's political coalition crumbling, and the party wanted to crack the "solid South" of the Democrats. The DNC, after heated debate, countered by advancing an even weaker position. The Republicans had been correct: a rift was emerging in the FDR coalition. Humphrey of often seen as challenging conservatives in his party. In context, he is trying to seal the rift in the party and nation. The rhetoric, on context, was less a clarion call and more a plea to heal a wound festering in both the GOP and Democratic camps.

Author

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The Transcendent Space/Place of Religious Freedom: Pope Francis's Address at Independence Hall

Pope Francis's inaugural apostolic sojourn to the United States of September of 2015 included a stop in Philadelphia. There he officiated Masses, attended and made remarks at several events related to the Synod on Families, met with bishops, and visited a correctional facility. At Independence Hall, Francis addressed a crowd of 50,000, many from the local Hispanic and

immigrant communities, on the issue of religious freedom. Drawing on the conceptual theories of Kenneth Burke and Michel de Certeau, this essay explains how Francis employs a transcendent rhetoric that conflates religious freedom and immigration through spatial imagery undergirded by the historical, political, and ideological significance of Philadelphia. Such a discourse, delivered at the "birthplace of America," reminded the audience that a major tenet of religious freedom is seeing the dignity of each individual which includes defending the poor and the immigrant.

Author

[Christopher J. Oldenburg](#), Illinois College - [Contact Me](#)

What Happened to the More Perfect Union? Barack Obama and the Philadelphia Constitution Center Speech on Race

On March 18, 2008, presidential candidate Barack Obama spoke at Philadelphia's Constitution Center, offering an important statement on race and tolerance. It was regarded by some as a harbinger of a post-racial society: a society in which race would not exclusively define someone. People would be judged, as King had said, on the content of their characters. The speech, "The More Perfect Union Speech," was a milestone of the campaign. But, as the Obama presidency nears its end, we are far from a more perfect union. We may be even less so than in 2008. It could be argued that we have never been less unified since the Civil War. The past eight years have included two divisive wars and a sharp increase in terrorism. We have not achieved the post-racial society we were told the election had ushered in. If the number of deaths of people of color in police custody hasn't increased, there has at least been increased attention paid to civil disturbances in Ferguson, Missouri and Baltimore, Maryland and protests in Chicago, Illinois. People are angry and frustrated and worried and afraid, accounting for the successes of politicians who have demonized anyone whom an audience might consider "the other." This paper will consider Obama's March 2008 speech in light of the time it was delivered and in light of the events of the years that have passed since he spoke so eloquently in Philadelphia.

Author

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FRIDAY

Emmett Till in Public Memory and Popular Culture

Fri, 11/11: 8:00 AM - 9:15 AM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 413 - Level 4

Emmett Till in Public Memory and Popular Culture is a forthcoming (2017) edited collection, which will be published by the University Press of Mississippi and edited by Davis W. Houck. This collection responds directly to "communication's civic callings." The papers described below, which will become chapters in the edited collection, engage "complicated pasts, compelling presents, and coming possibilities of our civic life." Each entry does so through the common frame of Emmett Till and the complex legacy of his lynching in American public

memory. What's more, the panelists gathered here reflect the diversity of the Public Address Division--representing a range of universities across the nation, a variety of racial backgrounds, and an array of career positions--from graduate student to full professor.

Chair

[Bryan J. McCann](#), Louisiana State University - [Contact Me](#)

Respondent

[Bryan J. McCann](#), Louisiana State University - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

Articulating Emmett Till: Unpacking the Associative Figure in Black Lives Matter Discourse

Emmett Till is a recurrent figure in the discourse constituting the Black Lives Matter movement. From visual resonances to public speeches, social media posts and widely shared tweets, the comparison between the now-iconic Emmett Till and contemporary black male teenagers whose murders have incited national outrage is commonplace. But how does the figure of Emmett Till figure? Are contemporary activists drawing a point of comparison? Crafting an analogy? Advancing a parallel case? Or is Emmett Till functioning as a point of articulation? This chapter will read contemporary evocations of Emmett Till by activists and others contributing to the current for social change known as the Black Lives Matter movement through the related lenses of public memory scholarship and scholarship concerned with the rhetorical figure of articulation. Considering evocations of Emmett Till as points of articulation, more than as comparisons, analogies, or parallel cases, not only encourages reflection about the ways in which the lynching of Emmett Till is like contemporary injustices, but it reorients perspective to the ways in which these murders are, in fact, the same. Articulating the death of Emmett Till as such holds implications for both historical understanding of the black freedom movement as well as for the direction of contemporary activism.

Author

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Attempting to Right the Wrongs of the Past: Emmett Till as an Eponym for Justice

On June 12, 2007 Congressman Jarrod Nadler (D-NY) opened the joint subcommittee hearing on the Emmett Till Unsolved Crime Act, heralding the bill as "an important step" toward "cleansing our society of this great stain." With these remarks, Nadler set the stage for the proposed legislation as a necessary step on the path to restoring wrongs that occurred during the Civil Rights Era, imploring his immediate audience and the American people to see the Till Bill as the promise to shore up justice undone. I examine three ways in which memories of Emmett Till serve the interest of the Cold Case Initiative – an effort by the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Civil Rights Division to pursue the goal of restoring justice in racially-motivated homicides. Emmett Till is used as an eponym to justify the proposed legislation during the committee debates, as a catalyst in the FBI's determination to demonstrate their recommitment to justice, and as a promise from filmmaker Keith Beauchamp to prompt the public into acting as agents of change. In this way, deploying Till's memory exhibits a recommitment to righting wrongs of the past, even if the goal remains unrealized.

Author

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Documentary Film and the Politics of the Past: A Comparative Analysis of Beauchamp, Nelson, and Hampton's Emmett Till

This paper will comparatively examine Stanley Nelson's *The Murder of Emmett Till* (2003) and Keith Beauchamp's *The Untold Story of Emmett Louis Till* (2005). The Emmett Till segment in the first episode, "Awakenings, 1954-1956," of *Eyes on the Prize* will also be examined. The popular press will provide an initial frame on the documentaries. The documentaries will next be compared looking specifically at production values including content, style, archival records, pictures, and interviews. Especially useful to the discussion of the films will be how each documentary portrays character and the rhetorical function of the particular representation chosen by the filmmaker. Conflicting arguments among both documentaries will be highlighted. Documentaries will be compared to see what facts or instances in the case were included or excluded and how such inclusions/exclusions affect the overall message and argument of the film. Finally, the chapter will examine the new evidence brought to light from the documentaries and how each affected the reopening of the case by the Justice Department.

Author

[Pablo Correa](#), Florida State University - [Contact Me](#)

Here is a Strange and Bitter Crop: Emmett Till and the Rhetorical Complications of Treescape Memory

On November 17, 2014, U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder presided over a tree-planting ceremony at Capitol Building Park in Emmett Till's name. Holder, along with other dignitaries, announced that the "tree would become a living memorial, here at the heart of the Republic." This chapter examines the rhetorical milieu surrounding the Emmett Till Memorial Tree – from Holder's commemorative address and "official" press releases about the ceremony to public tweets about the memorial, public comments about the tree, and op-eds related to the moment – to engage the rhetorical complications surrounding what critical geographers call "treescape memory." Trees have long been a part of memorialization in western culture. They are simultaneously physical place-markers of memory (celebrating life and noting loss) and social space-signs of resilient human nature (moving from "dead" traumatized pasts to "breathing" futures). In the public discourse circulating around the Till tree, the metaphorical sycamore-as-hope clashed with a fretful sense that the corporeal sycamore itself was insufficient to commemorate such a flag individual of the Civil Rights movement. That the tree was planted against a social landscape of battered Black bodies (i.e., the events of Ferguson) only complicated the ways it was received. This essay argues that the Till tree is positioned within a "treescape memory" field that fails to resolve the question of how to remember Till and reconcile his meaning for contemporary contexts of violence.

Author

[Jason Edward Black](#), University of North Carolina at Charlotte - [Contact Me](#)

Necropolitics and Black Boyhood from Emmett Till to Tamir Rice

This essay examines the continuous terrorism mobilized against black boys in the United States from Emmett Till to Tamir Rice to understand how black boyhood is understood as a perpetual threat to white social power. I examine how Till functions as a rhetorical frame to create meaning for contemporary audiences grappling with extrajudicial and police killings of black

boys. Using Achille Mbembe's notion of "necropolitics," I chart the rhetorical and political dimensions of black disposability in a time of hypermediation, particular through video surveillance. In mapping black disposability from Till to Tamir Rice, I provide a rhetorical geography of the limits of black boyhood as it encounters the necropolitics of white America. In particular, I examine the invocation of the term "thug" as a controlling image of black boyhood and as an articulation of both white fear and white power in a period of time where liberal narratives about the "collapse" of the black family have focused negative attention on black boys.

Author

[Lisa M. Corrigan](#), University of Arkansas - [Contact Me](#)

Race, Gender, and Activism in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

Fri, 11/11: 9:30 AM - 10:45 AM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 413 - Level 4

This panel investigates the enabling and constraining discourses of space as they animate contestations over gender and activism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Contestations over coeducation, girl slavery, suffrage, and public protest leveraged constructions of space to facilitate the mobility of gendered bodies, congressional deliberations over women in public, and the fraught relationship between regional and national movements. We consider how these contestations advance gendered visions of local, regional, and national spaces.

Chair

[Carly S. Woods](#), University of Maryland - [Contact Me](#)

Respondent

[Carly S. Woods](#), University of Maryland - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

Moral Danger in the Groves of Academe: Debating Coeducational Spaces at Northwestern University in the 1870s

The post-Civil War period witnessed sweeping changes in the dynamics of race and gender in the United States, as well as continuing controversies about what such changes portended. One of these controversies centered on coeducation. Should women be educated alongside men or in separate colleges? Should curricula for men and women be the same, or should lessons match gendered expectations of post-collegiate work? How should the lives of men and women students in coeducational environments be regulated? Historians demonstrate that although the second half of the nineteenth century saw an increase in the number of colleges and universities that opened their doors to both men and women, institutions exhibited considerable variation in the coeducational experience.

This paper situates one local case as both representative and unique, investigating debates over coeducation at a Midwestern, Methodist-affiliated institution in the 1870s. Northwestern University, chartered in 1851 and located in Chicago's hinterland, began admitting women as students in 1869. The entry of women students—who were, at this time and place, middle class

and white-coincided with espoused positions of the Methodist Church. Thus the policy change encountered few objections, and Northwestern did not make curricular distinctions based on the sex of students. Instead, disputes arose over the regulation of students' social lives. In the early 1870s controversies about proper behavior and the appropriate oversight of Northwestern students attained national notoriety, configured in newspapers from New York to Idaho as evidence of uncertainty surrounding the ongoing coeducational "experiment."

Drawing on an array of archival sources, including faculty minutes, parents' letters to administrators, and student newspapers, this paper recovers conflicts about gendered regulatory policies at Northwestern in 1873 and 1874. The disputes that received the most attention locally and nationally involved the interactions of male and female students, especially at night on the "thickly wooded" campus and in student literary society meetings—that is, at times and in places outside the immediate control of faculty and administrators. An analysis of statements by stakeholders in these disputes—students, faculty, administrators, parents, and institutional patrons—demonstrates that the relevant spaces were rarely rhetorically gendered. Rather, conflicts arose over mobility and containment: the circulation of gendered, youthful bodies through campus spaces, as elders worried about the moral and sexual behavior of the young and as students indignantly asserted their moral sensibilities. The paper thus contributes to scholarly discussions of space, mobility, and containment, and it explicates the rhetorical history of a time when Northwestern's arboreal campus manifested national controversies about gender, education, and public life.

Author

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Saving the Fallen Girls: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union's White Slavery Campaign

In 1887 and 1889 Wisconsin adopted legislation to attempt to curtail sex trafficking. The legislation, which came to be known by some as the Kate Bushnell Bill, was unique in its purpose and scope. Dr. Katharine Bushnell was the national evangelist for the Social Purity Department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), and by some reports she became a national celebrity in the wake of her Wisconsin advocacy. This presentation will analyze Bushnell's rhetoric leading up to the Wisconsin campaign, with particular attention to questions of women's agency to move about in isolated spaces. This analysis contributes to understanding what Catherine Palczewski calls "inclusion and expulsion in the constitution of citizenship." In particular, as white, upper class reformers were constituted as social and political agents, the so-called fallen women were co-constituted as abject and degraded.

The WCTU became one of the nation's largest and most influential women's organizations during this time period, and, thus, it had the potential to be a tremendous source of women's social and political agency. Careful analysis of Bushnell's rhetoric proves that this civic influence may have come at the expense of some women. I identify two rhetorical stages in Bushnell's rhetoric. The first stage, which emerged around 1885 with Bushnell's entrance to a national stage, emphasized upper class, white women as both the redeemers of "fallen girls" and the barrier to redemption. During this time, Bushnell called on would-be reformers to fix their own families and respect the women they were attempting to reform. This strategy did not gain public traction. The second phase emerged in specific reference to the Wisconsin campaign and

utilized a rhetoric of "white slavery," which posited "fallen girls" as abject and in need of saving. The rhetoric drew on the isolation of the northern woods of Wisconsin, fears of women's mobility, imagery of enslavement, and the public memory of the Civil War. The spaciality of the Wisconsin campaign was critical to its gaining public traction. While this rhetoric positioned upper class, white reformers as saviors, it disempowered the very women they were attempting to save.

Author

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Strategic Constructions of Eastern and Western Suffragists in National and Regional Suffrage Movements, 1912-1916

This essay asks after the often fraught relationship between regional and national campaigns for social change. Through the archival recovery of visual, oratorical, and published rhetorics of prominent Western and Eastern suffragists, we find that regionally-inflected rhetorical strategies have been overlooked in favor of a dominant narrative of national suffrage organization. Likewise, recent scholarly conversations on the emplacement and ambience of rhetorics compel us to ask: How did suffrage activists in the Northwest embrace and/or resist tactics propagated by Eastern suffragists? How did Eastern suffragists strategically construct the relationship between the national and northwest campaigns?

Through a close-textual analysis, we find that the Washington Equal Suffrage Association and Oregon State Equal Suffrage Association explicitly rejected tactics advocated by national leaders in the East, including the National American Woman Suffrage Association's Carrie Chapman Catt. This choice to prioritize strategies devised by local women over the "national plan," leaders in the Northwest emphasized, was central to winning campaigns that secured voting rights for women in Washington and Oregon more than eight years before the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Ultimately, suffragists in the Pacific Northwest characterized their success as a model for national victory. In contrast, we find that national campaign leaders such as Catt and the National Woman's Party's Alice Paul situated Western suffragists as necessary but subordinate to national campaigns for suffrage. To that end, they conflated Western suffragists with myths of the regional landscape, as an open space that facilitated freedom of movement and expression. Eastern suffragists, however, believed it was their responsibility to activate Western suffragists to exploit their freedom and mobility to enfranchise their Eastern "sisters." Our analysis highlights points of convergence and divergence between regional and national suffrage campaigns in regards to their deployment of space. Moreover, it helps rhetorical critics to see how tensions between regional and national reform movements center on constructions of space and, indeed, how constructions of space can deploy conflicting ideas of what it means to belong to a place.

Author

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Co-Author

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The Rhetorical Cartography of Citizenship: Space and Gender in the Congressional Investigation of the National Woman Suffrage Parade of 1913

The suffrage parades are recognized as an important tactical innovation in the rhetorical repertoire of the women's rights movements of the early 20th century. They are credited for drawing attention to arguments for woman suffrage, for challenging the fundamental standards of feminine behavior, and for reconstituting the coalitional make-up of the suffrage campaign, especially in the aftermath of a series of political defeats. The parades, however, mattered beyond the tactical or strategic demands of the movements. In this paper, I take the case of the 1913 parade in Washington, which ended in turmoil on the streets and prompted a months-long investigation in Congress. By focusing on the congressional hearings and inquiries into the parades, I demonstrate how the congressional uptake of the problem of women's bodies in public prompted a reorganization in the rhetorical cartography of civic space.

Author

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The Invention of James Baldwin: A Research Agenda for Rhetorical Studies

Fri, 11/11: 11:00 AM - 12:15 PM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 413 - Level 4

"Someone said," James Baldwin observed, "and said it very accurately, that what is honored in a country is cultivated there." If so, then rhetorical studies has little honored nor often cultivated the study of Baldwin's eloquence. As a pre-eminent public intellectual of the late 20th century, Baldwin deserves the careful attention of rhetorical critics. This panel seeks to open that conversation through a showcase on his discursive invention. Each participant will take 5 minutes to highlight a particular aspect of his rhetorical artistry and political insight. The two, of course, cannot be separated, as Baldwin was at once a writer, orator, activist, theorist, and critic, a concatenation that both complicates and enriches engagement with his work. Following the short presentations, we intend to open the floor to the audience and, together, seek to sketch the outline of a continuing research agenda into his extraordinary body of work.

Chair

[John M. Murphy](#), University of Illinois - [Contact Me](#)

Co-Chair

[Lisa M. Corrigan](#), University of Arkansas - [Contact Me](#)

Presenter(s)

[Robert Terrill](#), Indiana University - [Contact Me](#)

[Raquel M. Robvais](#), Louisiana State University - [Contact Me](#)

[Theon Edward Hill](#), Wheaton College - [Contact Me](#)

[James Jasinski](#), University of Puget Sound - [Contact Me](#)

[Maegan Parker Brooks](#), Willamette University - [Contact Me](#)

Scholar to Scholar

Fri, 11/11: 12:30 PM - 1:45 PM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Franklin Hall - Level 4

Chair

[Christina Standerfer](#), Clinton School of Public Service - [Contact Me](#)

Respondent(s)

[Mary E. Stuckey](#), Georgia State University - [Contact Me](#)

[Manuel Pulido](#), California State University, Long Beach - [Contact Me](#)

[Matthew S. May](#), Texas A&M University - [Contact Me](#)

[Keith Cyril Bistodeau](#), Hamline University - [Contact Me](#)

[John Katsion](#), Northwest Missouri State University - [Contact Me](#)

[Rebekah Watson Gaidis](#), University of Indianapolis - [Contact Me](#)

[Richard Paine](#), North Central College - [Contact Me](#)

A Metamorphosis of "The Metamorphosis": Visual Adaptation and the Graphic Novel

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

Sponsor: Scholar to Scholar

Fri, 11/11: 12:30 PM - 1:45 PM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Franklin Hall - Level 4

The collected works of Franz Kafka exert a profound influence on the scope and tenor of the twentieth century. Nearly a century after his death, Kafka remains one of modernity's most trenchant critics. The following essay considers Peter Kuper's (2003) graphic adaptation of Kafka's "The Metamorphosis" as a visually based instance of "inter-semiotic translation" (Maher 2012). Graphic novels are a particularly interesting genre from which to consider questions of aesthetic adaptation given the unique intersection of text and image. In contrast to adaptations that take place within the same medium, in the case of graphic illustration, artists and writers leverage the medium specific qualities of the genre to amplify and augment familiar narratives. In the case of "The Metamorphosis," Kuper manipulates the physicality of Kafka's protagonist, the temporality of the plot, and themes of alienation through the addition and juxtaposition of visual images. As a consequence of this study, I argue that we should embrace graphic adaptation as general aesthetic instances, which produce narratives that are "the same but not quite," in regards to the original story.

Author

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Challenging the government's case for war? Questions asked at daily White House press briefings in the lead-up to the 2003 Iraq War

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

Sponsor: Scholar to Scholar

Fri, 11/11: 12:30 PM - 1:45 PM

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This study undertakes a content analysis of questions asked by White House press correspondents to the Press Secretary in the lead-up to the 2003 Iraq War to determine the extent to which these journalists challenged the Bush administration's rationales for war. In line with previous research into news content and editorials, it finds that the White House press corps raised few questions about Saddam Hussein's alleged possession of WMDs as the war drew closer. Rather, the most frequently asked questions dealt with the UN, U.S. allies, and the international legitimacy of the use of military force. Overall, these findings provide deeper context for understanding press-state relations during the pre-war debate by demonstrating that the questions asked by press correspondents at daily White House briefings were indexed to international institutions and foreign allies.

Author

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Civic Callings in Forensics: Why We Automatically Reject Repeat Topics in Forensic Platform Speeches

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

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This paper explores a single case as representative of a commonly held convention in intercollegiate forensics. This paper begins with literature regarding the conventions of platform/public address speeches, forensics as a laboratory, and the power of the forensics ballot. Next, the arguments in the topic repetition persuasive speech are presented along with an application of the Smith and Boster (2009) theory. Finally, implications from the analysis and directions for further research are drawn. The argument is proposed that by rejecting a speech that questions the conventions of forensics for no other reason than the fact that it questions those conventions demonstrates affirmation for the aforementioned theory within the forensic community. Repeated topics, especially in persuasive speaking may, in fact eventually become more rhetorically and pragmatically persuasive and meaningful, but we, the critics, may not be willing to hear them, due to social influence. If forensics is to continue to be meaningful to students, their freedom of speech, including topic selection, must be upheld so that they truly treat the forensic round as an experimental laboratory. The suggestions in the speech analyzed suggest that our community's response to our civic calling is threatened when we don't work together, and the solution offered in the speech gives a way to reunite. I have written permission from the author to share the speech in this paper.

Author

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Enlightened Businessmen and the New Social Contract: Reconsidering FDR's Commonwealth Club Address

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

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Fri, 11/11: 12:30 PM - 1:45 PM

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In the 1932 election the US was faced with a decision between the pro-business, laissez-faire policies of Herbert Hoover and the Progressive, Democratic reformer Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In the midst of the greatest economic downturn the nation had ever seen, perhaps the largest issue of the campaign was the economy and the growing power of US corporations. Addressing these issues in his campaign, FDR delivered his "New Individualism" Address on September 23, 1932 in at the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, California. Commonly referred to as the Commonwealth Club Address, its historical significance has been the topic of debate among rhetorical scholars. Despite it being ranked among the top 100 speeches of the 20th century by many in the field, Davis Houck has challenged rhetoricians to warrant this ranking, arguing that the speech is not successful on several counts. In this paper, I argue that FDR's Commonwealth Club Address is a significant piece of public address when viewed through the lens of narrative and constitutive rhetorical theories. Applying these theories I argue that FDR was able to overcome the constraints of a potentially hostile audience and the representations of himself as anti-business by creating a favorable historical narrative regarding the causes of the Depression and by constituting the subject position of the "enlightened businessman" for his audience as helpers in his journey for a healthy economy, as well as the negative identification of the "princes of property" as obstacles to be overcome.

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Enthymemes as Nested Speech Acts in Health Related Exhibits

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

Sponsor: Scholar to Scholar

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ABSTRACT: Science center exhibits about health can be informative, aesthetic, diagnostic and persuasive. Informative, because they contain information about how the human body works. Aesthetic, because health related exhibits (HRE) can be entertaining or scary. Diagnostic, because HREs make inferences about how behaviors (like smoking) tend to predict certain health outcomes such as illness. And persuasive, because HREs try to get the visitor to change their behavior. This paper conceives of HREs as speech acts in sequence. Searle's taxonomy (1969) classifies utterances as assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives. These classifications can be shown to correspond to the purposes of HREs at science centers.

This paper argues that HREs can be viewed as "nested speech acts" with the purposes of informing, entertaining, persuading, and diagnosing. These purposes are shown as operating at various moments in multi-media exhibits that communicate across verbal and visual channels. The nested speech acts in multimedia exhibits are characterized as enthymemes because they contain prescriptions that sometimes go unstated as such.

Author

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Impact of News Framing on the Judgment Call to Political Scandals: Exploring the Dynamics between News Frames, Voters' Emotions and Appraisals

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

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The way media depicts political damages and attributes the responsibility of public figures constitutes news frames that elicit emotional reactions from voters. This study investigates voters' cognitive appraisal and emotional reaction to the coverage of highly publicized political scandals (i.e., IRS, ATF gunwalking, VA hospital scandals) in four mainstream newspapers. Based on framing and cognitive appraisal theories, this paper explores how a series of media frames affect voters' appraisal process and how voters' emotional reactions lead to different opinions toward scandal coverage. The findings of the study indicate that the interactions between cognition, emotion, and judgment by voters are too intricate to understand with one study setting. Nevertheless, the study confirms the impacts of different news frames on the emotional expressions in voters' comments and on voters' attitudes toward scandal coverage. Distinct from previous research that heavily focused on priming or framing effects, this study seeks to understand the practices of media frames and its impact on voters' cognitive appraisals and emotional responses.

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Judicial Communication in South Korea: Moving toward a More Open System?

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

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Marriott Downtown

Room: Franklin Hall - Level 4

This paper examines the relationship between the press and the judiciary in South Korea. It focuses on the news media's interactions with the Supreme Court and the Constitutional Court-or lack thereof.

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Memories and Movement: Space, Time, and a “New Direction for the Republican Party” in Marco Rubio’s 2012 Address to the Hispanic Leadership Network

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

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Room: Franklin Hall - Level 4

On January 27, 2012, Florida's junior Republican Senator Marco Rubio delivered an address to the second annual Hispanic Leadership Network Conference in which he discussed the need for reform to the United States' existing federal immigration policy. For Rubio, the son of Cuban migrants who is widely viewed as a rising star in the Republican party, speaking about his ideas for new immigration policy is nothing out of the ordinary; this particular speech, however, differed in key ways from his prior statements on the same policy issue. Addressing an audience of mostly Hispanic-Americans, Rubio tailored his appeals for immigration reform to an audience that shared his positionality as a minority Republican.

In my analysis of Rubio's speech, I explicate the ways in which Rubio asserts his authority and his commonality with his audience vis-à-vis his second-generation identity, memories of his parents' experience of migration from Cuba, and a vision for the future of migrant families in the United States. I argue that Rubio draws on concepts of memory and temporality to offer a narrative by which his immediate audience and conservative voters elsewhere may understand migration, the pursuit of citizenship, and the legacies carried forth by the sons and daughters of migrants as compatible with a particular narrative of U.S. history. Rubio's address envisions conservative approaches to immigration as compatible with the memories and goals of migrant families by creating identification with his audience to negotiate and deflect conflicts between Republican and migrant politics. Ultimately, however, Rubio fails to successfully negotiate the tensions between a need to remember migrant histories and a vision of the United States as a place where history is irrelevant, thus undermining his own argument.

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Online Hate Speech and Freedom of Expression: A Call for a New Approach in South Korea

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

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Fri, 11/11: 12:30 PM - 1:45 PM

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With its anonymity, immediacy, and global nature, the Internet has been an ideal medium for extremists and hatemongers to promote hate. A lot of messages including hate speech spread to diverse and fragmented groups to connect, engendering a collective identity and sense of community. As a result, the Internet has become a new territory for distributing hate speech. Based on this social phenomenon, many scholars analyze the issue of regulating hate speech online in terms of legal aspects. These scholars' main argument in terms of regulating hate speech is how we can approach online hate speech within the context of freedom of speech as well how governments can regulate hate content. Even though online hate speech has been debated, the history of hate speech has a shorter lifespan in Korea compared to Western society. Therefore, this paper explores the current debate of online hate speech in Korea by focusing on legal frameworks. Firstly, this paper analyzes the definition of hate speech as well as the classification of hate speech from a legal perspective. Secondly, this study reviews hate discourse and current legal regulation against hate speech in Korea. Thirdly, this report explores foreign countries' cases of regulating hate speech. In particular, cases from the U.S. and Germany are analyzed. By doing so, this study ultimately provides a new approach of hate speech regulation in Korea. The implications of this article not only examines the current status of hate discourse and legal approaches in Korea but also suggests how Korean society will approach this issue in terms of freedom of speech regulation online.

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Rhetorically Constructing Normalcy: FDR's Linguistic Cure for Polio

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

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Franklin Delano Roosevelt's rhetoric about the polio epidemics sent a specific message to the public: this disease will be conquered through normalcy enacted by useful citizenship. Examining his language from the sense of the historical study of rhetorical events allows an opportunity to uncover the dynamic moments that fostered a community that was so enamored with FDR that they whole-heartedly adopted his linguistic "cure" of normalcy for polio. What they could not have known at the time was the extent to which their adoption of his linguistic cure would influence the way we would think about polio in the future-including the slowness to recognize post-polio syndrome as a legitimate medical condition.

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Scientific Controversy and the Corporate Sphere

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

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Room: Franklin Hall - Level 4

This case study examines the controversy that arose when the Utah Department of Environmental Quality proposed a ban on all residential wood burning from November 1 to March 15 each fall and winter. The ban was an attempt to address Utah's problematic particulate air pollution. Discourse about the ban engaged conflicts between traditional and scientific reasoning, and between the personal, technical and public spheres of argument, as defined by G. Thomas Goodnight. An analysis of the hearings and subsequent legislative action will show, however, that the personal, technical and public spheres are not sufficient to describe the controversy that unfolded, and that a fourth sphere, the corporate sphere, played a significant role in the burn ban dispute and its ultimate resolution.

Author

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SILENT PARTNER: The Parliamentary Assistant's Role in Politicians' New Media Communication with Constituents

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

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This study focuses on the roles and functioning of the intermediaries ("parliamentary assistants": PAs) between members of parliament (MPs) and the public who maintain MPs' Facebook presence. Numerous studies have analyzed the content that appears on MPs' digital platforms and MPs' perceptions of the digital arena, yet the process of MPs' interactions with the public, and the PAs' role in this process, have received scant scholarly attention. The aim of this study is to fill this void and focus on various aspects of MPs' interactions with the public: the identity and functioning of such PA intermediaries, the division of labor between MPs and the PAs, and how this process is affected by internal variables (such as MPs' personality and the character of their relationship with their assistants) and external variables such as MPs' communications background, whether they stand for primary elections in their respective parties, the scope of their Facebook activity, and their political affiliation and age. The study finds that the external and objective variables of MPs do not change their level of involvement, but internal and subjective variables do lead to significant differences in the MPs' level of involvement. A model was created categorizing four types of intermediated political communication by the PAs between the public and the MPs.

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The Battleground of Citizenship: Citizens United, Corporate Personhood, and Rights

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

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Room: Franklin Hall - Level 4

The Supreme Court's infamous 2010 ruling in *Citizens United v. F.E.C* has become a symbol of the complex and contentious issues surrounding money in politics. It is offered as proof of a broken system, and politicians from across the political spectrum have roundly condemned it to little effect. A number of organizations have targeted the decision and attempted to secure a constitutional amendment overturning it. Groups such as Democracy is for People and Move to Amend critique the majority opinion of Justice Kennedy and celebrate the conclusions of Justice Stevens' dissent. Such reform-minded arguments rely on a more traditional model of citizenship to contest the idea that corporations have rights such as free speech. These groups advance a normative vision of citizenship that collapses personhood, rights, and citizenship and suggests that certain civic behaviors or capacities are necessary for the establishment of rights and privileges as part of belonging in a state. However, this vision of citizenship advances putatively progressive causes by reinforcing the exclusionary bounds of citizenship while conceptualizing it as a set of practices rather than a more fluid mode of public engagement. The attempts to achieve progressive reforms set up a problematic and restrictive equivalency between personhood, citizenship, and rights. In working to exclude corporations from citizenship status, these groups inadvertently restrict citizenship and its promises. Closer attention to these persuasive campaigns and the institutional discourses with which they interact can help rhetorical scholars learn more about the intersection of elite and vernacular legal discourse and the rhetorical construction of citizenship.

Author

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Senate Bill 744 and the Myth of Comprehensive Immigration Reform

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

Sponsor: Scholar to Scholar

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Political discourse about comprehensive immigration policy reform has been a defining feature of Barack Obama's presidency. In 2013 the United States Senate passed Senate Bill 744, which later failed to pass in the United States House of Representatives. In this essay I provide a critical reading of the text of the bill and I challenge the prevailing belief that S. 744 was going to produce "comprehensive immigration reform." By doing so, I situate S. 744 within the larger body of immigration reform political rhetoric in recent years and reveal its similarity and adherence to existing policy. Similarly, I reveal how despite its rhetorical legacy, the bill actually proposed to create more obstacles and difficulties for both documented and undocumented immigrants in the United States. My analytical process intersects the fields of political science, rhetorical criticism, and immigration history. With my essay I argue that a critical analysis of post-1965 U.S. immigration policies allows us to reveal the rhetorical power of S. 744 to conceal and thus perpetuate damaging political discourses and discriminatory practices of U.S. immigration policy enforcement. My argument ultimately serves as a caution against the rhetorical appeals for "comprehensive reform" in future immigration policy proposals.

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The Role of the American Jeremiad in Immigration Reform Debates

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

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In this essay I examine the rhetorical genre of the jeremiad and its long tradition in American politics, specifically in relation to rhetorics about U.S. immigration. By focusing on U.S. immigration reform debates in the early 21st century I reveal the lasting power of the jeremiad, as well as the ways in which certain ideological positions and ideas continue to influence U.S. immigration politics from the early days of the Republic to the present. I identify two types of modern American jeremiads, and show how both types lament the nation's departure from the errand – conservative Jeremiahs call the nation to return to its once fulfilled errand; progressive Jeremiahs call the nation to pursue an errand that was promised but never fulfilled. In the context of U.S. immigration rhetorics, both conservative and progressive Jeremiahs exhibit the ideological influence of American Exceptionalism and America as a "city upon a hill." Similarly, both conservative and progressive Jeremiahs keep the frontier myth alive, calling for the protection of borders as symbols of a nation, and the symbolic boundary between America and the Other. In the essay I first provide an overview of the jeremiad as a rhetorical genre, I then provide a brief history of the politics of U.S. immigration and their lasting relationship to the jeremiad. In the analysis section I examine the rhetoric of anti-immigrant Jeremiahs like Samuel Huntington, Ann Coulter, and Donald Trump, as well as the rhetoric of the progressive Jeremiah in the face of President Barack Obama.

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The Changing Genre of Presidential Crisis Rhetoric: Obama and the 2014 Ebola Crisis

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

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This paper argues that President Obama's rhetorical strategies during the 2014 Ebola crisis were similar to President G. W. Bush's approach to the 2005 Avian flu outbreak. Yet the public's response to each crisis demonstrates a significant disconnect between the two incidents. While President Bush received little push back from the general public, President Obama was faced with significant scrutiny for his handling of the Ebola crisis. Through a comprehensive comparison of the two administrations, this paper argues that the Ebola crisis represents a possible change in the way presidential rhetoric is perceived by the public during a time of crisis.

Author

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The Citizen's Ethos, Prophetic Dualism, and Analogy in Ronald Reagan's "To Restore America"

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

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Fri, 11/11: 12:30 PM - 1:45 PM

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Ronald Reagan's 1976 televised speech "To Restore America" drew on his two and half decades of rhetorical strategies to create a message that was familiar to his audience. The address serves as a synecdoche for Reagan's larger universe of pre-presidential rhetoric. In it, he expertly wields the citizen's and politician's ethos to undermine Gerald Ford's domestic and foreign policy decisions, and to continue his long-standing Soviet rhetoric depicting the Soviets and their system as antithetical to Americans and democracy. The Soviets were, as they had long been, an immoral, insidious blight on the world, something more akin to the Nazis of World War II than good global citizens of the modern world. Thus, ethos, prophetic dualism, and analogy converge in "To Restore America" as a study in Reagan's three main early Cold War rhetorical strategies. "To Restore America" stands as the coalescence of those strategies, and such, is a text thick with the residue of years of Reagan's Cold War anti-Soviet rhetoric.

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The Mythical Icon

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

Sponsor: Scholar to Scholar

Fri, 11/11: 12:30 PM - 1:45 PM

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The acclaimed writer David Foster Wallace delivered the commencement address to Kenyon College's graduating class of 2005. He reinterprets the very foundations of the liberal arts axiom "learning how to think" through a modified appropriation of the Christian salvation myth. Wallace's mythological progression provides the frame through which the speech creates an internal and external correspondence between itself and its audience, and I call this relation iconicity. The address functions mythologically and in such a way that expands the notion of the iconic beyond textuality and into myth and drama.

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'Born with a Silver Foot In His Mouth': Witticisms, Jokes, and Gibes in National Convention Speeches, 1980-2012

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

Sponsor: Scholar to Scholar

Fri, 11/11: 12:30 PM - 1:45 PM

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Room: Franklin Hall - Level 4

The following essay examines the use of humor in sixty-five national convention addresses delivered between 1980 and 2012. This analysis focuses on how speakers use jocular rhetoric to encourage identification building between listeners and speakers and between voters and the political candidates or parties for whom they are advocating. It also explores how orators use amusing discourse to discourage the creation of bonds with the opposition. A brief quantitative summary of the witticisms found across four categories of speeches (presidential nomination acceptances, vice presidential nomination acceptances, nominees' spouses speeches and keynote addresses) delivered at both the Republican and Democratic National Conventions during nine presidential campaigns reveals interesting patterns of use generally tied to the purpose of the speech. A rhetorical assessment of these jests extends the examination and demonstrates that the sex of the speaker influences how he or she employs two of three recurring types of wit. Female speakers use self-deprecating comments differently from male speakers and tend to rely more heavily on other-directed, positive characterological anecdotes than their male counterparts. Attacking quips do not vary based on the sex of the speaker but are inserted based on the speaker's efforts to prevent listeners from bonding with opposing candidates and parties. The essay illustrates the importance of examining planned humor as a key rhetorical device in political campaign addresses.

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“In Evil Soil” Naturalist Discourse in J. Edgar Hoover’s Imaginative Horizon

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

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Fri, 11/11: 12:30 PM - 1:45 PM

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Room: Franklin Hall - Level 4

In this project, I argue that J. Edgar Hoover's political realism should be studied by critics because it long preceded that of President Harry S Truman and helped to shape how audiences interpreted the Truman Doctrine speech and what it said about the spread of Soviet influence. When Truman announced that the Soviet Union had challenged international protocol, I argue that he unintentionally confirmed the vision that his FBI Director had developed throughout the New Deal to discredit reformers who challenged issues of race, labor, and police technique. In this way, Hoover's containment rhetoric limited the president's ability to control the domestic security and economic agendas. Hoover's discourse belonged to, I also argue, a relative of political realism-literary realism and its spinoff, literary naturalism. Combined, Hoover used the style of realistic fiction to communicate a deterministic philosophy about human nature through a diffuse mythic narrative, coordinated between Hollywood and more official discourse. The rhetorical dimension of Hoover's national security program loosened Truman's control over the institutional presidency.

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“The South Shall Rise Again”: Setting the Lost Cause Myth in Future Tense in Dylann Roof’s Manifesto

Presented During: [Scholar to Scholar: Argumentation & Forensics, Freedom of Expression, Political Communication, Public Address, Rhetorical and Communication Theory, Visual Communication, National Forensic Association](#)

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In the aftermath of the Charleston massacre whereby Dylann Roof murdered 9 African American worshipers and injured one, many journalists and activists were struck by the banality with which Roof's manifesto articulated his white supremacist motivations. This essay problematizes Roof's banal racism by asking both how the manifesto addresses white supremacist public culture as well as what rhetorical traits distinguish the manifesto from the wider field of white supremacist discourse. I find the manifesto employs the Lost Cause of the Confederacy myth to foster affiliation with transnational white supremacists, white nationalists, and southern racists by mobilizing the trope of white victimhood. Importantly, however, the manifesto also differentiates Roof's version of extreme racism from the dominant iterations of "cyber racism" by rearticulating the Lost Cause myth as recoverable and ultimately future-oriented. In the end, I argue that the manifesto's violent extremism lies in its construction of a

nonlinear narrative of the white transnational nation that simultaneously looks forward and backward in time.

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Public Address Division Business Meeting

Fri, 11/11: 12:30 PM - 1:45 PM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Grand Salon I - Level 5

Public Address Division Business Meeting. We will discuss issues related to the Public Address Division, vote on new officers, and award the Division's Top Papers. Y'all come!

Presenter

[*Lisa Keranen*](#), University of Colorado, Denver - [Contact Me](#)

Co-Presenter(s)

[*Lisa A. Flores*](#), University of Colorado, Boulder - [Contact Me](#)

[*Maegan Parker Brooks*](#), Willamette University - [Contact Me](#)

[*Leah M. Ceccarelli*](#), University of Washington, Seattle - [Contact Me](#)

[*Jennifer Mercieca*](#), Texas A&M University - [Contact Me](#)

Public Address Division Top Papers Panel

Fri, 11/11: 2:00 PM - 3:15 PM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Grand Salon I - Level 5

The Public Address Division's best papers of #NCA16!

Chair

[*Jennifer Mercieca*](#), Texas A&M University - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

Songs of Sovereignty: Folksinging and Hegemonic Masculinity in Liberation France

The experiences of defeat and occupation by Germany and liberation by the Allies wrought considerable gender damage upon France during the Second World War. In this essay, I examine appropriations of "Quand Madelon," a popular WWI song that reemerged during the early weeks of France's liberation, arguing that these songs offered one discursive resource by which patriots reasserted the manly strength of their nation. By reviving old archetypal notions of eroticized, subservient femininity and tough, virile masculinity, the tunes exerted discipline over "wayward" French women and eased gendered anxieties about the nation's ability to reclaim its status as a sovereign nation. However, like all instruments of hegemony, the songs were not purely repressive. Indeed, by aligning French résistantes with Madelon, - a symbol of paradigmatic femininity and also female civic participation and sexual agency - the songs elicited support from French women even as they contributed to misogynistic representations of war and victory.

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Vita Contemplativactiva: President Obama, Chronopolitics, and the Liberal Arts

Our purpose in this essay is to specifically offer a critique of the chronopolitical dimension in the current political debate about liberal arts education. Paul Virilio advanced a theory of chronopolitics that linked power to the ability to control technologies of time. In focusing on the chronopolitical dimension of education rhetoric, we advance a theory of the *vita contemplativactiva*. As a chronopolitical orientation, the *vita contemplativactiva* emphasizes a rhetorical education whereby there is no *activa* without *contemplativa* and no *contemplativa* without *activa*. Specifically, in analyzing President Obama's address regarding manufacturing jobs, combined with the ensuing controversy surrounding art history education, we argue that the *vita contemplativactiva* is a necessary critical tool to ensure that the *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa* are not rhetorically constructed to be at odds with each other, to the detriment of both. In short, we argue for solidarity between the *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa* rooted in a rhetorical education. Such solidarity is necessary to navigate the demands of both democratic and economic life.

Author

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Co-Author

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[Fashion's "Civic Callings": The Rhetorical First Lady, Postwar National Identity, and Michelle Obama](#)

While many scholars have examined the so-called "post-racial" politics of Barack Obama's administration and media coverage thereof, relatively few scholars have investigated Michelle Obama's influence on the position of first lady. Put differently, the nation's first African-American first lady has a specific set of institutional constraints alongside broader cultural constructions of gender and race. While all first ladies face the rhetorical constraint of fashion as a potent gendered symbol for their "fit" as models for American womanhood, Michelle Obama has the additional challenge of diminishing the many media stereotypes inscribed on black women's bodies. Thus, in this essay, I illuminate the constitutive and instrumental elements of fashion as a rhetorical resource for first ladies. I first contextualize how American fashion design gained political and symbolic momentum in the post-WWII era, before narrowing to a brief rhetorical history of modern first ladies whose fashion choices have been noted by media. Then, I use close visual and media analysis to demonstrate how First Lady Michelle Obama has addressed specific rhetorical problems through deploying fashion at relevant moments in the Obama presidency: inauguration 2009, and the 2011 and 2015 State Dinners for China. Ultimately, I conclude that analysis of Obama's rhetorical use of fashion provides scholars the ability to complicate "post" discourses about femininity, fashion, and first ladies by better illuminating the institutional relationship between norms and invention.

Author

[Courtney Caudle Travers](#), Vanderbilt University - [Contact Me](#)

[More Beef, Less Bull: The Intersection of Agrarian and Expediency Ideologies in Recent Congressional Campaigns](#)

Through an analysis of recent advertisements for congressional hopefuls Kristi Noem and Joni Ernst, this paper examines how each female candidate was able to draw on traditional imagery of agrarianism and expediency to construct an electable persona. The intersection of the agrarian myth and expediency arguments allow both women to construct a persona of the ideal moral citizen.

Author

[Lauren R. Harris](#), University of Maryland - [Contact Me](#)

It's Not Over 'Till It's Over: Public Civility and the Rhetorical Fallout of World War I

Fri, 11/11: 3:30 PM - 4:45 PM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 413 - Level 4

As the first modern global conflict World War I generated a confused set of responses at its conclusion. Some audiences were put off by the horrors of military technologies while others cast skeptical eyes at the overwrought rationales for the conflict. These papers examine the rhetorical forces at work in those moments in visual rhetoric and collective memory to post war politics and history.

Chair

[Benjamin Warner](#), University of Missouri - [Contact Me](#)

Respondent

[Benjamin Warner](#), University of Missouri - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

Ending the War on the Public: Eugene V. Debs and the Presidential Election of 1920

After being imprisoned for his famous anti-war speech in Canton, Ohio, Eugene V. Debs ran for president in 1920 for his fifth time. His "Jail House to the White House" campaign was surprisingly successful, given his circumstances, and sparked public debate in the years immediately following World War I about whether amnesty should be given to those convicted under the Espionage Act and Sedition Act. This essay argues that the calls to "Free Debs," which ultimately happened in December 1921, represented far more than a discussion about the pardoning of the anti-war martyr. Instead, public discourse about pardoning Debs marked a dramatic turn away from the wartime construction of democracy as mob rule and protest as a dangerous weapon, and reluctant return to faith in public dialogue. The essay examines Debs's campaign rhetoric from 1920, reactions to his imprisonment during that campaign, and Warren Harding's statements about the pardon, to describe the metaphorical reframing of the post-war public as a site for possibly enlightened debate.

Author

[Ryan Neville-Shepard](#), University of Arkansas - [Contact Me](#)

Remembering World War I: The Unauthorized Authorized Account of All Quiet on the Western Front

Examining Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* through Barbie Zelizer's work on collective memory, this essay argues that Remarque garnered the authority to tell the story of the WWI experience. This shift in storytelling simplified the account of trench warfare and provided to a general audience what Zelizer calls the "important, preferred, and appropriate" story of the WWI soldier. As the public accepted the collective memory account in Remarque's story, they grew to distrust and de-authorize the official memories of nation states and media outlets.

Author

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Revise and Resubmit: Competing Critiques of WWI and the Road to WWII

The celebratory aftermath of World War I was short-lived. Quickly historians and critics began to question the United States' involvement in the conflict, asserting that the nation was duped into the war by hyperbolic British rhetoric that disguised the economic machinations of British and American profiteers. Such rhetoric reverberated strongly with American audiences who were struggling financially and contributed to the isolationist movement of the inter-war era. An analysis of this conspiratorial rhetoric reveals an interesting use of Burke's victimage ritual and the impact rhetorical amplification may have on wartime audiences.

Author

[Michael Milford](#), Auburn University - [Contact Me](#)

"An obsession with the tragedies of life": A rhetorical examination of the writings of Käthe Kollwitz

The German Expressionist Käthe Kollwitz (1867-1945) is most well known for her graphic depictions of the results of war, but the underlying pacifism of her work and life stems from great heartbreak and loss. Both of her sons volunteered for service in World War I, and her younger son, Peter, died in the war. His death profoundly affected her work, as her call for peace is visible in a dramatic fashion. This study seeks to rhetorically examine what is known as the "war diary" of Käthe Kollwitz and will focus on the artist's expression of pacifism as a statement of protest against the changing regimes of Germany.

Author

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Rhetoric and Political Intransigence

Fri, 11/11: 3:30 PM - 4:45 PM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 401 - Level 4

This panel investigates the rhetorical constructions and practices that contribute to modern political intransigence in the United States. From nomination fights to campaign bluster to

reproductive and voting rights, we examine intransigence as it crosses legislative and presidential arenas.

Chair

[John Rountree](#), Penn State University - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

Intransigence as a Campaign Brand and Style: Donald Trump's 2016 Presidential Campaign

The 2016 campaign season occurred during a time of deep anger and disillusionment among the electorate, not the least of which was directed at Washington's perpetual deadlock between a Democratic president and a Republican Congress on virtually every issue and Wall Street's seemingly unfettered financial success while many ordinary Americans struggled. By the close of the March 15 presidential primaries, swaggering businessman and entertainment mogul Donald Trump was poised to become the Republican standard-bearer (or stage a massive intra-party revolt at the convention), while the Party establishment wrung its collective hands at not taking this candidate (who opposed elected Republicans as sharply as he did Democrats) seriously sooner and tried to engineer a way out of a now nearly inevitable Trump nomination and a group of conservative figures reportedly met to consider splitting off from the Party entirely to launch a third party bid. Trump achieved this feat in the primaries by attracting hordes of new voters and some disaffected Democrats as well as by stirring fervent support from many Republican voters who "aren't arch-conservative party loyalists. They're right-leaning people, mostly lower-income whites, who believe they have been betrayed by both sides of a political system rigged for the benefit of rich campaign contributors."

Astonishingly, Trump had gotten so close to locking down the nomination with policy proposals no deeper than "build a wall" and "no trade deals." Instead, his self-aggrandizement as a "winner" and a "deal-maker" and his unequivocal assertion that he would make America "great," combined with dismissive insults against Muslims, Mexicans, women, the disabled, and anyone he deemed a "loser," formed the core of his primary campaign rhetoric. In fact, some supporters claimed to despise the candidate's positions, but voted for him anyway because of his uncompromising brashness and willingness to take down the system rather than conform to its rules of decorum and argument. Intransigence had become a successful campaign brand that was attractive in itself, even when devoid of policy content or realistic ends. Trump had made mainstream an overarching, content-independent intransigence that no longer hued to the predictable political tug-of-wars between the parties, conservatives and liberals, or Congress and the President.

This essay critically analyzes Trump's recurring rhetorical moves that seem to constitute the nucleus of such intransigence as a saleable campaign brand or style. Previously, I have examined the roles of dissociation (particularly between the real and apparent) and shifting the burden of proof in political intransigence. This presentation breaks new ground by developing how Trump rhetorically made himself and his (version of his) personal success story an attractive synecdochic fantasy for his body of supporters set within contemporary American society and, more broadly, for the U.S. in the world (i.e., a winner who could function without restrictions on speech or action and without concern for consequences). It further examines Trump's re-purposing of particular loci communes, which Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca presented as rhetorical means to choose relatively among what are agreed-upon as reasonable

alternatives without vilifying any of them, to instead polarize the electorate and reinforce an intransigent style built on not entertaining alternatives as relatively reasonable-all while paradoxically credentialing himself for the presidency and brushing aside the need to present policy plans by claiming to be the ultimate flexible deal-broker.

Author

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Pathologies of Distrust: Intransigence over the DC Voting Rights Act

Policy issues that cause gridlock are not necessarily partisan. One such issue involves Washington, DC. Washington has special status as simultaneously the capital of the United States and as a district outside the jurisdiction of any state. This peculiarity in the setup of the capital city has often left DC residents disenfranchised with limited control over their own city budget and limited voting rights. Currently, the 600,000 U.S. citizens living in the district do not have the right to representation in Congress, and both parties find the situation unacceptable. In 2007, a group of Democrats brought up the DC Voting Rights Act to give the district a voting representative in the House, and they tried to balance the political realignment by allotting Utah an overdue seat as well. Republicans filibustered the law, not even allowing it to come up for debate in the Senate, and then President Bush threatened to veto the legislation. Why would such a nonpartisan issue cause gridlock and failure to compromise? Using the DC Voting Rights debate as a case study, I argue that intransigence arises not just from ideological conflict but also from pathologies of distrust in political argumentation. Members of Congress in this debate construct opponents as untrustworthy actors, and they combat potentially subversive intentions by trying to cut opponents out of the process. Subversive constructions like these breed distrust in congressional debates. Distrust becomes pathological in our politics when it becomes self-fulfilling, when it justifies anti-democratic practices that create intransigence and polarization.

Author

[John Rountree](#), Penn State University - [Contact Me](#)

Pragmatism or Political Principle: Intransigent Rhetoric in the Controversy Regarding Appointment of a Successor to Justice Scalia

Under normal circumstances, political rhetoric is pragmatic: deliberative, considering how best to reach a common goal or to rank competing goals. Advocates have provisional commitments to their positions but can be influenced, and the dispute often produces a compromise position that, while ideal to few if any, commands acceptance as satisfactory. Most people, however, hold some positions central to their identity about which they will not compromise. Intransigent rhetoric occurs when at least one party to a controversy maintains a position in principle that other parties will not accept. In a high-stakes dispute, it may be to one's advantage to maintain a position in principle since it prevents capitulation; either stalemate or victory will result (unless an outside party can terminate the dispute). I shall illustrate these dynamics in the controversy concerning appointment of a successor to deceased Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia. Republicans grounded their opposition to any Obama nominee in the principle that the people should determine who nominates the Justice; therefore, no president in an election year should make a nomination. They maintained that this was normal historical practice and that Democrats had taken the same position to block Republican presidents when Democrats controlled Congress. Democrats responded that the Constitution plainly demanded

an appointment. I shall explore the rhetorical moves that both parties made in establishing and disputing an intransigent position, including any changes in this controversy between March 2016 and NCA.

Author

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The Emancipatory Potential of Intransigence: Wendy Davis' Filibuster as a Spectacle of Dissensus

Intransigence could easily be characterized as a bane to a vibrant deliberative culture. However, I attempt to answer Beth Manolescu's call for "[r]hetorical criticism which attempts to suggest how rhetorical acts enable participation . . . to complement criticism which suggest how such acts may alienate and exclude." In this paper I argue that intransigence is an occasionally necessary way to constitute dissensus against a tyrannical majority; and in rare instances, intransigence can even emancipate a previously passive minority. To make this argument I use the work of Jacques Ranciere, and the case of Wendy Davis' 2013 filibuster against an anti-abortion bill in the Texas Senate. This case demonstrates Ranciere's claim that (political) theater blurs the line between spectators and actors. As Davis dissented against the male, Republican majority that was attempting to increasingly police women's bodies, her extended intransigence (through filibustering) gave her formerly-passive, pro-choice, female constituents the time to rally at the state capitol, fill the galleries, and disrupt the final vote with their own "filibuster": shouting and refusing to leave the gallery. In this way, passive spectators became emancipated actors due to Davis' intransigence. Therefore, intransigence is part of the drama of political theater, and although it often alienates and excludes, in this case it enabled participation.

Author

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SATURDAY

Archival Activism

Sat, 11/12: 8:00 AM - 9:15 AM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 401 - Level 4

Archives are often constructed around the idea of neutrality-they collect documents but claim that they have no stake in any one perspective. Howard Zinn famously challenged that idea, arguing that this pretension enables what he considered to be a dangerously passive attitude toward the politics of archival work and reinforcing the status quo and the politics of privilege. This panel begins with the assumption that archives are by definition political, and the participants examine the ways in which scholarly work at archives can both challenge and support entrenched power. Panelists will discuss issues related to ownership, diversity, access, public memory, and the nature of the "public record" as it relates to social justice and advocacy. Five Public Address scholars are joined by Archivist Robert Clark in this interactive roundtable discussion of the activist potential in the practices of archival research.

Chair

[Mary E. Stuckey](#), Georgia State University - [Contact Me](#)

Presenter(s)

[E. Cram](#), University of Iowa - [Contact Me](#)

[Matthew S. May](#), Texas A&M University - [Contact Me](#)

[Charles E. Morris](#), Syracuse University - [Contact Me](#)

[Cara A. Finnegan](#), University of Illinois - [Contact Me](#)

[Robert Clark](#), Rockefeller Archive Center - [Contact Me](#)

First Lady of the World: Eleanor Roosevelt's Civic Calling

Sat, 11/12: 9:30 AM - 10:45 AM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 401 - Level 4

Eleanor Roosevelt's commitment to hearing individual needs redefined the role of First Lady as an activist on issues of human rights. She called herself her husband's "eyes, ears, and legs" as she logged thousands of miles traveling to meet and listen to the American public. This paper session explores the importance of civic discourse to Eleanor Roosevelt's rhetoric and her contributions to her husband's administration, as well as her rhetorical echo in subsequent presidential administrations.

Chair

[Nicole Barnes](#), Georgia State University - [Contact Me](#)

Respondent

[Leslie J. Harris](#), University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

Asking Eleanor: Roosevelt's Feminist Authority

Eleanor Roosevelt believed her role as the wife of a public figure was to act as an intermediary between the politician and his constituents. As First Lady, she encouraged Americans to write to her, and received hundreds of thousands of letters each year; scholarship points to these letters and argue they reveal why Roosevelt was able to transform the role of First Lady. This paper seeks to understand how Roosevelt continued to engage the American public in the years after her White House tenure. After her husband's death, Roosevelt continued to encourage and cherish personal interactions with individual Americans, and in concert with the Ladies Home Journal created a column in which she encouraged the magazine's audience to send her their questions, on any subject. In "If You Ask Me," Roosevelt discussed both the personal and the political, pivoting from discussions about voting in local elections as well as the 1952 presidential election to stories and advice concerning marriage, children, and grandchildren. I argue Roosevelt's column advances feminist ideas of women's strength and political savvy that are ahead of her time while avoiding alienating her more conservative readership. The majority of her responses begin by positioning the writer, and not Roosevelt, as the authority on the subject at hand, encouraging women to accept and trust their own opinions and experiences. In doing so, Roosevelt shifts her own position from one of advisor to one of confidant, thereby encouraging women to accept their own authority. Roosevelt's column encourages women to

acknowledge and use the power they have to change their own lives, and as such is a civic calling to her audience.

Author

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Declaring a Universal Bill of Rights: Eleanor Roosevelt's Liberal Cosmopolitanism and the United Nations Human Rights Commission

Three inter-related traumas were the focal point of international politics as the world entered the post-war environment. Political elites feared replicating the poor political decision-making that produced a second world war. Another global war would be cataclysmic, given the development of increasingly powerful atomic weapons, and the schism between the first, second, and third world made it likely these weapons would be used. Central to constructing a stable international environment was the development of an international organization providing a forum wherein grievances could be heard in the hopes that catastrophe could be avoided. But how were grievances to be resolved? What norms were necessary to inform state action and how disputes might be resolved? Towards this end, the western alliance was quickly working to establish its political ethos as a legal requirement for joining the international coalition of "united nations." This paper takes up the theme of 'civic callings' by analyzing how the study of trans-national rhetoric can provide a deeper constructivist account of international relations. I argue that the rhetorical leadership of Eleanor Roosevelt was essential to the construction and adoption of the Declaration of Human Rights, which proved to be the crowning product of liberal cosmopolitanism. This paper positions Eleanor Roosevelt and her rhetoric within the broader context of coalitional international politics through particular attention to her address at the Paris Meeting of the Council on Human Rights. I conclude with a discussion of the role communication plays in the production of international politics broadly, and consider the political possibilities for civic action by spouses of the President.

Author

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Echoes of Peace: Presidential Appropriation of Eleanor Roosevelt's Memory from John F. Kennedy to Barack Obama

Eleanor Roosevelt is often remembered as a vital voice for articulating fundamental values related to human rights and world peace. Studies of Roosevelt's rhetoric cover topics like her use of personal letters, the significance of her contributions to the role of first lady as exhibited in her 1940 address to the Democratic National Convention, her use of mass media to institutionalize the role of the first lady as a source of news, her contributions to feminist initiatives in the 1930s and beyond. To date, however, no one has examined how presidents have used Eleanor's memory, or what I term her rhetorical echo, to extend their own goals. This essay examines presidential use of Eleanor's memory from John F. Kennedy to Barack Obama suggesting that her memory echoes in presidential discourse because of the continuing significance of her place in a pivotal moment in American history. I argue Eleanor's echo serves as a rhetorical resource presidents use to serve immediate, contextually driven goals, some of which were at odds with the content of her appeal. While presidential use of Eleanor's rhetorical echo varies by ideology and context, I find it generally manifests in three ways: recalling Eleanor to elevate the importance of human rights, the United Nations, and the promotion of

peace in world affairs, recalling Eleanor to promote policy goals counter to her philosophy of human rights, equality, and peace, and recalling Eleanor to serve personal rather than policy goals. Blurring distinctions between history and memory, presidential recall of Eleanor Roosevelt increasingly dilutes the content of her rhetoric to the point that the continuing utility of her memory is now in doubt.

Author

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Eleanor Roosevelt and the Antilynching Movement

In the push to ratify the Costigan-Wagner antilynching bill, Walter White, head of the NAACP, sought the backing of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. While FDR refused to publicly support the bill for fear of losing New Deal support in the South, Eleanor Roosevelt took an active role in meeting personally with White and facilitating conversations between White and her husband. In a meeting that lasted for over an hour White, Franklin Roosevelt, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Sara Delano Roosevelt discussed the potential for the success of the bill, and the potential pitfalls of filibustering; White left with a promise from FDR that the bill would come to a vote, though Roosevelt declined to back the bill in the event of a filibuster. The traction gained by White and the NAACP leading up to the vote on the Costigan-Wagner Bill was unprecedented, and offered hope and confidence to the organization. While the bill, one of only 3 antilynching bills to reach the Senate, fell in a filibuster, Eleanor Roosevelt helped Walter White gain widespread awareness for the bill and raised the already sterling profile of White amongst his peers in the NAACP and the broader public. While it is difficult to measure the impact of the friendship and political alliance struck between Eleanor and White, the rhetorical maneuvering on the part of Eleanor defied gender roles, crossed racial boundaries, and showed ways for activists to move around obstinate cabinet members and an openly hostile attorney general. This paper examines rhetorical strategies employed by White and Roosevelt in relation to one another and in conjunction to one another as part of the larger rhetorical context of the antilynching movement.

Author

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Public Address Scholars Examine the Possibilities of Rhetorical Leadership

Sat, 11/12: 11:00 AM - 12:15 PM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 401 - Level 4

Four Public Address scholars examine the possibility of rhetorical leadership from presidents to pontiffs.

Chair

[Amos Kiewe](#), Syracuse University - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

Edward Everett's Nation of Sympathy: Sympathetic Indignation and the American Jeremiad

What are the bonds of obligation that bind Americans to others? To whom are they responsible? What do they owe, in a sense, themselves? Americans in the 1820s felt particularly burdened by these questions, which harkened back to the earliest days of Puritan settlement and became more pronounced in the decades after the Revolution. The notion that the United States was uniquely burdened with the responsibility to exemplify humanity's potential was a recurrent anxiety given expression in the rhetoric surrounding the Greek Revolution (1821-29). For a group of American "philhellenes" ("lovers of Greece"), including Edward Everett, the success of the American Revolution imposed certain obligations--political, ethical, and spiritual--upon the citizens of the United States to aid foreign people actively engaged in their own wars of liberation. The question they faced was how to translate public interest in the war in Greece into action, and what form such action should take. Everett responded to these twin exigencies with a rhetoric of "sympathy," which was as much about American nationalism as it was about the Greeks' revolution. As Eric Hobsbawm argues, sympathetic identification was a preferred idiom through which late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century political orators and fiction writers expressed their nationalism. Therefore, by investigating how Everett used the rhetoric of sympathetic identification in relation to the unfolding conflict in Greece we are afforded clues into how US nationalism was rhetorically constructed during a crucial period in the country's political development. Undergirding the philhellenes' various claims was the commonly held belief that America had unique global responsibilities, and that its citizens were (or should be) a sympathetic people whose virtue befitted the greater national purpose with which they were tasked: creating an exemplary republic that would inspire enlightened revolution throughout the globe.

Author

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Once Upon A-Dopted: Bush 41 and Redeeming the Adoptable

As a family-making process, adoption has increased its national visibility in recent decades, requiring greater attention from the presidency. I examine how President George H.W. Bush responded to this exigency during a special needs adoption event at the White House in 1990. Using Walter Fisher's narrative paradigm as my critical lens, I investigate how Bush (re)presented adoption for the American public as part of his pro-adoption campaign. Drawing on the biblical stories so familiar to his conservative constituency, I argue that Bush framed adoption in a strategic narrative of redemption that extols the virtues of adoptive parents and redefines adoption as the moral alternative to abortion that "works for everyone." Though a marker of progress toward the cultural salience and acceptance of adoption, I argue that Bush's narrative furthered the hegemonic myths surrounding adoptive parents, adoptees, and birthparents.

Author

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Benedict XVI's "Troubled" Call For Interfaith Dialogue: The Regensburg Lecture

Employing Jerome S. Bruner's concept of Trouble buttressed by Kenneth Burke's concept of recalcitrance, we analyze Pope Benedict XVI's Regensburg Lecture. Our analysis reveals that the lecture breached canonical expectations for harmony between Muslims and Christians. The analysis also reveals that Benedict's efforts to redress the Trouble caused by his lecture were

unsuccessful, as he failed to account for and address recalcitrant responses that his breach had engendered. The results of this study assess opportunities for interfaith dialogue between Muslims and Christians and demonstrate the utility of Bruner's concept of Trouble for investigating public address that deals with issues of diversity.

Author

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Co-Author

[Floyd D. Anderson](#), College at Brockport - [Contact Me](#)

Andrew Jackson's First Inaugural Address: Projecting the Audience

Andrew Jackson was the first elected popular president after George Washington. After winning the popular vote but not the majority of the Electoral College in 1824, the selection of president turned to the House of Representatives which chose John Q. Adams. Jackson and many in the nation were angered by this move and the quick re-nomination of Jackson for presidency in 1828 signaled a populist political awareness. Jackson won that election decisively and when drafting his Inaugural Address, he paid close attention to the popular election and the mandate it generated including the significant increase in the number of voters. His draft was eloquent and impressive but political calculations and cautious advice by aides produced an additional draft before finalizing the text that was more measured but also more generic. Yet, the final version as well as the initial draft by Jackson himself were written with an audience in mind, constructing the popular vote as marking a turning point and in so doing changing the country from a Republic to a Democracy.

Author

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Spotlight Panel 2016 Election: Hillary Rodham Clinton's Presidential Campaign Rhetoric

Sat, 11/12: 11:00 AM - 12:15 PM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 413 - Level 4

A distinguished group of Public Address scholars of the American presidency will discuss Hillary Rodham Clinton's 2016 presidential campaign.

Chair

[Jennifer Mercieca](#), Texas A&M University - [Contact Me](#)

Presenter(s)

[Karrin Anderson](#), Colorado State University - [Contact Me](#)

[Bonnie J. Dow](#), Vanderbilt University - [Contact Me](#)

[Stephanie Martin](#), Southern Methodist University - [Contact Me](#)

[Carrie Murawski](#), Texas A&M University - [Contact Me](#)

[John M. Murphy](#), University of Illinois - [Contact Me](#)

[Shawn J. Parry-Giles](#), University of Maryland - [Contact Me](#)

Spotlight Panel 2016 Election: Trump's Insurgency: Demagoguery, Perversion, and Identity
Sat, 11/12: 12:30 PM - 1:45 PM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 413 - Level 4

This panel considers the question of demagoguery, with special attention in light of the campaign insurgency of Donald Trump. One panelist will set the stage by iterating their own definition of demagoguery as a generic matter, before three other panelists take up the question of demagoguery in the context of Trump's campaign itself, approaching it respectively from the perspective of psychoanalysis, deliberative theory, and argumentation.

Chair

[Taylor Hahn](#), Johns Hopkins University - [Contact Me](#)

Respondent

[James Darsey](#), Georgia State University - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

A Return to Demagoguery: Donald Trump's Challenge to Democracy

This essay returns to the idea of demagoguery, a concept in some disrepute amongst rhetorical critics though ascendant in discourses of the mass public during the time of this presidential primary. Using Donald Trump's insurgency within the Republican primary as a test case, I argue for the resuscitation of the term in order to emphasize the importance of judgment for the practice of rhetorical criticism, and to highlight especially the important work done by previous rhetorical theorists to position the study of demagoguery within the tradition of critical rhetoric. Theorizing capaciously with others who have defined the term, I add an understanding of demagoguery as rhetoric which induces in its listeners a risk-averse political orientation. To demonstrate the utility of this lens, I read symptomatic discourses of Trump's campaign to show how one might reconcile and advance through ongoing disputes about demagoguery, suggesting that rhetorical critics should pick up a term again de rigeur in the public sphere.

Author

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Demagoguery without Demophobia

Demagoguery is, as Robert Ivie says, often troped as a disease of democracy, a consequence of the masses' inability to reason with rigor. This paper argues that demagoguery has those (unnecessary) connotations after Plato, but that there have always been other meanings. More recently, definitions of demagoguery have tended to rely on the rational/irrational split, motivism, or group identity. Most important, scholarship has focused on demagogues, rather than demagoguery, and this paper argues for seeing demagoguery as damaging as a way of participating in public discourse. Closely connected to the compliance-gaining model, demagoguery is most usefully seen as polarizing discourse that reduces public discourse to assertions about and performances of group identity and loyalty; it rejects the need for careful investigation of the stock issues of policy argumentation, the value of nuanced and contingent

answers, or the benefit of considering multiple points of view. It promises that the problem is caused by a (scapegoated) outgroup (sometimes multiple outgroups, who are working together), and that the obvious solution is purification of the community through increasingly vigilant in-group policing, a deeper commitment to the ingroup, and the disempowerment, expulsion, or extermination of the outgroup(s). Inclusive discussion, careful deliberation, policy argumentation, or compromise are unnecessary at best, and more likely cowardly dithering, and quite possibly deliberate treachery.

Author

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Donald Trump is a Pervert

Recent attempts to brand Donald Trump a psychotic or fascist have failed because such labels do not capture the double-character of his appeal. In this paper, I argue Jacques Lacan's understanding of perversion better captures Trump's peculiar brand of political rhetoric. Although Trump is a textbook exemplar of narcissistic personality disorder, the category of perversion provides the best account of the sadistic aggression on display at his political rallies.

Author

[Joshua Gunn](#), University of Texas, Austin - [Contact Me](#)

The Post-Rhetorical Demagoguery of Donald Trump

This essay considers how Donald Trump represents a new form of demagoguery, based primarily on the post-rhetorical tactics of ubiquitous and direct communication with audiences, in addition to the traditional rhetorical techniques of previous demagogues. A post-rhetorical republic is still a republic, so constitutionally the people still rule through their representatives, but it is a republic that operates within a hyper-mediated, hyper-commercialized, public relations-based public screen rather than the traditional media environment of the rhetorical public sphere. The niche-media environment of the twenty-first century allows audiences to select only opinion-confirming information, which leads to separate discourse communities and separate versions of "truth," "news," and "facts." The post-rhetorical demagogue exploits this new media environment to his or her advantage by fomenting partisan discord, countermending opposing truth claims, and rejecting the legitimacy of the political process. I argue that Donald Trump's 2016 presidential campaign rhetoric—characterized by the rhetorical techniques of ad hominem, ad baculum, reification, and paralipsis—represents that of a new post-rhetorical demagogue.

Author

[Jennifer Mercieca](#), Texas A&M University - [Contact Me](#)

Gendered Citizens: Rhetorics of Controversy and Change

Sat, 11/12: 2:00 PM - 3:15 PM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 413 - Level 4

As NCA comes together around the 2016 theme, Communication's Civic Callings, this panel addresses questions of citizenship, attending particularly to its gendered, queered, and raced invocations, and its circulation in public address. Across three distinct cases, of religious freedom, judicial appointments, and wartime anxiety, the panelists explore historic and contemporary moments in which individuals and communities negotiated everyday and institutional ideals of national identity. As a whole, the panel fosters conversation about public discourse and its political and cultural significance.

Chair

[Karrin Anderson](#), Colorado State University - [Contact Me](#)

Respondent

[Karrin Anderson](#), Colorado State University - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

Melodramatic Modes of Citizenship

The legal recognition of LGBTQ rights has been met by conservative backlash. One of the ripple effects of the Supreme Court's marriage equality decision has been a surge in hostile measures directed at other forms of LGBTQ formal equality (employment, bathrooms, denial of services, etc.). The conservative recourse to "religious freedom" as a discourse and litigation strategy is meant to blunt evolving attitudes about LGBTQ equality, and these rhetorical strategies are proving to be effective and resilient ones. In the popular press, so-called victims of LGBTQ equality, including bakers and florists who refuse to provide services to same-sex weddings, often perform melodramatic frames that privilege religious freedom over equality. This paper considers the gendered rhetorical dimensions of religious freedom, especially how melodramatic frames and politics inform the clash between equality and religious freedom.

Author

[Isaac West](#), Vanderbilt University - [Contact Me](#)

Re-evaluating the Race/Sex Analogy in Second-Wave Feminist Rhetoric: Betty Friedan and the 1970 Carswell Supreme Court Nomination Hearings

An examination of the 1970 testimony of NOW President Betty Friedan in opposition to the Supreme Court nominee G. Harrold Carswell reveals multiple variations on and functions of the race/sex analogy in early second-wave feminist discourse. Countering contemporary rejections of the race/sex analogy as always already problematic, this paper argues that such comparisons should be evaluated in terms of their specific and historicized rhetorical contexts.

Author

[Bonnie J. Dow](#), Vanderbilt University - [Contact Me](#)

Stripping the Nation of its Mexican Problem: Citizens, "Aliens," Style Politics, and War

In June 1943, the streets of Los Angeles erupted, with mobs of sailors and soldiers descending nightly into the city in search of "zoot-suiters," Mexican American youth wearing zoot suits. Situated in US national media as cleaning up the city's juvenile delinquency problem, the sailors and soldiers emerged publicly as heroes. This essay examines the public discourse surrounding the street violence and zoot suit culture and asks how zoot culture and racial/gendered difference entwine to produce threat so significant as to motivate a week of intense attacks

entailing ritualized humiliation upon zoot suiters and communities presumed connected to that clothing. More specifically, I argue that dominant discourse surrounding the June 1943 violence produces a racialized alienation in which Mexican American youth, typically native-born citizen, become alien.

Author

[Lisa A. Flores](#), University of Colorado, Boulder - [Contact Me](#)

Rethinking Rhetorical Theory, Criticism, and Pedagogy": Scholars on Michael C. Leff's "Living Art"

Sat, 11/12: 3:30 PM - 4:45 PM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 413 - Level 4

Publication of *Rethinking Rhetorical Theory, Criticism, and Pedagogy*, an edited collection of twenty-four of Leff's essays and lectures, invites reflection on that career. This session features commentary from leading scholars familiar with Leff's ideas, and from the book's editors who will discuss their selection process and unveil the digital archive of Leff's complete work.

Chair

[David Zarefsky](#), Northwestern University - [Contact Me](#)

Presenter(s)

[Leah M. Ceccarelli](#), University of Washington, Seattle - [Contact Me](#)

[Janet Atwill](#), University of Tennessee - [Contact Me](#)

[G. Thomas Goodnight](#), University of Southern California - [Contact Me](#)

[Frank Thomas](#), Christian Theological Seminary - [Contact Me](#)

Respondent(s)

[John A. Campbell](#), University of Memphis - [Contact Me](#)

[Antonio R. de Velasco](#), University of Memphis - [Contact Me](#)

[David Henry](#), University of Nevada, Las Vegas - [Contact Me](#)

SUNDAY

Public Address Scholarship on Powerful Women Advocates

Sun, 11/13: 8:00 AM - 9:15 AM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 413 - Level 4

Four Public Address scholars examine examples of powerful female advocates in the public sphere.

Chair

[Meredith Neville-Shepard](#), University of Arkansas - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

A Strategic Reversal: The National Association of Colored Women's Narrative Reframing of the Mammy Monument

In 1922, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) proposed a monument to the "faithful slave mammies of the South" to be located in Washington, D.C. The U.S. Senate unanimously approved this plan, prompting many African American clubwomen to speak out against the monument's construction. Mary Church Terrell published an editorial condemning the monument in the *Washington Evening Star*. Charlotte Hawkins Brown was featured in the *New York Age* for her telegram to a Congressman protesting the monument's construction. Hallie Quinn Brown wrote an article in the *National Association of Colored Women's* newsletter about the UDC's proposal. Each of these leaders urged readers not just to denounce the monument, but to take action concerning issues of lynching, poverty, and illiteracy that plagued the black community. I suggest that the clubwomen's rhetoric crafted what Aristotle called a moment of "peripety," or, a strategic reversal of the UDC's commemorative agenda by reframing the proposed monument as a call-to-action for their greater social reform agenda. This rhetorical reframing highlighted the "mammy" figure as a symbol of systemic oppression, challenged the benevolent motives of the monument's supporters, and requested that more be done on behalf of "mammy's" memory to aid the black community. In other words, the proposed monument became a site of rhetorical invention as clubwomen capitalized on its offensive symbolism to motivate crucial material change.

Author

[Megan Irene Fitzmaurice](#), University of Maryland - [Contact Me](#)

Advancing the Traditional Conceptualization of Feminine Style: A New Theory of Civility

On October 1, 2013, the United States Senate buckled under the pressure of intense partisanship. Dramatically demonstrating their lack of mutual agreement, senators refrained from conducting the nation's business for 16 days. Allegheny College President suggested that during the government shutdown debate the 20 women in the Senate refrained from personal attacks and made an effort to be civil. This essay examines how feminine style theory can be modified and renamed a theory of civility. Specifically, this essay argues that the Senate's women encouraged civility by using rhetoric that was personal, anecdotal, and sought identification based on lived experiences. Therefore, the project's findings expose rhetorically complex scenarios facing the government's legislative bodies, the rhetorical maintenance of deliberation, and how cooperative lawmakers rhetorically construct civility. By analyzing female senators' 98 floor speeches, this project reveals that a feminine style of rhetoric is actually a theory of civility and can help senators rhetorically construct a bipartisan legislative environment.

Author

[Angela M. McGowan](#), State University of New York, Fredonia - [Contact Me](#)

"Women Speakers, Do Not Hesitate": Invention and Delivery in Susan B. Anthony's Extemporaneous Discourse

Susan B. Anthony was a skilled and prolific speaker in the nineteenth century but rhetoric scholars have generally ignored her extensive extemporaneous discourse. This article examines how Anthony negotiated between the different approaches to invention and delivery of

extemporaneous discourse that circulated during the nineteenth century. Using nineteenth century preaching textbooks, general education and debate manuals, and biographies of great or well known extemporaneous speakers, this study delineates a framework for understanding nineteenth century extemporaneous speaking through a speaker's practices of invention and delivery. By analyzing how Anthony harnessed and negotiated between the different approaches to extemporaneous invention and delivery, scholars can understand the rich rhetorical skill of her extemporaneous speaking career.

Author

[Meridith Styer](#), University of Maryland - [Contact Me](#)

Turning Over a New Tea Leaf: An Analysis of the Suffragist Struggle to Resurrect the Revolutionary Spirit

On December 15 and 16, 1873, the centennial anniversary of the Boston Tea Party woman suffragists in Boston and New York held commemoration rallies. Although the women did not find it necessary to actually throw tea into the harbor to get their point across, speakers at the events drew parallels between the colonists' situation one hundred years earlier and their own. Meanwhile, more traditional commemoration ceremonies were being held across the country in order to pay tribute to this staple in America's memory of the revolution. In other words, as societies of "ladies" were busy planning celebrations of patriotism, suffragists were arranging political meetings centered around a main message of the revolution: "No taxation without representation." Thus, rather than celebrating the Boston Tea Party as an eloquent reminder of the country's greatness, the suffragists resurrected the voices of these protestors in order to remind people just how much of that greatness was not yet achieved. This essay builds on scholarship concerning the malleability of public memory by analyzing these different appropriations. I argue that while the more traditional commemorations treated women as ornaments rather than actors, female participation in such commemorations throughout the nineteenth century cracked open a door to the political sphere for women, like the suffragists in 1873, to present public arguments in favor of women's rights. In order to illuminate the complexities of this transition, I separately analyze the formal commemorations and the suffragists' events utilizing descriptions from nineteenth century newspapers and journals, including some printings of speeches that were delivered.

Author

[Meridith Neville-Shepard](#), University of Arkansas - [Contact Me](#)

Education, Race, the Courts and Airplanes

Sun, 11/13: 9:30 AM - 10:45 AM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 401 - Level 4

Four Public Address scholars examine controversies related to Reconstruction, Native American education, the death penalty, and aerial warfare.

Chair

[Michael J. Steudeman](#), University of Memphis - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

Remembering Indigenous Education: The "Save Old Main" Movement

This paper analyzes the rhetorical dynamics of the 1972 "Save Old Main" movement in Robeson County, North Carolina. Through the examination of archival documents, newspapers, and oral interview transcripts from American Indian activists, this paper traces how the threatened destruction of "Old Main," one of the first United States tribal colleges, served as a symbolic resource for two competing indigenous organizations. The "Save Old Main" movement temporarily fused dominant Tuscarora and Lumbee movement frameworks by appealing to a shared history of oppression instigated by a common enemy. Old Main, specifically, was used by Tuscarora and Lumbee activists to reconcile their conflicting views on indigenous education and integration. This paper argues that the movement was able to reconcile the moderate urban Lumbee appeals to cultural appreciation, economic development, and civic engagement with the more militant rural Tuscarora appeals to tribal authenticity, political sovereignty, and civil disobedience. As a result, the movement was able to combine the Tuscarora's penchant for staged media spectacles with the Lumbee's political connections in Raleigh and Washington, D.C. Gubernatorial candidate James E. Holshouser added the missing link to the "Save Old Main" movement: a common, tangible enemy. As such, Holshouser helped popularize the movement while also using it to create a unified indigenous vote. An analysis of Holshouser's speeches demonstrates how he framed the destruction of Old Main as only the most recent event in a long history of Democratic oppression. This essay contributes to discussions on strategic framing, protest at the intersections of race, ethnicity, and class, and the potential risks of third-party political interests in grassroots movements.

Author

[Dominic Manthey](#), Penn State University - [Contact Me](#)

Technological Spectacle in Billy Mitchell's Campaign for Aerial War

In this essay, I offer a rhetorical history of the debate over military aviation that Brigadier General William "Billy" Mitchell began in the 1920s. At that time, the American military had no stable air force, even after World War I. Moreover, most Americans imagined that military aviation consisted only of air-to-air dogfights, not bombing runs. I show how Billy Mitchell leveraged Americans' hopes and fears of aviation's technological "progress" to make the case for airplanes as weapons that could change the course of wars. He fatefully focused Americans on warplane technology and not on the human costs of bombing. By showing how he did so through written essays and dramatic publicity stunts, I contribute to our understanding of how public discourse about technological change impacts how we imagine and use technology. I also add a historical foundation to current controversies surrounding drone strikes and American air power, demonstrating how the spectacle of military aviation technology has always effaced ethical dilemmas that surround bombing enemy civilians.

Author

[Benjamin Aaron Firgens](#), Penn State University - [Contact Me](#)

The Voices of the Law: Constitutive Rhetoric and its Denial in McCleskey v. Kemp

In 1987, the Supreme Court decided *McCleskey v. Kemp*, ruling that the petitioner's evidence of racial discrimination in Georgia's death penalty system did not amount to a constitutional

violation. The landmark ruling received substantial criticism: Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Anthony Lewis wrote that the Court had "effectively condoned the expression of racism in a profound aspect of our law." Critics condemned the majority's treatment of the key issue at stake: what constituted legitimate social scientific evidence of racial discrimination in capital sentencing. In this essay I argue that *McCleskey v. Kemp* should be read as a negotiation over the constitutive function of judicial rhetoric: the majority opinion deflected the constitutive nature of judicial rhetoric, while the minority opinions embraced that function. I briefly articulate the theory of constitutive rhetoric and its role in scholarship on judicial discourse. I then discuss the context of the *McCleskey* decision. I conduct a close reading of the majority and dissenting opinions and highlight the distinct ways in which they constitute social scientific evidence and racial discrimination, even as the majority deferred the constitutive force of its rhetoric. Finally, I consider the significance of the case and its approach to judicial rhetoric.

Author

[Mikaela Malsin](#), University of Georgia - [Contact Me](#)

"Obliterating Sectional Feeling": Education and Federalism in the Hoar and Perce Bill Debates, 1870-1872

As radical Reconstruction drew to a close, Massachusetts Representative George Frisbie Hoar proposed one of the most assertive federal education bills in American history. A year later, a modified bill proposed by Mississippi Representative Legrand Perce offered a moderated, but nonetheless prescient, attempt to provide federal aid to the states. In this essay, I argue that the Hoar Bill debate of 1870 to 1871 and the Perce Bill debate of 1872 reflected a progression from thesis and antithesis toward a set of tacit assumptions regarding education's place in state/federal relations. During the Hoar Bill debate, clear battle-lines emerged over the issue of federal involvement in education. Among Republicans, the Hoar Bill represented an effort to dig beneath the formal divisions of federalism to shape the social imaginary at the level of substantive judgment. For Democratic states' rights advocates, the objects of education systems by necessity stemmed from the substantive judgment of local communities. Schooling was a product, not a producer, of communal sentiments. Following this dialectical collision, the Perce Bill debate of 1872 provided a narrowing space of argument as interlocutors modified their approaches to education policy. Specifically in this essay, I argue that the proponents of a national education system came to acquiesce to a hybrid mode of political judgment, one that compromised with the associational vision of their Democratic opponents.

Author

[Michael J. Steudeman](#), University of Memphis - [Contact Me](#)

International Public Address

Sun, 11/13: 9:30 AM - 10:45 AM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 413 - Level 4

Four scholars examine public address in international contexts.

Chair

[Scott R. Stroud](#), University of Texas, Austin - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

Hungarian Holocaust Remembrance and the 70th Anniversary Memorial to the 1944 Nazi Occupation of Hungary

In the waking hours of the morning on Sunday, July 20th, 2014 the government of Hungary unveiled a statue meant to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Nazi occupation of Hungary during World War II. The statue depicts the Angel Gabriel, an eagle, broken Greek columns, and bears an inscription reading "Memorial for the Victims of German Occupation." Residing in Budapest, Hungary's political and cultural capitol, the new statue sits near many other significant locations including Freedom Square and the Hungarian Parliament building. The iconography at play in this memorial is charged and political: the Archangel Gabriel has long been associated with the country of Hungary in the national imagination, and the imperial eagle is synonymous with Nazism. By positioning Gabriel, meant to symbolize Hungary, as a passive victim of Nazism, critics have alleged that the memorial presents a revisionist version of events that absolves Hungary of responsibility for its complicity in the Holocaust. In this paper I demonstrate that this statue which depicts the Angel Gabriel, a stand-in for Hungary, as a passive victim of Nazi aggression, performs the rhetorical work of obfuscating and occluding an interpretation of the Hungarian Holocaust which is at odds with the Hungarian government's attempt to reawaken nationalism by advancing a narrative of national innocence. In this paper, I conduct a rhetorical analysis of this exhibit's features, explaining the historical amnesia contained within the statue and produced by it.

Author

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The Rhetoric of North and South: Analog Criticism of Kim Jong-Un and Park Geun-Hye's 2015 New Year's Address and Rhetorical Coercion Theory

1 January, 2015 in North and South Korea, two leaders Kim Jong-Un and Park Geun-hye delivered New Year's Address overseeing the annual diplomatic, militaristic and political agenda while insinuating their possible inclinations to develop amiable relationships with one another. Although the two Koreas share the similar temporal factors in delivering their addresses, their rhetorical strategies and approaches vastly differ, triggering diverse adaptation of the delivered messages for their primary and secondary audiences, the Koreans in both nations. This analysis examines two contrasting public addresses delivered by the leaders Kim and Park, contradicting in rhetorical context, style, brevity, and effectiveness. The clash between totalitarian communism and democracy offer rhetorical challenges, diversifying audience compositions. However, the contradicting use of rhetorical power and strategy from both leaders are reflections of the two Koreas' foreign diplomacy, expecting cooperation for progressive relationships while attempting to establish political and diplomatic success. Employing rhetorical coercion theory, the two addresses present the different adaptation of multiple audiences that while the rhetoric of North Korea may be perceived as persuasive to their own primary audiences, however, not to the South Koreans. Furthermore, the Park's rhetoric does not portray its full potentials to its own primary audiences, the South Koreans. The theory further illustrates varying persuasiveness, advancing our understanding about the rhetoric of North and South Korea, as well as its influences on the audiences.

Author

[Min-Kyung Kim](#), Colorado State University - [Contact Me](#)

Sir Mohammed Iqbal and the Muslim Jeremiad

Various versions of the generic form, jeremiad, have been proposed to analyze public discourse. This paper proposes a new version of the jeremiad to analyze two poems written by Sir Mohammed Iqbal, a 20th century philosopher/poet who played a colossal role in the Indian struggle for independence from the British Raj. I argue that Iqbal's two poems, Complaint and Answer to the Complaint, together constitute a Muslim jeremiad, and that this form was utilized by Iqbal so that he could give voice to the lamentation of the Indian-Muslims at the loss of their empire, raise them out of their nostalgic inertia, and remind them that they are still agents in their life-story. He recounts many glorious moments in Islamic history, however, Iqbal is a revolutionary thinker, not a traditionalist, so when he glorifies Islamic history, he is not advocating a return to an orthodox form of Islam, but seeks to develop a Muslim identity that comprises of faith, knowledge, and action, with which Indian-Muslims could stand as equals next to the other world leaders. A Muslim jeremiad, as employed by Iqbal, is unique as it discusses that utopia that lies not backwards in time but forward, and that the covenant has been equally broken by both the Indian-Muslims and God. The second poem completes the jeremiad by promising a new world in which the Indian-Muslims will write the fate of the universe, if only they will put aside their sectarian and class differences, and unite towards a common cause. This paper concludes that by speaking in God's voice, Iqbal has given a timeless and space-less quality to his message so that it is still relevant today.

Author

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Public Address in India: Bhimrao Ambedkar as Buddhist, Orator, and Pragmatist

This study explores the rhetorical activity of the "untouchable" reformer, Bhimrao Ambedkar, during the 1950s to expand what we know about the nexus between public address, force, and the quest for social justice in India. Using newly discovered archival resources, this paper reveals the pragmatist sources of Ambedkar's early concern over the role of force and violence in reform efforts. Employing this problematic as a lens, his understudied public address activity in his final years to a range of Buddhist audiences is analyzed as part of his program to reconstitute Buddhism as a source of persuasive force. Compassionate persuasion is highlighted as part of Buddhism's power as an acceptable means for pursuing social justice, and is opposed to the communist alternatives he saw in India and Asia that emphasized force-as-violence in words and actions.

Author

[Scott R. Stroud](#), University of Texas, Austin - [Contact Me](#)

The Bounteous Stream: Margaret Fuller and the Process of Rhetorical Writing

Sun, 11/13: 11:00 AM - 12:15 PM

Marriott Downtown

Room: Room 401 - Level 4

In an 1841 letter to William H. Channing, Margaret Fuller declared, "I shall burn to ashes...if I do not burst forth in genius or heroism." Thus, this panel investigates Fuller's civic calling, which Charles Capper termed the "great divide" between her "private" and "public" years. Participants will analyze the rhetorical and historical components of Fuller's public works, which enabled her to become America's first female journal editor, author, literary editor, foreign correspondent and American-European revolutionary.

Chair

[Donovan S. Conley](#), University of Nevada, Las Vegas - [Contact Me](#)

Respondent

[Susan Huxman](#), Eastern Mennonite University - [Contact Me](#)

Presentations

"The New Era is no longer an embryo; it is born": Fuller and the Rhetoric of Revolutionary Nationalism

Although arriving in Europe as a travel writer, Fuller became a convert to the cause of Italian nationalism almost as soon as she arrived in Italy, celebrating what she called a movement of "human mutuality and national unity." Although her early dispatches still retained the voice of a travel guide, as she commented on her encounters with nature, public art, and culture, after a few months a more aggressive rhetorical voice was edging itself into her writings that soon developed into a sophisticated rhetoric of revolutionary nationalism. Her skill at critiquing the complex networks of power allowed her to criticize the strategies of domination and make visible the gaps and contradictions within power that created openings for new practices and identities. Her classical knowledge and familiarity with the language of myth was uniquely suited to constituting a sense of what the "Italian character" rooted in a story of common origins of the type that was so central to the formation of national identities. And her growing mastery of the art of synecdoche, both in narrative and in aphorism, provided a key persuasive strategy for representing both the conditions of tyranny and the possibilities of freedom grounded in new forms of association. Abandoning the heroic individualism of Emerson, Fuller began to celebrate not resistance to the power of society but its active constitution such that the Italian people might fulfill its destiny as "the advanced guard of Humanity, the herald of all Progress." This paper will explore how Fuller transformed the vertical structure of Transcendentalist individualism, which emphasized a sublime experience of being lifted out of oneself to a higher realm of ideas, into a horizontal structure of revolutionary nationalism, which called a nation into being based on an identification of common origin, character, and destiny that bound them together through system of representations and practices capable of producing widespread and radical change.

Author

[Nathan A. Crick](#), Texas A&M University - [Contact Me](#)

'Monstrous Premises,' 'Sophistical Reasoning' and a 'Diabolical Spirit': Margaret Fuller Confronts Absolutism as the 'Star' Columnist in Greeley's Tribune

In December 1844 Margaret Fuller joined Horace Greeley's daily New York Tribune as a wide-ranging columnist. Her portfolio included literature, politics, culture--any subject that she deemed worthy of extended discussion and analysis. And so she used this remarkable franchise

to introduce a new form of journalism into American life. She attacked slavery, gave extended treatment to challenging writers such as Emerson, campaigned for women's rights, and decried poverty. In the process she attempted to broaden American life by campaigning for that tolerance for new ideas, that willingness to consider even the most challenging of subjects, that, as she insisted, the times demanded. Her columns demonstrated the power of the popular press to educate an enormous readership. This paper explores Fuller's great achievement as a public intellectual by looking closely at one column, that from March 4, 1846, "Darkness Visible." It was occasioned by the appearance of a book jointly written by the Rev. George B. Cheever and Tayler Lewis defending the death penalty as necessary for the maintenance of a moral society. Fuller brilliantly uses the occasion of her extended review to attack the rigid, dogmatic thinking of these two prominent and popular writers, showing how their authoritarianism inhibits scientific inquiry, undermines sound social policy, and perverts the very religious principles that they claim to revere.

Author

[Robert Scholnick](#), College of William & Mary - [Contact Me](#)

The Motive Power of the Eye: Margaret Fuller and the Rhetoric of Nationalism

In 1846, Margaret Fuller began a series of dispatches from Europe, which she sent to Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune, for publication. What began as a series of travelogues, however, quickly evolved into an intensely opinionated and revolutionary style of writing, as Fuller found herself situated within the 1848 Italian Revolution. Not only did Fuller use her dispatches to imagine for an American audience a new form of nationalism that challenged prescriptive cultural norms-slavery and westward expansion in particular-but she also advanced an entirely new cosmopolitan sense of radical revolutionary nationalism.

What is particularly interesting about these dispatches is that Fuller would, at times, pause her narrative of events in order to sketch "noteworthy historical moments," by using the "motive power" of the eye, which animates visualization itself. She realized that behind "every picture, structuring the scene and investing it with meaning, were personal and historical currents" that flowed through all individuals, both actors and observers alike. In the struggle for Italian unity and independence, Fuller saw the greatest possibilities for, as Charles Capper so eloquently put it, a "synthesis of her liberal nationality, cultural cosmopolitanism, and aspirations for 'experience'." Thus, this paper focuses on Fuller's dispatches from Italy, which helped form a rhetoric of nationalism that defined for her readers a new way of thinking about unity, that transcended national borders, and that sought to unite people under one common rhetorical maxim: "Mankind is one and beats with one great heart."

Author

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The Next Revolution: Margaret Fuller's Combative Europe and Noble America

In her final dispatch from Italy, Margaret Fuller declared that America's future had "the easy chance of a noble, peaceful growth," and Europe's future "combat grand in its motives, and in its extent beyond what the world ever before so much as dreamed." Coming at the beginning of 1850, after the failures of the Italian Revolution of 1848, and a full 11 years before the American Civil War, Fuller's belief that the world was at the cusp of a "full concord, in glory to God in the

highest" seems rather overly optimistic. It is characteristically Fuller though, always seeing the potential of humankind and believing that the best potential is easily attainable with correct direction, intention, and action.

Fuller's evolution as an American and citizen of the world can be traced in particular through her war correspondence as she saw American revolutionary ideals within the Italian cause. This she qualified as being "OURS" in her rallies to her readers, echoing Thomas Paine's claim in *Common Sense* that "[t]he cause of America is in great measure the cause of all mankind."

This paper explores Fuller's rhetoric in her European dispatches and how she used such rhetoric to fulfill her role as America's self-appointed moral teacher. Through it, she argues that America would take a leading role in global politics, fulfilling its promise as the "star of hope to the enslaved nations."

Author

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