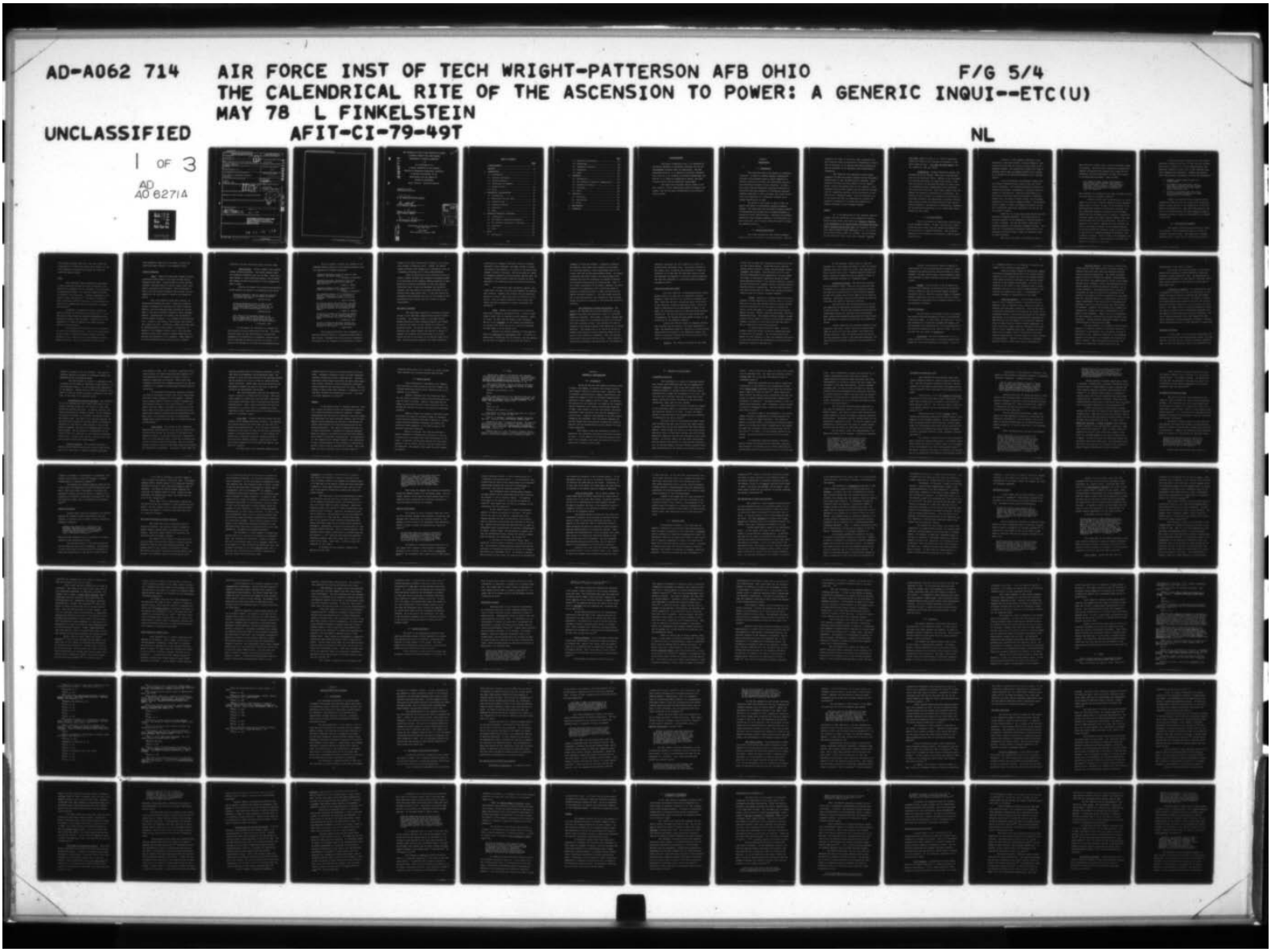
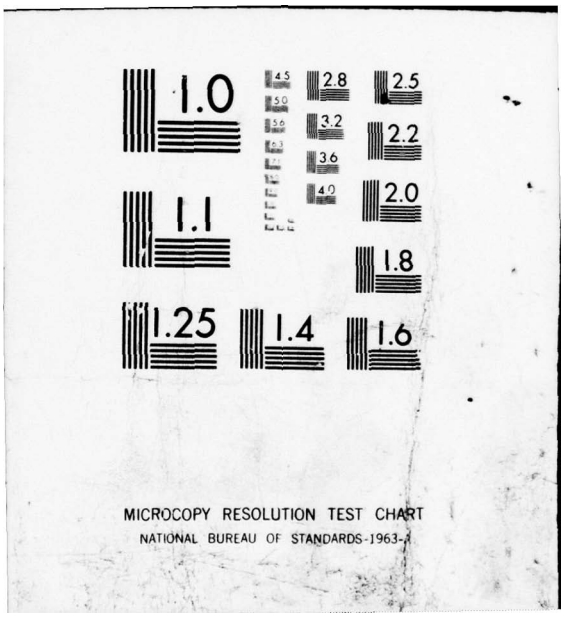
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THE CALENDRICAL RITE OF THE ASCENSION TO POWER: A GENERIC INQUIRY INTO 20TH CENTURY PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURAL ADDRESSES

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by

Leo Finkelstein, Jr.

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate
Faculty of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
Major Subject: Political Rhetoric

Approved by the
Examining Committee:

S. M. Halloran, Thesis Advisor

G. A. Barnett, Member

L. J. Rummel, Member

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
	ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	v
	ABSTRACT	vi
1.	INTRODUCTION	1
	1.1 Introduction	1
	1.2 Subjects and Sources	1
	1.3 Previous Research	3
	1.4 Delineation of Argument	6
	1.5 General Outline	25
	1.6 Notes	26
2.	THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS	27
	2.1 Introduction	27
	2.2 Rhetorical Form and Genre	28
	2.3 Stylistic Form	42
	2.4 Culture and Ritual	53
	2.5 Conclusion	59
	2.6 Notes	61
3.	PERCEIVED RHETORICAL SITUATION	66
	3.1 Introduction	66
	3.2 The Change in Rhetorical Situation	67
	3.3 The Continued Alteration in Situation	84
	3.4 Conclusion	102
	3.5 Notes	105
4.	STYLE	110
	4.1 Introduction	110

Page

4.2 Multiple Interpretation 111

4.3 Methodology 129

4.4 Comparative Analysis 130

4.5 Conclusion 140

4.6 Notes 141

5. SUBSTANCE 144

5.1 Introduction 144

5.2 The Substance of Explicit Argumentation ... 145

5.3 Comparative Analysis 152

5.4 Conclusion 162

5.5 Notes 164

6. CONCLUSION 167

6.1 Discussion 167

6.2 Implications 177

6.3 Notes 179

7. BIBLIOGRAPHY 180

8. APPENDICES 186

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The following study is an exercise in rhetorical criticism. It makes an extended argument regarding the existence of an inaugural genre, a genre composed of a distinct rhetorical situation, and identifiable stylistic and substantive responses to this situation. In effect, this study isolates significant recurring similarities of rhetorical style and substance in Presidential inaugural addresses beginning in 1933, and argues that these similarities were responsive to a rhetorical situation which changed significantly in 1933.

The thesis of this study is that in 1933, the purpose and nature of Presidential inaugural speaking changed. The traditional and accustomed inaugural emphasis on deliberation was replaced by an increased emphasis on ritualistic faith intensification. Beginning with Franklin Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address, a new rhetorical tradition was born, and a distinct rhetorical genre of inaugural speaking evolved.

1.2 Subjects and Sources

This study examines the 20th century inaugural addresses of the Presidents of the United States. With one

exception, the study is limited to those recognized inaugural speeches which occurred after a Presidential election. The one exception is the address delivered by Gerald Ford when he succeeded to the Presidency upon Richard Nixon's resignation.

The reason for the limitation to 20th century inaugurals is that this study's purpose involves the generic identification of the 1933-1977 group of speeches. These orations form what this study refers to as the "generic group," and are the primary focus of this research. Those inaugurals when occurred between 1901 and 1929 are included only for comparative purposes, and are referred to in this study as the "comparison group." They are necessary only to the extent that they can demonstrate by contrast the distinctive character of the genre that emerged with Franklin Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address.

Sources

All of the manuscripts for the inaugural addresses studied, with the exceptions of the inaugurals of Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, were taken from Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States from George Washington 1789 to Richard Milhous Nixon 1973, 93rd Congress, 1st Session, House Document 93-208 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), pp. 178-283. The Ford Inaugural was taken from "Text of Mr. Ford's Remarks," The New

York Times, August 9, 1974, p. 2. Carter's speech was taken from "Carter's First Message as President: 'A New Spirit Among Us All,' " U.S. News and World Report, Vol. 83, January 31, 1977, pp. 28-29.

Authenticity. In many traditional studies, the authenticity of the rhetoric often poses a serious question for the rhetorical critic. Whether or not the speech was actually the product of a particular orator, or was only the work of his speechwriting staff, is often a serious consideration when studying particular orators and their rhetorical abilities. This study, however, does not address the question of authenticity or authorship. The function of this research is to examine an entire group of rhetorical artifacts, and demonstrate the generic relationships between certain recurring rhetorical forms and perceived situations. The question of authenticity, therefore, for any particular manuscript is not a significant consideration for this study.

1.3 Previous Research

There is an absence of significant, serious study on the Inaugural Address. In fact, only one Ph.D. dissertation has been written from the rhetorical perspective on the institution of inaugural addresses. This study was completed at the University of Minnesota in 1959 by Donald Lloyd Wolfarth.

Wolfarth, in "The Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States: A Content Analysis," also pointed out that there is a lack of serious study on the inaugural address. His purpose was to begin this study by defining exactly what an inaugural address is by looking at 43 speeches by 29 different Presidents over a 170-year period.

In his dissertation, he developed a symbol list, and looked at assertions about items on the list in the various inaugurals. He classified arguments as factual or nonfactual, favorable, unfavorable, or neutral, toward the subject of the assertion. From this classification, he drew certain conclusions about the methods of rhetorical support used, the types of issues treated, and the general disposition of the typical inaugural address. But Wolfarth did not attempt to relate the inaugural artifacts he studied to perceived situational constraints, as that was not his purpose or intent.

There are, of course, many studies which deal with particular inaugural addresses. No shortage exists of scholarly material on the inaugurals of Franklin Roosevelt or John F. Kennedy. And one can locate a great deal of scholarly appraisal for many other inaugural speeches. But there are no comprehensive rhetorical examinations of the inaugural institution itself, except for Wolfarth's work on content analysis.

This lack of research is interesting, since so

many rhetorical scholars seem to know so much about inaugural speaking. From the generic perspective, Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson have looked at this phenomenon, and have attributed it to what can be called an "everyone-knows-syndrome." They say that,

> In a number of cases, critics have assumed, a priori, that a genre already exists and is known and defined - e.g., ... the Presidential inaugural - and an inductive procedure, content analysis in some cases, is applied to parse its elements.[1]

They reference as an example of such work a Wolfarth article on Kennedy and the inaugural tradition.[2]

Besides the fact that "everyone knows," it can be argued that the lack of serious inquiry into the inaugural address may be a result, in part, of the influence of the Neo-Aristotelian tradition of rhetorical criticism. For this traditional perspective focuses on the individual speaker and the individual piece of rhetoric. Certainly a few great speakers and great inaugural addresses have been studied extensively from this perspective. But such an approach, by its nature, neglects the other speeches, the ones by not-so-great orators, the not-so-great speeches. In the Neo-Aristotelian tradition, there is little reason to care about the inaugural addresses of William H. Taft or Warren G. Harding. Since so many of the inaugurals lack oratorical greatness, or even competence, they have been neglected by traditional criticism.

A third reason that inaugurals have been avoided, especially in generic criticism, is that they are "troublesome pieces of rhetoric."[3] In the inaugural group, some rhetorical elements do recur; yet, in many important ways, these inaugurals are dissimilar. Campbell and Jamieson offer three possible explanations for this troublesomeness:[4]

1. Inaugural elements might be part of a broader genre;
2. An inaugural genre does exist, but we just haven't isolated the right elements which would allow us to see the fundamental similarities yet;
3. Probably an inaugural genre does exist, but not necessarily evoked in the formal inauguration of a President.

Campbell and Jamieson seem to propose possible explanations along the line of a single genre of all inaugurals, a genre composed of the inaugurals or of the inaugurals and something else. What this study proposes, however, is the identification of a genre within the body of inaugural discourse, a genre not including all the members of that body.

1.4 Delineation of Argument

This generic research first evolved as an inductive endeavor. This dissertation began as a study in inaugural rhetorical style. The purpose was to examine quantitatively, in great detail, the rhetorical style of

20th century inaugural addresses. The term "style" was being used in its traditional sense, as a reference to the outer linguistic form used by an orator to convey his explicitly argued content.

Style

The traditional view of rhetorical style makes a sharp distinction between an orator's elocution or his outer form of language, and his substance, or his invention of argumentative ideas. The classical tradition divides all rhetoric into five parts: invention, disposition, elocution, memory, and delivery.[5] Each part is thought to have a distinctly different function, a function which the orator has to master, and which the critic has to examine and evaluate.[6]

"Invention," according to Cicero, involves an orator's attempt "to find out what he should say."[7] It is the function where ideas for rhetorical argumentation are identified, analyzed, and developed. "Disposition" is the arrangement or orderly planning of the ideas resulting from the invention process.

For the classical rhetorician, style or elocution is a distinctly different matter. Style refers specifically to the concept of expressing through language the ideas obtained in the invention process, and arranged by the disposition function. Thus, the term style refers to the

outer linguistic form used by an orator to convey his explicitly argued content, or his organized ideas.

Observed Phenomena

Style. Using this traditional concept of style, quantitative measurements of the style of 20th century inaugurals were made. A large number of varied stylistic features, including figure of speech, image, tense, mood, number, and person, were measured. Their occurrence in each of the 20th century inaugurals was counted, and then weighted by the total number of words in the respective speech.

When these weighted values were collated, an interesting phenomenon was noted. There was a sharp dichotomy in frequency of occurrence for certain stylistic features, and this dichotomy always occurred at the year 1933, or the year of Franklin Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address. Beginning with this speech, the occurrence of certain figures of speech - e.g., metaphor and personification - seemed to rise sharply, while sensory and intellectual images also rose. Conversely, certain qualifiers such as embedding seemed to drop sharply. In addition, the lengths of the inaugural speeches, and of the individual sentences within these speeches, dropped dramatically beginning with Roosevelt's First Inaugural. There seemed to be some relationship between these stylistic elements'

occurrence, and the time period before and after 1932.

Stated Purpose. Further research then revealed another striking dichotomy: the stated purposes within the inaugurals themselves were not the same. There was a sharp change in stated rhetorical purpose, and as before, this change occurred with Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address in 1933.

Consider for example the following representative stated purposes by orators of the McKinley-Hoover group:

> Inaugural addresses "express simply and directly the opinions [of the new President] in matters of present importance."
>
> -- Herbert Hoover

> Inaugural addresses provide "a time to speak out thoughts and purposes concerning the present and future," a time to "tell what the change to the new administration" will involve.
>
> -- Woodrow Wilson

> "The office of the Inaugural Address is to give a summary outline of the main policies of the new administration [and] review the questions likely to occur during the administration."
>
> -- William H. Taft

In this group, the conception of inaugural address purpose is one of deliberative function. The speech actually begins the new administration's governmental management by providing policy statements, specific plans, and by answering the salient questions of the day. It reflects the thinking of an actual decision-making process.

Now, by contrast, consider the concepts of the inaugural address reflected in the stated purposes of orators beginning with Franklin Roosevelt:

> Inaugural addresses "renew our sense of dedication to the United States."
>
> -- Franklin D. Roosevelt

> Inaugural addresses "proclaim to the world the essential principles of the faith by which we live."
>
> -- Harry S. Truman

> Inaugural addresses "give testimony in the sight of the world to our faith."
>
> -- Dwight D. Eisenhower

> The inaugural address is "a celebration of freedom - symbolizing an end, as well as a beginning - signifying renewal, as well as change."
>
> -- John F. Kennedy

> "We are one nation and one people. Our fate as a nation and our future as a people rest not upon one citizen, but upon all citizens. This is the majesty and the meaning of the moment."
>
> -- Lyndon B. Johnson

> "I ask you to share with me today the majesty of this moment. In the orderly transfer of power, we celebrate the unity that keeps us free."
>
> -- Richard M. Nixon

> "In this outward and physical ceremony, we attest once again to the inner and spiritual strength of our nation."
>
> -- Jimmy Carter

With Franklin Roosevelt's First Inaugural, an entirely different concept of inaugural purpose seems to have evolved. Throughout this later group of Presidents, the orators saw the inaugural as an instrument of faith

renewal in the basic institutions of America, as a ritualistic renewal of American spirit. Indeed, the orators seemed to perceive the inaugural as a calendrical rite, as a regularly recurring rite of faith intensification.

Thus, at this point in the evolution of this research, certain stylistic and substantive phenomena seemed to be recurring in the inaugural address beginning in 1933. There was an implied relationship of some type between rhetorical forms of style and substance (as implied by purpose), and some unknown situational constraint or constraints which began around 1933. It was this implied relationship which warranted the shift in the concept of this dissertation from a purely stylistic study to a generic investigation.

The Generic Approach

The traditional approach to rhetorical criticism focuses on the individual speaker and his speech's effect on society. For example, using it, one might look at Franklin Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address, and attempt to identify the effect of this oration (or orator) on American society. The generic approach, however, shifts attention from single speakers and speeches to groups of speakers and speeches, and focuses more on the effect society has had on the nature of the rhetoric under criticism. Using the generic approach, one might consider an

entire group of inaugural addresses, possibly including Roosevelt's First Inaugural, and might attempt to relate the nature of the rhetoric, as a group, to the social environment in which it occurred. This study looks at a group of inaugural addresses occurring between 1933 and 1977, and attempts to relate certain rhetorical features of these addresses to the American social environment during those years.

As a theoretical model of generic inquiry, this study adopts the work of Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. Campbell and Jamieson view the rhetorical genre as a unified, indivisible whole of rhetorical interaction. They see certain rhetorical forms such as substance and style responding to certain situational constraints.[8]

Forms. Campbell and Jamieson view a form as a rhetorical strategy in the Burkish sense. A form is something a rhetor does to identify with his audience. Forms, of course, can vary from the global to the incidental. The use of the enthymeme, or the reliance on probability, is a global form, while the use of a particular metaphor or image might be an incidental form.

Campbell and Jamieson emphasize in their generic model both stylistic and substantive forms. An orator, in rhetorically identifying with his audience, not only employs the substance of argument, but also uses the style of

language to convey his argument. According to Campbell and Jamieson, when these forms interact with situation in a recurring fashion, within a particular body of discourse, that body of discourse becomes a genre. In a group of speeches that forms a genre, the orators employ both substance and style as strategies in response to rhetorical situations they perceive as being similar. Thus, in this study's development of its generic argument, one prime requisite is to demonstrate that a perceived change in rhetorical situation occurred in 1933, and that this perception continued thereafter. The other prime requisites are to show that stylistic and substantive forms recurred during this period in response to this perceived rhetorical situation.

The Interaction of Forms and Situation. The Campbell and Jamieson model focuses primarily on the response of stylistic and substantive forms to a perceived rhetorical situation. Their model, in effect, assumes that forms which respond to a perceived situation will also affect that situation in time. This influence of forms on situation occurs because present forms become part of future tradition. They become part of the system of social constraints affecting which future rhetorical forms will be used by future orators as strategies. Thus, the interaction between forms and situation occurs: forms respond to situational constraints, and become part of the situation's

rhetorical tradition; and this tradition, in turn, constrains future rhetorical forms. The primary function of this study, then, in showing the interaction of forms and situation, is to show that the rhetorical forms of style and substance did respond to a perceived similar situation, and that they responded in a recurring fashion throughout the generic period.

Perceived Situational Change

The first requisite in substantiating this study's generic claim is to show that the rhetorical situation changed in 1933, and that it has remained so changed since then. There are two basic alterations which can be noted in the rhetorical situation beginning in 1933. First, because of immigration and the development of radio in the 1920s, the rhetorical audience by 1933 had become much more pluralistic. Not only had American society become more heterogeneous, but through the mass medium of radio, it had become part of the inaugural audience.

Second, the need for ritual in inaugural rhetoric had increased with the coming of the Great Depression in 1929. The Depression ended the complacency of earlier years, demonstrated the failings of the traditional system, and created a perceived vulnerability to hostile forces in the minds of the American people.

Audience. The immigration during the late 19th

century and the early 20th century was primarily from eastern and southern Europe. During these years, American society gained millions of people who had strange customs, languages, and beliefs. They often did not fit in well with the established social organization, and even became the target of restrictive legislation during the 1920s. These immigrants created a very visible pluralism, a pluralism which altered the inaugural orators' perceived notion of American society's composition. And with radio becoming a mass medium during the late 1920s, this visibly pluralistic society became the orators' inaugural audience.

Ritual. Rituals are commonly accepted by anthropologists to have significant functional value in society.[9] They occur to mark and reaffirm values at critical periods of social transition in the life cycle of a group, and serve to unify the members of a group and relieve psychological tensions. Rituals constantly help people cope with threatening forces. For example, during a drought, an agricultural society might be unified by a particular religious ceremony of prayers, a ritual which provides them with a way of coping with a threatening situation.

In 1929 the Great Depression began. America's economic system had failed, and society needed some means of coping with the disaster. By the time Roosevelt presented his First Inaugural in 1933, the Depression had grown so acute that physical and psychological deprivations were ubiquitous features of American life.

In 1933 Americans needed ritual to cope with everyday life. They needed some reason to hope for a better tomorrow, some myth in which to believe, and some power in which to place their trust. Franklin Roosevelt became this myth, a rhetorical wizard who used the medium of radio to bestow confidence and hope on a frightened people.

Continued Alteration. The rhetorical situation had been altered in 1933. There was now a perceived need to identify with a widely-divergent, pluralistic society; and there was a perceived need to use ritualistic appeals to help this society cope with the debacle of the Great Depression. Importantly, this perceived alteration continued even after the threat of depression subsided.

One reason for this continued alteration was the new responsibility government had accepted for the welfare of the individual. The New Deal programs had redefined the relationship between the individual and his government. Thus, orators after Roosevelt perceived a felt need to help the individuals of American society cope with threatening forces.

Another reason was the continued influence of the electronic mass media. Radio continued its growth until 1948, at which time television became a mass medium and rapidly developed. Thus, the orators during this period not only perceived a need to help individual Americans, but they perceived an audience composed of these Americans as well.

Finally, the rhetorical situation remained altered because of the continued need for ritualistic coping. Throughout the generic period, perceived threats of armed conflict, Cold War, social unrest, and governmental corruption continued to create insecurity and stress in American society.

Summary. At this point, it can be argued that the rhetorical situation, as perceived by the Presidential orators, changed in 1933 and remained changed throughout the generic period. Both the perceived change in inaugural audience composition, and the perceived need for ritualistic unification and coping became permanent features of the new rhetorical situation.

Stylistic Response

The next step in this generic study is to explain the observed stylistic phenomena in terms of the perceived situational change. In other words, the study has to tie-in the increased use of figurative language and imagery, and the decreased use of qualification, to the pluralization of the rhetorical audience and the need for ritual. This tie-in comes with the concept of abstraction.

Abstraction. The term "abstraction," as it is being used here, is the process of selection whereby resemblances are noted and differences are ignored. It is, as

S. I. Hayakawa defines it, the relating of linguistic symbology to real things and happenings.[10]

There are varying degrees of abstraction, ranging from direct perception (where most of the concrete characteristics of the referent are included) to highly abstract levels (where almost all reference to the specific characteristics of the referent are missing). The level of abstraction of the orator's outer linguistic form, or style, determines how many of the concrete characteristics of the referent his audience must supply. It determines his audience's freedom of interpretation of his ideas.

Achieving Agreement. The more highly abstract style is open to greater subjective interpretation by an audience. This is important since, beginning in 1933, the audience had become more pluralistic. Also, at that time, a ritualistic unification of the audience was called for by situational factors. The rhetorical problem for the orators then became one of achieving intersubjective agreement and identification with the members of a pluralistic audience. Since the members were so varied in their backgrounds, beliefs, and values, higher levels of abstraction were necessary to achieve agreement among them. Agreement can more easily occur at higher levels of abstraction since those doing the agreeing have a greater amount of personal freedom of interpretation - they have more latitude in assigning concrete features to that which they are agreeing upon.

Stylistic Analysis. The stylistic features mentioned earlier, which demonstrated a dichotomy between inaugurals before and after 1932, also indicate differing levels of stylistic abstraction. The relatively higher generic group use of figurative language, including metaphor and simile, and personification, reflect a more highly abstract style. Metaphor, simile, and personification all express meaning by implied or explicit comparison, not by literal definition. The meaning perceived by any part of an audience can vary with that part's perception of the meaning of the thing to which the comparison is being made. Thus, the increased freedom of interpretation, and the consequent enhancement of the possibility of intersubjective agreement, occurs to a greater extent when these figures are employed. Likewise, the increased use of imagery also increased the freedom of audience interpretation in the generic group inaugurals. Images rely on the imagination for their meaning, a reliance which permits multiple interpretations. Varying previous experiences produce varying interpretations of any particular image.

The noted decrease in occurrence of qualification beginning in 1933 also indicates a stylistic reduction in specificity or concreteness, and a consequent increase in abstraction level. Linguistic qualifiers, like embedding, specify to the audience, to some degree, the meaning they should interpret. When fewer qualifiers are used, the audience is allowed more freedom to derive its own

interpretation of the orator's meaning.

And finally, the decreased length of both entire speeches and individual sentences beginning in 1933 also evidences a higher abstraction level. By relying more on audience interpretation, the more abstract style may include fewer concrete features of the referent, and thus may require fewer words.

A Response to Situation. By considering the style of inaugurals in terms of its level of abstraction, a link between the observed stylistic phenomena and the changed rhetorical situation can be argued. To achieve a ritualistic intensification of commonly-held beliefs, the audience must first perceive themselves to be in agreement on those beliefs. The higher levels of stylistic abstraction helped the orators to achieve such intersubjective agreement with the members of their respective pluralistic audiences. The use of higher abstraction levels thus enhanced the audiences' perception of common agreement, although, in reality, their interpretations were no doubt dissimilar in many cases.

Substantive Response

At this point, two of the three constituents of a rhetorical genre have been identified and related. The argument has been made that the rhetorical situation changed in 1933, and that the rhetorical style of the inaugurals also

changed in response to the new situation. The style became more abstract in response to situational demands for agreement within a pluralistic group.

The third element of a genre, or substantive form, is defined in this study as "explicitly argued content." In the traditional sense, it is the invention and disposition of the argument. Whereas style is the outer linguistic form used to convey the orator's argument, substance is the inner form, or the ideas of the argument itself.

Interaction of Substance and Style. The traditional view of substance and style places these forms in distinctly different categories, and assigns to these forms distinctly different functions. In reality, however, such sharp distinctions are probably invalid. For the substance of a piece of rhetoric is, in effect, the essence of what the rhetoric says - the whole of the oration's meaning. As the discussion on stylistic form has argued, the audience's perception of the orator's ideas depends not only on the orator's argument, but also on the language used to convey that argument. For the audience's interpretation of the orator's ideas is a vital part of the rhetorical communication process. In this study, however, substance will refer to the orator's explicitly stated argument.

Explicit Argument. The observed dichotomy of stated purpose discussed earlier does indicate that the nature of the ideas used in inaugural arguments also might

have changed in 1933. This is because, beginning at this point in time, the orators perceived their purpose to be the presentation of an argument for unity of faith in America's traditional institutions. Before that time, Presidents perceived their inaugural purpose to be the presentation of an argument outlining administration policies and actions.

To investigate the apparent response of rhetorical forms to perceived situation, the flow of ideas within each 20th century inaugural has been compared. Roderick Hart's adapted model of Toulmin's concept of argument has been employed purely as a descriptive device.[11] In this model, the major theme of the speech is identified as the Major Claim, while major supportive assertions within the speech which support the Major Claim are identified as the Major Data. As in Toulmin's system, the hypothetical bridges which connect the Major Data to the Major Claim are called Warrants.

Major Claims. The results of this comparison demonstrate a clear dichotomy in the nature of Major Claims and Major Data between the inaugurals of the generic and comparison groups. At the Major Claim level, beginning in 1933, all of the speeches dealt in some way or another with a serious threat to American democracy. And all of these speeches proposed to meet the challenge primarily with faith, not technology or government. By contrast, before 1933, the

speeches generally dealt with American greatness, a greatness based on governmental and technological might. Beginning in 1933, the action called for was populace-centered, and was premised on a unity of faith in country and democratic principles. Before 1933, the action called for was government-centered, and based in the power of American political and governmental institutions.

The link between Major Data and the changed rhetorical situation is nothing short of obvious. The situational demand for ritualistic unity and faith intensification brought forth Major Claims involving unity and faith intensification. These claims also reflect the perceived vulnerability to hostile forces, a vulnerability which, beginning in 1933, created the need in the rhetorical situation for ritualistic coping.

Major Data. The Major Data also reflect the constraints of the changed rhetorical situation. The speeches are characterized by less total data, and less data of a precise and specified nature. As in the case of stylistic abstraction, such data, by being less precise, allowed more freedom of audience interpretation. It thus enhanced the possibility of agreement among the divergent elements of the pluralistic American audience. Additionally, since less precise arguments were being made from 1933 on, less data were required.

The Major Data of the inaugurals beginning with

Franklin Roosevelt also can be characterized as more dramatic. Throughout the generic years, the data exagerated conflicts between the forces of good and evil. America's democratic system always personified the good, while depression, facism, communism, social disobedience, and governmental corruption were associated with the evils. Thus the element of drama became more prominent in inaugurals at the time when situation was demanding more ritual. And drama is a prime ingredient of ritual.[12]

Summary

In the generic group of inaugural addresses, there were similar recurring stylistic and substantive responses to a similarly-perceived rhetorical situation. Audience heterogeneity and the need for ritualistic unity had created the requirement for broad rhetorical appeals, and the Presidential orators perceived the need for a simultaneous rhetorical identification with many divergent groups of the American population. The stylistic response has been one of higher abstraction, a response for achieving agreement among the members of an audience by allowing those members more freedom of individual interpretation. And substantively, the inaugurals have employed arguments more appropriate to their stated purposes of faith renewal in commonly-held beliefs, beliefs such as democracy and freedom. This study makes the claim, therefore, that a distinct genre of

inaugural address does exist, and that this genre includes those speeches which occurred between 1933 and 1977.

1.5 General Outline

This dissertation is developed in six chapters. This introduction, which serves as the first chapter, has included preliminary material and a detailed brief of the argument to be presented.

Chapter 2 examines both the theoretical basis for the study of rhetorical genres, and the functional concept of ritual in society. Chapter 3 then describes the change in rhetorical situation which occurred in 1933, including the relation of ritual to the perceived rhetorical situation.

Chapter 4 treats the concept of rhetorical style, and relates the style of the generic group of inaugurals to the perceived situation described in Chapter 3. Chapter 5 then considers rhetorical substance, and relates the explicitly stated arguments of the generic group to the perceived rhetorical situation.

Chapter 6 concludes this study by providing a general summation of findings and conclusions, as well as a discussion of the present and future implications of the study. An Appendix follows which contains the style data, complete lists of certain stylistic features identified in the inaugurals, and argument flows taken from each inaugural address.

1.6 Notes

[1]Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, "Form and Genre in Rhetorical Criticism: An Introduction," in Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson (eds.), Form and Genre Shaping Rhetorical Action. Falls Church: The Speech Communication Association, 1978, p. 23.

[2]See Donald Wolfarth, "John F. Kennedy in the Tradition of Inaugural Speeches," Quarterly Journal of Speech. Vol. 47, April 1961, pp. 124-132.

[3]Campbell and Jamieson, p. 23.

[4]Ibid.

[5]For a good discussion of the classical tradition, see Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism: The Development of Standards for Rhetorical Appraisal. New York: The Ronald Press, 1948, p. 78.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid., p. 79.

[8]Campbell and Jamieson, p. 24.

[9]See Robert B. Taylor, Cultural Ways (2nd ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1976, p. 222.

[10]See S. I. Hayakawa, Language in Thought and Action. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949, p. 168.

[11]Roderick P. Hart, "On Applying Toulmin: The Analysis of Practical Discourse," in Charles J. Stewart, Donovan J. Ochs, and Gerald P. Mohrmann, Explorations in Rhetorical Criticism. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1973, p. 75.

[12]Taylor says on p. 272, "Frequently dramatic activities are described in connection with religious ritual, for ritual is essentially dramatic and frequently religious."

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2.1 Introduction

During the earlier, more inductive period of this project's development, an implied link between situation and inaugural rhetorical forms was noted. Stylistic forms of metaphor, personification, imagery, qualification, and length all changed in level of occurrence beginning with Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address in 1933. In addition, the purposes for the inaugurals, as stated by the inaugural orators themselves, also changed significantly beginning in 1933. There seemed to be some link between situational constraints which evolved at that time and inaugural rhetorical forms. A generic investigation of the 20th century inaugurals was indicated, since the generic approach can provide insight into the evolution of particular bodies of rhetoric, and the responsiveness of this rhetoric to situational exigencies.

This chapter treats the theoretical concepts of rhetorical form and genre, including a discussion of stylistic form. It also identifies the particular generic model used in this research, and treats the concept of ritual in culture as it applies to this study.

2.2 Rhetorical Form and Genre

An Extended Tradition

The beginnings of a system of rhetorical theory were evident about 2400 years ago with the appearance of Aristotle's Rhetoric.[1] This system had evolved from the Sophistic Movement, a movement having a practical kind of philosophy which taught the techniques of civic life. Rhetoric was one of the most important of these civic techniques, having been firmly entrenched in the early Greek educational, legal, and political systems.

The Greek system of rhetoric focused most sharply on the individual orator, an orientation which permeated the rhetorical theory of the time. In fact, the famous school of Isocrates had as its primary goal the production of statesmen by the use of models.[2]

The use of such an orientation for formal rhetorical situations may have been fine for this Greek society, a society which was far more homogeneous than 20th century America. Social change took place on a face-to-face basis, and social roles, in that early society, were well defined. Rhetorical situations were also well defined by early Greek culture. An orator's status, and the social expectations for his rhetoric were matters of clear cultural definition. As S. M. Halloran argues, classical rhetoric assumed "nearly total subordination of the person to his social role as an

orator." Greek society saw an orator in terms of his social, not his individual role. His power and culturally defined prestige made him, in his day, what Halloran calls an "Autonomous Force."[3]

Rhetorical situations and an orator's status and role are not so well defined in our contemporary culture. In his Modern Dogma, Wayne Booth talks about the rhetorical agent, a man as a "field of selves."[4] Booth claims that these "selves" are made by social interaction, and that the process of inquiry through discourse which composes this interaction is "rhetoric." According to Booth, a "self" is "essentially rhetorical, symbol exchanging, a social product in process of changing through interaction, sharing values with other selves."[5]

The orator today is very dependent on his society. Indeed, Halloran's interpretation of Booth describes the rhetor as being "no longer autonomous. [The rhetor] is rather in constant tension, simultaneously making and being made by his society and culture, dramatizing in the company of others the inevitable conflicts between person and social role."[6] An orator is a socio-cultural product of his society - he and his rhetoric do not occur in a cultural vacuum.

A contemporary rhetorical approach, therefore, should consider the varying social constraints, purposes, and situations of rhetorical acts to better understand the relationships these acts have with the society in which they

occur. Since contemporary situations and purposes are so varied, contemporary rhetoric must also be varied. A single rhetorical occurrence today is probably much less representative of its entire society than was a single such occurrence in the early Greek period. James W. Chesebro concludes that, "It would be more profitable to describe directly the social consequences of a rhetorical form from a societal perspective rather than focus upon the speaker's objectives, for the speaker's objectives may have little, if any, relationship to the significant and enduring objectives of the social system."[7]

One of the most promising modern approaches to the study of comparative rhetoric in our society is the Generic Inquiry. The study of genres shifts attention from single speakers to groups of speakers, speeches, audiences, and occasions. The generic approach thereby allows for the evolution of oratory in society. It aims its sights at the interaction in similar ways of a group of similar rhetorical acts with the society in which these acts occurred.

By such generic study, our understanding of the rhetorical process can be extended. According to Chesebro,

> All communicative acts interjected into the public domain - emerge from, reflect, and argue for one set of value judgments rather than another. The qualitative judgments guiding symbol users affect meanings. The value judgments embedded in communicative acts must be assessed relatively or comparatively if the more profound meanings of the symbolic act are to be understood.[8]

The Study of Rhetorical Genre

Most rhetoricians would probably agree that a "genre" generally refers to a kind or type of rhetorical act. But here the general agreement would end. For the question of what exactly constitutes a particular kind or type of rhetoric lies at the heart of many rhetorical disputes.

Northrop Frye, in his 1957 Anatomy of Criticism, saw genres as still being theoretically undeveloped. Frye said, "The critical theory of genres is stuck precisely where Aristotle left it. The very word 'genre' sticks out in an English sentence as the unpronounceable and alien thing it is."[9]

Seven years prior to Frye's Anatomy, Harold Zyskind had deductively applied the concept of genre in his analysis of the Gettysburg Address. He did so because he felt the generic process would allow him to better understand the constraining forces affecting the rhetorical act. At that time, he proposed that genres should be amalgams of forms, including situation, issues, arguments, audience, and style.[10]

Our concept of rhetorical genre today encompasses much of Zyskind's original proposition. For example, Edwin Black defines the genre as a thing's class, as a "statement of its relationship to all other commensurable things."[11] For Black, a genre is "the place of a thing in the universe and to its generation as an adaptive and relational entity."[12]

Lloyd Bitzer in "The Rhetorical Situation," sees genres as being formed by comparable responses to comparable rhetorical situations. According to Bitzer,

> Due to either the nature of things or convention, or both, some situations recur .... From day to day, year to year, comparable situations occur, prompting comparable responses; hence rhetorical forms are born and a special vocabulary, grammar, and style are established.[13]

Herbert Simons sees the rhetorical genre as, "Any distinct and recurring pattern of rhetorical practice," a practice designed to influence others by modifying beliefs, values, or attitudes."[14] Simons concludes that a genre is a "distinctive and recurring pattern of similarly constrained rhetorical practices."

Like the aforementioned scholars, Simons sees genres as being composed of responses to situational and purposeful constraints.[15] But, he differs in his insistence on empirical methodology for the identification of generic perspective of genres located well to the empirical extreme.

Simons' methodology has four basic requirements:

> First, there must be a class of genres into which a particular genre can be put .... A second requirement for generic identification is that the categorizer must have clear rules or criteria for identifying distinguishing characteristics of a genre, and he must be able to assign consistently items of discourse to generic categories according to those rules. Third, the necessary and sufficient distinguishing features of a genre must not only be nameable but operationalizable .... Finally, if

> discourse are to be consistently identified as fitting within one genre or another, it follows that these items should be internally homogeneous across salient characteristics and clearly distinguishable from items comprising an alternative genre.[16]

Another advocate of generic empiricism is James W. Chesebro. Chesebro feels a "generic orientation or perspective begins to emerge [when] we seek to identify discrete patterns among all variables within multiple interactions."[17] To identify these patterns, he proposes a three-by-three grid of three substantive and three formal characteristics. According to Chesebro, "These nine [resultant] generic classes may be used by the critic to define and to distinguish rhetorical acts philosophically."[18]

Simons' and Chesebro's methodologies contrast sharply with the much more intuitive and humanistic approach of Edwin Black. Black does not focus his criticism only on those forms which may have already occurred; rather, he also includes those forms which may occur. In fact, in his Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method, Black describes a genre composed of only one rhetorical occurrence: Chapman's Coatesville Address.[19] Here, in effect, Black has identified a distinct genre using only a sample of one, since the remaining members of the generic group had yet to appear. He did not observe any recurrence because such recurrence had not yet taken place. But what Black did do was observe the potential for recurrence, and he made his generic argument intuitively from that observance.

These divergent approaches indicate one reason that generic inquiry is such a powerful tool for the rhetorical critic: it is highly flexible. Its application can vary from the empirical to the intuitive, and it "is an available critical option regardless of the critical perspective that one cherishes."[20]

The Campbell and Jamieson Model

The model of generic inquiry employed by this study will fall at neither the intuitive nor the empirical extremes. This study will not seek to empirically prove the existence of a genre, but neither will it just intuitively make a generic claim. Rather, it will employ a more rational approach - i.e., one which uses some empirical-like methods of observation and measurement, and some intuition-like methods of discovery.

The model of inquiry employed in this study has been adopted from Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson's article, "Form and Genre in Rhetorical Criticism: An Introduction." Campbell and Jamieson see the rhetorical genre as a fusion or a constellation of rhetorical forms:

> In discourses that form a genre, similar substantive and stylistic strategies are used to encompass situations perceived as similar by the responding rhetors. A genre is a group of acts unified by a constellation of forms that recurs in each of its members.[21]

Campbell and Jamieson feel that a genre is a

"complex, an amalgam, a constellation of substantive, situational, and stylistic elements"[22] existing "in dynamic responsiveness to situational demands."[23]

The Campbell and Jamieson approach views the rhetorical form as an implicator of perceived rhetorical situation. They view forms as strategies, or stylistic and substantive choices, made by an orator, in response to his perception of rhetorical situational requirements.[24] They see rhetorical forms, then, as strategies in the Burkish sense.[25]

Forms as Strategies

Kenneth Burke considered strategies to be methods employed by a speaker to gain identification with his audience, an orator's plan of attack, his way of meeting a problem or situation.

> Anything that anyone does - verbally or nonverbally, consciously or unconsciously, for persuasion (the old rhetoric) or for identification (the new rhetoric) - is, in Burke's view, a rhetorical "strategy."[26]

When particular strategies recur in response to a similar situation, they become generic forms.

For the early Greeks, in the work of Aristotle, the most important form was the enthymeme. The enthymeme is a particular type of syllogism where the premises are drawn from probabilities in the sphere of human affairs.

In the form of enactment, a speaker's being is used to support the speaker's rhetorical claim. For example, Barbara Jordan's keynote address to the Democratic National Convention on July 12, 1976, used the strategy or form of enactment. Her being the keynote speaker supported her claim that the American dream is valid. Being both black and female, she embodied her claim - she herself was the proof of her contention.[29]

Forms, then, occur on many levels, ranging from the particular and the incidental, to the universal and the global. But for a genre to exist, these rhetorical forms, no matter how global or incidental, must exist and occur in a repetitive fashion.

The Interrelationship of Generic Elements

This study will focus on rhetorical forms of style and substance. The stylistic forms of figures of speech, imagery, qualification, and length will be considered. Explicitly argued content will constitute the substantive form of primary interest.

The purpose of this study is to show that an interrelationship exists between perceived situation and the rhetorical forms of style and substance described. The primary thrust of this research is directed at showing that within the group of inaugurals occurring between 1933 and 1977, the indicated stylistic and substantive forms

It is a rhetorical form which has evolved in response to the situational requirements of time and practicality in public speaking.[27] By its being based in probability rather than absolute fact, the enthymeme allows an orator to quickly see the available means of persuasion on either side of a proposition, and act accordingly.[28] For example, a Presidential orator might claim that a cut in Federal spending is necessary to reduce inflation. In doing so, that orator would be using the enthymeme. Certainly it would be absolutely impractical, if not impossible, for this orator to deal with the huge body of obtuse economic theory and research to prove absolutely true that cutting Government spending would, in fact, reduce inflation. In effect, then, this Presidential orator would be using the economic probability (that excess Government spending causes inflation) as a rhetorical strategy. And he would be doing so in response to the rhetorical situational constraints of time and practicality which make the absolute proof of his claim impractical, unworkable, and probably impossible.

The enthymeme is a prime example of a global rhetorical form, as it is present in virtually all rhetorical acts. But forms are not necessarily so global in nature. The use of a particular image, such as <u>detenté</u>, could well be an example of a very incidental and particular form. And in between somewhere a form like <u>enactment</u> might occur, a form much more particular than the global enthymeme, but much more global than a particular image.

responded to a perceived similar rhetorical situation. This area of the response of forms to situation is the area of primary concern in the Campbell and Jamieson model. It is that part of the generic interaction where rhetorical situation is acting upon rhetorical forms, and it is that part of the generic interaction on which this study primarily focuses.

The other part of the interrelationship of forms and situation involves the action of forms on situation. In the Campbell and Jamieson model, this action is, in effect, the future power of present discourse. Rhetorical discourse exerts some influence within the rhetorical situation in which it exists. Otherwise, the discourse would not be rhetorical. But persuasive acts can also affect future discourse in a very real way. Present acts become part of the system of social constraints affecting which future rhetorical forms will be used by future orators as strategies. Effectively, present acts become part of a rhetorical cultural tradition. Then, as Bitzer observes, "the tradition itself tends to function as a constraint upon any new response ...."[30] Forms are thus born which establish vocabulary, grammar, and style, which then, in turn, constrain future forms. These forms, in effect, become the exemplars for the future.

In speaking of such exemplars, Campbell and Jamieson conclude that,

> External factors, including human needs and exposure to antecedent rhetorical forms, create expectations which constrain rhetorical responses. But the internal dynamic of fused elements also creates expectations which testify to its constraining force. Generic exemplars have an internal consistency.[31]

This study will suggest that Franklin D. Roosevelt became the generic exemplar for the generic group. The successful rhetoric of his years in office became a part of a tradition which constrained the rhetorical strategies of those Presidential orators who followed.

Generic Constitution

For a genre to exist, recurrent forms must interact with situation through their response to situation, and through their contribution to rhetorical tradition. The emphasis is not so much on the individual forms themselves; rather, "a genre is given its character by a fusion of forms."[32]

> In discourses that form a genre, similar substantive and stylistic strategies are used to encompass situations perceived as similar by the responding rhetors. A genre is a group of acts unified by a constellation for forms that recurs in each of its members.[33]

An example of a recognized genre where such a fusion among style, substance, and situation is generally accepted to have occurred, is Edwin Black's Sentimental Style.[34] The Sentimental Style Genre occurs in 19th century

escapist American culture, a culture characterized by a "strainedly bifurcated mentality .... the inclination, when pressed form all sides of the consciousness by an insistent demand whose presence one wants not to acknowledge, to think very, very hard of something spiritual."[35]

The Sentimental Style combines grand eloquence and high passion into an indivisible whole which instructs the audience in how to properly respond. "It regulates every shade of the auditor's feelings as the speech unfolds."[36] Black argues that it does so in response to the situational need for repression.

He uses Daniel Webster's "Bunker Hill Monument Address" of 1825 as an example of this genre. He argues that at the time of this speech, a popular guilt over slavery generated the need for repression, since nothing short of abolition could placate the conscience of the country. Webster used an ornate and detailed style in order to subordinate moral considerations to aesthetic considerations. In effect, Webster sought "the achievement of psychic comfort and subcutaneous harmony through the refusal to apprehend the harring, the unwholesome, the corrupt."[37]

In the genre of the Sentimental Style, Black claims the fusion of style, substance, and situation occurred. The situation of unwholesomeness created the need for repression of disquieting substance by the use of a didactic and restrictive sentimental style. By defining a response which avoided the real issue, the possibility of encountering

any disquieting substance could be guarded against. In the Sentimental Style, the option of multiple interpretation by the audience was taken away by the orator. Ironically, it is this same option which this study argues has been strongly restored in the generic group of inaugural addresses.

Focus of this Study. Just as Black's generic approach might help one better understand the ornate and detailed style of the early 19th century, the generic approach can aid in an understanding of later inaugural rhetoric. For generic analysis can focus on the responsive nature of inaugural rhetoric to the rhetorical situation, as perceived by the inaugural orators.

The generic approach employed by this study will concentrate primarily on the response of stylistic and substantive forms to a perceived rhetorical situation. In Chapter 3, the study will look at a perceived situation which presented the rhetorical problem of achieving agreement and identification in a pluralistic audience. Such agreement and identification, it will be argued, were necessary as part of a ritualistic rhetorical attempt to help this society cope with its problems. And such agreement and identification were problematical for the orator because of the heterogeneity of his rhetorical audience.

Chapter 4 will argue that the orators responded by increased use of certain stylistic forms - e.g., figures of speech and imagery, which raised the abstraction level

of their rhetoric. At the same time, they decreased their use of other stylistic forms, e.g., embedded qualification, which also effectively raised their abstraction level. This raised abstraction level, in turn, permitted greater audience freedom of interpretation, and thus, enhanced the possibility of perceived agreement with the orator's ideas among the members of this divergent group.

Chapter 5 will argue that the ideas contained in the explicitly argued content have been responsive to the ritualistic needs of the situation. The arguments of the generic group all respond to a perceived vulnerability, the response being a ritualistic reaffirmation of American democratic values, with supporting data of a more ritualistic nature.

2.3 Stylistic Form

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the traditional approach to rhetorical criticism makes sharp distinctions between an orator's elocution or his "outer form" of language, and his substance, or invention of argumentative ideas. In traditional rhetoric, the style of an orator is that orator's use of linguistic symbology to convey to his audience the ideas that he derived from the invention process. According to Thonssen and Baird, the stylistic feature of rhetoric embraces "the concept of expression in language, resulting, basically, from choice of words and their arrangement or

composition."[38] Ancient rhetoricians extensively studied the canon of style, dividing it into different types of expressions appropriate for different rhetorical purposes. For example, Cicero, in the Orator, identified three types of style: the plain, the moderate, and the grand. These three styles varied with the purposes of proving, pleasing, and moving, respectively.[39]

The Interaction of Style and Substance

The concept of a clear separation between stylistic and substantive forms is particularly useful for conducting rhetorical criticism because it allows the critic to isolate the ideas of substance from the outer form of style. In reality, however, such a clear separation does not exist. The ideas invented by an orator must be perceived by an audience, and in this perception process, the orator's style has a substantive influence of its own.

Consider again Black's genre of the "Sentimental Style." In this genre, the style of the rhetoric was chosen to prevent multiple interpretations. It affected the ideas of the orator as perceived by the audience by limiting the possible interpretations of these ideas which the audience could make. It will be argued that in the Calendrical Genre, the opposite is true. The more abstract style which conveys the inaugural orator's ideas, or substance, enhances the possibility for multiple interpretation. The substance perceived by the audience is affected

by the abstractness of the style, since it is this abstraction which gives the freedom of multiple interpretation to the audience.

The definition of abstraction being used in this study follows the concept of the term provided by S. I. Hayakawa. In effect, the level of abstraction is the degree to which orators leave out concrete features of the referent, and consequently, the degree to which the audience must supply these features. In situations of higher abstraction, where the audience is given more freedom to broadly interpret the ideas conveyed by the style, the chance that the audience will perceive themselves to be in agreement on the meaning of the orator's ideas will be enhanced. In situations where a pluralistic audience is involved, multiple interpretation of an abstract stylistic expression can be a powerful tool in achieving perceived intergroup agreement. (Note: A complete discussion of this use of "abstraction," along with its parallel to the concept of "indexicality," is provided in Chapter 4.)

An extremely hypothetical example of the value of multiple interpretation might be of use here. Suppose an orator is speaking to a pluralistic audience composed of middle-class whites and lower-class blacks. And suppose this orator desires to unify this audience behind his political leadership, say in a school board election. He faces the rhetorical problem of stylistically stating his ideas on education in such a way that both sub-groups of

his audience will be able to agree with his position. And he knows that both sub-groups have their own, widely divergent perceptions of education and its value in society.

Jack Daniel, in "The Poor: Aliens in An Affluent Society: Cross-Cultural Communication," refers to the varying perceptions of the term "education." In middle-class terms, education is "the road to better things for one's children and oneself." In lower-class terms, it is "an obstacle course to be surmounted until the children can go to work."[40] The orator can specify the idea that, "education is necessary for a good job," and fail with his lower-class audience; or he can specify the idea that "education is not economically functional in society," and fail with his middle-class audience. Both sub-groups of his audience have differing perceptions of the linguistic symbol "education," and thus derive different ideas or substance from this stylistic element.

One solution for this orator is to use the term "education" in a more abstract context, in a context which makes the concrete referents of the term open to interpretation. For example, he might say, "education stands in the way of a good job." The middle-class white could interpret his idea to be, "education is a pre-requisite for a good job," while the lower-class black could interpret his idea to be, "education occupies time better suited to actual working." In both cases, his outer structure or style is influencing the perception of his ideas or

substance. In this case, the specific variety of language selected, in the context used, provides for multiple interpretation of the orator's ideas, and enhances the chance for intergroup agreement.

Definition of Style

In this study, the word style refers to a specific variety of language.[41] These specific varieties are the style, but these varieties are often difficult to define. According to David Crystal and Derek Davy,

> We may not be able to say precisely what a variety is, what differentiates it from another, what types exist, how many there are or whether they are all ... clearly distinguishable ... But once the matter is brought to our notice, we are at least aware that there are differences.[42]

We are normally not conscious of rhetorical style unless the style's uniqueness makes it difficult to understand or makes it strange by our everyday standards.[43] In a way we are multilingual in that we can handle a great number of stylistic varieties we normally encounter in our daily lives.

> A particular social situation makes us respond with an appropriate variety of language, and, as we move through the day, so the type of language we are using changes fairly instinctively with the situation. We use one variety of English at home, another with our friends, a third at work, and so on.[44]

Normally to be successful, politicians like Presidents must have a semi-intuitive knowledge of appropriateness, or a sense of style. As William Labov indicates in his Sociolinguistic Patterns, this sense of style is, to a great extent, a function of one's group. Often foreign speakers using English as a second language do not have this sense of style; they are not members of the group and thus find it difficult to shift styles automatically and instinctively for the different group situations they encounter. A President, however, would probably have this sense of style, and according to it, would manifest linguistic behavior appropriate for his unique position.

A President, like all rhetors,

> Chooses some words and some behaviors from all the words and all the ways of behaving and uses these instead of others because he believes this "mix" or set of patterns will achieve what he hopes to achieve with his listeners. He does not do all of this self-consciously, of course. Many of his choices are habitual, the results of conditioning experience. But selection is always present in verbal and non-verbal behaviors, else there is no rhetoric in the activities.[45]

This study looks at the common occurrences of certain stylistic features in a group of inaugural addresses. These occurrences reflect a recurrence of outcome of the orator's selection process, a recurrence of a society-style interaction within the specified body of discourse.

Uses of Style. Crystal and Davy list four

separate, but overlapping uses for the word style. Applying these uses to rhetoric, we can conclude that rhetorical style can refer to the following: (1) the language habits of a particular orator; (2) the language habits of a group of orators at one time or over a period of time; (3) the evaluation of the effectiveness of a mode of expression; and (4) the consideration of certain pieces of linguistic behavior as "literary language."[46]

First, style can refer to the language habits of a particular orator, or his selection-of-language habits which characterize him as a unique individual. In Presidential oratory, this use of style is most important. For example, John F. Kennedy's language habits created the "Kennedy Style," a style which many scholars feel contributed to his immense popularity.[47]

The second use of style is for reference to the language habits of a group of orators at one time or over a period of time. Here it is not the uniqueness of elocution under consideration; rather, it is the normality. This sense of the word represents a cultural or group norm, not an individual variation. In rhetorical studies, it is complementary to the individual's variations, since the linguistic norms of the politician's group provide the social basis for what is and what is not appropriate, and therefore, what may or may not be perceived by the politician as acceptable to his group. In a collectivity of inaugural addresses, common patterns of selection would

constitute the language habits of a group of orators, and thus would indicate this type of "style."

Third, style can refer evaluatively to a mode of expression. This sense of the term is most often found in more traditional approaches to rhetorical criticism. For example, Paul L. Soper, in Basic Public Speaking, takes a traditional view that oratorical style should have the following qualities: grammatical correctness, exactness, appropriateness, economy, and originality.[48] These categories of course do not exclude the two previous uses of style. They only add the element of value judgment: they call for a good-bad, effective-ineffective, or appropriate-inappropriate decision on the part of the rhetorical critic. Probably appropriateness to group norms is the most important consideration in group speaking, for that which is inappropriate will often be ineffective and counterproductive for the politician's success. Indeed, inappropriateness could well destroy a rite of intensification, and in so doing, destroy the ethos which maintains the cultural fiction.

Fourth, style can refer "solely to literary language."[49] Here it still concerns the individual or the group, and it still implies an evaluation and description on the part of the rhetorician. Literary forms, of course, are also rhetorical. As Frye points out, "Most of the features characteristic of literary form, such as rhyme, alliteration, metre, antithetical balance, the use of exempla, are also rhetorical schemata."[50] But literary form is

unique in that the evaluation and description comes not from a rhetorical standpoint, but rather, from a literary one. Permanence and value might be the criteria for judging the style of an oration as a piece of literature, while appropriateness might be the criterion from the persuasive-instrument perspective.

In summary, there are four valid approaches to the definition and study of style. However, in doing its generic inquiry, this study will need to be concerned primarily with the common patterns of stylistic occurrence in the generic group inaugurals. Thus, this study will concentrate on the second type of "style" - that outer structure of language which is appropriate to the norms of the unique group of orators under consideration, and which provides an artifactual indication of their group identification response to situational constraints.

Group Linguistic Identification

Group identification is clearly reflected in the language of its members. Dell H. Hymes, in his article, "The Ethnography of Speaking," shows that "the patterns and functions of speaking can be very different from one group to another."[51] Edwin Black has extended this notion to the criticism of rhetoric, arguing, "The form of consciousness ... is manifested in the symbolic currency of rhetorical transactions, [that] groups of people become distinctive as groups ... by the manner in which they give

[their] beliefs expression."[52]

William Labov has done extensive research on this language-group relationship. He has found that there is a change in linguistic behavior patterns which reflects a changed group identification. He further claims that this linguistic shift occurs when the change in group identification causes a shift in social meaning. For example, most people who move from rural areas to urban areas unconsciously shift their speaking styles to identify with their new urban group.

Labov has supported his group identification thesis in several studies. For example, in his New York Department Store study, he has shown how the social stratification of occupational status affects linguistic behavior.[53] The public language used by employees of differing-status department stores indicates a social differentiator at all levels in linguistics. Occupation correlates with linguistic behavior, while the status of the occupation correlates with the status of the store. The individual salesperson's status is a function of that person's employer's status. This personal status, in turn, affects the salesperson's linguistic behavior. The salesperson's public sales language (effectively his or her rhetorical style) thus reflects his or her group status identification. But this style also helps to create the group fiction which generates the employer's status. A refined and polished sales style reflects a higher-status establishment, which, in turn,

generates a higher-status group fiction. This fiction, in turn, generates the refined and polished sales style.

Interestingly, the higher-status store employees were paid less, but were happier than their lower-status store counterparts. One could speculate that the community fiction, as reflected in its linguistic behavior, provided the community members with one way of intellectually coping with their economic situation. In this way, their public sales style thus served as part of a rite of intensification.

Labov also supports his thesis with his Martha's Vineyard study.[54] At Martha's Vineyard he found an economically poor and pressured group of people desperately trying to maintain their group identification, while at the same time, trying to survive economically. The year-round local residents of Martha's Vineyard perceived a serious economic threat to their traditional lower-middle-class life-style by the "buying-in" of upper-class outsiders who desired to use the former's community only as a fair-weather haven. Labov studied the Chilmarkers, a separatist traditional group which exhibited a unique linguistic behavior. The more this group fought for self-identification, the more phonetic differences were noted, and the more extreme these differences became. Labov thus concluded that, "It is not unnatural, then, to find phonetic differences becoming stronger and stronger as the group fights to maintain its identity."[55]

This concept is important for this study of the

Calendrical Genre. It demonstrates that there is an increased importance attached to the use of style in the articulation of image when societal problems become more severe. It is particularly interesting that the problems which had become severe for the Chilmarkers, and which, in turn, had led to an increase in community identification, involved an economic threat to survival. As Chapter 3 will argue, the problems which faced the country at the time of Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address, at the time when the Calendrical Genre evolved, were problems not unlike those which faced the Chilmarkers at Martha's Vineyard. As in the case of the Chilmarkers, the style of the Calendrical Inaugural helped to maintain the ethos, or the cultural fiction necessary for coping with the economic threat.

2.4 Culture and Ritual

The style of the Chilmarkers at Martha's Vineyard, by providing a sense of group identity to its users, also provided them with the ritualistic reassurance and security of being a member of "the group." The style helped them to maintain the group fiction, a fiction which helped them cope with their economic problems.

In all societies, rituals have a functional significance in almost all forms and aspects of cultural life.

Much of this ritual, which we normally think of as a prescribed way of conducting a ceremony, has a religious quality. But a great deal of ritual "occurs in much more of [our] daily activity than is usually recognized."[56] In a sense, the use of unique style by the Chilmarkers involves ritualistic activity.

Functions of Ritual

Enabling people to cope with their environment, an environment often out of their immediate physical control, is one of the most accepted functions of ritual in modern society. Anthropologist Robert B. Taylor lists five basic functions for ritual today: (1) validation and reinformcement of values; (2) provision of reassurance; (3) unification of groups; (4) aiding status change; and (5) relieving psychological tensions.[57] Clearly these functions are not mutually exclusive of one another. For example, Edward J. Moody has researched witchcraft cults in the United States, and has demonstrated the existence of many of these ritualistic functions in one part of American society. Moody analyzed people who subscribed to the use of Black Magic, and concluded that,

> Of the many characteristics that emerged from psychological tests, extensive observations, and interviews, the most common trait, exhibited by nearly all Satanic novices, was a high level of general anxiety related to low self-esteem and a feeling of inadequacy ... Before entering the group, each member

appeared to have been battered by failure in one or more of the areas mentioned.[58]

The ritual of Satanism validated and reinforced these peoples' values through the use of group legitimacy. Moody says that, "The realization that there are others who privately practice magic, white and black, supports the novice magician in his new-found interest in magical manipulation."[59] The magician perceives the others of his group to be in agreement with him regarding the environment and how to deal with it.

By providing explanations for the environmental forces which affected their lives, Satanism provided its subscribers with some feeling of control, and thus, some reassurance. The Ritual thus served to relieve their psychological tensions concerning these forces of everyday life. Moody concludes that, "Those who eventually become Satanists are attempting to cope with the everyday problems of life, with the here and now."[60]

Ritual in Society. In all societies rituals have a functional significance in almost all forms and aspects of cultural life. Much of this ritual, which we normally think of as a prescribed way of conducting a ceremony, has a religious quality. But a great deal of ritual "occurs in much more of [our] daily activity than is usually recognized."[61]

Anthropologists generally define a ritual as,

"The symbolic affirmation of values by means of culturally standardized utterances and actions," and consider a ceremony to be a "given complex of rituals associated with a specific occasion."[62] There are two anthropological categories of rituals: "the rites of passage" and "the rites of intensification." Generally, rites of passage "occur when individuals or groups move from one status to another."[63] In American society, common everyday rites of passage include Baptisms, Confirmations, Bar Mitzvahs, and school graduations. In the political milieu, there are also clear rites of passage. When a successful political candidate enters office, a ritualistic ceremony of entry into that level of political office normally occurs. When a man is elected or re-elected President of the United States, his inauguration and inaugural address serve as a rite of passage, as a ritual marking his investiture into the Presidential Office.

There is a second type of ritual, however, which serves to renew faith in society's institutions. This type is called the rite of intensification, since it intensifies one's faith and feeling for his beliefs and values. As Taylor points out, intensification rites are sometimes called Calendrical Rites, since they usually recur at regular intervals in a society.[64] Examples of calendrical rites in the United States include the Fourth of July and Christmas. The Fourth of July is an annual reaffirmation of faith in American democratic values, while Christmas is an annual

reaffirmation of both faith in God, and in the myth of retail commercialism. This study argues that the inaugural address, in addition to being a rite of passage, is also, to some degree, a calendrical rite: it also serves, on a regular basis, to renew and intensify faith in America and its democratic institutions. The claim of this study is that the inaugural, beginning in 1933, placed more emphasis on the intensification function.

The inaugural, however, still provides both ritualistic functions: it marks the passage of a man into the Office of the Presidency, and it also serves the faith-renewal function in the process. Interestingly, this dualistic function of inaugural addresses seems to parallel the dualistic function Halloran proposes for the "Public Proceeding."

Halloran claims that a public proceeding is dually representative. It acts first of all in a political way for the community in that through a deliberation process, the political business of the community is conducted. But the public proceeding also acts in an aesthetic way, in that through more of an epideictic or ceremonial process, the proceeding articulates an image of the community. Furthermore, Halloran concludes that, "To the degree that the proceeding articulates an image of the community with which the audience can identify, the force of its decisions in shaping public opinion will be underlined by a strong ethos."[65] This ethos or credibility, Halloran elaborates,

"is the spirit of a culture or people, the spirit that enables persons to transcend immediate problems and experiences to...."[66]

The rite of passage of the inaugural address is primarily political. It acts for the country in helping to define the occupancy of the highest office of executive power. The rite of intensification, on the other hand, is primarily aesthetic. It articulates an image of the community in a ceremony of faith renewal, an articulation which, by identification with "general America," generates a strong ethos. This ethos helps maintain what Halloran calls the "fiction" of the community - it helps the members of the community cope with their immediate problems.

This study argues that there has been a significant increase in emphasis on the aesthetic, calendrical function, beginning with Franklin D. Roosevelt. Furthermore, this emphasis on intensification came when the country faced one of its most serious crises of modern times: the Great Depression. The problems of a threatening environment, it will be agrued, contributed to a change in the perceived rhetorical situation, a change which placed more emphasis on the rite of intensification.

The next chapter will suggest that during the period immediately before Roosevelt's First Inaugural, the social environment became very hostile and uncontrollable. Roosevelt's First Inaugural was a rite of faith intensification, a ritual which allowed Americans to feel they were

doing something, that they had some control over what was happening to them. It validated and reinforced their values of courage, honor, and toughness; it provided a certain reassurance that there was "nothing to fear but fear itself." It attempted to unify Americans into a common cause against a common enemy. Thus, Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address helped people relieve their psychological tensions. In a way, Franklin Roosevelt was kind of a "rhetorical wizard," a person who could explain what was happening, and who had some unexplainable power to deal with the crisis.

2.5 Conclusion

The generic approach to rhetorical criticism is an extension of the traditional method. It shifts attention away from single speakers and speeches, to groups of speakers, speeches, audiences, and occasions. And it allows for the evolution of particular types of oratory within a system of social constraints.

The Campbell and Jamieson model, which is used in this study, is situationally oriented. Its primary thrust is toward identifying recurring stylistic and substantive responses to a perceived similar situation within a particular body of discourse. The model views the rhetorical genre as a unified whole of rhetorical elements, a galaxy of stylistic and substantive forms and perceived

situational constraints. Style and substance respond to situation. In so doing, they become part of the rhetorical tradition which, in turn, constrains situation.

This study's argument is that certain inaugural rhetorical forms responded to a new perceived rhetorical situation, beginning in 1933. Chapter 3 will present the argument that the pluralization of audience by immigration and media, combined with the need for ritualistic coping in America at that time, created a new rhetorical situation for the inaugural orator.

The concept of ritual is important to the development of this argument. All societies have rituals, or recurring ceremonial ways of marking and reaffirming values at critical periods of social transition in the life cycle of the group. Chapter 3 will argue that the Great Depression was the first in a series of crises or critical periods for the pluralistic group of Americans composing the inaugural audience between 1933 and 1977. The Depression created the psychological and physical deprivations which generated the perceived need for ritualistic coping. The new rhetorical situation called for the orator's ritualistic unification of his heterogeneous audience by obtaining intersubjective agreement throughout his audience on his ideas.

Chapter 4 will argue that he tried to obtain such agreement, in part, by using a more abstract style. By the use of greater abstraction, the orator could give his audience more freedom of interpretation, more freedom to

perceive his ideas from the standpoint of their previous experience. This higher abstraction level is reflected in the generic group inaugurals by increased use of figures of speech and imagery, and by decreased length and use of qualification.

Since linguistic behavior reflects group identification, the changed stylistic forms of the generic group might well reflect a changed group identification of its orators. The rhetorical problem which first appeared in 1933 was the identification of the orator with a more heterogeneous group. It will be argued that one approach to this problem was the use of a rhetorical strategy of more highly abstract stylistic forms.

Chapter 5 will further argue that the orator substantively responded to this altered situation by using ideas more suited to ritualistic unification. Major Claims became premised more on abstract notions of democracy and country, and dealt more in coping with a threatening environment. The relatively fewer data which supported these claims also were less specific and more dramatic, often exploiting emotionally-perceived conflicts between good and evil.

2.6 Notes

[1]George Kennedy, The Art of Persuasion in Greece. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963, p. 3.

[2]For a discussion, see Edward J. Power, "Class Size

and Pedagogy in Isocrates' School," History of Education Quarterly, VI, Winter 1966, p. 22.

[3]S. M. Halloran, "On Rhetorical Autonomy," OCCC, March 31, 1977.

[4]Wayne C. Booth, Modern Dogma and the Rhetoric of Assent. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963, p. 126.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Halloran, p. 7.

[7]James W. Chesebro, "A Philosophic Base for Generic Analysis: A Plausible Future for Contemporary Rhetoric," ECAC, March 1977, p. 8.

[8]Ibid., p. 9.

[9]Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957, p. 13. Note that in this book, Frye is talking about literary genres, or genres which achieve value and permanence in society. Rhetorical genres subsume the literary function, in that they achieve an identification with a particular audience. Permanence and value on the one hand, and audience identification on the other, are not mutually exclusive concepts.

[10]Harold Zysking, "A Rhetorical Analysis of the Gettysburg Address," Journal of General Education, IV, April 1950, pp. 202-212. See also Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, "Form and Genre in Rhetorical Criticism: An Introduction," in Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson (eds.), Form and Genre Shaping Rhetorical Action. Falls Church: The Speech Communication Association, 1978, pp. 16-17.

[11]Edwin Black, "The Sentimental Style as Escapism, or The Devil with Dan'l Webster," SCAC, December 1976, in Form and Genre, p. 76.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Lloyd Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation," in Richard L. Johannesen, Contemporary Theories of Rhetoric: Selected Readings. New York: Harper and Row, 1971, p. 392.

[14]Herbert W. Simons, "Genre-alizing About Rhetoric: A Scientific Approach," SCAC, December 1976, in Form and Genre, p. 36.

[15]Bitzer, of course, would include purposeful under situational.

[16]Herbert W. Simons, "A Conceptual Framework for Identifying Rhetorical Genres," CSSAC, April 1975, p. 2.

[17]Chesebro, p. 6.

[18]Ibid., p. 11.

[19]See Edwin Black, Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method. New York: Macmillan, 1965, pp. 79-91. See also Campbell and Jamieson, p. 24.

[20]Campbell and Jamieson, p. 27.

[21]Ibid., p. 20.

[22]Ibid., p. 18.

[23]Ibid., p. 24.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid., p. 18.

[26]See Martin Steinmann, Jr., Introduction to Kenneth Burke, "Rhetoric - Old and New," New Rhetorics. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967, p. 59.

[27]For a discussion of Aristotle's enthymeme, see Raymond F. Howes, Historical Studies of Rhetoric and Rhetoricians. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1961, p. 61.

[28]Ibid.

[29]For a discussion of the enactment of Barbara Jordan, see Campbell and Jamieson, p. 1.

[30]Bitzer, p. 392.

[31]Campbell and Jamieson, p. 24.

[32]Ibid., p. 21.

[33]Ibid., p. 20.

[34]Black, "Sentimental Style," pp. 75-86.

[35]Ibid., p. 77.

[36]Ibid., p. 78.

[37]Ibid., p. 81.

[38]Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism: The Development of Standards for Rhetorical Appraisal. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948, p. 78.

[39]For a discussion of Cicero's view, see Thonssen and Baird, pp. 86-89.

[40]Jack Daniel, "The Poor: Aliens in an Affluent Society: Cross-Cultural Communication," in Larry A. Samovar and Richard E. Porter, Intercultural Communication: A Reader. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1976, p. 85.

[41]See David Crystal and Derek Davy, English Language Series: Investigating English Style. London: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd., 1969, p. 12.

[42]Ibid., p. 4.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid., p. 5.

[45]Carroll C. Arnold, Criticism of Oral Rhetoric. Columbus: The Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1974, p. 142.

[46]For a discussion of these elements of style, see Crystal and Davy, p. 10.

[47]For example, see Robert T. Oliver and Eugene E. White, Selected Speeches from American History. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1966, p. 282.

[48]Paul L. Soper, Basic Public Speaking. New York: Oxford University Press, 1963, p. 266.

[49]Crystal and Davy.

[50]Frye, p. 245.

[51]Dell H. Hymes, "The Ethnography of Speaking," in Ben G. Blount, Language, Culture and Society: A Book of Readings. Cambridge: Winthrop Publishers, Inc., 1974, p. 191.

[52]Black, p. 85.

[53]See "The Social Stratification of (r) in New York City Department Stores," in William Labov, Sociolinguistic Patterns. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972, p. 43.

[54]See "The Social Motivation of Sound Change," in Labov.

[55]Ibid., p. 29.

[56]Robert B. Taylor, Cultural Ways. 2nd Ed., Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1976, p. 222.

[57]Ibid., p. 224.

[58]Edward J. Moody, "Urban Witches," in James P. Spradley and David W. McCurdy, Conformity and Conflict. 2nd Ed., Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1974, p. 328.

[59]Ibid., p. 329.

[60]Ibid., p. 335.

[61]Taylor, p. 222.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Ibid., p. 223.

[64]Ibid., p. 224.

[65]S. M. Halloran, "Doing Public Business in Public," SCAC, December 1976, in Form and Genre, p. 122.

[66]Ibid., p. 123.

CHAPTER 3

PERCEIVED RHETORICAL SITUATION

3.1 Introduction

The theoretical discussion of rhetorical genre in Chapter 2 has argued that rhetorical genres exist when, in a particular group of speeches, recurring stylistic and substantive forms respond to a perceived, similar rhetorical situation. This chapter will be concerned with a significantly changed inaugural situation, a situation which evolved in 1933, and which has remained throughout the generic period.

The basic proposition of this chapter is that in 1933, the perceived rhetorical situation for the inaugural address changed. Not only had the rhetorical audience become more pluralistic because of immigration and radio, but the Great Depression created emotional stresses which demanded an increased ritualistic unification of the divergent elements of this audience. Additionally, this changed rhetorical situation remained so altered after 1933 because of a redefinition of the relationship of government and citizen, a continued growth of the electronic mass media, and a continuation of stimuli perceived by Americans to be threatening to their institution of democracy.

The alteration of American society in 1933, and the continuation of this alteration since then, has changed

the nature of inaugural rhetoric. In 1933, Presidents began speaking to large, pluralistic masses of the American population, and also began speaking during times of great national insecurity and stress. The new inaugural situation posed the rhetorical problem of identifying with these divergent groups, and of ritualistically unifying these people against the perceived threats of their times.

This changed nature of the inaugural situation has been reflected in the rhetorical forms of substance and style. Indeed, as this study will show, these forms have responded to the ritualistic need for the unification of a pluralistic society. The next three chapters examine the changed rhetorical situation, and the relationship it has with the forms of substance and style. This chapter discusses the new inaugural situation which, it will be argued, constrained both the substance and style of inaugural rhetoric beginning in 1933. The two subsequent chapters will then discuss the substantive and stylistic responses to these situational constraints.

3.2 The Change in Rhetorical Situation

In 1933 the rhetorical situation for the inaugural address changed. This alteration occurred because of an increased pluralism of rhetorical audience, and because of the social effects of the Great Depression.

First, a large-scale immigration into the United

States had been occurring since the 1860s, but the influx of southern and eastern Europeans into the country during the early 1900s greatly enhanced the heterogeneity of American society by 1933. Not only was the composition of American society becoming more diverse, but the development of the mass medium of radio in the 1920s provided the means of direct rhetorical contact with these diverse elements. An orator's audience now included not only the dignitaries gathered around the inaugural site; rather, it now included all of the masses of Americans who were listening to the radio.

Second, the rhetorical situation changed because of the Great Depression. The debacle of the Depression put an end to an era of smug complacency. By its devastation of the carefree life known in the 1920s, the Depression demonstrated the failings of the traditional defenses of American government. It thus produced the perception of vulnerability, and it generated the need for a ritualistic unification of American society. The development of radio was enhanced by this depression, since radio diffused rapidly in American culture during the Depression years, and since radio provided an effective means of ritualistic psychological reassurance for the American people.

The Pluralization of Rhetorical Audience

The Effect of Immigration.

An important factor

in the change of the inaugural rhetorical audience was the pluralization of American society in the years preceding 1933. As early as 1860, immigration into the United States had been significant.

> From 1860 to 1900, the population of the United States leaped from approximately 31 million to almost 76 million. Immigration accounted for a substantial portion of the increase; in this forty-year period some 14 million aliens entered the country.[1]

This "early immigration," however, was essentially homogeneous with the American population. The immigrants had originated in the countries of western and northern Europe, in England, Ireland, and Germany.

> Although there had always been points of friction between these people and "native" Americans and some resistance to their presence, especially to the Irish, they were in culture and outlook essentially similar to those among whom they settled.[2]

After 1880, and particularly after 1900, the stream of immigrants came from different sources. They originated in southern and eastern European areas, and included new ethnic stocks of Austrians, Hungarians, Bohemians, Poles, Serbs, Italians, and Russians. Unlike the early immigrants (which had largely been assimilated by the early 1900s), the new immigrants seemed strange - their culture differed from American culture in several significant ways. Unlike the British and Irish who had come earlier, these new immigrants had radically different

economic and cultural standards.[3] More importantly, they spoke diverse languages which differed extensively from American English. Additionally, these new immigrants "were in overwhelming numbers Catholics in a predominantly Protestant country." They thus "provoked more fear and resentment among Americans than had early arrivals, most of whom, or their offspring, were now assimilated and thoroughly suspicious of new foreigners."[4]

During the early 1900s, these new immigrants began to change the nature of American society. Their highly visible eccentricity began to add a pluralistic character to the country's population. Maldwyn Allen Jones, in American Immigration, concludes that:

> Nothing so forcibly impressed commentators upon early twentieth-century America as the increasing prominence of the immigrant. In all the larger American cities, and in scores of smaller ones too, there were great masses of immigrants speaking strange languages, following strange customs, and, with their children, outnumbering the native population by as much as two to one.[5]

The real change in American immigration, as far as rhetorical audience is concerned, lay not in total numbers; rather, it lay in the differences that made the new immigrants so conspicuous - that created an observably pluralistic American society.

> In 1860 the natives of Ireland, Germany, and Great Britain had made up more than four-fifths of the foreign born total; by 1910 the proportion contributed by these countries

> was less than two-fifths. But natives of Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and other southern and eastern European countries, who in 1860 had accounted for only 1.2 percent of the foreign-born population, now made up no less than 37.5 percent of the total.[6]

By 1933 the immigration quota systems instituted during the 1920s[7] had severely cut the flow of eastern and southern Europeans into the United States.[8] Indeed, the perception of an "immigrant problem" in the 1920s, which had led to the cutting-off of open immigration, attests to the visible impact these immigrants were having on American society at that time. But the pluralization of American society was not to be reversed, since the millions of immigrants who had entered during the preceding years were becoming entrenched in American society. They were now seeking their own self-interests and identities in terms of the dominant political system, forming ethnic enclaves and labor groups, and becoming part of the American working class.[9]

The Effect of Radio. The pluralization of American society in the years before 1933 is important to the change in rhetorical audience only to the extent that this society constituted the rhetorical audience for the inaugural orator. Before the advent of radio, inaugurals were delivered to a local audience of political dignitaries. Since most of the diverse elements of American society - i.e., the new immigrants, were not included in this select group of dignitaries, they were also not included in the

audience. But with the advent of the radio medium, the inaugural audience came to include many of these diverse masses. Through a new and effective electronic means, Presidents now had a new kind of direct contact with the electorate.[10]

The development of radio occurred in the 1920s, the boom years for the new electronic mass medium.

> The early years of the 1920s were the years of a radio boom. In 1920 KDKA was alone in the field. By the end of 1922 there were some six hundred licensed stations. Beginning quietly enough with the election broadcast from East Pittsburgh in November 1920, the radio age swept the nation like a forest fire.[11]

On November 2, 1920, KDKA went on the air, carrying the election returns for the Harding-Cox Presidential contest. Between 500 and 1,000 listeners heard the broadcast.[12] In the following two years, the number of stations expanded rapidly. In 1921, WJZ, WBZ, and WDY went on the air, with WGY and KWY following in 1922.

Although these stations claimed a national audience, inadequate government regulation, ionespheric aberrations, and economic infeasibility remained serious problems. But by 1933, these problems for the most part had been solved. First, with the Radio Act of 1927, the Government provided much needed regulation, designating 110 channels in the A.M. broadcast band spectrum. Such regulation prevented interstation interference, especially during certain ionespheric "skip" conditions.[13] Second, American

Telephone and Telegraph's WEAF had become the first station to sell commercial advertising for revenue,[14] an innovation which made radio profitable. Acceptance of commercialization had been slow in the early 20s, but "by the Fourth Conference in 1925, the idea of advertising had been generally accepted ...."[15]

Third, network broadcasting had developed rapidly after its conception in 1923. By 1927 the National Broadcasting Company had been formed, and included 48 stations divided between two sub-networks and a Pacific Coast link. Network competition also appeared in the late 1920s, with the Columbia Broadcasting System incorporating in 1929, and the Mutual Network incorporating in 1933.[16]

The formation of radio networks is important to the change in inaugural audience. Networks provided higher quality, more reliable coverage to more people nationwide for the simple reason that more stations spread out over a large geographical area were now carrying the inaugural addresses.

During the Depression years, radio rapidly diffused throughout American society. The Depression "cut the cost of radios and enlarged the size of audiences,"[17] especially since a premium was then placed on inexpensive entertainment. In 1929, twelve million homes had radios,[18] while in 1935 well over twenty-one million homes were equipped with radio receivers.[19]

In summary, the rhetorical situation changed, in part, because the inaugural audience became more pluralistic.

This audience pluralism occurred for two reasons: (1) the large-scale, highly-visible immigration of southern and eastern Europeans into the United States during the early 1900s; and (2) the rapid development of the radio mass medium in the 1920s, and the resultant communication channel this medium established between Presidential orator and the masses of a pluralistic American society.

The Great Depression

The rhetorical situation changed in 1933 because of the composition change in American society, and the orator-audience channel provided by radio. In addition, it also changed because of the occurrence of the Great Depression, a socio-economic debacle which altered American psychology. The Depression, by demonstrating the failure of America's traditional institutions of social and economic control, ended a carefree era of complacency and security, and introduced a frightening period of perceived vulnerability to hostile forces. This perceived vulnerability, in turn, placed an increased emphasis on the function of ritual in inaugural rhetoric.

An Era of Complacency. In the summer of 1929, the country was enjoying what seemed to be an unending prosperity. But the following fall saw the coming of an economic disaster more devastating than anything before or since in American economics. On October 29, more than 16,000,000 shares of stock were sold on the New York Stock

Exchange. Blue chip stocks dropped an average of 40 points. The panic had begun. Banks would fail, industries would close, farms would go into receivership, and unemployment by the middle of 1932 would reach 12 million. Misery, hunger, poverty and ruin would prevail throughout the country.[20]

The early years of the 20th century had been good years for the United States. The century began with the carefree expansionism of the McKinley Administration. The country had easily won the Spanish-American War, and had emerged as an international world power. The Treaty of Paris of 1898 had given Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines to the United States, while annexations by Congress added both America Samoa and Hawaii to the country's material wealth.[21]

The Theodore Roosevelt years which followed had been glory years for the country. U.S. battleships sailed around the world, the nation's economy was strong, and American prestige was increasing worldwide. Roosevelt, however, did bring progressive awareness to the Oval Office, and did begin to attack many of the abuses of American big business. But the strengths of Roosevelt's attack lay primarily with his personality, not with any widespread dissatisfaction with the traditional institution of American government.[22] Roosevelt was a fighter, and an effective politician who "conveyed to the common people the conviction that the Man in the White House understood them and

sympathized with their aspirations."[23]

After the Progressive Movement lost Theodore Roosevelt as its Presidential advocate, it began dying a slow death. The Administration of William Taft was ineffectual in promoting progressive reforms. And the overwhelming public rejection of Woodrow Wilson at the end of his second term clearly reflected the conservative and complacent mood the country was then in.

Woodrow Wilson was the first Democratic President of the 20th century, a man dedicated to government support for the small businessman and the average American worker. But he was a man without a clear mandate, a President elected by only 40 percent of the popular vote.[24] Many historians, like Maxim Armbruster, believed that the vote "revealed the innately conservative nature of the American people at this time, and their reluctance to entrust their fortunes to scholastics and theorists."[25] Woodrow Wilson tried to deal with the hard realities he observed, realities the existence of which the American people then preferred to deny.

By the election of 1920, Americans desired to sit back and enjoy the serene atmosphere of their national scene. The relatively mild trauma of World War I[26] had caused a severe isolationist reaction throughout the country, a reaction which included a rejection of the League of Nations, and ultimately, of Woodrow Wilson himself.

Because of the national reaction against war,

Wilson, and other disquieting things, Warren G. Harding's campaign slogan of "back to normalcy" led him to one of the greatest majority vote victories of all times. Harding's 16,152,000 votes, when compared to the Democrat James Cox's 9,147,000 votes, vividly demonstrated America's dissatisfaction with the Wilson Administration, and the concerns Wilson stressed.

The Harding years were good years, with the nation suffering no wars and no domestic crises. During this period, Government simply sat back and allowed the country to indulge in the excesses which were to claim their toll in 1929. The Calvin Coolidge Administration adhered to the same lassaiz faire attitude. It has often been said that during this period, "the country wanted nothing done and Coolidge done it." But his lack of leadership seemed to bother few Americans, since, "the times did not call for profundities."[27]

The Failure of Traditional Defenses. During this period, Americans were satisfied with their political and governmental system. It seemed to be meeting their needs, although to a great extent, it was just leaving them alone. According to David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, and Reuel Denney's classic sociological study, The Lonely Crowd,[28] the goals of the group and the politics of that period worked well because of the individual roles Americans were allowed to play.

> Cynicism toward politics as a whole was virtually unknown. Indeed, a feeling prevailed in many circles that the millennium was near. The defined political problems of the period were felt to be manageable by their customary devotees.[29]

Americans, during this period, believed in the power of their government, and its ability to defend them against hostile forces.

But this belief was to be shaken, as the tragedy of the Great Depression began to unfold during the term of Herbert Hoover. Hoover had taken office in the twilight of America's good years. There apparently was nothing to worry about, for America's greatness took care of itself. Indeed, America seemed to be a self-perpetuating force of prosperity. But on a late October day in 1929, America's faith in good fortune failed, and the era of complacency ended.

Anthropologist Philip Newman once commented that, "Man has created many forms in his quest for a means of dealing with the world around him."[30] Throughout the period from McKinley to Hoover, American man had relied on his faith in the American political system and government. But the coming of the Great Depression broke this faith in these traditional American institutions. Indeed, the fall of Herbert Hoover and the rise of Franklin Roosevelt marks that point in our nation's history when destiny and technology no longer seemed to lead America to higher and higher levels of greatness. It marks that point when technology

failed, when the country perceived the need to turn to a different faith in order to cope with its uncontrollable environment.

Riesman, Glazer, and Denney claim that the feeling of disaster, linked to the failure of government, first appears in the United States with the Presidency of Franklin Roosevelt. They relate this feeling to a shift in American character, a shift to "other direction," and they relate it to a feeling of morbid anxiety.[31] Indeed, as the traditional institutions in which Americans believed failed, a feeling of insecurity swept the country.

Vulnerability and the Need for Ritual. It is not difficult to appreciate the psychological impact of the Great Depression on American society by 1933. Franklin Roosevelt had been elected because of the significant recessive economic surges beginning in the fall of 1929. But the day Roosevelt took office, the country had ballen into the grip of an even more frightening economic disaster. After Roosevelt's election, but before his inauguration, another recessive surge again struck the already-impoverished country. "Most of the nation's banks were closed and the industrial index had sunk from 64 in December to 56 in March. At least thirteen million people were unemployed, some of them so close to starvation that they were scrabbling for food scraps on garbage dumps."[32]

Denis W. Brogan, in The Era of Franklin D.

Roosevelt, talks about the Depression and the need for hope it engendered in the American people. Brogan claims that, "In the three weeks before the [1933] inauguration, the need for hope grew greater and greater."[33] According to Brogan, "The central nervous system of the greatest capitalist country in the world had ceased to function."[34]

Ritual has a functional value in a situation such as that caused by the Depression, in that it provides a means of coping with the apparently uncontendable. In other words, at the time of the Great Depression, ritual provided American society with some cause for hope. It gave Americans something to believe in, a myth in which to place their faith, and it provided a magical power from which they could derive hope for a better tomorrow.

Franklin Roosevelt was the myth behind which Americans ritualistically unified. His image was one with which the common man could identify. He constantly sought to fulfill the personal needs of the common American, and he treated government as a mechanism for providing to everyone a dignity and a just share in the opportunities and benefits of society.[35] People cared little that Roosevelt was a graduate of Groton and Harvard, that he attended Columbia, that he had never gone hungry, or that he was the product of great family wealth and influence. They cared only that this man seemed to care for them, "That he could be trusted with their hopes and their faith."[36] (italics supplied)

In Chapter 2, this study claimed that Roosevelt was a kind of rhetorical wizard, that he had some magic which made people want to trust him and believe in him, a trust and belief which would allow them to cope with their everyday problems of life. Roosevelt's ritualistic magic was built on his ability to communicate with the average American. As historian Thomas A. Bailey argues,

> Whatever doubts many Americans may have had about the wisdom of the way in which some of this program [the New Deal] was launched were dispelled the moment they heard the President speak. For Roosevelt had a voice, the quality and magic of which have never been excelled by any other American ever to appear in public life.[37]

It is important that at a time of such felt need in the country, Roosevelt not only had the magical voice, but he also had the magical medium to complement it. According to Bower and Lucile Aly, radio gave Roosevelt an intimate entre into millions of American homes. The warm and friendly voice coming over the radio "created an <u>illusion</u> of intimacy," the thought that, "I know that man. He is talking to me."[38]

This concept of <u>illusion</u> to which Aly and Aly refer is an important ingredient in the ritual of the inaugural address. It parallels Dan D. Nimmo's concept of political drama. When an actor performs in a drama, he is, in effect, creating an illusion. When Roosevelt created a ritualistic myth in response to the Depression, he was

creating an illusion, or in dramatic terms, he was playing a part on the stage and in the theatre of an inaugural media event.

Nimmo, in Popular Images of Politics, argues that Roosevelt had an ability to make effective political use of drama. He had this ability because he was able to adapt his political style to the necessity and demands of a particular dramatic situation.[39] He was able to adapt his rhetoric to the dramatic requirements of a ritualistic response, a response to exigencies created by the Great Depression.

The ritualistic unification which occurred in response to the Depression was focused, then, on the dramatic, media-conveyed myth of Franklin Roosevelt. In fact, H. Cantril and G. W. Allport in The Psychology of Radio, argue that,

> In times of potential social disruption the radio voice of someone in authority, speaking to millions of citizens as "my friends," tends to decrease their sense of insecurity. Through the use of radio on March 4 and 5, 1933, President Roosevelt unquestionably diminished the force of the financial panic.[40]

In summary, the Great Depression helped to alter the inaugural rhetorical situation. By its ending of an era of complacency, and by its demonstration of the failings of traditional governmental systems, the Depression generated a felt need among the pluralistic rhetorical audience, a need for ritualistic coping, for a myth in which

to place one's trust. Utilizing a new electronic medium (a medium which helped to change the rhetorical audience) Franklin Roosevelt became this myth. An by so responding to the Depression, he created a new rhetorical tradition for the inaugural address - a tradition of drama and ritual.

Summary

The argument presented so far in this chapter is that the inaugural rhetorical situation changed in 1933, and that this change occurred for two basic reasons: (1) the rhetorical audience for the inaugural address became more pluralistic; and (2) the Great Depression brought a severe trauma to American society, a trauma which generated the need for ritualistic unification and coping.

As subsequent chapters will show, Roosevelt's argumentative substance and rhetorical style responded to this change in inaugural situation. Both his substance and style were adapted to his identification with a large, pluralistic American audience, an audience which resulted from a situational combination of social pluralism and radio. Furthermore, as this study will argue, Roosevelt's argumentative substance and rhetorical style responded to the situational need for ritual, the need for a reaffirmation of belief in the face of hostile forces.

3.3 The Continued Alteration in Rhetorical Situation

In the last section, the argument presented identified those situational factors which contributed to a basic change in rhetorical situation at the time of Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address. It focused on situational changes which occurred during the period preceding the Calendrical Genre, which constrained the inaugural rhetorical situation in 1933.

This section will extend that argument into the generic period, the years from 1933 to 1977. For not only had the rhetorical situation changed by 1933, but it has remained so changed since then. The alteration of rhetorical audience and American psychology which occurred in 1933 has continued in effect throughout the generic period.

The inaugural rhetorical situation has remained altered for three reasons: (1) Franklin Roosevelt and the Depression redefined the relationship of the individual American with his government, a redefinition primarily accomplished with New Deal programs; (2) the electronic mass media continued to grow and exert influence on the situation. Roosevelt had provided an exemplar for dramatic rhetorical use of the media, while the media itself had continued its development in American society; and (3) the need for ritualistic coping continued, as an unending series of perceived threats occurred.

Redefinition of a Relationship

One reason for the continuation of situational change was the redefinition in the early 1930s of the government-individual relationship. Before the Great Depression, the Federal Government had little responsibility to its individual citizens. The individual was, to a great extent, free to survive or perish as he deserved. Dennis Brogan in The Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt, argues that the Protestant ethic reigned supreme in the United States.[41] The Federal Government had little obligation to help the needy and insecure, since their neediness and insecurity was felt to have resulted from their lack of hard work. Even state laws subscribed to this work-ethic orientation, attributing poverty to sinfulness and laziness. "State law was often harsh and antiquated: the 'poor farm' was a name of horror ...."[42] If someone failed, it was his own fault.

The Great Depression did much to destroy this work-ethic orientation. By the traditional criteria, the whole of American society had failed, and therefore, had been indicted with a prima facie case of sinfulness and laziness. It is not surprising, then, that, "Before the end of the Hoover Administration the old doctrine that the Federal Government had nothing to do with relief had been covertly, if not openly, abandoned."[43]

> America had often known temporary breakdowns in general prosperity, but it took years of mass unemployment to teach the American

> people that poverty was not proof of sin and that private charity was no longer even a pretense at being enough.[44]

Thus, the Federal Government accepted, for the first time, a significant responsibility for helping those in distress. In effect, this acceptance placed a new personal responsibility on the Presidential orator, a responsibility to help the needy Americans who now composed his inaugural audience. And during the Depression, almost everyone had been needy.

Much of government's legislative help was shaped by an extraordinary session of Congress soon after Roosevelt first took office. This session, known as the "Hundred Days," provided the legislation which comprised much of the New Deal. This New Deal was "a variegated series of legislative acts and executive orders dealing either with the problems of depression or with problems created or aggravated by depression."[45] It was a glittering reform package of "alphabet agencies" which provided recovery programs.

The Federal Government, for the first time, had addressed the needs of the average American with a quick and effective program of economic recovery. The New Deal, or in effect, the new relationship of government and individual, was immensely popular throughout the country's pluralistic masses, as reflected in the Election of 1936. As Armbruster notes,

> By the time 1936 was past, the re-election of the President had been accomplished by an

> 11,000,000 plurality and the electoral vote of 46 states. No other Presidential candidate had ever won so sweeping a victory at the polls.[46]

In summary, the inaugural rhetorical situation remained altered, in part, because of a new relationship between government and individual. This new relationship translated into a new relationship between Presidential orator and rhetorical audience. For now the President had a new responsibility to address the problems of the unsuccessful and the unfortunate, and had a responsibility to help them cope with their threatening environment.

Continued Mass Media Influence

A second reason for the continuation of the changed rhetorical situation was that the electronic media continued to increase in influence. First, its development continued after 1933, enabling it to provide growing oratorical access to America's pluralistic society. This effectively pluralized the inaugural rhetorical audience. A second reason was that Roosevelt had provided an exemplar, or a new tradition, for the ritualistic rhetorical use of this electronic media.

Media Expansion. Broadcasting historian Sydney Head sees the period 1926-1927 as a transition period for American broadcasting. In fact, Head claims that "radio broadcasting advanced steadily for two decades on the basis

of the fundamental charter, so to speak, which it received in 1926-1927."[47] Two decades later, in 1948, the electronic media would go through yet another transition period, this time to television.

Radio broadcasting during the period 1927-1948 was characterized by: (1) a system of free enterprise which depended on advertising; (2) a syndication of programs by national networks, but the retention of local ownership and control of individual stations; and (3) a system of government regulation based on a balance between public and private interests.[48] Thus, through regulated local outlets, the national broadcasting of inaugural addresses remained after 1933.

The period during and immediately after the Great Depression saw only a small increase in the number of radio stations. About 600 stations were on the air in 1930, while only about 800 were broadcasting in 1940.[49] But the number of radio receivers had increased dramatically - to a point, in fact, that by 1940, over 86 percent of the population had personal access to a radio.[50]

The years from 1940 to 1946 were stable, complacent years for radio broadcasting. "The medium was prosperous and even complacent, with gradual, orderly increase in station and network competition."[51] But beginning in 1946, a sharp upward growth occurred. At the end of World War II, slightly over 850 stations were on the air, while by 1948, over 2,000 stations were broadcasting. Thus, the

ability of an inaugural orator to reach the members of his heterogeneous audience increased steadily from 1933 until 1946, and then increased sharply between 1946 and 1948.

The year 1948 also saw the development of television as a mass medium. The development of television really began in 1928,[52] but it was not until 1948 that the industry could expand "on firm technical and economic grounds." In that year alone, the number of television stations increased from 17 to 41, the number of cities served rose from 8 to 23, and the production of television receivers increased over 500 percent.[53]

In 1948 there were about 200,000 television sets in use, as compared with 75 million radio receivers. But by 1955, the number of television sets jumped to over 30 million, while radio receivers increased to about 130 million.[54] By the time Jimmy Carter would deliver his Inaugural Address in 1977, the electronic mass media would have become one of the most ubiquitous features of American life. During the generic period, the access the orators had to the heterogeneous masses of their society increased significantly.

The Roosevelt Exemplar. Franklin Roosevelt provided a rhetorical exemplar to those Presidents who followed, for he demonstrated by example how to make successful, ritualistic rhetorical use of the electronic mass media. Aly and Aly claim that,

> Franklin D. Roosevelt was the first great master of the microphone. Some of the orators of the old school - those inclined to wave their arms and shout - found themselves lost in the new era of radio; but Franklin Roosevelt from the first found broadcasting a comfortable medium.[55]

Roosevelt used his rhetoric and the radio medium to serve a rite of intensification. His inaugural addresses became "mediated" calendrical rites, or regularly recurring broadcast markings and reaffirmations of values, coming at periods of traumatic social transition. He succeeded because of his ability to act out what Nimmo calls a political drama, to create for his audience an illusion of power, of an ability to cope, and of a reason not to be afraid. Referring to this power of illusion, Paul Conkin in The New Deal concludes that,

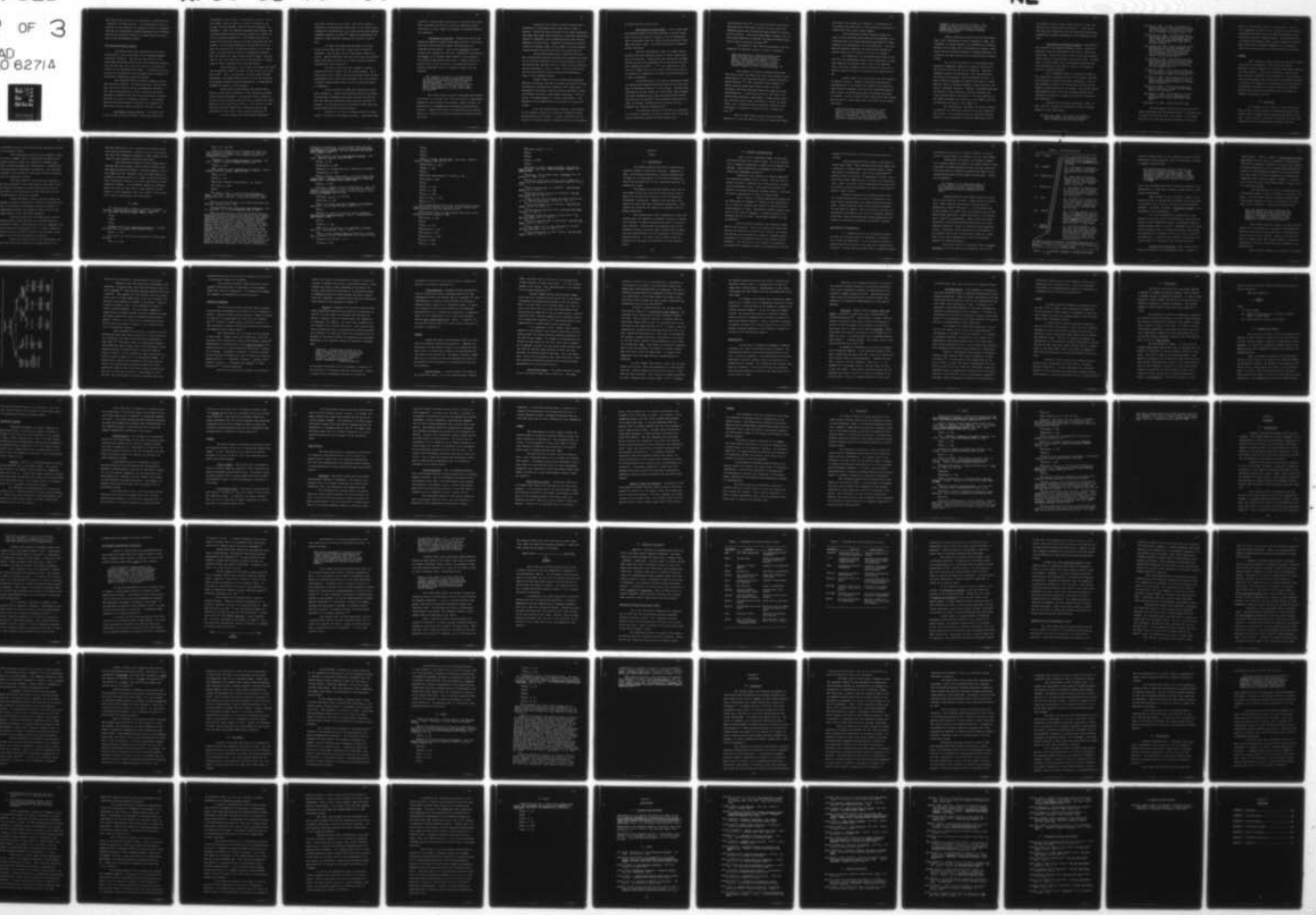
> Roosevelt, as President, gave millions of Americans a transfusion of courage. They still remember. From his confidence, his optimism, they gleaned bits of hope in times of trouble and confusion. This was Roosevelt's only unalloyed success as President .... It was the magic of a man, based as much on illusion as on reality.[56]

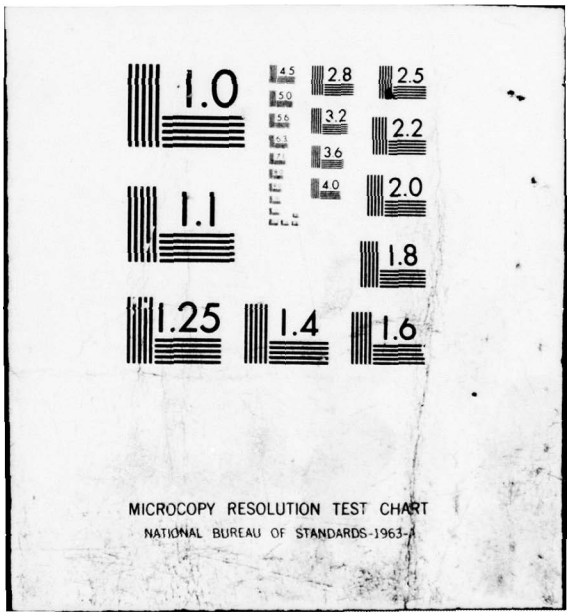
The rhetorical situation remained changed, in part, because of the continued influence of the electronic mass media. Not only had the development and diffusion of the media of radio and television occurred, but it had expanded. And along with a significant part of this expansion went the Roosevelt Presidency. For well over a decade of crisis, Roosevelt led his nation successfully.

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And during those 12 years, he established a norm and built a tradition of media rhetoric. He established a new norm and built a new tradition of inaugural rhetoric to parallel both the new relationship between government and individual, and the new electronic channel of communication now available to the Presidential orator.

The Continued Need for Ritual

Two factors have been identified so far which contributed to the continuation of the changed inaugural rhetorical situation. One was the evolution of a new government-individual relationship which occurred primarily with the New Deal, while the other was the continuing influence of the electronic mass media. A third factor which now will be considered is the continued need in America for ritualistic coping with perceived threats.

The perceived threats during the generic period came from four sources: (1) armed conflicts; (2) the Cold War; (3) social unrest; and (4) governmental corruption. The claim being made here is that insecurity and stress generated in America from these four sources has continued the need for ritual in inaugural rhetoric. In so doing, these threats have helped to maintain the alteration in rhetorical situation which originally occurred in 1933.

The Threat of Armed Conflict. For almost half of the generic group's existence, the United States has

been going to war, at war, or getting over a war. In the late 1930s, when the domestic crisis of depression was easing, an international crisis of war was emerging. On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, and the United States became directly involved in a world conflict of immense proportions. The country had been involved in a world war before, but this latest war was different. It was unlike anything in the nation's past, in that the very survival of democracy seemed to be in jeopardy. No sooner had the threat of depression subsided, than the threat of a grave armed conflict began. And this time it was a war that would not be finished until several years of fear, sacrifice, and death had passed.

After World War II had ended, the Truman Doctrine[57] and the Marshall Plan[58] provided for the recovery of a war-torn world. Also, in an attempt to insure peace through deterrence, the Truman Administration led in the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, an organization designed to protect a "free Europe."

During the post-War period, the United States placed a great deal of emphasis on the exclusion of Communism from Western Europe. It had given little thought to a small Korean Peninsula which had been divided at the 38th parallel at the end of World War II. But "it was in Korea that the Cold War flared into a shooting conflict and threatened to turn into a large-scale nuclear war."[59]

In June of 1950, the North Koreans launched a

full-scale invasion of the South. The United States, a nation just recovering from World War II, now found itself leading the United Nations in an armed intervention against Communist expansion in Asia.[60] Again the uncertainty and stress of armed conflict appeared in a country tired of war.

In 1950, the Korean War was seen as a simple police action from which the troops would be home for Christmas. But by 1952, the war had become a drawn-out affair. General MacArthur had been fired, and the American people had begun to perceive a softness toward Communism creeping into their country.[61]

The end of the Korean War brought a respite in significant armed conflict for the United States. But a dozen years later, Lyndon Johnson would again enter another unproclaimed war on the Asian continent; and, like Truman in Korea, Johnson would enter the war to stop the spread of Communism.

By the election of 1968, the Vietnam War became quite unpopular. Johnson had fervently tried to negotiate a Korean-type settlement with North Vietnam, as more and more the American electorate questioned the relevance of Vietnam. But the war was not to end until 1973, under the Second Administration of Richard Nixon.

Vietnam is the last of several periods of armed conflict occurring in the generic period. Like other armed

conflicts, Vietnam contributed to the insecurity and stress which continued the need for ritual in American society. This need, in turn, helped to maintain the altered rhetorical situation.

The Threat of Cold War. Although the end of the Korean War marked a respite from armed conflict, it did not free the country from the stress and insecurity of a threatening environment. Just as the actuality of armed conflict had created the need for a ritualistic unification, the threat of an ultimate armed conflict also produced a felt need for general American unity. Indeed, during the period known as the "Cold War," the perceived threat to American democracy from the "Communist Menace" was substantial.

> This threat to the West in the second half of the twentieth century was far more terrifying than those presented by Kaiser William II and Adolph Hitler. At the times of their threats America was energetic, without a huge public debt, and naive. At the time of the Soviet threat America was tired, debt-ridden, and wiser.[62]

The Soviet threat was more terrifying also because it occurred in a nuclear age. From the moment a B-29 bomber dropped an atomic weapon on Hiroshima, Japan, in 1945, the possibility of instantaneous and widespread annihilation existed. Communism was soon to be perceived in the United States as a ruthless evil which possessed the atomic secret and power.

Because of this threat of nuclear destruction, Eisenhower's Presidential years were years of fear in America. Before the fears centered on the Great Depression. Now these same fears were aroused by a perceived cancer-like spread of Communism, and a technology which could destroy democracy and the world. "Domestic considerations seemed trivial by January, 1958, in the shadow of the new Russian intercontinental ballistic missiles and satellites."[63]

During the Kennedy years, several serious Cold War confrontations between democracy and communism occurred. Two of the most important involved the closing of the border between East and West Berlin in 1961, and the offensive missile deployment in Cuba in 1962. Both the Berlin Wall and the Cuban Missile Crisis further stirred America's fears of the communist threat.

Another factor of the Cold War which generated American insecurity, and thus increased the need for ritual, was America's second place standing in the "space race." Throughout this period, the Soviet Union continued to hold the dominant position in high space technology. With its firsts, including Sputnik I, Lunik I, and Vostok I, the Russians visibly demonstrated a superiority of high technology.

Since the Cold War Years, however, the salience of the communist threat has subsided, although the fears then generated still remain. In fact, the multi-billion-dollar U.S. defense budget in 1978 testifies to the presence

of these Cold War insecurities.

The Threat of Social Unrest. Since rituals mark and reaffirm values at critical periods of social transition in the life cycle of a group, it is not surprising that a functional need for ritual existed during the later 1960s and early 1970s. For these were years of traumatic social transition.

The early Presidential years of Lyndon Johnson provided the most important period of social legislation since the New Deal. Johnson had been a Roosevelt protégé, and had pursued "an enlargement of the Roosevelt policies with evangelistic fervor ...."[64] His legislation, like the Civil Rights Act of 1964, greatly affected society as it sought the elimination of poverty and the promotion of a sense of humanity.

To a great extent, the Johnson legislation aimed at helping those impoverished Americans who were the products of immigration earlier in the century. Besides those entering the country during the early 1900s, many refugees and other immigrants came into the United States around the World War II period.[65] The Displaced Persons Act of 1948, as amended, had permitted an increase in both European and Oriental immigration.[66]

The American society had retained its character of "cultural pluralism" during the second half of the 20th century primarily because of what Riesman calls

"self-privatization."[67] The older pressures for forcible Americanization had broken down for the most part, and immigrant groups were now allowed more freedom of development in society. "The lower-class Negro, Italian, Jew, or Slav [was] permitted to approach the American middle-class norm at more or less his own pace."[68]

The result of this "self-privatization" was the acceptance in American society of cultural pluralism.

> Under the practice of cultural pluralism this means that the ethnic groups are no longer urged to accept the whole package of work and play as "the Americans" define it. On the contrary, the ethnics are invited to add to the variety of the nation by retaining the colorful flavors of their "racial heritages."[69]

This concept of cultural pluralism would have been fine, except the ethnic was "kept from complete social participation in the dominant groups by subtle and not-so-subtle barriers."[70] This resulted in the formation of ethnic enclaves which functioned in their own self-interests, and which developed their own respective group identifications. In American society at the time of the Johnson Administration, individuals in these groups generally confined their social interaction to their own group. "This, too, is called cultural pluralism, though for the individual it operates to restrict him to a single culture."[71]

Many of these ethnic groups suffered economic depression, as the New York City areas of lower-class black

and Puerto Rican ethnicity exemplify. Although part of the general American culture, they primarily identified in poverty with their local ethnic groups.

Conflicting with Lyndon Johnson's humanistic goals to help these and other impoverished Americans, and colliding with the rising expectations generated in these groups by his legislation, was the Vietnam War. For probably the greatest catalyst for social unrest during the Johnson years was his conduct of the war in Vietnam.

One reason was the disproportionate share of the sacrifice the impoverished groups were called upon to make. They composed a disproportionate share of the fighting force, and their programs suffered indirectly from the inflation created by war-time spending in the American economy.

Another reason for social unrest was the idealism of America's youth. Strongly believing in government's responsibility to its people (as exemplified by Johnson's Great Society Programs), they could not understand government's policy of destroying people (including Americans) in Vietnam. In fact, Theodore White argues that the Vietnam War did much to create what came to be known as the "generation gap."

> [The Vietnam War] separated generations - most leaders of the governing generation, having fought in the last good war, believed that all must be subordinated to national security and survival. Most of the vocal, younger, incoming generation believed that loyalties ran to

> humankind, not to defense or survival. The leaders of the two generations would come to regard each other variously as traitors or Neanderthals, killers or cowards, inhumans or wild radicals.[72]

Nowhere were these social divisions more marked than in the Presidential election campaign of 1968. The withdrawal of Lyndon Johnson, the assassination of Robert Kennedy, the Chicago riots surrounding the Humphrey nomination, and the surprising support for Eugene McCarthy, all evidenced the deep divisions which characterized the population.

But for all the turmoil of the Democratic and Republican campaigns, perhaps the greatest reflection of the social unrest was the Wallace Campaign. Wallace's campaign attacked the bureaucrats, the revolutionaries, the pseudo-intellectuals, and the guideline writers. Indeed, Wallace's campaign was aimed at the fears of common America, fears of national weakness, black militancy, and loss of individual freedoms. Wallace's candidacy exploited the nation's social divisions, and was premised on an "Anti-intellectualism reminiscent of the Know-Nothings of the 1840s and 1850s, the Populists of the 1880s, [and] the Joe McCarthy spy chases of the 1950s."[73]

The turbulence of the 1968 Presidential campaign is indicative of the social unrest of the late 1960s and early 1970s. It is metaphorical of a time when internal threats to the institution of American democracy, and to

the humanity of man, created great levels of stress and insecurity throughout American society. It was thus a time when the ritualistic need for unification and coping remained an important ingredient of the rhetorical situation.

The Threat of Internal Corruption. The rhetorical situation has remained changed, in part, because the need for ritual has continued in the face of stress and insecurity. Sources for this stress so far have included armed conflicts, the Cold War, and social unrest. In addition, a fourth source, that of internal corruption, has also contributed to the need for ritual in the generic period's inaugural rhetoric.

This corruption produced a perceived threat to the institution of democracy since the chicanery occurred at the highest levels of democratic government. The two most important cases of such corruption involved the two highest elected offices in the country. During the Second Nixon Administration, both the President and the Vice-President were forced to resign in the face of their own foul dealings.[74]

Consider the following occurrences. They, in part, form the scenario of corruption's public exposure during the later Nixon years.

(1) April 30, 1973: Nixon aides Bob Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, and John Dean resign under charges of political espionage.[75]

(2) May 11, 1973: Charges of releasing the "Pentagon Papers" against Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo are thrown out of court due to "improper Government conduct."[76]

(3) October 10, 1973: Vice-President Spiro Agnew admits guilt of tax evasion in 1967, and resigns the Vice-Presidency immediately. He is subsequently convicted on criminal charges.[77]

(4) October 20, 1973: Nixon discharges Watergate Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, abolishes Cox's task force, and accepts the resignations of Attorney General Elliot Richardson and Deputy Attorney General William Ruckelshaus.[78]

(5) December 9, 1973: Nixon admits that certain income tax deductions he has claimed might be illegal, and that he might owe more than a quarter of a million dollars in back Federal taxes.[79]

(6) March 2, 1974: Seven ex-Nixon aides, including Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Mitchell, are indicted on charges of conspiracy.[80]

(7) April 4, 1974: Nixon admits that he owes almost a half-a-million dollars in back taxes because of underpayments he had made while in office.[81]

(8) July 27, 1974: The House Judiciary Committee votes 27-11 to ask for the impeachment of the President.[82]

(9) August 5, 1974: Nixon admits he ordered a halt to the inquiry on Watergate six days after the original Watergate break-in.[83]

(10) August 8, 1974: Richard Nixon resigns.

The traditional institution of American democratic government had demonstrated again its vulnerability to hostile forces, this time from within. In the 1960s and early 70s, America had been threatened by a social

unrest, a divisiveness within its own society. Now the very leadership of that society, including the office which symbolized democratic power, had become tarnished by the infelicity of Nixon's Administration. The destruction of the myth of Presidential honor, and the exposure of government violations of pledged obligations to its society, served as a fourth source of social insecurity and stress.

Summary

This section has argued that the alterations which occurred in the rhetorical situation at the time of Roosevelt's First Inaugural in 1933 have remained so altered for three reasons: (1) Franklin Roosevelt, with his New Deal policies, redefined the relationship of the individual with his government; (2) the electronic mass media continued to influence the rhetorical situation; and (3) the need for ritualistic unification and coping continued in American society after 1933, as an unending series of perceived threats to democracy occurred.

3.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to show that beginning in 1933, certain changes in the American social environment created changes in the inaugural rhetorical situation. These changes in rhetorical situation, in turn, have constrained both the argumentative substance and the

linguistic style of inaugural speaking. The purpose of this chapter has been to identify those changes which have occurred in the social environment, and to relate those changes to an altered inaugural rhetorical situation. The subsequent chapters will examine changes which have occurred in both the stylistic and substantive forms of inaugural oratory beginning in 1933, and will describe how these changes of form have been responsive to the alteration which has occurred in the rhetorical situation.

The argument presented in this chapter has had two purposes. The first was to suggest that in 1933, the rhetorical situation for the inaugural address, as perceived by the orators, became altered. And the second was to argue that this alteration of situation has continued throughout the generic period.

The original change in rhetorical situation is attributed to an increased pluralism of audience, and the occurrence of the Great Depression. The audience became more pluralistic because of large-scale immigration into the United States, and because of the development of radio. Immigration created the pluralism in American society, while radio made this pluralism part of the inaugural audience.

The Great Depression, on the other hand, ended an era of complacency and security, and demonstrated the failings of the traditional governmental system. In this way, the Depression produced the perception of vulnerability

in American society, a perception which generated the need for rhetorical ritual.

The second major purpose of this chapter's argument was to suggest that the rhetorical situation which became altered in 1933, has remained so altered since. This continued alteration is attributed to a redefinition of the government-individual relationship, the continued influence of the electronic mass media, and the continued need for ritualistic coping.

This part suggested that Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal responded to the evaporation of the "work ethic." The Federal Government accepted responsibility for the well-being of the individual, thereby altering the relationship between orator and audience.

During the generic period, the mass media also expanded, becoming a ubiquitous influence in American life. Thus, it provided an increasingly effective channel of communication between the inaugural orator and the individual members of his rhetorical audience.

The third reason that the rhetorical situation remained altered after 1933 was the continued need for ritualistic coping. After Roosevelt's First Inaugural, the nation perceived an unending stream of threats emanating from the sources of armed conflicts, the Cold War, social unrest, and internal governmental corruption.

During the generic period, the Presidential orators found themselves speaking to a large mass of the

American population, a mass composed of divergent groups with varying backgrounds, interests, beliefs, and values. And they found themselves speaking to these people during times of great national insecurity and stress.

The rhetorical problem for these orators was to identify with these people, and to ritualistically unify them against perceived threats. The next chapter on style will argue that the linguistic style of these orators responded by becoming conducive to their identification with their pluralistic audience, and their unification of that audience's members. The subsequent chapter on substance, then, will show how the ideas of these orators, as presented in their arguments, were well suited to this pluralistic social identification and unification.

3.5 Notes

[1]T. Harry Williams, Richard N. Current, and Frank Freidel, A History of the United States Since 1865. 2nd ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964, p. 155.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Maldwyn Allen Jones, American Immigration. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960, p. 207.

[6]Ibid., p. 208.

[7]See Ibid., pp. 247-277 for discussion of these quota systems.

[8]Ibid., p. 279.

[9]Ibid., pp. 221-226.

[10]The first inaugural to be broadcast by radio was that of Calvin Coolidge in 1925. Twenty-five radio stations carried his message to an estimated audience of 22,800,000 listeners.

[11]Franklin M. Reck, Radio From Start to Finish. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1942, p. 63.

[12]Ibid., p. 52.

[13]See Sydney W. Head, Broadcasting in America. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1956, p. 129.

[14]Reck, p. 62.

[15]Head, p. 122.

[16]See Head, "Network Broadcasting," pp. 118-122.

[17]Williams, p. 563.

[18]Ibid.

[19]H. Cantril and G. W. Allport, The Psychology of Radio. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms reproduction of an original book - New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935, p. 3.

[20]For a vivid description of the Great Depression, see Williams, beginning on p. 496.

[21]Joseph Nathan Kane, Facts About the Presidents. 2nd ed. New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1968, p. 167.

[22]The constraints which influenced Theodore Roosevelt differed from those influencing the generic group's orators. Traditional historical wisdom (Kane, Williams, Armbruster) describes Theodore Roosevelt as a discontented and thoroughly restless person with a deep inferiority complex. Most of this inferiority is commonly related to his embarrassment about his physical qualities, including his small stature, poor eyesight, and asthmatic affliction. As a personal defense against this self-perception, Roosevelt engaged in a reaction formation of being different, rebellious, and of not fitting in with the "weakling" mold. He did react rhetorically to certain constraints in much the same way the generic group orators did; but the constraints he reacted to were unlike those influencing the generic group. While the generic orators were reacting to perceived national vulnerabilities, Roosevelt was constrained by a perceived personal insecurity. For further information on

Roosevelt's personality, see Maxim Ethan Armbruster, The Presidents of the United States and Their Administrations from Washington to Nixon. 4th ed. New York: The Horizon Press, 1969, p. 265.

[23]See Thomas A. Bailey, Presidential Greatness. New York: Appleton-Century, 1966, p. 190.

[24]Ibid., p. 92.

[25]Armbruster, p. 265.

[26]Relative to length and size of American involvement.

[27]Armbruster, p. 285.

[28]David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, and Reuel Denney, The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character. Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1956.

[29]Ibid., p. 203.

[30]Philip L. Newman, "When Technology Fails: Magic and Religion in New Guinea," in James P. Spradley and David W. McCurdy, Conformity and Conflict, 2nd ed., Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1974, p. 316.

[31]Riesman, et al., pp. 203-219.

[32]Williams, p. 514.

[33]Denis W. Brogan, The Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950, p. 42.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Robert T. Oliver and Eugene E. White, Selected Speeches from American History. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1966, p. 250.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Bailey, p. 304.

[38]Bower Aly and Lucile F. Aly, Speeches in English. New York: Random House, 1968, p. 209.

[39]Dan D. Nimmo, Popular Images of Politics: A Taxonomy. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974, p. 136.

[40]Cantril and Allport, p. 21.

[41]Brogan, p. 95.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Paul K. Conkin, The New Deal. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967, p. 22.

[46]Armbruster, p. 304.

[47]Head, p. 135.

[48]Ibid.

[49]See FCC Annual Reports, in Head, p. 145.

[50]Williams, p. 563.

[51]Head.

[52]Ibid., p. 155.

[53]Ibid., p. 158.

[54]Ibid., p. 159.

[55]Aly and Aly, p. 209.

[56]Conkin, p. 2.

[57]The Truman Doctrine said that the United States would help any country develop its economy if that country would resist absorption into the Communist orbit.

[58]The Marshall Plan was the informal name given to the European Recovery Program of 1947.

[59]Williams, p. 703.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Ibid., p. 711.

[62]Armbruster, p. 327.

[63]Williams, p. 734.

[64]Armbruster, p. 346.

[65]Jones, p. 280.

[66]Ibid., p. 293.

[67]Riesman, et al., p. 323.

[68]Ibid.

[69]Ibid.

[70]Ibid., p. 324.

[71]Ibid.

[72]Theodore H. White, Breach of Faith: The Fall of Richard Nixon. New York: Dell Publishing Company, Inc., 1975, p. 60.

[73]"Wallace: The Unspoken Issue," Newsweek, Vol. 72, November 4, 1968, p. 35.

[74]Nixon was never proven guilty, but he legally accepted guilt by accepting the Presidential Pardon of Gerald Ford.

[75]"Nixon Accepts Onus for Watergate," The New York Times, May 1, 1973, p. 1.

[76]"Pentagon Papers Charges Are Dismissed," The New York Times, May 12, 1973, p. 1.

[77]"Agnew Quits Vice Presidency and Admits Tax Evasion in '67," The New York Times, October 11, 1973, p. 1.

[78]"Nixon discharges Cox for Defiance," The New York Times, October 21, 1973, p. 1.

[79]"Nixon Reveals Financial File," The New York Times, December 9, 1973, p. 1.

[80]"Federal Grand Jury Indicts 7 Nixon Aides," The New York Times, March 2, 1974, p. 1.

[81]"Nixon to Pay $432,787 in Back Taxes," The New York Times, April 4, 1974, p. 1.

[82]"House Panel, 27-11, Asks Impeachment of Nixon," The New York Times, July 28, 1974, p. 1.

[83]"Nixon Admits Order to Halt Inquiry," The New York Times, August 6, 1974, p. 1.

CHAPTER 4

STYLE

4.1 Introduction

The generic argument thus far has dealt with a perceived change in rhetorical situation. Beginning in 1933, a new perceived rhetorical situation emerged which included (1) a pluralization of the rhetorical audience, and (2) an increased need in this rhetorical audience for ritualistic coping.

The Campbell and Jamieson generic model used in this study focuses the attention of criticism on the response of stylistic and substantive forms to perceived situational constraints. Chapter 3 has provided a discussion of these perceived situational constraints. This chapter now discusses the response of inaugural style to these constraints.

This chapter argues that, beginning in 1933, rhetorical style was employed to a greater extent as a rhetorical strategy to achieve agreement and unity in a pluralistic audience. Style became one important way for the inaugural orator to socially obtain intersubjective agreement and identification with the elements of his heterogeneous audience. It became a way of doing so by the generation of multiple interpretations for the orator's ideas.

4.2 Multiple Interpretation

Style, in the traditional sense, is the outer form which conveys the orator's ideas. It is an orator's use of linguistic symbology to convey to his audience his meaning. Style traditionally encompasses the orator's choice and arrangement of words.[1]

Rhetorical style consists of symbols organized by a definable grammar or set of rules. Not only does it convey the orator's meaning, but in the process, it organizes this meaning as well. Style does not provide the abstract form which determines meaning; rather, it provides the actual organization of what the orator means.

John R. Searle in "Human Communication Theory and the Philosophy of Language,"[2] alludes to this characteristic of style by claiming that symbols in isolation do not convey meaning or ideas. According to Searle, symbols must occur in some type of context - a context governed by an internalized set of rules - before these symbols can take on meaning.[3]

In the rhetorical process, two contextual ingredients seem necessary. First, the orator must select and present his symbology in some form of context; and second, the audience must interpret the orator's intended meaning by applying its internalized rules to the context of presentation. The less precise the context of presentation, the greater the freedom of audience interpretation, and the

greater the possibility of multiple interpretations resulting.

Orators paraphrase their symbolic structures to convey their ideas. They transform their basic ideas into a structure of speech sounds or rhetorical style to make them easier to understand. And in this transformation process, they use a system of constraints or rules, rules which place their symbology into a context for interpretation. Labov, of course, would claim these rules come from the social or group environment, and thus the influence of group on style occurs.

Multiple interpretations become possible when the context specified by the orator is imprecise to the point where varying groups can create varying interpretations. These groups can thus derive differing meanings for the orator's symbols. The possibility of multiple interpretation increases as the level of linguistic abstraction rises, since the abstraction process generalizes the context controlling the reference to concrete features.

The Concept of Abstraction

S. I. Hayakawa defines the abstraction process as being one whereby linguistic symbology is related to real things and happenings. It is a selection process of noting resemblances, while at the same time, ignoring differences.[4] Orators abstract their ideas to a greater degree

by leaving out more of the concrete features of the referent, features which the audience, in turn, must supply.

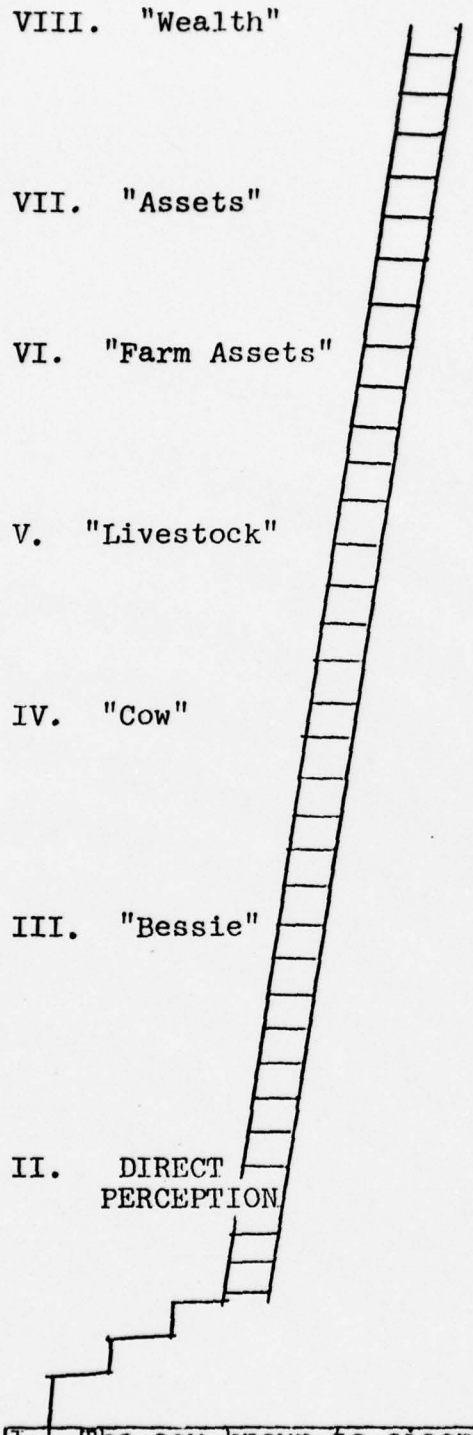
Abstraction, of course, is a matter of degree. It is always present, at least at its lowest levels, in any occurrence of human perception, since any such occurrence is no more than an interaction between that which is perceived and the human system doing the perceiving. According to Hayakawa,

> The "object" of our experience, then, is not the "thing in itself," but an interaction between our nervous systems (with all their imperfections) and something outside them.[5]

Hayakawa believes that human beings are distinctive in their ability to climb to higher levels of abstraction. These levels he describes as occurring on an "Abstraction Ladder"[6] (see Fig. 1). At the bottom rung of this ladder, the lowest form of abstraction occurs with direct human perception. Below this point, at the process level, there is no perception. There is only the unique collection of atoms and electrons which make up an ever-changing organism or thing of infinitely unique characteristics. Conversely, at the other end of this ladder, at an extremely high level of abstraction, almost all reference to the unique characteristics of this particular organism or thing are omitted.

The lowest level of abstraction, then, is <u>direct perception</u>, for even when we see something, some of the

FIGURE 1. ABSTRACTION LADDER



VIII. "Wealth"

VIII. The word "wealth" is at an extremely high level of abstraction, omitting almost all reference to the characteristics of Bessie.

VII. "Assets"

VII. When Bessie is referred to as an "asset," still more of her characteristics are left out.

VI. "Farm Assets"

VI. When Bessie is included among "farm assets," reference is made only to what she had in common with all other salable items on the farm.

V. "Livestock"

V. When Bessie is referred to as "livestock," only those characteristics she had in common with pigs, chickens, goats, etc., are referred to.

IV. "Cow"

IV. The word "cow:" stands for the characteristics we have abstracted as common to cow 1, cow 2, cow 3...cow n. Characteristics peculiar to specific cows are left out.

III. "Bessie"

III. The word "Bessie" (cow 1): this is the name we give to the object of perception of level II. The name is not the object; it merely stands for the object and omits reference to many of the characteristics of the object.

II. DIRECT PERCEPTION

II. The cow we perceive: not the word, but the object of experience; that which our nervous system abstracts (selects) from the totality that constitutes the process-cow. Many of the characteristics of the process-cow are left out.

I. The cow known to sicence: utlimately consisting of atoms, electrons, etc., according to present-day scientific inference ... This is the process level.

Source: S. I. Hayakawa, Language in Thought and Action, p. 169.

process characteristics of the reality we see are left out. Referring to this primordial level of abstraction, Susanne K. Langer concludes that,

> The abstractions made by the ear and the eye - the forms of direct perception - are our most primitive instruments of intelligence. They are genuine symbolic materials, media of understanding, by whose office we apprehend a world of things, and of events that are the histories of things.[7]

Thus, even the human experience of direct perception is an abstraction, an interaction between a human and his or her outside environment.

Many scholars believe that man is unique in his ability to move up the abstraction ladder, an ability which is the basis for all of his scientific and philosophical insights. As Langer concludes, "Abstractive seeing is the foundation of our rationality ...."[8]

It is this foundation of rationality, or the ability to move up in level of abstraction, which gives an orator a way of making the process of agreement among divergent groups easier to achieve. Agreement can more easily occur at higher levels of abstraction because those doing the agreeing have a greater amount of personal freedom of interpretation - they have more latitude in assigning concrete features to that which they are agreeing upon.

Parallels to Indexicality. This concept of abstraction parallels the ethnomethodologists' concept of

"indexicality." Jack D. Douglas in Understanding Everyday Life speaks of man's "awesome capacity to transcend himself and his immediate situation, to bring a vast realm of previous experience to bear in constructing meanings and actions for his immediate situation."[9] Man can utilize this vast realm of previous experience by indexing such experience under various linguistic symbols. In effect, he can then use these indexed experiences to supply "left-out" concrete features.

Like abstraction, the level of indexicality for a particular symbol or group of symbols is a matter of degree. In other words, certain linguistic symbols might index greater amounts of previous experience, and thus, might be more indexical. Bar-Hillel concludes that,

> Even very superficial investigation of the linguistic habits of users of ordinary language will reveal that there are strong variations in the degree of dependence on the reference of linguistic expressions on the pragmatic context of their production.[10]

More highly indexical symbols, or symbols with a higher level of abstraction, rely more on the audience's previous experience for interpretation of particular concrete features of the referent. Symbols with higher degrees of indexicality index greater numbers of previous experiences, and thus, can provide more variations of interpretation.

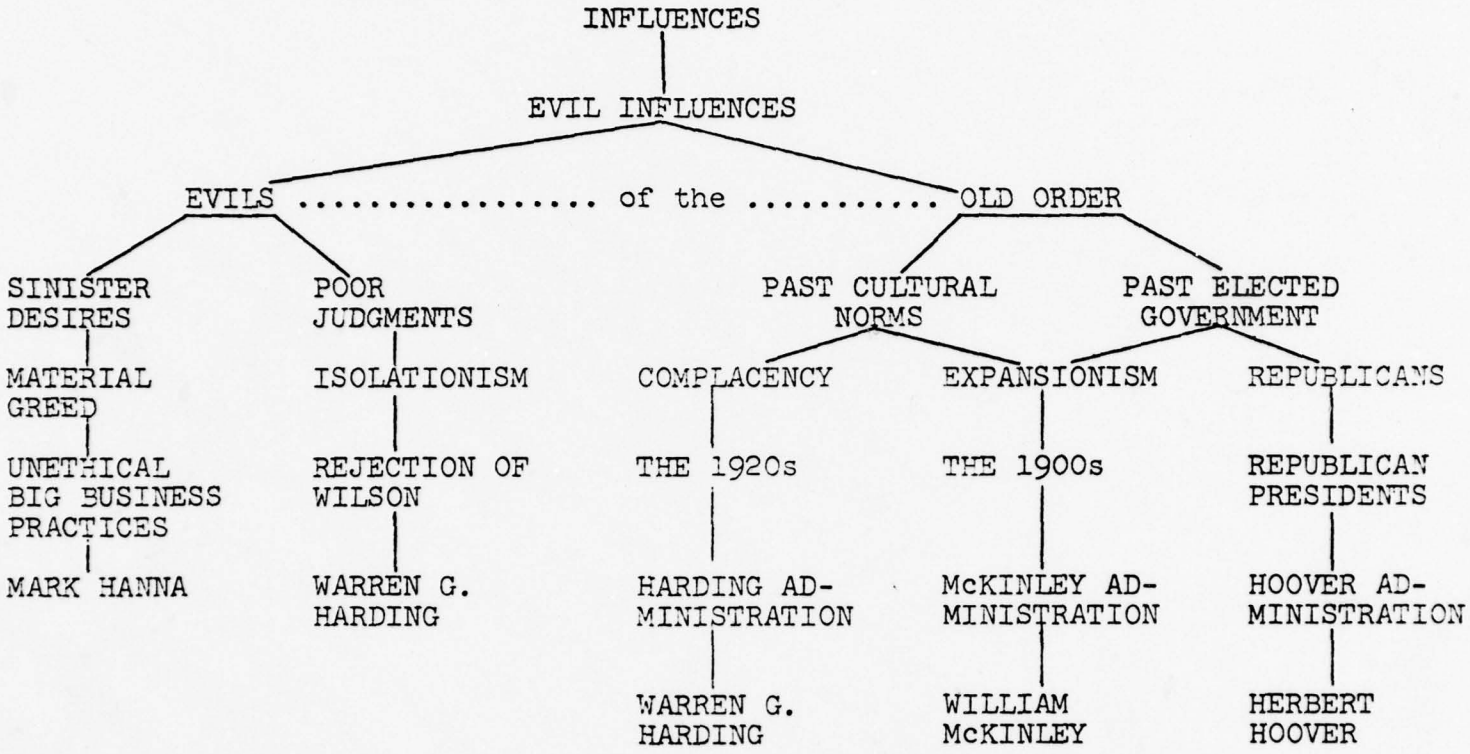
When an orator speaks to an audience of divergent

group composition, he is speaking to an audience composed of groups with widely varying previous experience. By using symbols with greater indexicality (or higher abstraction levels), the orator permits these groups more unique freedom to interpret, as they will, the precise nature of his meaning. These groups can thus agree with the orator's meaning, although the meaning upon which they are agreeing, in actuality, may be dissimilar.

For instance, consider Franklin Roosevelt's claim that the Great Depression was caused by the "Evils of the Old Order." The explicitly argued content is that Old Order Evils caused the Depression. But the precise meaning of this content depends on the audience's interpretation of Roosevelt's stylistic metaphor. This dependency occurs because Roosevelt's style, in this case, is highly abstract and indexical. It permits multiple audience interpretations.

The applied abstraction ladder in Figure 2 indicates a few of the possible idea interpretations for this stylistic expression. Note the numerous possible meanings for both "Evils" and "Old Order," and the various resultant combinations of meanings for the entire phrase. Roosevelt's ideas were open to many different interpretations. He could have been claiming that the Depression was caused by anything from the sinister forces of the McKinley Administration, to simply the honest poor judgments of past elected government. In any case, his explicitly argued content, or substance, as perceived by his audience, depended to a great

FIGURE 2. APPLIED ABSTRACTION LADDER



extent on that audience's interpretation of his style.

Hayakawa claims that successful politicians, like Roosevelt, interplay higher and lower abstraction levels in their language.[12] They maintain audience interest with such a balance: they operate at a low enough level to be understood, but at a high enough level so as not to restrict too severely their audience's freedom of perception. There is a point of balance, then, in the abstraction levels of their political rhetoric. As this chapter suggests, a higher point of balance between stylistic elements of lower and higher abstraction seems to characterize the generic group of orators. It is this shift in abstraction level which forms the stylistic response to the changed perception of rhetorical situation.

Chaim Perelman has said that, "It must not be forgotten that there are cases in which it is only by the use of an abstract term that the possibility of agreement is kept open."[13] The generic group of Presidential orators were faced with such a case, where it was necessary to have several possible interpretations of intent or meaning - where, in effect, it was necessary to take a position at a point of balance higher up on the abstraction ladder. By making their uttered outer linguistic structures more abstract, the generic group allowed the members of their pluralistic audience more individual freedom in perceiving what each of them was inclined to, and capable of, perceiving. The possibility of audience agreement with, and

unification behind, the President's leadership in the face of situational threats was enhanced.

The stylistic elements whose occurrence levels suggest increased levels of abstraction in the generic group fall into four categories: (1) Figurative Language, (2) Imagery, (3) Qualification, and (4) Length.

Figurative Language

One of the most common stylistic ways of generating multiple interpretations is with the use of figures of speech. Laurence Perrine broadly defines a figure of speech as "any way of saying something other than the ordinary way."[14] Richard A. Lanham agrees, defining a figure as "any striking or unusual configuration of words or phrases, any departure from normal usage."[15]

These definitions are too broad for the purposes of this study. Indeed, using such definitions, some rhetoricians have classified as many as 250 separate figures.[16] Consequently, as Perrine does in his Sound and Sense, this study subscribes to a more restricted definition of figurative language. According to Perrine, "A figure of speech is more narrowly definable as a way of saying one thing and meaning another .... Figurative Language - language using figures of speech - is language that cannot[17] be taken literally."[18] (italics supplied)

As part of a quantitative analysis of rhetorical

style, this study's consideration of figures of speech is limited to metaphor and simile, and personification. These figures are found in great abundance in rhetorical discourse, particularly in discourse of a ritualistic nature. As Hayakawa points out, these figures can have a strong affective component, a component which arouses feelings and which underlies the language of rituals.[19]

Metaphor. Metaphors are stylistic devices which imply comparisons between things which are essentially unlike.[20] In this study, the metaphor also includes the simile, a specific type of metaphor where the comparison is expressed, not implied. In either case, metaphors are more abstract than literal definition. They express meaning by comparison; thus, the meaning perceived by any part of an audience can vary with that part's perception of the meaning of the thing to which the comparison is being made. Referring to this abstract quality of metaphors, Perelman says,

> Metaphors simultaneously present to the mind, influence and enrich one another, and suggest a number of different developments between which only the context allows one to choose. And even then the choice is rarely unambiguous and definite.[21] (italics supplied)

An increased occurrence level of metaphors, therefore, is one indication of increased stylistic abstraction. (Note: a complete list of metaphors used by the respective

Presidential orators in their 20th century inaugural addresses is provided in Appendix 1.)

Personification. Hayakawa defines personification as a particular type of metaphor where we do "not distinguish between the animate and the inanimate."[22] More traditionally, of course, personification is defined as "making animate things out of inanimate things," of implying a comparison between the animate and the inanimate. Personification is a metaphorical comparison, a comparison which, by its metaphorical nature, has a more abstract quality than literal definition. (Note: A complete list of personifications used in the 20th century inaugurals is provided in Appendix 2.)

Imagery

Images are mental representations which contribute to an oration's stylistic abstraction. Imagery thus contributes to the oration's appeal to a pluralistic audience, since it allows more freedom in the perception process than literal definition. According to Arnold, images vary in type according to the work demands they place on the audience for the audience's understanding of the orator's meaning.

Sensory Images. A sensory image is an image in the traditional sense. It is the commonly-known literary

image, one which "may be defined as the representation through language of sense experience." It is an indirect appeal to our senses, "the representation to the imagination of sense experience."[23]

Sensory images are the least abstract images since they are vicarious devices which rely on the shared information and experiences provided by the five senses. Most of us know what it is to taste, feel, see, hear, or smell, and thus, most of us can share spontaneously and experientially images which rely on these senses. Arnold's conclusion that, "Sensory images tend to stimulate listeners to experience vicariously,"[24] thus seems based on the commonalities of shared human sensory perception.

It is important to note, however, that sensory images are more abstract than literal definition, for differing people can assign differing affective meanings for the same sensory image. For example, a Northeasterner who visits the Deep South for the first time, and is treated to a breakfast of pigs' feet and grits, might quickly realize that the sensory image relating to taste can vary, although the referent remains the same. Thus, the statement, "This tastes as good as pigs' feet and grits," might have radically differing interpretations among divergent geographical and sub-cultural groups.

Intellectual Images. The highly abstract concept of the intellectual image defies definition. One might

attempt to define it as a representation, a likeness, or a projection of an idea in the mind which demands some significant intellectualization for decoding. But such a definition would seem to fit Hayakawa's concept of unrealistic definition, an incidence where "the words in the definition often conceal even more serious confusions and ambiguities than the word defined."[25]

Carroll C. Arnold presents the concept of the intellectual image in his Criticism of Oral Rhetoric. But probably wisely, Arnold never really attempts to define the term. What he does do, however, is specify that intellectual images "tend to make the listeners work to process and use the ideas referred to."[26] In effect, they are something the audience must stop and think about for a moment, something functioning at a high level of abstraction. For example, Franklin Roosevelt's reference to the "Evils of the Old Order," besides being metaphorical, also forms an intellectual image. Each member of Roosevelt's audience had to stop and determine for himself or herself exactly what the evils of the old order meant. As Figure 2 has suggested, there are many possible interpretations or referents.

As this example demonstrates, images are not just images exclusively. Many are metaphorical in some significant way. Another example would be Wilson's use of "fine gold has been corroded." This linguistic feature qualifies as both a metaphor and a sensory image. For it is making

an implied comparison between fine gold's corrosion and American society, and it is appealing to the sense of sight with a visual image. Consequently, in this study, "fine gold" has been counted both as a metaphor and a sensory image.

In summary, both sensory and intellectual images function at a higher level of abstraction than does literal definition. They both rely on the audience's supplying of certain concrete features. Of the two types of images, however, the intellectual variety is the more abstract, since it relies on information not shared as equally by orator and audience members. (Note: Appendix 3 provides a complete listing of the sensory images used in the 20th century inaugural addresses, while Appendix 4 supplies a listing of the intellectual images.)

Qualification

As the level of figurative language or imagery increases, the level of abstraction also increases. The relationship between qualification and abstraction, however, is just the opposite. For qualification occurs when additional stylistic elements modify the meaning of an already-present element. The already-present element thus holds two meanings: its own and the qualified meaning. This qualified meaning is dominant, and adds specificity to the orator's ideas.

Therefore, an increased occurrence of qualification would be another indicator of decreased abstraction level, and a decreased incidence of qualification would indicate a higher abstraction level. Qualification provides a more literal definition, and thus permits less freedom in the audience's determination of the orator's meaning.

Embedding. Walker Gibson in Tough, Sweet and Stuffy, identifies a particular type of qualification called subordination.[27] Long phrases or clauses inserted between the subject and predicate alter the meanings of either or both the subject and predicate, and provide a particular type of subordination called embedding. Embedding lowers the level of abstraction in a thought unit in which it occurs. As Arnold points out, "[Embedded] dependent clauses ... usually qualify. They assert that so much may be believed but no more."[28]

An example of embedding can be found in William Taft's Inaugural Address. In his opening statement, Taft says, "Anyone who has taken the oath I have just taken must feel a heavy weight of responsibility." Between the subject, "anyone," and the predicate, "must feel ...," is embedded the subordinate clause, "who has taken the oath I have just taken." This clause literally defines for the audience the subject "anyone" as being a President of the United States. There is a marked reduction in the level

of abstraction, then, because there is an embedded clause.

Fictionalization. Like embedding, fictionalization also provides a type of linguistic qualification which reduces abstraction. When an orator fictionalizes, he uses either the definite article "the" or the demonstrative pronoun "that" when referring to a noun. In doing so, he specifies a particular meaning for the noun, reducing the freedom of interpretation for his audience. In effect, he fictionalizes a role for his audience to play, a role which allows it to understand the particular referent the definite article or demonstrative pronoun identifies.

For example, if a President talks about "a problem" of the nation, he is leaving the interpretation of the meaning of "problem" up to his audience. If, instead, a President addresses "the problem" of the nation, he is specifying a particular problem, and is fictionalizing a role for his audience to play, a role whereby this audience will understand which particular problem he is addressing.

Walter J. Ong proposed the concept of fictionalization in his article, "The Writer's Audience Is Always a Fiction."[29] In this article, Ong claimed that by the use of "that" or "the," the author "acknowledges the existence or possibility of a number of individuals beyond the immediate range of reference and indicates that from among them one is selected."[30] Thus, by providing a systematic reference toward concretion, an orator's fictionalization

effectively specifies the proper audience response by reducing the level of abstraction. Therefore, decreased occurrences of fictionalization would be an indication of increased levels of stylistic abstraction.

Length

The final stylistic measure of abstraction used by this study is length. This measurement includes not only the length of each respective inaugural in total number of words, but also the average length of each sentence within these individual speeches.

In many ways the length measurement simply reflects the level of occurrence of other stylistic features. Generally it takes more words to convey more concrete information, while it generally takes fewer words to express more abstract ideas. The use of figurative language, by relying more on the audience's previous experience, involves the use of fewer words and shorter thought units.[31] Embedding, on the other hand, adds to the length by adding to the literal modification of a particular subject and predicate.

Generally, longer speeches and longer sentences often reflect the presence of more specific, literally-defined information. It seems reasonable that decreased length of entire speeches, and individual sentences within these speeches, could indicate higher levels of abstraction.[32]

4.3 Methodology

The shift of attention from individual speakers to groups of speakers dictated by generic inquiry demands a reliable system of comparative analysis. It serves little purpose to simply compare the actual occurrence levels of stylistic features in a group of speeches. The varying lengths of these speeches would make such comparison invalid.

One solution to achieving a meaningful comparison of stylistic feature occurrence is to use a system whereby the actual occurrences are weighted by the speech's length. Such a system is used in this study. In order to provide a meaningful quantitative measurement of style, and to derive a meaningful comparison of this measurement for all of the 20th century inaugural orations, this study employs what it calls the Rhet System.

The rhet system is simple. It uses a unit of weighted measurement called the "rhet" to describe the frequency of occurrence of various stylistic devices or features. The rhet is used in the following manner: each speech is surveyed in its entirety for each stylistic feature in each organizational category. The total number of each of these features' occurrence is then multiplied by 1,000 and divided by the total number of words in the respective speech, yielding the weighted measurement of style or rhet rating (R). These rhet ratings, in turn,

provide a simple means of comparative analysis within the body of discourse.

The rhet formula is:

$$R = \frac{1000\ Fs}{Wt}$$

where:

R = rhet rating

Fs = number of occurrences of a stylistic feature within a given speech

Wt = total number of words in the speech.

4.4 Comparative Analysis

The number of occurrences and the consequent rhet ratings for each stylistic feature are provided for all of the 20th century inaugural addresses in Appendices 5 and 6. Appendix 5 provides this comparative analysis data for the generic group, while Appendix 6 supplies this data for the comparison group.

Table 1 provides a comparison of the mean rhet values of style found in the generic and comparison groups of Presidential orators. An average or mean value for the entire group of 20th century Presidents is also provided. While, of course, there are deviations from these mean values within each group, the mean values do provide a good indication of the commonalities within the generic group,

TABLE 1. MEAN VALUE COMPARISON

Style Feature	Generic Group	Comparison Group	Whole Group
Metaphor	R = 5.3	R = 3.1	R = 4.5
Personification	R = 4.8	R = 3.0	R = 4.6
Sensory Images	R = 5.9	R = 2.9	R = 4.7
Intellectual Images	R = 9.4	R = 4.0	R = 7.3
Embedding	R = 3.9	R = 9.4	R = 6.0
Fictionalization	R = 40.8	R = 53.0	R = 45.4
# words, total	1,595	2,853	2,074
# words per sentence	20.7	25.4	22.7

and the differences between the two groups. In effect, these values indicate the presence of significant stylistic similarities within the generic group.

Figurative Language

Figurative language is a direct indicator of abstraction level. As the use of figures of speech increases, so does the level of abstraction of the thought or idea in which they are used. All of the 20th century Presidents have an average rhet rating for both metaphors and personification combined of 4.8. The generic group, however, has a higher-than-average overall rating of 6.0 rhets, while the comparison group has a lower-than-average overall rating of 2.9.

Metaphor. There is a recurring pattern of above-average metaphor use in the generic group. The generic group scores a 5.3 metaphor rating, while the comparison group only rates 3.1. Within this group, Roosevelt, Truman, Nixon, and Carter do manifest some scores which deviate from the average group level. But overall, there is strikingly greater use of metaphors in the generic group.

By comparison, the McKinley-Hoover collectivity of orators has a recurring pattern of below-average metaphor use. Within this group, Roosevelt, Wilson and Harding tend to manifest deviant scores and of the three, Roosevelt's deviations are by far the greatest.

These data seem to indicate an increased stylistic abstraction in the generic group, an abstraction which this study argues, was in response to situational demands for unity. It is also interesting that Theodore Roosevelt, the man with probably the broadest group identification in the comparison group, is also the man with clearly the highest metaphorical abstraction in his group.

Personification. The average use of personification for the entire group is 4.6, with the generic group scoring above average at 4.8, and the comparison group, well below average at 3.0. Furthermore, the data for the individual orators show that with few exceptions, the mean values accurately reflect the general use patterns for these respective groups.

In the generic group of Presidents, the most curious deviations are John Kennedy and Richard Nixon. Kennedy's personification rating of 2.2 and Nixon's rating of 1.7 in his Second Inaugural, are both well below the whole group mean. Kennedy, however, seemed to rely more on other abstraction-producing devices. For example, his imagery ratings are very high, and his metaphor use is well-above-average.

In Richard Nixon's case, the low personification rating may well reflect an overall low level of broad identification appeals. One might even speculate that on the occasion of his Second Inaugural, Richard Nixon saw

himself as a President with a tremendous mandate, a man who already had the necessary agreement within his pluralistic audience. Even though the problems forming the social constraints for his Second Inaugural were basically unchanged from his First Inaugural, Nixon no doubt perceived an overwhelming approval for the leadership he had already given in response to these problems.[33]

Imagery

The generic group of Presidents scores well above the comparison group in the use of sensory and intellectual images. In fact, the generic group scores well-above-average in its use of images, while the comparison group scores well-below-average.

Sensory Images. Both groups seem to manifest a level of sensory image use similar to their respective use levels of metaphor and personification. The generic group is above average with a sensory image score of 5.9, while the comparison group is well-below-average, with only a 2.9 rating.

Intellectual Images. The generic group used the more abstract intellectual image over twice as much as did the comparison group. In addition, the generic group's level of use for intellectual images increased to a point well above its sensory image levels.

Both Harry Truman and Richard Nixon deviate somewhat from their generic group's average. For Truman, this might evidence the traditional wisdom that he was not an overly-eloquent speaker. And certainly it is worth remembering that Truman often said what he thought and had the reputation of "shooting from the lip."[34] For Nixon, this deviation might still be a further indication of his perceived relationship with the public he was elected to serve.

Qualification

The data reflecting the frequency of occurrence of linguistic qualification also seem to reflect the generic group's higher level of linguistic abstraction. For both the embedding and fictionalization data indicate a recurring pattern of lower specificity among the generic orators.

Embedding. The generic group has a much-lower-than-average frequency of embedding. Its rating of 3.9 compares with a 6.0 average rating for all 20th century Presidents, and a 9.4 rating for the comparison group.

The individual rhet ratings within the generic group are surprisingly consistent for this stylistic feature. All but one of this group's orators are below the whole group average. This one deviation is Dwight Eisenhower in his Second Inaugural Address, a deviation which

brings to light an interesting fact about all 20th century inaugurals. In every case, the more a President is re-elected, the more he qualifies his meaning by stylistic embedding. Wilson, Eisenhower, and Nixon all embedded more in their second inaugurals than in their first inaugurals. And Franklin Roosevelt progressively increased his embedding throughout his series of four inaugural addresses. Possibly the Presidential office teaches the art of qualification of one's meaning. The abrupt rise in Eisenhower's use of embedding in his Second Inaugural certainly might well reflect his education of the Presidency by the Presidency during his first term of office. For unlike other Presidents, Eisenhower was truly a political novice: most of what he learned about Presidential politics he learned while campaigning for, or serving as, President of the United States.

Fictionalization. Like an embedded qualification, fictionalization also reduces abstraction by defining audience response. And like embedding, the data for fictionalization also show a recurring higher-level abstraction pattern in the generic group. In fact, the generic group has a fictionalization rating of only 40.8 rhets as compared with the comparison group's rating of 53.0.

The individual members of the generic group are also consistently below the mean, with the exception of Roosevelt's Third Inaugural and Eisenhower's Second

Inaugural. As with the embedding data, a pattern of increased fictionalization and decreased abstraction in second inaugurals exists, although the pattern does not hold true this time for all of Roosevelt's four inaugurals.

Length

The measurements of total length in words and average number of words per sentence probably mirrors the other indicators of abstraction. The assumption here, of course, is that generally it takes more words to convey more concrete information; and conversely, it requires fewer words to express more abstract ideas.

The data for both of these stylistic features show a clear dichotomy between the two groups of Presidential orators. The generic group, which manifests a recurring pattern of more abstract style in other measurement categories, also manifests a much-lower-than-average total number of words and a lower-than-average number of words per sentence.

Total Number of Words. Consistency within the two groups might seem to be a problem in the total words category. In the generic group, the speech lengths range from Franklin Roosevelt's 559 words to Eisenhower's 2,446; while in the comparison group, the lengths vary from Theodore Roosevelt's 985 word speech to Taft's 5,347 word address. However, it is important that in the generic

group, only 25 percent of the orators had speeches even slightly over 2,000 words in length. By contrast, in the comparison group, over half of the orators had speeches over 3,300 words long. It is also important that the general shift to shorter speeches did not occur gradually over a long period of time. In 1929, Hoover delivered a 3,735 word inaugural; in 1933 Roosevelt followed with a 1,927 word address. And the inaugurals which preceded Hoover's speech were relatively long, while the speeches which followed Roosevelt's First Inaugural were relatively short. Also, some of the most noteworthy deviations may be rationally accounted for. For example, Theodore Roosevelt's 985 word Inaugural Address may reflect his unique orientation to the working man in America, to someone disinterested in the specificities of governmental deliberation. Conversely, Eisenhower's 2,446 word First Inaugural may again reflect his political inexperience, especially since his Second Inaugural was about 800 words shorter.

Number of Words per Sentence. In addition to the total-number-of-words category, there is also a recurring pattern of shortness in the generic group for average numbers of words per sentence. For this category, this group is again below average, with a 20.7 rating, while the comparison group is above average again, with a 25.4 rating.

Summary

The linguistic patterns identified in this chapter indicate an increased level of abstraction in the generic group. The increased-use pattern for both metaphorical and personification figures demonstrates the felt rhetorical need to say one thing to one general audience, but mean several things to the unique constituents of that general audience.

The generic group's increased use of imagery also demonstrates that group's felt need to identify with a greater part of its pluralistic audience. By increased image use, this group allowed its audience more freedom in the perception process, and thereby, gave itself more of a chance to achieve a unified agreement.

The patterns of decreased qualification in the generic group also evidence its higher level of linguistic abstraction. For both the qualifiers of embedding and fictionalization occurred less frequently in the generic group, meaning that the audience was allowed more latitude of interpretation.

The generic group also manifests a pattern of relative brevity in total number of words and average number of words per sentence. These features generally reflect a higher abstraction level, since it generally takes fewer words to express more abstract ideas.

4.5 Conclusion

The model of generic inquiry employed in this study focuses critical attention on the response by stylistic and substantive forms to a perceived rhetorical situation. Chapter 3 identified the perceived rhetorical situation of the generic group as one with a pluralistic audience in need of a ritualistic unification. The rhetorical problem facing the orators of that period involved a simultaneous identification with divergent elements of a heterogeneous group.

One response by the generic orator to this perceived need of intergroup identification was a pattern of higher stylistic abstraction. This higher level of abstraction, in turn, reflected the generic orator's attempt to obtain intersubjective agreement on his ideas throughout his heterogeneous audience. In effect, such increased abstraction was a stylistic strategy employed by the generic orator in response to perceived situational constraints.

The following chapter will now provide the final element of the generic triad. It will present the argument that the orator substantively responded to this altered situation by using ideas more suited to ritualistic unification. And in doing so, it will complete the generic argument that both stylistic and substantive forms responded to a perceived similar situation in inaugural addresses occurring between 1933 and 1977.

4.6 Notes

[1]Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism: The Development of Standards for Rhetorical Appraisal. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948, p. 78.

[2]John R. Searle, "Human Communication Theory and the Philosophy of Language: Some Remarks," in F. E. X. Dance (ed.), Human Communication Theory. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967, pp. 116-129.

[3]Ibid., p. 120.

[4]S. I. Hayakawa, Language in Thought and Action. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949, p. 168.

[5]Ibid., p. 167.

[6]Ibid., p. 169.

[7]Susanne K. Langer, Philosophy in a New Key. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974, p. 92.

[8]Ibid., p. 72.

[9]Jack D. Douglas, "Understanding Everyday Life," in Jack D. Douglas, (ed.), Understanding Everyday Life. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970, p. 42.

[10]Yehoshua Bar-Hillel, "Indexical Expressions," Mind, Vol. 63, 1954, pp. 359-379.

[11]deleted.

[12]Hayakawa, p. 179.

[13]Chaim Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, The New Rhetoric. London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969, p. 148.

[14]Laurence Perrine, Sound and Sense. 4th Ed., New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1973, p. 60.

[15]Richard A. Lanham, A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968, p. 52.

[16]Perrine.

[17]Obviously anything can be taken literally. However, there are rules for interpretation, internalized by the individual, which tell him that figures should not be taken literally. Figures don't tell us what to think, just what not to think.

[18]Perrine.

[19]See Hayakawa, pp. 75, 84, and 120.

[20]Perrine. Also note that the concept of metaphor has effectively been restricted to include only the implied or expressed embellished or ornamental comparison of one thing to another.

[21]Perelman, p. 401.

[22]Hayakawa, p. 122.

[23]For a traditional literary-sense discussion of images, see Perrine, p. 49.

[24]Carroll C. Arnold, Criticism of Oral Rhetoric. Columbus: The Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1974, p. 168.

[25]Hayakawa, p. 173.

[26]Arnold.

[27]Walker Gibson, Tough, Sweet and Stuffy. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966, pp. 127-130.

[28]Arnold, p. 207.

[29]Walter J. Ong, S. J., "The Writer's Audience is Always a Fiction," Publication of the Modern Language Association, January 1975, pp. 9-21.

[30]Ibid.

[31]A thought unit may be defined as the subject and predicate and the associated modification material.

[32]Searle suggests this relationship by referring to ambiguities which result from economies of language. See John Searle, "Chomsky's Revolution in Linguistics," The New York Review of Books, Vol. 18, January 29, 1972, p. 19.

[33]Nixon carried every state but one. Theodore White commented that "his sweep almost defied analysis." White further says that, "Few Presidents have been able to cope with the psychological after-effect of a landslide - a delusion of omnipotence." See Theodore H. White, Breach of Faith: The Fall of Richard Nixon. New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1975, p. 219.

[34]Harry Truman had the ability to quickly make decisions of tremendous importance, and then convince himself that the decisions he had made were correct. His ideas

were often uttered quickly and without warning, and often were expressed with "the scorching language of a Missouri mule skinner." See Thomas A. Bailey, Presidential Greatness. New York: Appleton-Century, 1966, p. 169.

CHAPTER 5

SUBSTANCE

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 provided the generic model for this research. This model called for critical emphasis on the demonstration of stylistic and substantive responses to a perceived situation within a defined body of discourse. Chapter 3 identified this perceived situation as one of audience pluralism and psychological insecurity, a situation which called for the rhetorical ritualistic unification of members of a heterogeneous audience.

Chapter 4 has described the stylistic response to these situational exigencies, a response of higher abstraction for the purpose of achieving agreement on, and unification behind, the orators' ideas. This chapter will now consider the final element of this generic criticism: the substantive response made by the inaugural orators between 1933 and 1977 to their perceived rhetorical situation.

This chapter presents the argument that the nature of the ideas expressed in explicit argumentation changed in inaugural addresses beginning in 1933. Before 1933, the arguments were specific and deliberative; after 1933, they took on a much more ritualistic and ceremonial character. Both the nature of major claims and supportive

major data evidence a substantive response to perceived situation.

As Chapter 1 showed, the comparison group saw the inaugural purpose as one of deliberation, of actually beginning the specific business of the administration. The later generic group, however, saw the inaugural more as an epideictic intensification rite, as a means of creating the power of unity with common faith in country. This chapter will show that this dichotomy of stated purposes (presented in Chapter 1) is clearly reflected in the argumentative substance of the two groups.

5.2 The Substance of Explicit Argumentation

Probably the most valid concept of the term "substance" is also the most general one. This concept views the substance of a piece of rhetoric as really the essence of what the rhetoric says. It is the whole of the meaning of the oration, and not just any particular part thereof. In effect, substance is more than just the lines of argument or the forms of support. It is also the style of the oratory, the occasion of the presentation, the presence of the speaker, and many other factors which have entered into the particular instance of communication process. In fact, this concept of rhetoric as an indivisible whole has led Perelman to conclude that rhetorical form and substance are inseparable:

> We refuse to separate the form of discourse from its substance, to study stylistic structures and figures independently of the purpose they must achieve in the argumentation.[1]

Indeed, this concept of substance seems to encompass much of the generic concept itself. For a genre too is an indivisible whole of rhetoric, an interaction of forms with situational constraints. Using this orientation, a genre becomes little more than a group of speeches or a body of rhetoric with similar substance.

This concept of the term "substance," however, has limited utility in this generic study. The problem is that it includes too much. It includes, in a unified whole, too many rhetorical variables to allow a reasonable comparative analysis of elemental variables among a group of speeches. This concept of rhetorical substance would be, in the final analysis, much closer to the goal of this study's demonstration than one of the means of achieving such demonstration.

It is necessary, therefore, to adopt a more limited view of rhetorical substance. Consequently, this study limits its use of the term to a more traditionally-held definition of "explicitly argued content."[2] In effect, substance represents the ideas of an orator invented for a rhetorical purpose. This concept has been adopted in order to effect a better comparative analysis of the arguments within the inaugural group, and in order to better identify the response of this form to the

already-discussed changed rhetorical situation.

The Claims of Rhetorical Stimulation

Carroll C. Arnold feels the argumentation process should be viewed from the listener's point of view. Such a viewpoint sees a piece of oratory as a set of rhetorical stimuli which makes claims on the listener.

> From a listener's vantage point a rhetorical message is a series of interrelated, assertive forces offered for his interpretation and evaluation. It is the listener's processing of stimuli that should be of primary interest to a critic of oral rhetoric .... To conceive of the verbal contents of a speech as stimuli that make claims can help [in the process of criticism].[3]

To view the argumentative flow of logical forms of support, Arnold adopts Stephen E. Toulmin's Claim-Warrant-Data concept. This Toulmin system views the process of discourse as an assertion demanding an argument. The assertion, according to Toulmin, is the Claim: "A man who makes an assertion puts forward a claim - a claim on our attention and to our belief. He [intends his] statement to be taken seriously."[4]

Of course, how seriously an audience will take the claim of an orator depends on many things. In a case where an audience challenges the orator's claim, the seriousness of the claim's perception will often depend on the argument produced to support the claim. According

to Toulmin, "We can ... demand an argument; and a claim need be conceded only if the argument which can be produced in its support proves to be up to standard."[5]

Arnold feels that rhetoric is "an event in which there is [a] dynamic, intellectual relationship between communicator and respondent."[6] He sees rhetoric as an attempt to modify the listener's experience where the listener retains the right of challenge. In effect, rhetoric is a claim on the listener.

Arnold's adoption of Toulmin's system views the flow of argument which stems from the seriously-offered claim. Argument is seen from the point of view of a listener who has recognized a claim as being a claim. In this system, Arnold defines a Claim as "Any assertion to which a communicator appears to have committed himself by seriously offering it as 'true.' "[7]

The evidence which substantiates a claim is called the Data. "Data are whatever information is, or could be, supplied in answer to a question such as: 'What have you got to go on?' "[8] The hypothetical bridges between the claim and the data are called Warrants. According to Arnold, "The WARRANT justifies - gives authority for - the step from DATA to acceptance of CLAIM."[9] Thus, the rhetorical argumentative system of Toulmin, as adopted by Arnold, models as follows:

DATA: ——————————— So, CLAIM

Since
WARRANT

This method of conceiving argumentative flow has a great deal of utility in rhetorical criticism. As Arnold concludes,

> [The Toulmin approach] is precisely the view a speech critic needs when approaching the verbal content of speech, and a number of critics have demonstrated that they can make realistic and useful descriptions by viewing logos in substantially the way Toulmin proposes.[11]

One of those critics who has derived a most useful critical method from Toulmin's system is Roderick P. Hart. Hart extensively uses Toulmin's unintended contribution to rhetorical criticism, but with some significant modifications. According to Hart, Toulmin's system is a good beginning in the quest for "a psycho-logically oriented system for estimating the reasonableness of a piece of discourse."[12] In fact, "Toulmin's conception of dynamic argumentation does parallel our current understanding of enthymematic reasoning."[13] Furthermore, "Because the making, sending, and receiving of messages are dynamic events, Toulmin's analyses of thought processes are particularly applicable to the human interface."[14]

Like Arnold, Hart sees many advantages in using a Toulmin-based system, the most important being that it "takes the emphasis off formal, logical validity and permits a psychological view of argument." In fact, Hart concludes that,

> By extending Toulmin a bit ... one can look through verbal stimuli to the listener as the arbiter of the logic of oral discourse. The question asked in criticism thus becomes one of sufficiency rather than validity .... If properly modified, Toulmin's method can facilitate the job of the rhetorical critic.[15]

Probably Hart's most significant modification to Toulmin's ideas comes in the Claim. Hart does not propose to isolate individual claims; rather, he proposes to identify the dominant impression or theme of the speech, which he calls the Major Claim. According to Hart,

> When a critic looks for a major claim in a speaking situation, he must search for the dominant impression residing in the majority of the listeners - the impression that is the product of the verbal statements made by the speaker.[16]

This modification makes the Toulmin concept particularly useful as a descriptive device for the criticism of inaugural addresses. In all of the 20th century inaugurals, the orators invariably developed a single, all-important theme. And although the extent of development varied between the generic and comparison groups, only a single theme was developed in all cases.

Hart's concepts of Major Data and Warrant are similar to Toulmin's. In Hart's system, the Major Data are themselves assertions which support the Major Claim. These data are "what listeners would have perceived as the main supportive assertions."[17] Warrants, on the other hand, are

the bridges between the major data and the major claim. They "make the data-claim movement plausible." Thus the Hart system can be modeled as follows:

MAJOR CLAIM ——————————— MAJOR DATA

Since
WARRANTS

This study uses the Hart schema only as a descriptive device to view the argumentative substance of the Presidential orators. In this study, neither the degree of sufficiency nor the level of validity matters much beyond the fact that these degrees exist and can be compared within the group of speeches. The purpose here is not to judge rhetorical quality; rather, it is to compare rhetorical occurrences.

Consequently, this study adopts Hart's modified Toulmin plan for its descriptive qualities. It must be emphasized that the schematizing of inaugural arguments will not be done for evaluative purpose. Whether the argumentative substance was sufficient for the claim at hand is not the concern of this study. However, what the argumentative substance was, and how it was presented, is the concern of this study, and will be the emphasis of this analysis.

5.3 Comparative Analysis

Appendix 7 contains the argumentative flows for all of the 20th century inaugural addresses. The arguments are traced through the three levels of Major Claim - Warrants - Major Data. In many cases, of course, various data would also serve as assertive claims in their own right, and additional flows could have been extended from these data. However, this study is limited to only two levels of argumentation beyond the Major Claim since the study's purpose is only a comparative analysis of a group of arguments, not a complete analysis of any particular oration. In addition, the Warrants have been annotated as either supplied or suppressed. Those warrants which are marked "supplied" were explicitly stated by the orators; those warrants marked "suppressed" were only implied.

Historical Situation and Major Claims

One of the most useful comparisons of substance can be found with the relationship between historical situation and major claims. This comparison can most easily be seen with an abbreviated collation of the occasions and claims. Such a collation of occasions and claims is provided in Tables 2 and 3.

The differences between the generic and comparison groups seem quite apparent from this collation. Notice that in the comparison group, most of the major claims

TABLE 2. OCCASIONS AND CLAIMS (Generic Group)

President	Occasion	Major Claim
FDR-1	The Great Depression	The depression can be conquered.
FDR-2	The New Deal	America's wrongs must be continually corrected.
FDR-3	Portents of WW II appear	Democracy is threatened.
FDR-4	World War II	Democracy is threatened.
Truman	War reconstruction & Communism's rise	Peace and freedom are threatened.
Ike-1	Korean War and Rise of Communism	Freedom is threatened.
Ike-2	The Cold War	Peace is threatened.
Kennedy	Growing Communist technological menace	Freedom must be defended.
Johnson	Growing Communist and internal threats	Democracy must be maintained.
Nixon-1	Vietnam War and social unrest	Peace must be achieved.
Nixon-2	Vietnam War and social unrest	America's role is changing in the search for peace.
Ford	Watergate Affair	Democratic government will survive
Carter	Loss of faith in American Government - Watergate Affair	Americans must renew their faith in country.

TABLE 3. OCCASIONS AND CLAIMS (Comparison Group)

President	Occasion	Major Claim
McKinley	Successful war and territorial expansion	American greatness is secure
T. R.	Progressive reform-expanding world influence of U.S.	American world leadership grows from American greatness.
Taft	Successful Roosevelt Presidency	Roosevelt's successes should be continued and furthered.
Wilson-1	Rejection of Taft's Republicanism	Democratic reformation is necessary
Wilson-2	Portents of WW I appear	U.S. must meet her international obligations in a troubled world
Harding	Popular rejection of Wilson's internationalism	America will be great in popular isolation
Coolidge	Peaceful and prosperous complacency	We should pursue popular idealistic complacency
Hoover	Peaceful and prosperour complacency	Specific reforms are necessary to avoid long-term dangers.

embodied the concept of America as a prodigious nation progressing down a relatively secure and destined path of greatness. American success, in this group, comes primarily from its material resources and technology.

The claims of the generic group, however, have a different character. In this group, the claims center on the maintenance of a vulnerable greatness against strong threatening forces. American success, in this group, is much less certain, and comes primarily from collective faith in country and democratic principles. In other words, the power designated to defend freedom is based more in ritual in the generic group.

At the claim and warrant levels of argument, the concept of invulnerable greatness occurs much more frequently in the comparison group. Conversely, the claims of American vulnerability occur much more often in the generic group. In the comparison group, American power is also defined more often in terms of good government and material resources; in the generic group, however, this power is defined more often in terms of American faith and unity.

Clearly there is a greater degree of American intergroup identification inherent in the claims of the generic group. This group's themes seem to be responses to the insecurity caused by stressful situations; thus, the group commonly uses a ritualistic call for populace-centered power and action. Conversely, the other group's themes are in response to the relatively stressless environment caused

by the then ever-growing United States' security in the world. This group more commonly uses an unceremonious call for government-centered power and action. Indeed, as Chapter 3 argued, government was perceived to have been effective in dealing with major national problems during this period.

Consider also that electoral mandate is used several times in comparison group claims and warrants, while it is not used at all in the generic group's claims and warrants. Mandates, of course, represent political power derived from dichotomies of political-philosophical orientations. Arguments by mandate, then, are arguments to particular sub-groups of the electorate - most particularly the groups which gave the mandate in the first place. Arguments by faith, on the other hand, are arguments to the whole American electorate, since faith in country bridges political differences. The comparison group relied more on mandate, and thus identified more with particular sub-groups. The generic group, however, relied more on the power of faith, and thereby relied more on a broad, general American identification.

Abstraction and the Substance of Data

The last chapter argued that abstraction was directly related to the level of intergroup identification. The greater the level of abstraction, the greater the variety of interpretations possible, and therefore, the

greater the number of differing people who could identify with the orator's meaning. It seems reasonable that there should be an increased level of substantive abstraction in the generic group of orators, since these orators have already displayed a greater level of identification with pluralistic America. Such increased identification has already been reflected in the orator's style, and has been shown to be related to the exigencies of the generic group's changed rhetorical situation.

The relationship between a pluralistic American identification and rhetorical substance can easily be seen in a comparison of the amount and nature of the Major Data used by the two groups. The comparison group tended to use more data, to be less dramatic in their use of data, and have a greater degree of precision and specificity of data. Conversely, the later, generic group used fewer data, and used data of a more abstract and dramatic nature.

Although the average use of warrants, including the respective levels of use of supplied and suppressed warrants, was relatively equal for both groups,[18] on the average, the comparison group used more data to support its claims than did the generic group. For all of the 20th century inaugurals, the average speech employed 14.7 pieces of Major Data. In the comparison group, however, the average speech used 17.1 such pieces of data, while in the generic group, the average was 13.1 pieces of Major Data.

This reduced use of data by the generic group

seems to reflect that group's greater substantive abstractness and lack of precision. Again, this group achieved greater intergroup identification and agreement by being more abstract.

Consider for example the precision of Herbert Hoover and the abstraction of Franklin Roosevelt. Both men were calling the country to action - Hoover to avoid well-hidden dangers, Roosevelt to conquer an all-too-apparent danger. Certainly two of Hoover's warrants were of a more abstract quality, for like all the other orators, he called for the abstract concepts of world peace and common well-being. But like most of the orators of his group (and unlike most of the orators of the generic group), Hoover specified exactly what he felt needed to be done. He did not deal in generalities; rather, he particularized specific data about the criminal justice system, the 18th Amendment, education, public health, and business restraints.

Roosevelt, on the other hand, dealt in abstractions. He argued through implication, not specification. His data implied the Republicans were the money changers, a societal evil which had fled, but it never said so specifically. Roosevelt also called for immediate, disciplined action, but unlike Hoover, he never specified exactly what this action would be. Hoover had argued specifically about problems and solutions, while Roosevelt argued generally about such solutions. Consider the flagrant generalization in Roosevelt's most famous First Inaugural piece of data,

that there's nothing to fear but fear itself. In reality, such an argument is absolutely ridiculous. Realistically, many people during the Depression had plenty of serious and specific things to worry about besides fear: they had hunger, they had poverty, and they had unemployment. Fear or no fear, if they did not eat, they went hungry.

It is important to note that these Roosevelt and Hoover examples are not isolated cases. Throughout the comparison group, the orators fairly consistently used more precise and less abstract data. For example, McKinley talked in detail about the Resolution of April 20, and a relatively minor insurgent problem in the Philippines, while Taft provided a highly specific breakdown of proposed governmental reforms. Harding spoke of war taxation and protective tariffs, while Coolidge presented a long and detailed list of things which would further Americanism.

By contrast, Truman spoke of an abstract evil of Communism, a bad force which used "violence and lawlessness." Eisenhower presented several general principles of national guidance, but no specific programs or proposals. Kennedy pledged to seek peace, maintain security and unify the world, while Johnson relied on America's "covenant of faith." Neither Kennedy nor Johnson, however, had any specific proposals to support their rhetorical claims. Nixon, like the others in the generic group, also dealt in generalities. He talked about sharing wealth, but never said how or how much. He talked about achieving peace, but

never presented any specifics as to how he would go about it. But probably the most ambiguous of all the Calendrical Group is its newest member. The Inaugural Address of Jimmy Carter is an abstract compilation of spirit, trust, passion, unity, and quiet strength. Indeed, Carter's Inaugural is the quintessence of abstract generalization.[19]

In summary, Roosevelt and the generic group argued differently from Hoover and the comparison group. Roosevelt, the generic group's exemplar, was a brilliant rhetor who apparently realized that specificity only generates alienation from divergent parts of a pluralistic audience. He understood the meaning of the political axiom that there's no way to make everybody happy all the time. So he concentrated on trying not to make too many people unhappy. He and his group were identifying with a large, pluralistic audience, an audience made up of many diverse philosophies. And so their inaugural arguments dealt in the currency of ritual, a currency which was not only acceptable, but was greatly needed just about everywhere.

Besides differing in the amount and precision of the data used, the two groups also differ on the dramatic nature of the arguments employed. For the generic group is the more dramatic - that is, it employs arguments which elicit higher interest levels through an exaggeration of conflict and emotion.[20] In effect, this dramatic nature contributes to the power of the Calendrical Inaugural rhetoric.

Thomas De Quincey once commented that rhetoric has two non-mutually-exclusive offices. The first is "the literature of knowledge; the other, the literature of power. The function of the first is - to teach; the function of the second is - to move: the first is the rudder; the second, an oar or a sail."[21]

Using De Quincey's metaphor, one could say that the arguments in the generic group have relatively more oar and sail, and relatively less rudder. For in an attempt to generate broader appeals, the generic orators exaggerated both conflict and emotion in their arguments. Their purpose was to move a country to unification - to coping with a threatening environment - not to educate the nation in detail about the subject at hand.

Much of the drama in the generic group's substance has already been reflected in the last chapter on style. For example, the increased use of vivid imagery and other types of figurative language also often increase the dramatic effect. Such language relies heavily on past audience experience, and feeds on the emotions attached by the audience to these experiences. But more importantly, argumentative substance composed of such stylistic devices also generates heightened emotional conflicts. For example, the implied conflict between good and evil found throughout the generic group's oratory is much more dramatic than the explicit conflict between different philosophical ideologies often found in the comparison group's rhetoric. For

Roosevelt, the Republicans became the implied embodiment of evil, while for most of the Presidents who followed, the Communists took on this demonized image. Truman said the Communists were unlawful and violent, while Eisenhower said they knew no God. Kennedy promised to defend the hemisphere against their evil, while Johnson vowed that the success of Communism was too awful an occurrence to contemplate. And both Nixon and Carter implied the existence of such foreign evils by explicating America's close ties with God and "righteousness," and by restating America's role in the defense of freedom and human rights. Indeed, throughout the generic group, there is a continual, dramatic exploitation of America's self-image of goodness and Godliness, an exploitation of an exaggerated conflict between good and evil where America is good. Indeed, the arguments of these orators may have been inconsistent or even illogical, but they were always dramatically righteous.

5.4 Conclusion

Chapter 1 has shown that there is a dichotomy of purpose between the comparison and generic groups. The comparison group saw the inaugural purpose as one of deliberation, of actually beginning to conduct the specific business of the administration. The later, generic group saw the inaugural more as an epideictic intensification rite, as a means of creating the power of unity with common faith in country.

This dichotomy of purpose is clearly reflected in the argumentative substance of the two respective groups. In response to perceived situational vulnerabilities, the generic group's major claims all center on some type of serious threat to American democracy. First, the claims involved depression. Then they centered on war, Communism, war again, and finally, the corruption of the democratic system itself.

In the comparison group, American power is seen as being invincible, and is derived from technology; in the generic group, American power is vulnerable, and is derived from faith. The response to situation is clear - technology and governmental power cease to be the basis for major claims at exactly that point in history where technology and government failed to cope successfully with major social problems.

The increase in a pluralistic, intergroup identification in the generic group is also manifested in the group's argumentative substance. The rhetorical call for populace-centered action, the avoidance of argument by mandate, and the extensive use of argument by faith all characterize the generic group. In addition, greater abstraction of major data, including less total data, more dramatic data, and less precision and specificity of data, all indicate, in the generic group, a recurring pattern of substance better suited for a unifying identification with a heterogeneous audience.

The rhetorical triad of the Calendrical Genre is thus complete. The argument has now been presented that (1) a new rhetorical situation of perceived pluralism and vulnerability demanded increases in ritualistic unity; (2) a stylistic identification with the pluralistic inaugural audience has occurred, responding to this perceived situational need; and (3) a changed nature of argumentative substance and stated purpose has also responded to these perceived situational needs. Thus, a distinct genre has been formed by the response of style and substance to a perceived situation - an inaugural genre of ritualistic faith intensification and unification.

5.5 Notes

[1]Chaim Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, The New Rhetoric. London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969, p. 142.

[2]For an extended discussion of explicit argumentation, see Carroll C. Arnold, Criticism of Oral Rhetoric. Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1974, Chapter III, beginning on p. 47.

[3]Ibid., p. 48.

[4]Stephen E. Toulmin, The Uses of Argument. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1958, pp. 11-12. See also Arnold, Chapter III.

[5]Toulmin.

[6]Arnold, p. 49.

[7]Ibid., p. 51.

[8]Ibid., p. 52.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Ibid., p. 64.

[11]Ibid., p. 49.

[12]Roderick P. Hart, "On Applying Toulmin: The Analysis of Practical Discourse," in Charles J. Stewart, Donovan J. Ochs, and Gerald P. Mohrmann, Explorations in Rhetorical Criticism. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1973, p. 75.

[13]Ibid., p. 76.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid., p. 77.

[17]Ibid., p. 78.

[18]For Warrants, the early group averaged 3.4 per speech, while the later, generic group averaged 3.7. Of these warrants, the comparison group supplied 2.3 and suppressed 1.3; while the generic group supplied 2.5 and suppressed 1.8.

[19]There is an interesting parallel between the nature of generic group arguments and Basil Bernstein's concept of restricted codes. Bernstein talks about restricted codes as codes used between familiars. The codes are restricted to information which is socially shared. In effect, the generic group's arguments are restricted to socially shared information relative to freedom, democracy, Godliness, and "the American way." Bernstein conceived of two types of codes: the elaborated and the restricted. Elaborated codes tend to be verbal, stressing new information and objective analysis. On the other end of the spectrum was the restricted code, one which stressed the nonverbal, experiential, social function aspect of life. Clearly the codes of the generic group inaugurals are not truly restricted, but they are more restricted than those found in the comparison group. For a further discussion of Elaborated and Restricted codes, see Basil Bernstein and Dorothy Henderson, "Social Class Differences in the Relevance of Language and Socialization," Sociology. Vol. 3, 1969, pp. 1-20.

[20]This definition is certainly at variance with the traditional concept of the dramatic as reflected in Aristotle's Poetics. Aristotle considered drama to be a collectivity of plot, character, thought, diction, music, and spectacle. In this study, however, the term is used in a much more general way. Here "drama" refers to any

exaggeration of conflict and emotion. For a good discussion of varying concepts of drama, see Theodore W. Hatlen, Drama: Principles and Plays. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1975, particularly "Elements of Drama," p. 8.

[21]See Thomas De Quincey, "The Literature of Knowledge and Literature of Power," North British Review. Vol. 11 August 1848, p. 51. See also Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism: The Development of Standards for Rhetorical Appraisal. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948, p. 358.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Discussion

For the most part, the criticism of rhetoric is little more than the making of an extended rational argument based on the critic's judgment of what Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird call "psychological and literary constituents."[1] In conducting such a criticism, the critic considers a given event, or a group of events as a functional unit, and also, as an entity interacting with the social environment. As Thonssen and Baird point out, "The critic is engaged in an exploratory venture; he seeks to make an ordered whole of events having an infinity of interrelationships."[2] These interrelationships are infinite in number because any speech "is the product of a complex of social events in which human beings and their problems are equated - at least, attempts are made to equate them - with their environment."[3]

This study is an exercise in rhetorical criticism which has emphasized the interaction of a group of speeches with their social environment. It has made an extended rational argument regarding the existence of a rhetorical genre, and in so doing, it has isolated the three major rhetorical constituents of situation, style, and substance. This study has thus utilized the theory of rhetorical genres,

a theory whose main power seems to be its ability to explain the nature of rhetorical occurrences.

The major claim of this study's argument is that the inaugural address in 1933 abandoned its traditional and accustomed emphasis on deliberation, and emerged as a calendrical or intensification rite of American culture. The claim says, in effect, that the inaugural address had its emphasis shifted away from the actual conduct of the business of government to a ritual of faith renewal in the myth of government. Such a ritual served the common functions of the intensification rite, including validation and reinforcement of values, reassurance, unification, status change, and relief of psychological tensions. Thus, in becoming a calendrical rite, the inaugural address has come to help people cope with their everyday environment.

Since the claim of the study involved the identification of a genre, the warrants for the claim, by necessity, involved the constitution of rhetorical genres. To warrant its generic claim, this study relied on the work of Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson for its theoretical specification of generic constitution. Basically, these authors have said that genres are composed of significant similarities which outweigh significant differences. And they have specified that the similarities exist in a state of fusion, most specifically and importantly, the fusion of situation, substance, and style. The focus of their model is primarily on the response of

stylistic and substantive forms to a perceived similar rhetorical situation.

The major data of this study have evidenced such responses. First, the situational data have indicated that an altered historical situation generated exigencies which created the need for increased intergroup agreement, identification, and unification. And second, the style and substance data have demonstrated that forms of style and substance rhetorically catered to this perceived situational need.

The first group of data involved the perceived situation. The situation changed beginning in 1933 because of the increased pluralization of American society by immigration, and because of the mass medium of radio which made this society part of the inaugural audience. In addition, the debacle of the Great Depression destroyed the traditionally-held defenses of American society against economic disaster, creating a sense of insecurity and a need for ritualistic coping.

Throughout the generic period of 1933 to 1977, this changed rhetorical situation continued in effect. First, the inaugural orator had a new governmental responsibility to his audience, a responsibility which evolved with the evaporation of the "work ethic" in the face of the Great Depression. Second, the mass media continued its development, and continued to pluralize the inaugural audience. Third, an unending series of national crises

throughout this period maintained a sense of national vulnerability and a consequent need for ritualistic coping.

The second group of data involved style. It showed that responding to this suddenly-changed situation, the rhetorical style of inaugural oratory also suddenly changed. The American cultural fiction had been altered, and with it, the group images which maintained the cultural fiction also had been altered. Since these images of the group were articulated in the linguistic behavior of the group, the linguistic behavior, or the rhetorical style, also changed.

The shift in style has been demonstrated with the quantitative measurement of the rhet. This shift, which takes place with Franklin Roosevelt's ascension to office, is in the direction of increased intergroup identification. The level of stylistic abstraction has increased, thus allowing greater latitudes of interpretation among different sub-groups of American culture. The language of the later group of orators in 1933 became more appropriate for identifying with the large, pluralistic audience.

The third group of data to support this study's generic claim involves substance. For also responding to the suddenly-changed situation, the rhetorical substance suddenly changed. Clearly the generic inaugurals have a different rhetorical purpose than do the earlier speeches. The generic inaugurals all have stated purposes of faith renewal, which is exactly the purpose of a calendrical rite.

And the substance of the speeches' explicit argumentation seems to have changed to meet this different rhetorical purpose.

At the major claim level, all of the calendrical speeches dealt in some way or another with a serious threat to American democracy. And all of these speeches proposed to meet the challenge primarily with faith, not technology or government. The action called for was populace-centered, and was based primarily on a unity of faith in country and democratic principles.

At the major data level, the generic group is characterized by less total data, and less data of a precise and specified nature. Its data are also more dramatic. Thus, in the area of substance, the generic group has also become more adapted to a ritualistic unification of audience members.

6.2 Implications

Thonssen and Baird said in 1948 that, "The criticism of speeches is old; and yet it is in its infancy."[4] Today, some thirty years later, it has grown up somewhat, but the criticism of rhetoric is still a long way from adulthood. The implications of what this study has done, however, are deeply rooted in this growth of rhetorical criticism.

Thirty years ago, Thonssen and Baird gave the

following definition of rhetorical criticism:

> Rhetorical criticism can thus be defined as a comparative study in which standards of judgment deriving from the social interaction of a speech situation are applied to public addresses to determine the immediate or delayed effect of the speeches upon specific audiences, and, ultimately, upon society.[5]

Their traditional view of rhetorical criticism emphasized the effect of oratory on the society in which it occurred. It called for viewing the rhetorical process as being more exogenous to the society and more endogenous to the orator.

Rhetorical criticism has matured somewhat since 1948, and the utility of viewing the rhetorical process more generically is becoming more accepted. This is because the generic view is useful, since it extends the traditional concept to a more realistic treatment of the relationship between rhetoric and society. Therefore, the effect of society on the speech has now become an area of considerable importance.

It has been said that, "Democratic society is based upon the premise that the collective body of the common people is competent to exercise supreme authority in the state ... [that] democracy lives by talk, [that] it functions through speech."[6] It would seem of vital importance, then, to the maintenance of our democratic state, that we should strive to better understand the rhetorical process that goes on in the operation of American

government. Indeed, political rhetoric is the basis of our government's everyday functioning, and to better understand such rhetoric is to better understand ourselves and our cultural institutions.

This study has attempted to increase our understanding of one small sample of political oratory by looking at a collectivity of that oratory in a generic way. It hopefully has shown the utility of viewing the present by considering the past. But more importantly, it has demonstrated the utility of considering society's effect on a group of speeches, rather than looking at how a particular speech has affected society. It has thus demonstrated the usefulness of viewing the inaugural address as being constrained by its membership in a generic group, a group which is the product of several interacting rhetorical agents. There are, indeed, patterns of recurring forms operating in the Calendrical Inaugural Genre, patterns the knowledge of which can contribute to a better understanding of the inaugural's function in modern American society.

It is both interesting and useful to view this implication through Thonssen and Baird's 1948 framework of the functions of rhetorical criticism. According to these scholars, the criticism of rhetoric serves four major functions:

1. It helps to clarify and define the theoretical basis of public address.
2. Rhetorical criticism helps to set up a standard of excellence.

3. Rhetorical criticism helps to interpret the function of oral communication in society.

4. As a field of scholarly inquiry, rhetorical criticism indicates the limits of present knowledge in the field of public speaking.[7]

First, rhetorical criticism is supposed to clarify rhetorical theory by viewing its operation in actual practice. This study has provided a practical demonstration of generic theory. It has demonstrated the interrelationship of situation, style, and substance in the formation of a generic whole, and in so doing, it has identified a clear-cut case of generic evolution which closely follows the general body of generic theory. Furthermore, this study has pointed out the utility of viewing modern inaugural rhetoric in a generic way. For such a view has helped to enlarge the body of understanding of why the modern inaugural address has become what it is today.

There are, of course, many possible applications of this criticism of inaugural addresses to more general theories of political rhetoric. This study has identified some important interrelating variables, including the following: social stress, mass media, audience group identification, stylistic abstraction, argumentative abstraction, intensification ritual, and the failure of technology and government. Viewing any particular group of speeches in the political milieu, some or all of these variables might well exert significant constraining forces, and thus,

might well enhance our more general understanding of any particular political-rhetorical process.

The second function of rhetorical criticism involves the setting up of a standard of excellence. It is important, at this point, to clarify exactly what this means. Fortunately, the standard of excellence being established is not for the criticism of rhetoric itself, as this study would probably falter under such a criterion of evaluation. Rather, the standard of excellence applies to the rhetoric being studied. And under this criterion, this study has done its job.

The criteria for judging the excellence of a piece of oratory are immensely varied. Using the criteria normally employed for judging well-developed arguments, Herbert Hoover's Inaugural Address fares pretty well, while Franklin Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address might even be judged a failure. Using the criteria for elocutionary excellence, it would be Roosevelt's speech which would fare rather well, and Hoover's address which might seem to be a failure.

This study proposes a new criterion for judging the inaugural address. It proposes that criticism should look at the level of ritualistic faith intensification in addition to the quality of argument or the eloquence of style. This in no way implies that these other criteria are invalid; rather, it proposes only that the consideration of ritualistic devices can establish still another category

of excellence which, in turn, will increase our understanding of this immensely complex process.

In order to evaluate the level of ritual where that ritual is designed for unification of a pluralistic group, this study has proposed the identification of those rhetorical forms which increase the level of pluralistic group identification. And although this thesis was limited to the dimension of abstraction, there are, without doubt, many other indicators which could be used, and which should be identified and tested. Furthermore, empirical testing of the abstraction indicators used in this study seems entirely warranted.

The third major function of rhetorical criticism is the interpretation of the function of oral communication in society. Thonssen and Baird intended this function to ascertain the effect of a speech on society. This study has looked at a function of oral communication, but it has done so in quite another way. This study has identified the effect of a changed society on a particular type of societal communication. It has shown how basic changes in the constitution of inaugural audience, and increased stress levels in society, have called forth a new inaugural purpose and response.

This study also looked at the effect of the oratory on society, especially in the case of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The interest here, however, was not so much the direct effect of the persuasive instrument on its immediate

audience; rather, it was centered on the future power of present discourse, a power closely allied with other social constraints. This is not to say, however, that the direct effect is unimportant. It is only to say that the indirect influences can also help our understanding of the total rhetorical process.

The final, and possibly the most important function of this research has been the indication of the limits of present knowledge in the field of public speaking. For this function addresses directly the future implications of this inaugural research.

The most obvious future implication is the need for more extensive research in the Calendrical Inaugural Genre. This study has only argued that certain relationships exist; it has not provided any undeniable proof regarding their existence. Its primary purpose was to raise important questions heuristically about these relationships. It has done so, in part, with the new methodology of the rhet system, a system which clearly needs further testing, and which just as clearly could benefit from further refinement.

As far as the Calendrical Genre is concerned, further research could indicate the limits of the genre itself. These limits might not only be substantive; indeed, they might also be temporal. Future research, hopefully, will indicate whether the Calendrical Genre is growing, remaining stable, or decaying.

In addition, an interesting by-product of this study's attempt to identify the Calendrical Genre has been this study's implied identification of an earlier inaugural genre. For all of the comparisons which identified the uniquenesses of the generic group of orations also identified the uniquenesses of the comparison group too. But this study only looked back to the turn of the century, to McKinley's Second Inaugural Address. Clearly the possibility exists that another, earlier inaugural genre extends from before the turn of the century up until the fall of Herbert Hoover. Extensive research would seem to be in order, then, into the possibility of one or more additional inaugural genres existing within the total body of inaugural discourse.

And finally, it is also possible that further refinement in the study of inaugural genres will someday provide an accurate historical barometer of societal stress. It is a fascinating possibility that the psychological health of a society as a whole could someday be accurately measured using the rhetorical forms of its political rhetoric. Certainly such a use for rhetorical criticism would help it to mature beyond the infancy it is still in. And such development would benefit all of us who live in this democratic society, a society based on the functions of rhetorical communication. Surely, it would enhance our understanding of ourselves and our rhetorical interactions with each other.

6.3 Notes

[1]Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism: The Development of Standards for Rhetorical Appraisal. New York: The Ronald Press, 1948, p. 11.

[2]Ibid., p. 10.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., p. 3.

[5]Ibid., p. 16.

[6]Ibid., p. 468.

[7]Ibid., p. 21.

CHAPTER 7

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CHAPTER 8

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 Metaphors 187

APPENDIX 2 Personification 192

APPENDIX 3 Sensory Images 197

APPENDIX 4 Intellectual Images 202

APPENDIX 5 Generic Group Data 209

APPENDIX 6 Comparison Group Data 212

APPENDIX 7 Arguments 214

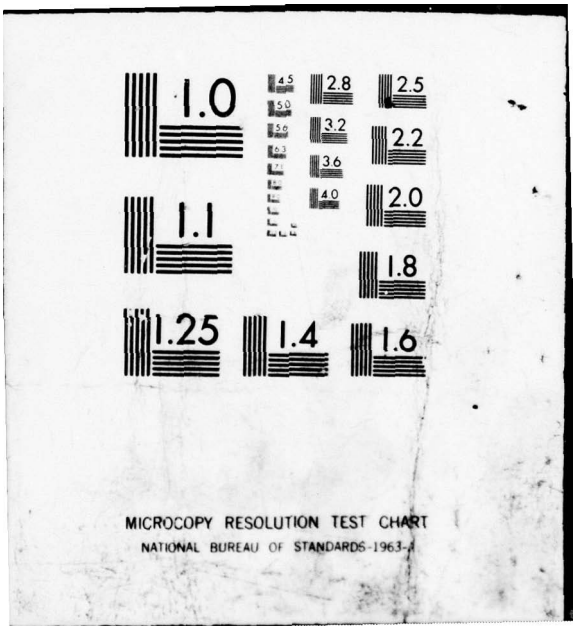
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NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

APPENDIX 1. Metaphors

McKinley

the brink of war
the impending peril
strong hearts and helpful hands
prophets of evil
trophic suns in distant lands
path of progress
Republic's opening hour

T. Roosevelt

the giver of good
the heirs of ages
every giver of our social being
government rock to its foundations
men of the mighty past

Taft

formulating into practical shape
a fire in the rear
their only flag

Wilson #1

fine gold has been corroded
groans and agony of resource waste reaching our ears
the levels of control
scales of heedlessness
hearthfire of every man's conscience
begin with a clean sheet of paper

Wilson #2

set our house in order
currents of our thoughts
currents of our trade
whole world for a stage
platform of purpose and of action
shadows lying dark upon our path
light all around us

Harding

the great storm
baptism of sacrifice and blood
the bar of civilization
brotherhood of mankind
temple of representative democracy
world-wide benediction of understanding
the wreckage of war
heart of America
called under the flag
defense chest of the nation
putting our public household in order
clogged channels of distribution
cure our ills
a cup of good will
the hearthstone of American citizenship
the cradle of American childhood

Coolidge

fixed stars of our political firmament
reign of force
wise course to follow
earthly empire built on blood and force
armed with the cross

Hoover

moral fiber of the American people
mingling of blood on the battlefield
the touchstones upon which we will be tested
short road to realization

F. Roosevelt #1

dark hour of national life
means of exchange frozen in currents of trade
withered leaves of industrial enterprise
plague of locusts
rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods
unscrupulous money changers
high seats in the temple of our civilization
the evils of the old order
political mechanism

F. Roosevelt #2

temple of our ancient faith
economic epidemics
winds of chance
hurricanes of disaster
democracy to take a holiday
patchwork job with secondhand materials
instrument of unimagined power
dream that is dying
dream that is coming to birth
our happy valley
cancers of injustice
road (of advancement)

F. Roosevelt #3

the human spirit
a frame of life
surging wave
ebbing tide
body of a nation
mind of a nation
sacred fire of liberty
the hands of the American people
(fire) smothered with doubt

F. Roosevelt #4

peaks and valleys of centuries
strike mighty blows

Truman

forefront of civilization
world fabric of international security

Eisenhower #1

a time of tempest
shackles of the past
swift rush of great events
shadows of night
the light
avenues for commerce
helpless prisoners of history
capital offense against freedom
the bar of history
soldiers pack and prisoner's chains

Eisenhower #1 (Continued)

the heart of America
a haven for the weary
a hope for the brave

Eisenhower #2

witness
song of industry
chorus of America
sharp thrust of lightning
night of their bondage
winds of change
climate of freedom
the price of peace
the spark of hope
the flames of conflict
build their own prison
no stranger to much of its spirit
seeds of the same growth
light of freedom

Kennedy

iron tyranny
bonds of mass misery
chains of poverty
the master of its own house
beachhead of cooperation
jungle of suspicion
glow from that fire
back of a tiger
inside a tiger
the prey of hostile powers

Johnson

secrets of nature
fruits of the land
like a child's globe
like colored maps
fellow passengers
a dot of earth
like a candle
reopen old wounds
rekindle old hatreds
sterile batallion of ants
secret places of the American heart
uncrossed desert

Johnson (Continued)

unclimbed bridge
star not reached
sleeping harvest
a long, winding road

Nixon #1

valley of turmoil
high ground of peace
dawn of civilization
heart of America
long night of American spirit
chalice of opportunity
cup of despair

Nixon #2

dawn of a new age
walls of hostility
bridges of understanding
a beacon of hope

Ford

hour of history
family of man
truth of glue
internal wounds
long national nightmare

Carter

nation's birth
milestone in the long quest for freedom
wars against poverty, ignorance ...

APPENDIX 2. Personification

McKinley

faith has wrought progress
the Nation will take the occasion by the hand
the Republic marches on
(the Republic's) step exalts freedom

T. Roosevelt

the dead hand of bygone civilization
(the country) fears the future
conditions bring care and anxiety
generations yet unborn

Taft

U.S. maintains her interest
the wisdom of a policy
Congress will be alive
sympathy awakens in my heart

Wilson #1

old things creep into lives
old things have dropped disguises
old things have shown themselves alien and sinister
new thing's real character
government has stood
a task shall search us through and through
first duty of law
men's hearts want upon us
hopes call upon us

Wilson #2

matters force themselves on our attention
shadows be dark upon our path
principles spring up among us
high purpose is the ruler of will and desire

Harding

world passions spends its fury
world rivets its hopeful gaze
the old world scoffed
the gratitude of the republic
call of civilization
birth of a new order
necessaries of life show
America is alert in guarding
the earth is thirsting
America living for herself alone
call of the human heart for cooperation
fearless heart of America
envy and jealousy develop in soil
passion engenders revolution

Coolidge

narrow fringe of states advanced its frontiers
America has taken the lead
reign of law and order
the heart of humanity
the conscience of society
here stands its government
America seeks no earthly empire
America cherishes no purpose
mankind's thought seeks
time is arriving
the mind of America must be free

Hoover

reconstruction has virility and strength
Government should cooperate
business corrects its own abuses
business has respect for the law
fear and suspicion haunt the world
idealism leads and inspires America
progress is born

F. Roosevelt #1

the Nation will revive
nature offers her liberty
plenty is at our doorstep
rejected by hearts and minds
dark days teach us
confidence thrives on honesty
confidence lives
the Nation asks for action
the Constitutional system has proved itself

F. Roosevelt #2

the Republic stands
government protects its people
force democracy to take a holiday
a dream that is dying
one that is coming to birth
comfort says
opportunism says
timidity asks
do not listen to comfort, opportunism and timidity
anxiety stood
times are on the side of progress

F. Roosevelt #3

the life of the Republic
Democracy is not dying
a nation must be fed
a nation must be clothed
a nation must be housed
a nation must be invigorated and rested
a nation has a mind
a nation must know itself
a nation understands hopes and needs
the spirit of America was born
the hopes of the Republic
feed the body of this nation
the Nation lives
spirit of America was killed
that spirit speaks

F. Roosevelt #4

things in life run
America's purpose is that we shall not fail

Truman

Communism decrees
democracy maintains
communism maintains
communism holds
democracy holds
the United States invests
beaten back despair and defeatism
resources grow
democracy supplies
ancient enemies of hunger, misery, and despair

Eisenhower #1

nations have been born
labor sweats to create
science confers
change expresses purpose
destiny has laid upon our country
Europe marshals its strength
history does not entrust
America hopes
the heart of America
faith rules
faith decrees

Eisenhower #2

earth knows
industry sings
the chorus of America
Germany stands
Communism strives
Communism has been shaken
the power of weapons warns
peace be born of fear
peace gives blessings
world's conflicts touch upon ...

Kennedy

dark powers engulf humanity
planet's lifetime
trumpet summons us again
balance of terror stays mankind's hand
the hand of God

Johnson

nature has secrets
change has given weapons
the enemy (injustice) will be conquered
the American covenant called on us
terrific changes and troubles live
freedom asks more than it gives
old promises and dreams will lead you
history decides
a harvest sleeping

Nixon #1

history bestows honor
honor beckons America
inflated rhetoric promises
angry rhetoric fans ...
bombastic rhetoric postures
destiny offers
the heart of America

Nixon #2

the past year saw
government must learn

Ford

an hour hurts us

Carter

society defines itself
government is compassionate
new spirit dominates the world
our moral sense dictates
the Nation's birth

APPENDIX 3. Sensory Images

McKinley

shrink from duties
magnifying their difficulties
dark pictures and gloomy forebodings
these only becloud
tropic suns in distant lands
smooth path of progress

T. Roosevelt

virtues wither away
responsibility is heavy

Taft

heavy weight of responsibility
blind to existing conditions
keep up a fire in the rear of the agents
the colored men
southern white citizens
white neighbors
making the path smooth

Wilson #1

fine gold has been corroded
the light that shines
the hearthfire of every man's conscience
vision of the right
blind haste
clean sheet of paper
cool process of mere science
a solemn passion
forward-looking man
groans of waste
candid, fearless eyes

Wilson #2

fires that blaze throughout the world
their ardent heart
shadows that now lie dark
walk with light all around

Harding

crushing burdens
lighten the spirit
lightened tax burden
humanity hungers
magnify our achievement
illumined with hope and happiness
shrink from the burden
blind to a developing menace
deaf to the call of civilization

Coolidge

brilliant successes
the golden slope to the Pacific
to be narrowed and dwarfed
policy stands out with greatest clearness

Hoover

future is bright with hope
a larger vision
civilizations are wrecked
self-government will crumble
rigid and speedy justice

F. Roosevelt #1

shrink from honesty
dark hour of national life
values have shrunken
dark realities of the moment
languish in the sight of supply
these dark days
warm courage of national unity
means of exchange are frozen
withered leaves of industrial enterprise

F. Roosevelt #2

set our feet upon the road
voices heard
spreading volume of human comforts
paint you that picture
warm hearts of dedication
cool heads
the voicing of ideals
give light to them
those that sit in darkness.

F. Roosevelt #3

surging wave
ebbing tide
frozen by terror
voices of freedom
sacred fire of liberty

F. Roosevelt #4

run smoothly
courage flows
faintness of heart

Truman

stagnant life
lighten the burdens
warmly welcomed

Eisenhower #1

cold mountains
swift rush of events
pilgrimage from darkness toward light
nearing the light
shadows of another night
the brightest hopes
sharpest fears
the hunger of others
lightness against dark
spasmodic reaction
pack is heavy
weigh every deed
truth must be clear
feed upon the hunger of others

Eisenhower #2

shining symbol
winds of change harshly blow
fired with passion
warmth of the welcome
heal this divided world
burdened shoulders of mankind
light of freedom
all darkened lands
flame brightly
darkness is no more

Eisenhower #2 (Continued)

spark of hope
flames of conflict
weight of fear

Kennedy

the torch has been passed
dark powers of destruction
the trumpet summons
shrink from responsibility
energy will light our country
glow from that fire
light the world

Johnson

a dot of earth
a candle added to the alter
rekindle old hatreds
long winding road
tower beyond control
reopen old wounds
fruits of the land

Nixon #1

a fever of words
dawn of civilization
horizons of space
spiraling pace of change
ragged in spirit
bright in darkness
bright loveliness in eternal cold
long night of the American spirit
Earth floats

Nixon #2

bleak spirit
flimsy peace
dawn of a new age
bright beacon of hope

Ford

strong and united
strained bond
painful wounds
lonely burden
shining legacy

Carter

brilliant dream
place in the sun
the passion for freedom
a quiet strength
rekindling of confidence
to heal our land

APPENDIX 4. Intellectual Images

McKinley

honest and faithful disbursement
the impending peril
the prophets of evil
intrenched in freedom
organic impotency
the guarantees of permanence
mission of emancipation
honorable submission to authority

T. Roosevelt

the heirs of the ages
the dead hand of bygone civilization
peace of justice and righteousness
the men of the might past
the splendid heritage we now enjoy

Taft

proper and progressive business methods
mere verbal protest and diplomatic note
mutual concessions between self-respecting Governments
the greatest constructive enterprise of modern times
embody the best modern practice
the requirement of mere prudence
the embarrassment of financial panic
the proper electorate
an ignorant electorate

Wilson #1

the diversity and sweep of energy
the great Government
the scales of heedlessness
the high enterprise of the new day
an instrument of evil
forces of humanity

Wilson #2

the grosser errors of our industrial life
processes of our national genius
a composite and cosmopolitan people
the wide and universal forces of mankind

Wilson #2 (Continued)

purified of the errant humors of party
firm in armed neutrality
citizens of the world

Harding

the great storm
a world passion's fury
a baptism of sacrifice and blood
the aspirations of humankind
temple of representative democracy
the wreckage of war
the delirium of expenditure
the resumption of our onward, normal way
called under the flag
the inexorable laws of nature
the lifeblood of material existence
the receding fever of war activities
the oldest lesson of civilization
womanhood's intuitions and refinements
unfurl the flag of law and order
a friction of modern industrialism
America, the proven republic

Coolidge

science of government
a civilized and enlightened people
a conscientious and religious life
instrument of peace and security
the burden of expense and jealousy
the intercourse among nations
a formula for permanent peace
a narrow and bigoted partisanship
economy in public expenditure
idealism in its most practical form
the conscience of society
a way that leads back to the jungle
a true and enlightened pride of race
the intuitive counsel of womanhood
earthy empire built on blood and force
the highest law of all our being

Hoover

the most sacred oath
the Great War
building a new race

Hoover (Continued)

decay in moral fiber
the Eighteenth Amendment
those of criminal mind
the highest conception of self-government
stronger moral and spiritual life
the extinction of force
the reign of justice
a racial character and culture
contribution to human progress
vacant chairs
instrumentalities for peaceful settlement
embedded ideals and aspirations of America
ordered liberty
advancement of knowledge
genius of our institutions

F. Roosevelt #1

nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror
only material things
grim problem of existence
failure of substance
the evils of the old order
high seats in civilization's temple
a larger good
a disciplined attack upon our common problems
superbly enduring political mechanism
the assurance of a rounded and permanent national life
plague of locusts
rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods
unscrupulous money changers
court of public opinion
the pattern of outworn tradition
the rulers of a generation of self-seekers
the ancient truths
bitter internal strife
stricken nation in the midst of a stricken world
old and precious moral values

F. Roosevelt #2

temple of our ancient faith
the stagnation and despair of that day
covenant with ourselves
the services of science
ruthless master of mankind
a way out of chaos
the essential democracy of our nation
a patchwork job with second-hand materials

F. Roosevelt #2 (Continued)

evil things formerly accepted
moral climate of America
symptoms of prosperity
portents of disaster
willing hands of practical purpose
cancers of injustice
dream dying and coming to birth
times were on the side of progress

F. Roosevelt #3

the peril of inaction
disruption from without
lives of nations
lifetime of the human spirit
a frame of life
the fact of its democracy
three-way framework
full force of man's enlightened will
the narrowing circle of the world
most sacred guarding of its present
the democratic aspiration

F. Roosevelt #4

period of supreme test
America's purpose
a just and honorable peace
trend of civilization
a fearful cost
an anguished world
mighty blows for freedom

Truman

the image of God
a just and lasting peace
a false philosophy
the chattel of the state
social wrongs
social justice
our most powerful weapon
imponderable resources in technical knowledge
the old imperialism
concepts of democratic fair dealing
vitalizing force ... to triumphant action
a world fabric of international security
lives for useful ends
peace on earth
the dangers of aggression

Eisenhower #1

a century of continuing challenge
a time of tempest
shackles of the past
anxieties of depression and of war
avenues for commerce
science's final gift
deathless dignity of man
man's inalienable rights
the spirit of the free
the mockery of the tyrant
the enemies of this faith
safety in economic solitude
helpless prisoners of history
the bar of history
spiritual and cultural heritage
laws of spiritual strength
commerce of peace
a haven for the weary
a hope for the brace

Eisenhower #2

material wants common to all mankind
world of our duty and destiny
recent world war
international communism
this shaken earth
climate of freedom
meager justice
the pride of peach
the hope of progress
the world's great concerns
the work of peace
isolation is a self-built prison
the American experiment
sovereignity is bartered
artificial imitation of our society
dwell in freedom
seeds of the same growth
the menace of force

Kennedy

celebration of freedom
the heirs of that first revolution
the loyalty of faithful friends
a far greater iron tyranny
back of a tiger - inside
the chains of poverty

Kennedy (Continued)

the prey of hostile powers
master of its own house
uncertain balance of terror
mankind's final war
beachhead of cooperation
jungle of suspicion
peaceful revolution of hope
grand and global alliance
bonds of mass misery

Johnson

a time of change
covenant with the land
new weapons
justice
the American covenant
liberation of man
prideful in isolation
fragile existence
a cuase greater than themselves
a nation of strangers
a depression
a war
secret places of the American heart
the Great Society

Nixon #1

voices of quiet anguish
voices of the heart
moment in history
image of our hopes
magnificent precision
crisis of the spirit
heart of America
the better angels of our nature
the American dream
cathedral of the spirit
reaches of space
one stone at a time
life of grim sacrifice
a cause larger than himself
riders on the earth
raucous discord

Nixon #2

the endless war
threshhold of a new era
traditional friendships
noblest endeavor
policies of paternalism
welfare
the challenges we face
individual human dignity
peace with honor

Ford

unprecedented compact
internal wounds
family of men
people's urgent needs
precious freedom
a higher power
long national nightmare

Carter

the long quest for freedom
a new national spirit
the American dream
the American family
the basic principles of our nation
remembered glory
size of an arsenal
the nobility of ideas

APPENDIX 5. Generic Group Data #1

Style Feature	FDR-1	FDR-2	FDR-3	FDR-4
Personification	9 R = 4.7	12 R = 6.6	18 R = 13.5	2 R = 3.6
Sensory Images	11 R = 5.7	10 R = 5.5	5 R = 3.8	4 R = 7.2
Intellectual Images	20 R = 10.4	18 R = 10.0	11 R = 8.3	6 R = 10.7
Metaphor	10 R = 5.2	12 R = 6.6	9 R = 6.8	2 R = 3.6
Total # Words	1,927	1,807	1,332	559
Mean Words/Sent.	22.15	18.82	19.59	20.70
Embedding	2 R = 1.0	5 R = 2.8	5 R = 3.8	3 R = 5.4
Fictionalization	83 R = 43.1	77 R = 42.6	80 R = 60.1	24 R = 42.9
Present Tense	110 R = 57.1	109 R = 60.3	81 R = 60.8	34 R = 60.8
Past Tense	7 R = 3.6	28 R = 15.5	37 R = 27.8	5 R = 8.9
Future Tense	15 R = 7.8	12 R = 6.6	1 R = 0.8	14 R = 25.0
Pres. Perf. Tense	20 R = 10.4	23 R = 12.7	16 R = 12.0	9 R = 16.1
Past Perf. Tense	0 R = 0	4 R = 2.2	0 R = 0	0 R = 0
Future Perf. Tense	0 R = 0	0 R = 0	0 R = 0	0 R = 0

APPENDIX 5. Generic Group Data #2

Style Feature	Truman	Ike-1	Ike-2	Kennedy
Personification	10 R = 4.4	11 R = 4.5	10 R = 6.1	6 R = 4.5
Sensory Images	4 R = 1.8	15 R = 6.1	16 R = 9.7	6 R = 4.5
Intellectual Images	15 R = 6.6	21 R = 8.6	18 R = 10.9	15 R = 11.2
Metaphor	2 R = 0.9	13 R = 5.3	14 R = 8.5	9 R = 6.7
Total # Words	2,271	2,446	1,647	1,339
Mean Words/Sent.	19.08	20.21	19.15	25.75
Embedding	6 R = 2.6	11 R = 4.5	12 R = 7.3	7 R = 5.2
Fictionalization	100 R = 44.0	98 R = 40.1	79 R = 48.0	50 R = 37.3
Present Tense	143 R = 63.0	173 R = 70.7	137 R = 83.2	80 R = 59.7
Past Tense	7 R = 3.1	3 R = 1.2	5 R = 3.0	8 R = 6.0
Future Tense	26 R = 11.4	15 R = 6.1	7 R = 4.3	9 R = 6.7
Pres. Perf. Tense	22 R = 9.7	14 R = 5.7	11 R = 6.7	6 R = 4.5
Past Perf. Tense	0 R = 0	0 R = 0	0 R = 0	0 R = 0
Future Perf. Tense	0 R = 0	0 R = 0	0 R = 0	1 R = 0.7

APPENDIX 5. Generic Group Data #3

Style Feature	LBJ	Nixon1	Nixon2	Ford	Carter
Personification	9 R= 6.1	8 R= 3.8	3 R= 1.7	1 R= 1.2	5 R= 4.1
Sensory Images	9 R= 6.1	8 R= 3.8	5 R= 2.8	5 R= 6.0	6 R= 4.9
Intellectual Images	14 R= 9.5	19 R= 9.0	18 R=10.2	7 R= 8.4	8 R= 6.5
Metaphor	16 R=10.9	12 R= 5.7	4 R= 2.3	5 R= 6.0	3 R= 2.4
Total # Words	1,469	2,113	1,768	833	1,230
Mean Words/Sent.	15.80	20.71	25.62	17.7	23.04
Embedding	6 R= 4.1	5 R= 2.4	10 R= 5.7	4 R= 4.8	1 R= 0.8
Fictionalization	37 R=25.2	67 R=31.7	64 R=36.2	38 R=45.6	41 R=33.3
Present Tense	106 R=72.2	144 R=68.1	93 R=52.6	50 R=60.0	76 R=61.8
Past Tense	17 R=11.6	13 R= 6.2	11 R= 6.2	9 R=10.8	13 R=10.6
Future Tense	18 R=12.3	17 R= 8.0	27 R=15.3	6 R= 7.2	5 R= 4.1
Pres. Perf. Tense	20 R=13.6	30 R=14.2	26 R=14.7	9 R=10.8	6 R= 4.9
Past Perf. Tense	0 R=0	0 R=0	0 R=0	1 R= 1.2	8 R= 6.5
Future Perf. Tense	1 R= 0.7	0 R=0	0 R=0	1 R= 1.2	0 R=0

APPENDIX 6. Comparison Group Data

Style Feature	McKinley2	T. Roosevelt	Taft	Wilson
Personification	5 R= 2.3	4 R= 4.1	4 R= 0.7	4 R= 5.3
Sensory Images	6 R= 2.7	4 R= 4.1	8 R= 1.5	11 R= 6.5
Intellectual Images	8 R= 3.6	5 R= 5.1	9 R= 1.7	6 R= 3.5
Metaphor	7 R= 3.2	6 R= 6.1	3 R= 0.6	6 R= 3.5
Total # Words	2,198	985	5,347	1,700
Mean Words/Sent.	21.98	28.97	34.27	25.00
Embedding	24 R=10.9	11 R=11.2	56 R=10.5	16 R= 9.4
Fictionalization	145 R=66.0	60 R=60.9	342 R=64.0	79 R=46.5
Present Tense	113 R=51.4	66 R=67.0	250 R=46.8	88 R=51.8
Past Tense	38 R=17.3	11 R=11.2	38 R= 7.1	26 R=15.3
Future Tense	29 R=13.2	5 R= 5.1	44 R= 8.2	11 R= 6.5
Pres. Perf. Tense	22 R=10.0	15 R=15.2	45 R= 8.4	41 R=24.1
Past Perf. Tense	0 R=0	0 R=0	3 R= 0.6	5 R= 2.9
Future Perf. Tense	0 R=0	0 R=0	0 R=0	0 R=0

APPENDIX 6. Comparison Group Data (Continued)

Style Feature	Wilson2	Harding	Coolidge	Hoover
Personification	4 R= 2.6	15 R= 4.5	11 R= 2.7	8 R= 2.1
Sensory Images	4 R= 2.6	10 R= 3.0	4 R= 1.0	6 R= 1.6
Intellectual Images	7 R= 4.6	17 R= 5.1	15 R= 3.7	17 R= 4.6
Metaphor	7 R= 4.6	16 R= 4.8	5 R= 1.2	4 R= 1.1
Total # Words	1,521	3,328	4,013	3,735
Mean Words/Sent.	25.35	22.95	21.01	23.06
Embedding	18 R=11.8	23 R= 6.9	31 R= 7.7	26 R= 7.0
Fictionalization	78 R=51.3	138 R=41.5	166 R=41.4	195 R=52.2
Present Tense	79 R=51.9	220 R=66.1	287 R=71.5	222 R=59.4
Past Tense	13 R= 8.5	23 R= 6.9	42 R=10.5	17 R= 4.6
Future Tense	13 R= 8.5	28 R= 8.4	16 R= 4.0	12 R= 3.2
Pres. Perf. Tense	29 R=19.1	27 R= 8.1	45 R=11.2	31 R= 8.3
Past Perf. Tense	0 R=0	0 R=0	3 R= 0.7	2 R= 0.5
Future Perf. Tense	0 R=0	3 R= 0.9	0 R=0	0 R=0

APPENDIX 7. Arguments

McKinley #2

MAJOR CLAIM	WARRANTS	DATA
America will continue to be great.	Future greatness is insured by McKinley's reflection. (Supplied)	Treasury receipts are sufficient now. Taxes have been reduced. Production is up. The election mandate of 1896 has been fulfilled. The war was favorable to America. All opposition has failed.
		He appreciates the responsibilities. The election has indicated the national purpose. The strong have united behind McKinley.
	Future greatness is insured by McKinley policies and plans. (Suppressed)	He will make good the Resolution of April 20, 1898, regarding Cuba. The military solution to Philippine government will continue for now. Self-government for the Philippines will be pursued. Amnesty will be offered to the insurgents. Protection will be given to the loyal millions of Philippine citizens.

T. Roosevelt

	WARRANTS	DATA
		America has been given much by God.
	Responsibility comes from relating with God. (Suppressed)	God will expect much of America.
		She must be cordial and sincere in international relations.
	Responsibility demands great actions (Suppressed)	She must recognize the legitimate rights of others.
MAJOR CLAIM		She must protect herself from wrongdoing.
America has a responsibility of leadership in the world.		She must be strong and manly.
		America is Democracy's greatest trial.
		The welfare of mankind is at stake.
	Responsibility demands acting for future well-being. (Suppressed)	American failure would mean the failure of free government throughout the world.
		The new tasks of the future must be faced realistically.
		A strong faith will make self-government work.

Taft

	WARRANTS	DATA
	Roosevelt's reforms have done much good (Supplied)	They have suppressed the lawlessness of railroad and industrial capital investment.
		They have created a higher regard of law by big business.
		The work on the Panama Canal is progressing satisfactorily.
	Its present programs are working well. (Suppressed)	Puerto Rico and the Philippines are doing well.
		The South now has good relations with the rest of the United States.
MAJOR CLAIM The Taft Administration will further Roosevelt's reforms		
		We must further reduce railroad holdings.
		We must reorganize our enforcement departments.
		We must amend anti-trust and interstate commerce laws.
	Further reform is needed to render Roosevelt's reforms lasting. (Supplied)	We must revise the Dingley (Tariff) Act to get more money.
		We must spend for more scientific agricultural experimentation.
		We must spend to conserve our natural resources.
		We must spend to maintain a proper armed force.

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

Taft (Continued)

WARRANTS	DATA
	We must protect the honor of American citizens abroad.
	We must keep out undesirable Asiatic immigrants.
	We must protect and treat properly all desirable immigrants.
Further reform is necessary to render Roosevelt's reforms lasting. (Supplied)	We must make monetary and banking laws more flexible.
	We must pass a postal savings bill.
	We must increase international trade.
	We must help the Negro Race.
	We must defend judicial control of secondary boycotts.
	We must make Government responsible for its employees' welfare

Wilson #1

	WARRANTS	DATA
		It has great material wealth.
	Reforms will complement America's basic greatness. (Suppressed)	It has limitless industry.
		It has great moral force.
		It has a great governmental system.
	But America also has great evil which dictates reform. (Supplied)	It wastes natural resources.
		Its industry is growing at the expense of great human costs.
		Its government is selfishly used for private purposes.
MAJOR CLAIM Reforms will make America an even-greater nation.		Its people are heartless and unfeeling in their haste to succeed.
		We must do away with protective tariffs.
		We must reform the outdated banking and currency systems.
	Reforms will restore our old standards. (Supplied)	We must reform the industrial system.
		We must support agriculture.
		We must take care of and protect our national resources.
		We must update and create better health laws to protect society.

Wilson #2

MAJOR CLAIM	WARRANTS	DATA
America must live up to her international role of greatness.	Greatness implies international involvements. (Suppressed)	We are provincials no longer. We are the blood of the nations at war. The war has affected our industry and commerce. We have been wronged on the high seas.
	Greatness provides certain obligations (Suppressed)	It must stand firm in armed neutrality. It must not demand freedom for all mankind.
	Greatness demands adhering to certain principles. (Supplied)	Peace and political stability are necessary. All nations are equal in right and privilege. Peace cannot rest on an armed balance of power. Government should be by consent of the governed. Freedom of the seas should be maintained. Arms shall be limited to the minimum necessary. Non-interference in other nation's affairs is proper.

Harding

MAJOR CLAIM	WARRANTS	DATA
		The founding fathers were divinely inspired.
		The union has been maintained in greatness.
	America's will has made her a great nation. (Supplied)	Our great truths are an example for the whole world.
		Religious liberty has been verified and glorified, and is unshakened.
		We can be a party to no permanent military alliance.
The popular will of America will insure its remaining a great nation.	The electoral mandate demands a proper, uncommitted role in world affairs. (Supplied)	We can enter into no political commitments.
		We can assume no economic obligations.
		We will promote peaceful understanding.
		We will reject the concept of a world supergovernment.
		We will promote the committees of trade and economics.
	The electoral mandate demands a proper program for national unity. (Suppressed)	DATA FOR THIS WARRANT ARE PROVIDED ON THE NEXT PAGE.

Harding (Continued)

WARRANT	DATA
The electoral mandate demands a proper program for national unity. (Suppressed)	We will support the wounded veteran.
	We will push for mandatory universal service to country.
	We will reduce war taxation.
	We will reduce abnormal expenditures.
	We will restore normal balances to the business community.
	We will efficiently administer the old system of government.
	We will put forth the necessary individual sacrifices of wages.
	We will protect minority rights, including women.
	We will raise protective tariffs.

Coolidge

MAJOR CLAIM

America is a nation of great achievement in the cause of freedom.

WARRANTS

America has enlarged freedom and independence because of what it has done. (Supplied)

To further enlarge the cause of freedom, we will take certain electorally mandated actions. (Supplied)

DATA

Unity created the nation.

Freedom became a birthright.

Our domain was extended overseas for self-protection.

We fought the Great War to defend our ideas.

We sought no expanse of domain from the war.

We will promote peace through good will, not arms.

We will be an exemplar of fairness for the world.

We will continue the policies of the Washington Conference.

We will adhere to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

We will avoid involvement in Old World politics.

We will support the clarification of international law.

We will remove damaging economic pressures.

We will rely on man's spiritual nature.

We will help only those who help themselves.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE.

Coolidge (Continued)

WARRANTS	DATA
To further enlarge the cause of freedom, we will take certain electorally mandated actions. (Supplied)	We will reduce Government waste of resources. We will reduce taxation which impedes the transaction of business.

Hoover

MAJOR CLAIM

America must take actions to avoid hidden dangers.

WARRANTS

We must repair the criminal justice system.
(Supplied)

We must enforce the 18th Amendment.
(Supplied)

DATA

Crime is increasing.

Confidence in justice is decreasing.

The 18th Amendment has imposed additional burdens.

Federal justice machinery is inefficient.

Legal technicalities are thwarting the ends of justice.

Disregard of one law destroys respect for all law.

States and localities must do their part.

Individual citizens must reject illegal liquor.

The Federal Government will vigorously enforce the 18th Amendment.

A commission to investigate better ways of enforcement will be created.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Hoover (Continued)

WARRANTS	DATA
	Proper regulation, not government ownership has been mandated.
We must avoid unnecessary restraints on business. (Suppressed)	Stability and security of business must be more firmly established.
	Community cooperation should be encouraged.
	Business must have freedom within the law.
	The electorate must be better instructed.
We must develop our educational system. (Supplied)	Advanced instruction is now needed in our society.
	More leaders must be developed.
	Government should incorporate Public Health into its system.
We must improve Public Health in America. (Supplied)	Suffering will be reduced.
	Happiness will be increased.

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

Hoover (Continued)

WARRANTS	DATA
	We must achieve a limitation of arms.
	We must expand the pacific instrumentalities of The Permanent Court of International Justice.
We must strive for world peace. (Supplied)	We must avoid all political commitments like the League of Nations.
	We must keep the New World free of distrust and fear.
	We must be friendly and helpful.
	We must carry out in good faith the elected party's platform.
We must strive for the common weal. (Supplied)	But we must avoid blind partisanship.
	We must call a special session of Congress for farm and tax relief.
	We must maintain the integrity of the Constitution.

F. Roosevelt #1

		DATA
		America has always endured in the past.
	America has the ability to end the Depression. (Supplied)	America's leadership has always met the challenge in the past.
		America has no failure of substance and resource.
		The rulers of mankind's goods have been rejected.
	The causes of the Depression have been removed. (Suppressed)	We now realize that their efforts were only outworn tradition.
		The money changers have fled.
MAJOR CLAIM		
The Great Depression can be conquered.		Now there's nothing to fear but fear itself.
	Depressions involve material things which are not the most important aspects of life. (Supplied)	Happiness lies not in the possession of money.
		Work brings joy and moral stimulation.
		Material wealth is a false standard of life.
		People must be put to work.
		The old evils must be safeguarded against.
	Roosevelt has the solution to the problem. (Suppressed)	Domestic concerns must come first.
		Immediate, disciplined action is necessary.
		The full, emergency powers of the Presidency will be used.

F. Roosevelt #2

MAJOR CLAIMS	WARRANTS	DATA
America will continue to correct its social injustices.	America has the ability to accomplish such corrections. (Supplied)	Democracy has an innate ability to protect its people.
		America has an effective leader in FDR.
		America has vast national resources.
		America is made up of people of good will.
	Past successes imply future successes. (Supplied)	America overcame the Great Depression.
		America has built a more enduring structure.
		Vitality has been preserved.
		Old truths have been reclaimed.
		Untruths have been unlearned.
	America's power of morality has increased. (Supplied)	We have learned that economic morality pays.
		We no longer tolerate the abuse of power.
		We no longer tolerate formerly accepted evil things.

F. Roosevelt #3

	WARRANTS	DATA
		Washington brought it life.
		Lincoln saved its institutions from internal disruptions.
	Democracy has survived in the past. (Supplied)	FDR saved it from the Depression.
MAJOR CLAIM		The past few years have been living years.
Democracy is alive; America is not dying.	Democracy is doing well in the present. (Suppressed)	The past few years have been fruitful years.
		We have greater security now.
		We have a better understanding of life now.
		A nation is greater than the sum of its parts.
	Democracy will do well in the future. (Supplied)	America has the spirit and the faith to maintain itself.
		Our civilization is capable of infinite progress.

F. Roosevelt #4

MAJOR CLAIM

America will not fail the supreme test of democracy created by World War II.

WARRANTS

America has the ability to succeed. (Suppressed)

DATA

America has learned from her war experience.

America has a strong people.

America has a strong faith in freedom and truth.

America is working to achieve God's will of peace on earth.

America has a strong governmental system.

Truman

DATA	WARRANTS	MAJOR CLAIM
The world looks to the U.S. for leadership. The U.S. has a strong faith. Democracy allows men to govern themselves. Democracy is lawful. Democracy is peaceful. U.S. has championed successfully the cause of liberty in the past	Democracy (the U.S.) has the ability to win. (Supplied)	Peace and freedom will be maintained by U.S. democracy.
Communism prevents man from governing himself. Communism is unlawful. Communism is violent. Communism creates despair and defeatism.	Communism is a false philosophy and cannot win. (Supplied)	
He will support the United Nations. He will continue world economic recovery programs. He will strengthen freedom-loving nations. He will use technology to benefit under-developed areas.	Truman has an effective democratic program. (Suppressed)	

Eisenhower #1

MAJOR CLAIM	WARRANTS	DATA
		Evil has been ejected by the masses in Asia.
	Faith has succeeded in the past. (Supplied)	U.S. has grown in power and responsibility.
		U.S. has survived depression and war.
	Technology is now more of a threat than a solution. (Suppressed)	Atomic power can now erase human life from this planet.
		It is the abiding creed of our fathers.
Freedom can be maintained by a strong faith.	Faith is an effective force. (Supplied)	It defines our full view of life.
		It rules our whole way of life.
		It functions without turbulence, upheaval, or disorder.
	The enemies of faith (Communists) are a less effective force. (Suppressed)	They know no God.
		They elicit no devotion.
		They rely totally on force.
		We will abhor war.
		We will not resort to appeasement.
	Faith supplies the principles which will guide us.	U.S. must remain strong.
		We must use force responsibly.

THESE DATA ARE CONTINUED ON THE NEXT PAGE.

Eisenhower #1 (Continued)

	DATA
	We must help friends of freedom.
Faith supplies the principles which will guide us.	We must encourage economic growth.
	We must support the U.N. and equality of nations.

Eisenhower #2

	WARRANTS	DATA
		Its purpose is dark.
	The price will stop Communism, an evil force. (Suppressed)	Its force divides the world.
		It rules by force.
		Freedom-loving men are a powerful anti-Communist force.
		Budapest symbolizes man's will to be free.
MAJOR CLAIM	The price will support democracy, a good force. (Suppressed)	Peace is the climate of freedom.
The U.S. must pay the price for peace.		Peace, in the atomic age, is the only climate possible for human life.
		He will keep military strength high.
		He will help others rise from misery.
	Eisenhower has a program which will pay the price of peace. (Suppressed)	He will support the U.N.
		He will act responsibly in world affairs.
		He will abide by the principles of the American spirit.

Kennedy

	WARRANTS	DATA
		We will support the ranks of the free.
	Tyranny is an enemy. (Supplied)	We will support oppressed peoples.
		We will maintain the purity of our hemisphere.
	Poverty is an enemy. Disease is an enemy. (Supplied)	We will create an Alliance for Progress.
MAJOR CLAIM		We will never fear to negotiate.
U.S. must defend freedom against all common enemies.	World unity will insure freedom. (Supplied)	We will use scientific achievements to unify the world.
		We will form a grand and global alliance.
		We will seek peace.
		We will support the U.N.
	War is an enemy. (Supplied)	We will maintain a strong military for deterrence.
		We are the heirs of the first revolution.
	Resolve can overcome the obstacles to freedom. (Suppressed)	We are committed to the defense of human rights.
		We are willing to pay the price of peace.
		We will never negotiate out of fear.

Johnson

	WARRANTS	DATA
		Justice is equal opportunity.
	The covenant was conceived in justice. (Supplied)	Change has provided the resources to insure justice.
		Liberty is individual freedom.
MAJOR CLAIM Rapid change has increased the importance of our covenant of faith in the maintenance of democracy.	The covenant was written in liberty. (Supplied)	Change dictates our international involvement to protect individual freedom.
		Union is strength through group action.
	The covenant was founded in union. (Supplied)	Change demands union of purpose.
		It has succeeded in the past.
		The U.S. is a nation of believers.
	The covenant will insure the success of democracy. (Suppressed)	Failure is not an acceptable alternative.
		Enemies will under-rate the U.S. as they always have.

Nixon #1

MAJOR CLAIM	WARRANTS	DATA
America will achieve peace.	Peace is more possible now. (Suppressed)	New forces now make peace possible.
		The world's people want peace.
		The world's leaders are fearful of war.
	America is being summoned to make peace. (Suppressed)	America is a great nation.
		Being a peacemaker is history's greatest honor.
	America is capable of making peace. (Suppressed)	America has made enormous strides toward peace.
		America has advanced technology.
		America has shared her wealth.
	America's new spirit will lead to peace. (Suppressed)	America is possessed of the will to achieve it.
		American discord is based in spiritual, not material things.
	Government will help achieve peace. (Supplied)	Government has helped in the past.
		Government will listen in new ways.
		Government will bring in those left out.

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Nixon #1 (Continued)

WARRANTS	DATA
	Each person will be part of a cause larger than himself.
Unity will help achieve peace. (Supplied)	Equal opportunity will go forward.
	America seeks an open world of peaceful competition and cooperation.
Strength will help achieve peace. (Suppressed)	America will maintain a military strength for deterrence.

Nixon #2

		DATA
		Each person must do his part.
	WARRANTS	Washington's power must be de-centralized.
	The new role means less government. (Supplied)	We must turn away from paternalism.
		Government will take less from the people.
		People's faith built America.
MAJOR CLAIM	The new role means more reliance on faith. (Suppressed)	We have pride in America's accomplishments.
America has a new role in a new era of world peace.		Faith in God leads America.
		Other countries must do their share to defend freedom in the world.
	The new role limits international involvement. (Supplied)	Each nation must do its part to preserve its own peace.
		Vietnam will be ended.
		We will respect all treaty commitments.
	The new role retains traditional ideas. (Suppressed)	We will reject rule by force.
		We will try to limit nuclear arms.

Ford

MAJOR CLAIM	WARRANTS	DATA
American democracy will survive.	Survival is insured by good leadership. (Suppressed)	Ford will be uncorrupted.
		Ford will represent all the people.
		Ford will be an open leader.
	Survival relies on good people. (Supplied)	America has good people.
	Survival comes from strength. (Suppressed)	America will remain strong.
		America's truth gives her strength.
		America's belief in God gives her strength.
	Past survival implies future survival. (Suppressed)	America survived Watergate.

Carter

MAJOR CLAIM	WARRANTS	DATA
Americans will renew their faith and spirit to defend freedom in the world.	Past faith sustenance implies future faith sustenance. (Suppressed)	U.S. birth was a milestone in the long quest for freedom.
		U.S. was the first society to openly define itself.
		When united, nothing has been beyond our grasp.
		Faith provides strength and wisdom.
		Faith insures our being in the "right."
		Faith rejects failure or mediocrity.
	Our Government will be improved by faith renewal. (Suppressed)	U.S. will be compassionate.
		U.S. will be competent.
		U.S. will be committed to human rights.
		More will not be better.
	Faith will insure international power for U.S. (Supplied)	U.S. will be a democratic exemplar.
		U.S. will be trustworthy.
		U.S. will cater to the world passion for freedom.
		U.S. will remain militarily strong.

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Carter

WARRANTS	DATA
Faith will insure world peace. (Supplied)	We will give preference to freedom.
	We will try to reduce armaments.
	We will maintain a quiet strength.