Peitho

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In Memoriam: Win Horner

With additional articles by: Anita August Jamie White-Farnham Erin Frost

The Journal of the Coalition of Women Scholars in the History of Rhetoric & Composition

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Peitho seeks to encourage, advance, and publish original feminist research in the history of rhetoric and composition and thereby support scholars and students within our profession. For submission guidelines and requirements, please see peitho.cwshrc.org.

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Cover Image: Win Horner holding Rhetoric in the Classical Tradition [Photo courtesy Beth Horner, for the family of Winifred Bryan Horner] Cover Design & Issue Layout: Christine Masters Jach Interior Design: Cheri Lemieux Spiegel, Carrie Grant & Christine Masters Jach Copyright © 2014 by the Coalition of Women Scholars in the History of Rhetoric and Composition Gentium Basic: Copyright (c) SIL International, 2003-2008 (SIL OFL 1.1) Gentius: Copyright (c) SIL International, 2003-2014 (SIL OFL) Open Sans: Digitized data copyright © 2010-2011, Google Corporation (Apache License 2.0)

Peitho

The Journal of the Coalition of Women Scholars in the History of Rhetoric & Composition

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Editor's Welcome

We are excited to present this issue to you as it contains three excellent essays, five book reviews, and a celebration of the life of Winifred Bryan Horner, who died on February 4, 2014 in Columbia, Missouri, at the age of 91. Our three essays represent a range of scholarship-- "weighing in" on societal issues and in doing so asserting powerful female rhetorics. Anita August's "Shaping Presence: Ida B. Wells' 1892 Testimony of the 'Untold Story' at New York's Lyric Hall," deals with national level issues and aims to add nuance to Wells' famous lynching testimony, Southern Horrors. Jamie White-Farnham's "Were Those Bad Times for Women or What?': The Practical Public Discourse of Mary Leite Fonseca, Massachusetts State Senator, 1953-1984" recovers the work done by Mary Fonseca at the state level and shows how a public servant can support and extend women's values. Erin Frost writes of a contemporary issue and of how agency is built through resistance to the performance of cultural practices that degrade young women in "An Apparent Feminist Approach to Transnational Technical Rhetorics: The Ongoing Work of Nujood Ali." Read together they help us extend our notions of public rhetorics.

We speak for the Coalition of Women Scholars in Rhetoric and Composition as we thank Win Horner's family for their generous contributions to this memorial tribute. We particularly thank Ms. Beth Horner because at a time of great personal sadness she devoted herself to assisting in offering the field a tribute to her mother. We also thank Professor Lynée Gaillet for assembling and editing this memorial to her teacher, mentor, colleague, and friend. She, too, has put her grief aside in the effort to render such a fitting tribute to Win.

Peitho is gaining momentum, and we have many to thank for this growth. More than children need to be raised by a village; journals do too. Our journal assistants Carrie Grant and Christine Masters Jach have worked long hours to handle a range of tasks vital to *Peitho*'s success from making promotional materials, to figuring out manuscript management software, to deploying open source fonts and handling necessary redesign, and to copyediting. Whatever is needed they do with cheer, skill, and grace. Dr. Lindal Buchanan, who has just been elected Chair of the journal's Editorial Board, has contributed wisdom and the tactical help (with Dr. Elizabeth Tasker, Lisa Mastrangelo, and Jenn Fishmann) needed in thinking through how to grow the publication. Our whole board has contributed in timely ways to reviews. Allie Crandal addressed all website issues. Lisa Mastrangelo has handled all book reviews and served as a mentor for several contributors who need developmental guidance. And, of course, Lisa and Barb L'Eplattenier deserve yeowoman credit for the years of work they devoted to establishing *Peitho* as a peer-reviewed journal. We end our welcome with a reviewers' roll call. A double blind peer-reviewed journal depends reviewers, and we are blessed to have kind and generous readers in abundance. The following people reviewed articles during the volume 16 year: Kara Poe Alexander; Risa Applegarth; Michelle Comstock; Danielle Cordaro; Abby Dubisar; Michelle Eble; Jenn Fishman; Katherine Fredlund; Lynée Lewis Gaillet; Lorie Goodman; Tarez Samra Graban; Patti Hanlon-Baker; Marguerite Helmers; Erica Hoagland; Meredith Z. Johnson; Karen Kopelson; Carrie Leverenz; Shirley Wilson Logan; Lisa Mastrangelo; Libby Miles; Kristen Moore; Ersula Ore; Bridget O'Rourke; Nedra Reynolds; Aparajita Sagar; Christina Saidy; Wendy Sharer; Amy Ferdinandt Stolley; Kristen Seas Trader.

Jenny and Pat

Tributes to Winifred Bryan Horner (1922-2014)

Introduction-Lynée Lewis Gaillet

Win Horner taught me about epideictic rhetoric, praise and blame—its forms and uses. Certainly as a citizen, teacher, especially as a mother, I have engaged in the modern, causal interpretations of this Greek art almost daily. But in assembling this tribute, I feel the ceremonial weight of the term, the responsibility of trying to capture in a short space the magnificence and influence of one life. I have the privilege of both being Win's student and friend, and also being in the presence of other wonderful friends and family members who knew her and enthusiastically share their stories and memories. What a pleasure and honor it is to work with Win's daughter, Beth Horner, in compiling the following pictures, tributes, stories, and anecdotes. Assembling these artifacts has been part of a joyful process for me, particularly since I am not very good at goodbyes. Perhaps fittingly, I woke up on Mother's Day morning, with the deadline for this tribute looming, and found a peacefulness that came from the materials Beth so generously and thoughtfully shared with me over Mother's Day weekend and the comfort of knowing that Win isn't gone, but like any effective mentor, lives on in those she directly influenced and through us, subsequent generations of both familial and academic students.



Win Horner's visit to Georgia State University, 2000 [Photo courtesy of Lynée Gaillet]

When I met Dr. Horner, I was a newlywed, in a strange town, and confused about what to do in my professional life. At that pivotal moment for me, she quietly and inconspicuously served as a model of possibilities. I knew much about literature, but didn't want to devote my life to studying/teaching it. I wanted to teach writing, but knew what that meant, particularly for women at the time—not a career but a part-time job. Dr. Horner taught me about this thing called "rhetoric" and literally changed my life. She believed in me when others did not. She encouraged me, in the most straightforward and no-nonsense manner. Dr. Horner taught me not only about archival research and publishing, Scottish rhetoric, and composition instruction, but also how to blend the responsibilities of wife, daughter, mother, teacher in ways that still left time for me and research. She literally opened the eyes of a southern young woman, one taught always to be deferential and self-effacing, to the powers of self-efficacy.

When we got together, Win and I first talked about our work, then our children (collectively, seven), and eventually our gratitude to our husbands— wonderful men who quietly and without fail offer support over the long haul. For twenty-five years, Win Horner has been the person I call with good (and bad) academic news and my sounding board for new ideas. Her inspiration breathes life into every new project and reminds me that perhaps the most important job I have is to mentor new students and colleagues. While I miss knowing she is physically in the world, I continue to hear Win's sage advice whispered in my ear.

What Follows:

- Win Horner's obituary, written by Win herself
- A Memorial to Winifred Bryan Horner, written by Krista Ratcliffe for Rhetoric Society of America Newsletter
- A chorale of three voices, capturing snapshots of Wins's influence and mentoring through the Coalition of Women Scholars in the History of Rhetoric and Composition, written by Barb L'Eplattenier, Lisa Mastrangelo, and Kate Adams
- A collaborative Memorial written by three of Win's favorite students/ mentees: Nancy Myers, Sue Hum, and Kristie S. Fleckenstein
- A Tribute by Michelle Eble, a second-generation Win student
- Marty Townsend's remarks delivered at Win's Celebration of Life service in Columbia, MO
- Win at Texas Christian University (TCU) by Linda Hughes
- Remarks delivered at Win's Celebration of Life service by her husband, David Horner, Sr.

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 - "My Turn," a piece about life and death, written by Win
 - Lyrics to "Ninety Years" By Leela and Ellie Grace. Originally written in celebration of WBH/Mama's 90th Birthday on August 31, 2013. Also sung at "A Celebration of Win's Life", March 29, 2014

Obituary–Written by Win

Appeared in the Columbia Daily Tribune, February 6, 2014 (reprinted by permission)

Winifred Bryan Horner was born Aug. 31, 1922, in St. Louis, the youngest of four children and daughter of Winifred Kinealy and Walter Edwin Bryan. She graduated from Mary Institute in 1939, a high school attended by both her mother and mother-in-law. Horner then graduated from Washington University in 1943 and married David A. Horner Sr. that same year. During World War II, she worked as a secretary while moving with her husband to four Air Force bases during his service in the Air Force Weather Service.

In 1946, they used their WWII savings to make a down payment on Wind River Farm near Huntsdale in Boone County and were actively engaged in fulltime farming and community service. Winifred was community leader of the Huntsdale 4-H club in 1948. During this time, she also did freelance writing. One of her articles was published in *The New Yorker's* "Talk of the Town." In 1948, *The Saturday Evening Post* published her feature article about the challenges of life on a farm. The article was subsequently entered into the U.S. Congressional Record by Sen. Stuart Symington and commended by President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Horner also received the University of Missouri Journalism Award for another article in 1958. She and David had four children. In 1960, when the youngest was 4 years old, she earned her master's degree in English at the University of Missouri.

Horner joined the English department at the University of Missouri in 1961, working as an adjunct and an instructor. In 1973, at the age of 51, she entered the Ph.D. program at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. She completed her Ph.D. in English language, literature and linguistics in 1975. When Dr. Horner returned to MU in 1976, she was assistant, associate and then full professor of linguistics and served as the director of the composition program. She chaired the committee that initiated the first official "Writing Across the Curriculum" program at the University of Missouri, a program that still flourishes at the university. She also was the first scholar at the university to unite rhetoric with composition. She considered these two accomplishments the most important in her career.



Young Win, Reading [Photo courtesy Beth Horner, for the family of Winifred Bryan Horner]

Win as a new bride [Photo courtesy Beth Horner, for the family of Winifred Bryan Horner]

In 1985, Dr. Horner was offered the Radford Chair of Rhetoric and Composition at Texas Christian University, a position she held for 12 years while commuting between Columbia and Fort Worth, Texas. In 1994, she held the Ida and Cecil Green Distinguished Lecturer position at TCU, a position that allowed her to spend the bulk of the year at home in Columbia.

courtesy The Columbia Daily Tribune]

During her academic career, Dr. Horner wrote and published nine books and more than 30 articles. She wrote each of her nine books after the age of 62. A third edition of one of her books was published in 2010, edited by one of her former graduate students, Lynée Gaillet, a professor at Georgia State University. Dr. Horner's work focused largely on writing and on 18thand 19th-century Scottish rhetoric and its influence on American education. To pursue this research, she worked many summers in Scottish university libraries. She also co-wrote three editions of the "Harbrace Handbook," for many years the best-selling college textbook. Win traveled widely, giving lectures and presenting papers at, among others, the Universities of Amsterdam, Aberdeen, Gottingen, Edinburgh, Tours and Oxford.

In 1982, she received the University of Missouri Alumni Award for Outstanding Contributions to the Education of Women. In 1991, the





Southern Illinois University Press published a collection of essays in honor of Winifred Bryan Horner. She received the Distinguished Alumna Award from the University of Missouri in 1990 and from Washington University in 2001. In 2003, she was awarded the Exemplar Award, the highest award of the National Council of Teachers of English, given to "someone who is an example of excellence in scholarship, teaching and service to the profession of English." Dr. Horner served as president of the Rhetoric Society of America and the National Council of Writing Program Administrators in addition to holding offices in other national academic organizations. She also received research grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Council of Teachers of English, the University of Missouri and Texas Christian University, and was awarded research fellowships from the University of California at Berkeley and the University of Edinburgh. Dr. Horner retired in 1996 but continued to write and teach, teaching a course in memoir writing in the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute at the University of Missouri. In 2008, the University of Missouri English Department named a fellowship in rhetoric



Win and Dave at PhD Graduation Ceremony, 1975 [Photo courtesy Beth Horner, for the family of Winifred Bryan Horner]

in her honor, and in 2010 the Coalition of Woman Scholars in the History of Rhetoric named their annual book award in her honor.

Win Horner is survived by her husband, David A. Horner Sr.; daughter Win Grace of Columbia; son Richard L. Horner of Fort Lauderdale, Fla.; daughter Beth Horner and her partner, Ron Gurule, of Evanston, Ill.; and son David A. Horner Jr. and his wife, Merrill, of Columbia and Steelville. She is also survived by her brother John K. Bryan and his wife, Doris, of Chapel Hill, N.C.; and her seven grandchildren, Leela Grace and fiance Seth Barr, Ellie Grace, Gabriel Horner and fiancée Andrea Williamson, Wesley Horner, Miski Horner, Alexandria Horner and John Horner.

Over her career, Dr. Horner encountered numerous single women with young children returning to the university in order to earn an education to be able to support their families. As a result, Dr. Horner and her husband, David A. Horner Sr., endowed a scholarship for such women. In lieu of flowers, gifts to this fund are appreciated. Donations can be directed to the University of Missouri, Winifred Bryan Horner Scholarship, 109 Reynolds Alumni Center, Columbia, MO, 65211.

RSA Mourns the Loss of Winifred Bryan Horner —Krista Ratcliffe

Winifred Bryan Horner (Professor of English Emerita, U of Missouri and Radford Chair of Rhetoric Emerita, Texas Christian U) contributed greatly to the re-emergence of the discipline of rhetoric and composition in the 20th-century.Win contributed to the professionalization of RSA by helping set up its organizational structure. Win was one of the early members of the RSA who helped promote it, serving on the Board of Directors from 1981-87 (elected) and as President 1987-89 (elected). Win played an important part in establishing the RSA Constitution. On the RSA website Kathleen Welch writes: "The constitution has been revised approximately six times by two committees that met at RSA, SCA, and CCCC meetings. Former RSA presidents Winifred Bryan Horner and Richard Leo Enos devoted an extensive amount of time in leading these committees and in applying the results of their long experience to this important document". Win has contributed to rhetorical scholarship in major ways that helped bring it to prominence again in the 20th-century. Her work on Scottish rhetoric was ground-breaking. Before Win, the assumption was that there was little or no rhetoric in Scotland; her work in the archives resulted in articles and books that disproved that claim and put Scottish rhetoric on the map. She subsequently was awarded the position of Fellow at the University of Edinburgh. And she mentored students who continued her work

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Win as a research fellow in Scotland, 1988 [Photo courtesy Beth Horner, for the family of Winifred Bryan Horner]

in Scottish rhetoric (e.g., Lynée Gaillet) as well as other students who have become prominent in the field (Hui Wu who works on comparative rhetorics and Nancy Myers who works on women's rhetoric). Moreover, Win's book Present State of Scholarship in the History of Rhetoric is a classic that has been published in three editions and is probably responsible for more dissertation topics in rhetoric during the past 28 years (first edition was in 1983) than any other single publication. Win has contributed to rhetoric textbooks. For years, she was the editor of Harbrace Handbook and supplemented its traditional grammar focus with rhetorical process theory. In addition, she authored Rhetoric in

the Classical Tradition, which put Ed Corbett's work into practice for TAs and first-year students alike and which subsequently inspired many commercial rhetoric textbooks. Finally, Win is a pioneer in the field of rhetoric ... as a role model and mentor for women. One of the first women in the field, she paved the way for the rest. If you stop women in the halls at RSA or CCCC conferences and ask them about Win Horner, they all have a story. She helped them learn how to write conference papers. She helped them get a job. She helped them get a book published. She helped keep them sane as they began their careers. She invited them to work with her on projects. She gave advice on how to get tenure. She wrote tenure letters and then more tenure letters and then letters for promotion to full professor. She motivated women to work to achieve full professor. And all the while, she modelled how to have it all--a career, a family, and a grand sense of humor. She institutionalized this mentoring in CCCC by serving as a founding member of the Coalition of Women Scholars in the History of Rhetoric, helping to assure that rhetoric did not disappear from the C's. For all of these reasons, RSA is privileged to honor Winifred Bryan Horner. She will be missed. Source: http://associationdatabase.com/aws/RSA/pt/sd/ news article/85504/ PARENT/layout details/false.



Award recipients, from left: Richard Boehm, Richard Miller, Gerald Koocher, Winifred Bryan Horner, Gus Giordano, John Marshall, Jr. and Gary Kendall.

1996 Distinguished Alumni Awards

THE ARTS AND SCIENCE DISTINGUISHED ALUMNI AWARDS, ESTABLISHED IN 1984, ALLOW THE COLLEGE EACH YEAR TO RECOGNIZE SOME OF ITS MANY ALUMNI WHOSE PROFESSIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS HAVE ENHANCED THEIR RESPECTIVE DISCIPLINES AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR HUMANKIND, AND IN SO DOING HAVE REFLECTED WELL ON THE COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCE.

Photo of Distinguished Alumni, **MOSAICS Magazine**, Winter 1997 [Courtesy of **MOSAICS Magazine**, University of Missouri College of Arts and Sciences]



Win, holding The Present State in 2003 [Copyright, Columbia Daily Tribune.Reprinted with permission. Photo credit: Michael McNamara.]

A Chorale of Voices: Three Fellow Coalition of Women Scholars Officers and Friends

Barb L'Eplattenier, University of Arkansas-Little Rock

I just remember Win as a funny, vibrant woman who clearly loved the Coalition, its work and was deeply vested in its success and the success of young scholars. (Really, scholars younger than she!).

I sort of think of her as a dame in the 1950's sense of the word: classy but not suffering fools gladly and actively involved in whatever she was doing. Our discipline has been so lucky to have Win and women like her at the forefront. We are all better because of her teaching, her scholarship, and her very person as a role model.

Lisa Mastrangelo Centenary College of New Jersey

My first encounter ever with Win was at the Young Rhetoricians Conference in Monterrey, California. She was being awarded the "Young Rhetorician of the Year" award. She sat next to me at lunch, and I was completely surprised that someone who was as well established and well-lauded as Win would sit there and ask me about my dissertation, give me advice on my committee, and encourage me to keep working.

It's not a big story, but her words were so inspirational to me, and so needed at that particular moment.

Kate Adams, Loyola University

One time, years ago at the Penn State conference, I gave a talk and Win Horner came up afterwards and introduced herself. I was thrilled to be speaking with her. I will never forget her kind smile and kinder words: "You are doing such fine work." I walked right out of there and into an art show on the Penn State campus, where I bought a framed photograph that is still in my office. It's my Art from a Win Horner Moment. Through the years later, I always felt like I was one of her students. She could not have been more generous, a model leader who set the best tone for our field.

"Win's Angels"—Nancy Myers, Sue Hum, and Kristie S. Fleckenstein

Years ago when we began to read and respond to each other's work, Win started to refer to us as her "three angels." Every CCCC conference and most RSA conferences the angels and Win would meet for dinner to celebrate the year and the friendship. These were rollicking good times—catching up, moving forward, seeking-and-giving advice, sharing news about everyone's lives



Win's Angels: Kristie Fleckenstein, Sue Hum, Win, and Nancy Myers in a San Francisco restaurant, 2009 [Photo courtesy Beth Horner, for the family of Winifred Bryan Horner]

and careers. Win liked that although our individual work was all different and wide-ranging, we supported each other's successes, empathized through the hard times, and mentored each other through different phases of our lives, both personal and professional. She also liked that we represented different generations, not just age, but that Sue was Nancy's student, then Sue was Win's student as was Nancy and that Nancy and Kristie had worked at the same institution in marginalized teaching positions early in their friendship but both moved to tenure-track ones in other institutions not long after. It was those webs of interwovenness that created who we are—our ongoing relationship with each other—that encapsulated the name "angels." Our relationship embodies what Win believed for the profession and what the profession enables.

It is our experience of this robust mentorship and the gentle face of gendered networks—ones that create who we are and empower us to believe that anything is possible—we wish to emphasize in this short list of Winnerisms. These are one-liners that kept us on track in the profession that we pass on regularly to our graduate students and that we hope will help others too.

From Win to You:

- All ideas are meant to be shared.
- A good dissertation is a done dissertation.
- Your graduate school classmates are your future community in your discipline.
- Professors should always ask what graduate students are working on: ask their ideas.
- Quit flagellating yourself and get on with your writing.
- You can always take your publications with you to a new position.
- You've got to stand up for yourself because no one will give you anything unless you do.

A Tribute from Michelle Eble (East Carolina University), a Second-Generation Win Student

Without a doubt, I am the teacher, mentor, researcher, administrator I am today because of Dr. Winifred Horner's influence on my life and career. The really telling fact is that I only knew her after she retired, yet she continued to serve and help shape the profession and field in a wide variety of ways. I met Dr. Horner while a graduate student at Georgia State University through my mentor and dissertation director, Lynée Lewis Gaillet, one of Dr. Horner's

former students. Lynée invited Dr. Horner to speak to the Graduate Teaching Assistants at the fall 1998 orientation. Dr. Horner's love of teaching, scholarship, and service and her passion for the profession inspired me as I was beginning the doctoral program. I had the distinct opportunity, while a graduate student, to tour Amsterdam with her when we both attended the International Society for the History of Rhetoric conference, and I gave one of my very first conference papers on Scottish rhetoric.



Win and Michelle Eble in front of the Sex Museum in Amsterdam at the ISHR Conference, 1998 [Photo courtesy of Michelle Eble]

Over the years, I always looked forward to seeing Dr. Horner at the Coalition meetings on Wednesday nights. One of my fondest memories of her (besides touring the sex museum with her in Amsterdam) was when my ECU colleague, Wendy Sharer, and I interviewed her for a documentary on the history of the Coalition. I still remember what she said about the Wednesday night gatherings: "This is my world; these are my people." Yes, Dr. Horner always welcomed new faces and new ideas, and this legacy continues on with her students and her students' students and all those influenced by her over the years.

Remarks delivered at Win Horner's "Celebration of Life" memorial service, First Christian Church, Columbia, Missouri, March 29, 2014, by Martha A. Townsend, Associate Professor of English, University of Missouri (MU)

In honor of Win's 90th birthday a year ago last August, MU Campus Writing Program (CWP) director Amy Lannin and her colleagues hosted a reception at which they invited Win to reflect on her role in chairing the English Composition Task Force twenty-eight years earlier. The work of that Task Force led to the creation of MU's writing-across-the-curriculum program, thriving now at its thirty-year mark. Everyone at that birthday reception already knew that key to incoming Dean Milton Glick's supporting the new writing program had been Win's delivering a picnic basket to his home on move-in day filled with sandwiches and beer.

Amy and her thoughtful colleagues at CWP planned a lunch for those attending this 90th birthday celebration. What did they serve? Sandwiches and beer. The story was reported in the English Department's newsletter that fall and was picked up by a Texas alum [none other than Rich Haswell] who promptly re-posted it to WPA-L [the Writing Program Administrators' LISTSERV], quoting, "The Campus Writing Board recognized Win Horner, professor emerita, for her work in establishing the Writing Across the Curriculum Program by presenting her with a six-pack of beer." Whereupon another colleague [known to us as Ed White], who was oblivious to the inside story, indignantly replied, "She deserved champagne."

I was invited to introduce Win at that birthday celebration, and, at Win's request, I'm reading today what I said in that introduction:

For as long as I can remember, Win Horner has been championing two things in higher education: graduate students (especially women) and good



Win and University of Missouri Colleagues: Elaine Lawless, Win, Marty Townsend, and Mary Lego [Photo courtesy Beth Horner, for the family of Winifred Bryan Horner]

writing in all its forms (especially across the curriculum). I was privileged to come under her tutelage in 1987 when she gave a keynote address at Arizona State University where I was doing my doctoral work. Win delivered an hourlong inspirational speech to the faculty who were attending our nascent writing-across-the-curriculum program's first symposium. She then proceeded to mentor me about program building every moment thereafter until I delivered her back to the airport—a mentoring process that really never ended. At that time, I had NO idea that four years later I would have the opportunity to succeed Doug Hunt in directing the program she had helped start here at Missouri, a job I held for fifteen years. It is not exaggerating to say that I learned more from Win about being a professor of Rhetoric and Composition than from all my other professors combined—without ever taking a formal class from her.

By chairing the Task Force commissioned by Dean Glick, Win effectively became Campus Writing Program's founding godmother. (I sort of want to say "fairy godmother.") Doug Hunt, Don Ranly, Jean Ispa, Ted Tarkow and others who served on that Task Force will remember those days well. Win likes to recall that because the only time this campus-wide committee could gather was at 7:00 o'clock in the morning, she insisted their coffee be served in china cups. There'd be no Styrofoam[™] for her special group. That Task Force laid the foundation for the program that you are part of today, a program that has

become a national model renowned for the integrity of its Writing Intensive courses and for faculty and administration's support of student writing.

It's difficult to explain to scholars who are not in Rhetoric and Composition how distinguished a figure Win is in our field. It was difficult for the English Department at Mizzou to understand exactly what she did, and in 1982 they denied her bid for promotion to full professor. The larger University understood it, though, and awarded her the promotion anyway. The rest of the field understood it, too, because just one year later, Win was named the first female endowed chair of rhetoric in the country, by Texas Christian University. In their book *Rhetoric: Concepts, Definitions, Boundaries*, William Covino and David Joliffe include her biography along side none other than Aristotle, Cicero, Isocrates, and Plato. Theresa Enos published a festschrift in her honor. Our major national organization, CCCC, recognized Win with its highest honor, the Exemplar Award. Virtually every woman in the field has a story to tell about Win's mentorship. And we have now the opportunity to celebrate her legacy with the Campus Writing Program on her 90th birthday.

Win at Texas Christian University (TCU) —Linda K. Hughes, Addie Levy Professor of Literature

My first memory of Win and TCU was at an Modern Language Association Missouri party shortly after Win had taken the job. She was wearing a blazer – red? – and holding her shoulders in a way that conveyed confidence, excitement, complete delight at being named the first holder of the Lillian Bryan Radford Chair of Rhetoric and Composition. She was the consummate professional, an exemplar of academic success that can come to one who has made a mark in scholarship and has the requisite personal skills to go with exceptional achievement. Win had started out at University of Missouri as Assistant to the Director of Freshman Composition on the Third Floor and been passed over when the directorship opened up. This fact made her endowed chair at TCU all the more impressive and meaningful to those of us taking note.

My next memory of Win and TCU is again at MLA, this time in San Francisco in 1987, when I was interviewing for a job and she was in the room. That year TCU did not obtain a suite for interviews, which took place instead in the hotel room of department chair Fred Erisman. He sat on the bed across from me, and Harry Opperman and Win sat in two other wing chairs. Imagine how awkward it would have been had Win not been there! And her presence was all the more reassuring because she was the dear friend of my beloved mentor Mary Lago. That scenario was a fore glimpse of the difference Win would often make in my life and career at TCU.

If I wanted to roll out only a sanctified version of Win, I would skip another detail from the interview. Harry was explaining to me that once hired, a candidate was unlikely to be denied tenure—"unless you streaked naked across campus or something," he added. At this point Win piped up, "or maybe Linda would get tenure *because* she streaked across campus naked!" It was anything but "politically correct." And many would raise eyebrows over this. But my first and second memories of Win, TCU, and MLA are linked: it was because Win was so secure in herself and her achievements that she could say what others would not risk. Her ability to move from highest professionalism to low-down candor and humor was part of what made Win so lovable. She was so GOOD at what she did professionally. She had such ethos as an endowed chair. She grasped with unerring judgment the workings of power and networks. But she was also so much fun because her conversation was unpredictable and often incredibly funny. No wonder so many of us were drawn to her: colleagues who knew what a good hire they had made, the graduate students who adored her, and TCU women faculty across campus.

Win had the ability to make each graduate student feel special, partly by entering in so enthusiastically to their ideas, hopes, and plans, partly by letting them share her companionship and vision. She never hesitated to suggest that a student take up this or that project, submit to just the right conference, or meet others in the field. She also guided students expertly when they came to her about touchy situations with a faculty member or peer. One of the testimonies to Win's ties to her graduate students, besides the outstanding success of Lynée Gaillet at Georgia State, is that Win continued to meet a group



Win with Sharon Fairchild and Linda Hughes [Photo courtesy Beth Horner, for the family of Winifred Bryan Horner]

of former students—including Nancy Myers (Assoc. Prof., U of North Carolina, Greensboro) and Sue Hum (Assoc. Prof., U. of Texas, San Antonio)—at 4 C's conferences for a number of years after her retirement from TCU. They revered her, and I think they meant the world to Win, not only as a set of four people she cared very much about but also as continuing testimony to the difference she had made in the academy and above all in the lives of women faculty.

Win and I met weekly for dinner on Wednesday nights unless Win was out of town, and Win joked that we were actually running the English Department from our dinner table. We did talk lots of politics and ideas for enhancing the department. But most of all I remember the fun of these weekly dinners, and the laughter—oh, the laughter. It's no wonder that those years when Win was my TCU colleague were my golden days at TCU, when opportunities seemed boundless and every week was a joy.

What I will miss most of all is the chance to laugh with Win, and to learn from her about life situations. Part of her lessons emerged from her own past. Just this semester, before the startling news of Win's sudden departure from this world arrived, I told students in my Victorian novel class about Win standing up at a typewriter, trying to write with her young children pulling at her skirt and imploring her for undivided attention. I was trying to illuminate for students the real-life pull between career and family that many women writers in the nineteenth century faced (and that persists today—one of my best students, married with 2 children, nodded as I told the story of an endowed chair's earlier days). That story Win had shared with me said so much at once about her drive and talent but also her recognition of her family's claims upon her.

Win's lessons continued even after Win retired from TCU. I always called Win on her birthday, and besides sharing news we always got down to the realities of life as she was experiencing it. She candidly noted changes that came with aging yet did not dwell on them, teaching me about what to anticipate while also modeling a life well lived into one's nineties. And how grateful I was to be able to visit her a couple of times at home in Tremont Court. My memory of those visits is suffused in light, partly on account of the real light that streamed in through the windows of this home. But Win herself was also a center of light. I could see that when family members dropped by on ordinary errands or just to say hi, they entered in to the light that Win radiated and shared.

I end with a vivid memory of Win in my office at TCU in the early 90s. She was dressed in a leopard-skin print top and pants and was gesturing in that confident way she had. I suddenly realized that here she was, in her late 60s or early 70s, looking sexy and playful as well as like a woman having the time

of her life. (She was highly deliberate about dress, as about everything else, experimenting with different styles after moving to Texas and commenting, when she wore blazer, blouse, and pleated skirt, "This is how married women dress at Missouri"). This may seem an odd place to stop, perhaps even politically incorrect on my part. But that happy memory of Win in a leopard-skin print is also one of the gifts (and lessons about aging) she left with me.

"Meeting Win" Delivered at a Celebration of Win's Life (3/29/2014) by Win's Husband, David A. Horner, Sr.

The way I remember meeting Win was that I was with my family in a wooden, flat-bottom boat paddling across this big river. Although it actually wasn't a big river, it was a small river that just seemed big to me as a five-year old.

When we got to the other side, there was another boat, another family: mother, father, one boy almost grown, two boys a little older than me, and a small kid, smaller than me, splashing around in the shallow water, making a lot of noise, and getting a lot of attention.



Dave and Win, the early days [Photo courtesy Beth Horner, for the family of Winifred Bryan Horner]

What she was saying was: "I'M SWIMMING, I'M SWIMMING!" I was impressed. I didn't know how to swim, and she was younger and smaller than I was.

As I got closer, I could see that technically she wasn't swimming, she was propelling herself through the shallow water with her hand on the gravelly bottom of the river.

I know now, what was in her mind then. It went like this... "What's with this swimming they are talking about? It doesn't look that difficult. If my older brothers can do it, I can do it... Maybe better than they can."

Several years later that same attitude prevailed. She was starting to work on a scholarly treatise and said: "This book will practically write itself." I suppose she was right, if you discount a year's hard work that followed.

What struck me, what riveted me about that kid splashing in the river a long time ago, was a spark, a spirit, and energy, a determination that I had never encountered, and I was intrigued.

Recently, in just a few hour's time, that spark was gone. I couldn't believe it. How could that be? After all this time.

With this gathering of individuals that knew Win, I will concede that some of that spirit is still around, in a different form.

I make the observation that if Win were here, absolutely no one would have as a good as a time as she would. She would visit with each person, inquire as to what was going on in his or her life, and have a word of encouragement. She would feel really bad when the meeting was over if she learned that she failed to see someone that was here.

Her remarks were usually right on, once in a great while, a little off the wall. With great pleasure, I remember a time when she and I were circulating in a large gathering, and I introduced her to a really good person who happened to own and operate a Ford automobile agency here.

Win was at that time mostly in Fort Worth at Texas Christian. So I said, "Win. This is Joe Machons. He has the Ford dealership." She greeted him warmly and said: "I just love my new Nova," a car she had recently bought in Fort Worth.

I said, "Win, think Ford." So she said happily to Mr. Machons: "But you don't also have General Electric." I bring this up not to downgrade her knowledge of cars, which was pretty good, but to remember that Joe, right away, really liked Win. You could tell that he picked up on the spirit that was there.

The details were really irrelevant.

My Turn, Written by Winifred Bryan Horner at Approximately Age 80

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The articles were short and the facts were bare. Carolyn Heilbrun, wellknown feminist and Columbia University scholar had committed suicide at the age of 79. Her son was quoted: "She always wanted to control her own destiny."

A series of conflicting emotions washed over me as I read: sadness, disappointment, loss and then deep anger. I didn't understand why I was reacting so strongly. Twenty-five years earlier my mother, to whom I had always been close, committed suicide and I had handled that well I thought. I felt no guilt – she had long supported euthanasia and I knew how she dreaded illness and aging. Years later after the long dying of a good friend, I had even joined the Hemlock Society.

I hardly knew Heilbrun. The sadness especially surprised me. One year we were both featured speakers at a conference for chairs of University English departments and we were both early feminists. On that occasion I had gathered an informal group of women to discuss problems that they might have as women chairs of departments composed largely of men. We assembled



Win and Dave, after retirement, at home in Columbia [Photo courtesy Beth Horner, for the family of Winifred Bryan Horner]

in a large sunny general-purpose room. While we talked several of the men, including my own boss, nervously circled our group. Carolyn turned to me and whispered, "They're not going to let you off the plantation again." Several years later I had occasion to write her about some professional matter. It was the beginning of the technology era and in her response she said that the printing from my dot matrix printer reminded her of her grandmother's needlepoint. She had a keen eye and a way with words. My personal acquaintance rested on those two events.

But I knew her best through her books most of which I had read and some I had taught. In all of these she was a staunch supporter of women. I had read her last book, *The Last Gift of Time*, and just recently reread it. It spoke eloquently to me of the "gains that age might hold." I had read it earlier before my retirement and I had been so busy living that I had not been particularly impressed. Twenty years later as a different person I had reread it and this time the words spoke to me. She speaks of being old at a time when she is "surer of what her life is about" with "less self doubt to conquer." Having considered at one time that life properly ended at sixty and that that milestone seemed the appropriate time to end the journey she confesses that at seventy she looks back on "her sixties with pleasure astonishing." But as the three score years and ten approached her doubts returned. "Quit while you're ahead was, and is, my motto", she wrote, and at the age of 79 she quit.

I could understand my feeling of loss. Her books had long inspired me and I was disappointed that there would be no more. The sadness was somehow, I realized, connected through some dark threads in my subconscious to the suicide of my mother. At the time of my mother's death I was in the midst of pursuing my PhD at the University of Michigan. I was fifty years old and having my own struggles. I pushed my mother's death to the back of my mind. I thought I had handled it well, but I realized now that I hadn't handled it at all. Like Heilbrun, my mother was in her late seventies and in good health. She still walked several blocks to her health club where she swam each morning.

I thought then that she had so much more to give the world and her family. My work was easing up and I looked forward to reconnecting with my mother, and I was planning a trip that we might take together in the following year. I thought how proud she would be when I got my PhD and I looked forward to having her at the graduation ceremonies. I felt a loss and a disappointment.

My mother like Heilbrun had long spoken of her plans to end her life at a time that she chose. She too spoke of taking control while she still could and not waiting until her body and the medical profession took over. She was not a deeply religious person but she, like all of us, dreaded the long painful dying, not the death itself. For me I finally realized there was sadness, disappointment, and loss. So why was I so angry at these two strong intelligent women. In a way I realized that they had just cancelled out the days they had left as worthless. Perhaps I was angry because I wanted Heilbrun to write another book. I wanted her to share her insights into living beyond the three score and ten. Perhaps I was angry because I wanted my mother to share the moment when I received my doctor's hood. She would have been so proud. I, like them have now passed the allotted number of years. I, like all people in the late seventies and eighties had aching joints, and weaker muscles. I have to go to the bathroom more frequently these days and I forget names of people and places. I breathe harder walking up hills and my children rush to help me out of those low slung car seats. I read more slowly because there are more real life experiences to connect with, and I write more carefully because the words have to be drawn from a deeper well these days. There are other issues between me and my doctor that don't bode well for the long haul.

But today I value my family and friends with more understanding, less judgment and more real love no matter where, no matter why. I still savor the return of the forsythia, the sound of the birds in the early morning, the wonderful smell after a spring rain, the reds and oranges of the turning leaves, the surprising blaze of an autumn sunset. I feel angry that my mother and Heilbrun did not value these things as I now value them in a new and more significant way. How could they leave all this glory! I feel angry that they feel that they had nothing left to give, that my life – my eighty years – have nothing left to offer to myself or anyone else. Each day is a gift that I shall use for myself and others. I'm in it for the haul – long or short. I too dread the slow dying, but I shall live out my life to the end. I love this life with all of its joys and sorrows and dying is an integral part of that life – dying prepares me and my loved ones for the final act. I am not quitting. Today I have cancelled my subscription to the Hemlock Society.

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Ninety Years By Leela and Ellie Grace

(Written with great love in honor of Dr. Winifred Bryan Horner, a.k.a. Mama). Copyright Leela and Ellie Grace 2013 (reproduced with permission). Originally written in celebration of WBH/Mama's 90th Birthday on August 31, 2013. Also sung at "A Celebration of Win's Life", March 29, 2014.

Little sister, only girl Grew up strong to face this world With the fire in your eyes Would it come as a surprise All the lives that you would change In your ninety years?

Chorus:

Ninety years of a life on fire Blazing trails, walking on a wire Ninety years lived with love Fighting hard to rise above You've showed us how to really live For ninety years

From Missouri to Michigan Edinburgh and back again And every spring in a Texas town We saw your students gather round And all the walls you've broken down In your ninety years

River days and city nights All in bed in the morning light From Washington to London town You've taken us this world around All the stories written down In your ninety years



Win on her 90th birthday with three of her seven grandchildren: Alex Horner, Leela Grace, and Ellie Grace [Photo courtesy of Ronald W. Gurule, photographer]

Curriculum Vitae (compiled by Win)

Winifred Bryan Horner

Professor of English Emerita, University of Missouri Radford Chair of Rhetoric Emerita, Texas Christian University

EDUCATION

- A.B. Washington University, St. Louis, MO, Major: English
- M.A. University of Missouri, Columbia, MO, English Literature
- Ph.D. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, English Language and Literature and Linguistics, 1975

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

English Department, Texas Christian University Ida and Cecil Green Distinguished Tutor Radford Chair of Rhetoric and Composition and Professor of English

English Department, University of Missouri, Columbia Professor of English Chair, Lower Division Studies Director of Composition Program Before I went into academia I worked as a freelance writer and published articles in popular publications including feature articles in *Farm Journal* and the *Saturday Evening Post* and a short item for *The New Yorker*. In the April 14, 1956 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* I published an article that was read into the U.S. Congressional Record by Senator Stuart Symington.

PUBLICATIONS

SELECTED BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS

- *The Present State of Scholarship in the History of Rhetoric*, with Lynée Lewis Gaillet, Professor of English, Georgia State U. 2010
- *Rhetoric and Pedagogy: Its History, Philosophy, and Practice.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1995.
- *Life Writing*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1997.
- *Nineteenth-Century Scottish Rhetoric: The American Connection.* Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois U P, 1992.
- *Hodges Harbrace College Handbook.* 11, 12, 13, 14 editions. Co-authored with Suzanne Webb, and Robert Miller, 1990, 1994, 1998, 2001.
- *The Present State of Scholarship in Historical Rhetoric*. The U of Missouri Press, Columbia, MO, 1983, Revised 1990. General Ed. and Contributor. "Preface" and "The Eighteenth Century."
- Rhetoric in the Classical Tradition. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988.
- *Composition and Literature: Bridging the Gap.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1983. Contributing Editor. "Historical Introduction."
- Historical Rhetoric: An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Sources in English. Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1980, Contributing Editor. "Introduction" and "The Eighteenth Century."

ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS: During my academic career I have published over fifty articles and chapters in scholarly books and given over thirty lectures in the United States. I have also lectured internationally at the Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh, Scotland; Oxford University; University of Amsterdam, the University at Tours; and the University of Gottingen.

ARTICLES ABOUT HORNER

Sharon Crowley. "Foremothers: Three Women Models in the Profession." *Pre-Text*. Spring 1990.

- Sally Harold and Jean Harris "Growing Up Female in Composition: Lessons in Power, Lessons in Weakness."
- William A Covino and David A. Jolliffe. *Rhetoric, Concepts, Boundaries. Glossary of Major Concepts, Historical Periods, and Rhetors*. Winifred Bryan Horner, 57-58. Boston &London Allyn and Bacon. 1995.
- Lynée Lewis Gaillet and Shelley Aley. "An Interview with Winifred Bryan Horner." *Composition Studies* 22.2 (1994): 15-29. [will be reprinted fall 2014, 42.2 issue of *Composition Studies*.]

AWARDS

The Win Horner Award For Innovative Writing Intensive Teaching. Recognizes faculty who are starting out with a new WI course or taking a new direction with their WI teaching. This may include a new, innovative WI course, or a new strategy and approach within an existing WI course. University of Missouri.

- 2007 Fellowship in Rhetoric named The Winifred Bryan Horner Fellowship, University of Missouri
- 2003 CCCC Exemplar Award: "For someone who is an example of excellence in scholarship, teaching and service to the profession of English...the highest award of the National Council of Teachers of English."
- 2001 Distinguished alumna, Washington University
- 1991 *Festschrift in Honor of Winifred Bryan Horner*. Edited by Theresa Enos. Southern Illinois UP, 1991.
- 1990 Distinguished Alumna: University of Missouri
- 1990 National Council of Teachers of English Research Grant
- 1990 Texas Christian University Research Grant
- 1987 National Endowment for the Humanities Research Award for Annotated Bibliography of Manuscripts on Nineteenth-Century Scottish Rhetoric.
- 1985 Visiting Distinguished Professor, Texas Woman's University
- 1987 Fellow in the Institute for the Humanities, University of Edinburgh
- 1982 University of Missouri Alumnae Anniversary Award for Outstanding Contribution to the Education of Women, \$1000
- 1982 Summer Fellowship, National Endowment for the Humanities, \$2500
- 1981 Visiting Research Associate, University of California, Berkeley
- 1981 Grants from University of Missouri Research Council
- 1973-4 Special Assignment, University of Missouri: To explore ways of improving instruction in Basic English
- 1958 Award for "Best Article of the Year," University of Missouri School of Journalism

Listed in International Who's Who in America, Who's Who of American Women, Directory of Distinguished Americans, Directory of American Scholars, Contemporary Authors.

MAJOR PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

NATIONAL OFFICES AND COMMITTEES

International Society for the History of Rhetoric Executive. Council: 1986 Nominating committee: 1989.

Rhetoric Society of America Board of Directors, 1981-87 (elected) President, 1987-89 (elected) Coalition of Women Scholars in the History of Rhetoric: President

Modern Language Association

Chair: Teaching of Writing Division, 1981 (elected) Member: Delegate Assembly, 1981--Chair: Language and Society Division, 1990

Midwestern Modern Language Association Writing in College Section: Advisory and Nominating Committee, 1984

National Council of Teachers of English College Division Nominating Committee, 1981 (elected) Chair: Braddock Award Committee, 1982 (appointed) Member: Resolutions Committee, 1982 (appointed) Member: Executive Committee, CCCC, 1983 (elected) Member: David J. Russell Award Committee, 1985-86 (appointed) Chair: Status of Women Committee, 1985-87 (appointed)

National Council of Writing Program Administrators President: 1985-1987 (elected) Vice President: 1977-1985 (elected)

Member Exxon and WPA Board of Writing Program Consultants Selection Committee: 1989--President: Missouri ACCORD, 1975. Missouri Governor's Ad Hoc Committee on English for the College Bound, 1979

RESEARCH AND TRAVEL

Researched at the four Scottish Universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews working on students' notes from nineteenth-century rhetoric courses. Fall 1980, January-November 1989.

Visiting Research Associate: University of California at Berkeley, 1981.

REFEREE: I regularly read articles for *College English*, *College Composition and Communication*, *English Education*, *Journal of Writing Program Administration*, *Rhetoric Review*, *Journal of Basic Writing*.

EDITORIAL BOARD: Journal of Basic Writing, Rhetoric Review, Freshman English News, Focuses.

REVIEWS: I have reviewed manuscripts for the University of Chicago Press, the University of Missouri Press, Southern Illinois University Press, Texas Christian University Press, Oxford University Press, and the Modern Language Association. I have also reviewed numerous Freshman English texts for every major publisher in the United States.

SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION

WORKSHOPS

Writing Across the Curriculum: Brigham Young U., 1990
Workshop for Graduate Students: University of Arizona, 1989.
Writing Across the Curriculum Workshop: University of North Dakota, 1989
National Council of Writing Program Administrators, 2 day workshop, 1987.
Association of American Colleges, Workshop on Writing
Program Evaluation, New Orleans, January 1985
Association of American Colleges, Workshop on Writing
Program Evaluation, Washington, D.C., January 1986
University of Iowa, June 1979, 5 day workshop
University of Iowa, May 1980, 2 day workshop
Beaver College, June 1980, 5 day workshop

CONSULTING AND EVALUATION OF WRITING PROGRAMS

University of Nevada, Las Vegas, November 1980 University of Indiana, Gary, March 1982 St. Mary's College, South Bend, IN, January 24-25 1982 Indiana University of Pennsylvania, March 1982 City College, City University of New York, March 1983 Medgar Evers College, City University of New York, March 1983 New York City Technical College, City University of New York, April 1983 Metro State University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, April 1983 Herbert Lehman College, City University of New York, May 1983 Wayne State University, Detroit, May 1985 University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, October 1985 Arizona State, Phoenix, October 1987 Brigham Young University, October 1990 University of Utah, October 1990 University of Tennessee, October 1990

FULBRIGHT SELECTION COMMITTEE: 1986-1989

ARCHIVES

Horner notes from research in eighteenth-century Scottish rhetoric housed In English Department at Georgia State University--Contact Professor Lynée Lewis Gaillet.

Horner collection of nineteenth and early twentieth century textbooks on rhetoric and composition housed in English Department at the University of Texas at Austin—Contact Professor Linda Ferreria-Buckley.

Shaping Presence: Ida B. Wells' 1892 Testimony of the 'Untold Story' at New York's Lyric Hall Anita August

There is no agony like bearing an untold story inside you. —Zora Neale Hurston

When Ida B. Wells stood before a crowd of the social hierarchy of black women from Boston, Brooklyn, New York City, and Philadelphia at New York's Lyric Hall on October 5, 1892, according to her autobiography, she simply wanted to deliver her testimonial "of that horrible lynching affair" (Crusade 79). Wells was referring to earlier in the year on March 9 in Memphis, Tennessee, when a mob of masked men pulled Wells' friends Calvin McDowell, William Stuart, and Theodore Moss from their jail cell in the predawn hours when they were lynched and "shot to pieces" (New York Times, 10 March 1892). As editor of *Free Speech*, the black Memphis newspaper she co-owned, the thirty-year old Wells was away "carrying on the work of [Free Speech]" (Crusade 47) in Natchez, Mississippi, when she heard of the Lynching at the Curve¹. Wells' 1892 testimonial at New York's Lyric Hall, Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All its Phases, is the founding rhetorical text in the anti-lynching movement that called for a moral, religious, and legal referendum on lynching in America. By forsaking all of the commonplace rationale for lynching and the Southern social comfort that came with it, Wells reframed the simplistic characterizations of lynching with new questions to demonstrate its structural features. With the cleavage of politics and economics to lynching, Wells would offer a new interpretation of lynching and emerge as the principle shaper of America's anti-lynching crusade.

Although lynchings were a cultural feature of the Southern American ethos after slavery and Reconstruction, in 1892 there was an astonishing "increase of 200 percent" (*Horrors* 10) of blacks lynched by white mobs. Upon returning to Memphis, Wells discovered that not only were McDowell, Stuart, and Moss buried, but according to many of the black citizens of Memphis there was a "strong belief that the criminal court judge was one of the lynchers" (*Crusade* 55). Wells realized that "despite [. . .] harping on the lynching" (*Crusade* 62) in her *Free Speech* editorials and the national attention that the lynchings brought to Memphis, no legal repercussion to the brutal murders would ever transpire.

Like most blacks and whites, Wells was culturally constructed to believe that sexual contacts between black men and white women were always criminal. However, vested in assuring that McDowell, Stuart, and Moss would have due process, Wells demonstrated in *Southern Horrors* the consensual but

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"illicit [sexual] associations between black men and white women" (*Crusade* 69). Given the irrefutable ethos of McDowell, Stuart, and Moss, Wells modified her questions, and a new topography of race and class emerged. Wells' investigation not only disrupted the previous narrative, it also generated a new way of seeing lynching that showed that the preservation of White Womanhood (Welter) was neither a motive in the Lynching at the Curve nor in the majority of lynchings in the South. The true motive, Wells discovered, was to create economic stasis for McDowell, Stuart, and Moss who "owned and operated a grocery store" (*Crusade* 47) which rivaled their white counterpart who previously "had had a monopoly" (*Crusade* 48) on black patronage. Wells explains that the radical interpretation "opened my eyes to what lynching really was" (*Crusade* 64). After she published her controversial evidence on the Lynching at the Curve, the office of *Free Speech* was destroyed, Wells' life was publicly threatened, and she was exiled for her safety to New York City.

Wells' anti-lynching movement is one of the most effective and efficient articulations of marginalized and disenfranchised people in American public address (Royster; Logan; Giddings; Schechter; Decosta-Willis). Wells' pioneering *Southern Horrors* testimonial at Lyric Hall Karlyn Kohrs Campbell argues, both rhetorically and strategically "use[d] evidence and argument" (436) to demonstrate that lynching was commonplace in the South. Further, Campbell notes, Wells' testimonial "is noteworthy in three respects" (436):

> First, as in her writings, [Wells] used evidence and argument in highly sophisticated ways, ways that prevented members of the audience from dismissing her claims as biased or untrue. Second, the speech was an insightful and sophisticated analysis of the interrelationship of sex, race, and class. Third, in contrast to the rhetorical acts of other women, this speech contained no stylistic markers indicating attempts by a woman speaker to appear "womanly" in what is perceived as a male role—that of a rhetor. (436)

In addition to Campbell, scholars across disciplinary domains argue that Wells rightly deserves a prominent space in American public address discourse. For example, in *"We Are Coming": The Persuasive Discourse of Nineteenth-Century Black Women*, rhetorical scholar Shirley Wilson Logan notes that although Wells was not the only orator to speak out against lynching, "none did more effectively and more consistently" (15). African American literature scholar Teresa Zackodnik describes Wells' antilynching rhetoric as a "pedagogy of American lynching" (132) and argues that her speeches both in the United States and abroad significantly instituted changes in lynching laws. Historian Paula J. Giddings writes about the bootstrapping of the legal, communal, and spectacle aspect of lynching saying that "Wells saw it [lynching] within

the context of her own life, times, and writings, as it migrated from the rural backwoods to the cities; from lone midnight murders to communal daylight spectacles in which bodies were dismembered and organs kept or sold as souvenirs; from southern cities to northern ones where lynchings took the form of "legal" executions by racist justice systems and mob-led riots that took multiple lives [...]" (*Ida, A Sword* 4).

While Giddings speaks to the legal complicity of lynching, Walter White, an African American civil rights activist who visually looked white but was genetically black, posits that lynch mobs drew their moral justification from Christianity and "it is exceedingly doubtful if lynching could possibly exist under any other religion" (qtd in Wood 50). As a journalist who covered lynchings, we can presume that Wells saw both the material and photographic images of black bodies tortured, dismembered, and burned. However, it was the trauma of McDowell's, Stuart's, and Moss' lynching embodied in Wells' psychic consciousness that, as she states, "changed the whole course of my life" (*Crusade* 47). Thus, the Lynching at the Curve served as the exigence for Wells to use her skill and experience as a journalist for her lynching protest movement to oppose the terrorism of mob rule. By the rhetorical intertwining of legal discursive practices, the cultural method of testimony, and Christianity as moral reasoning for the dehumanization and lynching of blacks, Wells initiates a profound rhetorical reflection on lynching in America.

From this space, I will examine Wells' 1892 testimony at Lyric Hall using an interdisciplinary reading from rhetorical theory, legal brief writing, anthropology, cognitive psychology, and historical criticism to illustrate how these bodies of knowledge discursively intersect and interact in articulating the shaping presence of the agent. I will distinguish my notion of a shaping presence in five ways in which it acts as a rhetorical framing of both the agent and her visual and verbal discourse. A shaping presence in my articulation is a discursive practice that conveys the ideology, nature, and characteristics of the experience of seeing. Second, it enables interdiscursivity between the orator's representation of the experience and the audience's cultural processing of the experience. Third, it is the rhetorical binding of the rhetor's visual consciousness and verbal consciousness. Fourth, it requires a method of reading, which is why the rhetor may use symbolic markers of culture, value-systems, and connection to a shared body of ideas for her audience to gain entrance into and engagement with the rhetor's experience of seeing. And finally, a shaping presence is a public portraiture rather than the private identity of the rhetor.

With this framing of a shaping presence, the essay proceeds in the following steps. First, I begin by broadening Shirley Wilson Logan's analysis of Wells' construction of her rhetorical presence and examining how Wells' Lyric Hall speech was constrained by and constitutive of the sociopolitical conditions of lynching. Second, I demonstrate using Jerome Bruner's narrative theories that it was the group narrative of blacks in Memphis, and not Wells' self-narrative, which fueled the onset of her anti-lynching movement. Third, I articulate Wells' use of the ancient form of discourse *ekphrasis* to demonstrate its discursive role in Wells' visual and verbal shaping presence of her testimony. Fourth, I argue that a shaping presence is not self-interpreting but imported with symbolic traffic from the rhetor's culture. I conclude the essay discussing the implications for public address as civic awareness and the rhetorical interdependence of the two

Shaping Presence at Lyric Hall

A shaping presence is a discursive practice that conveys the ideology, nature, and characteristics of the experience of seeing.

At what moment does an activist become—*the activist*—and the chief representative of a sociopolitical movement? When does the rhetorical framing of an experience provide a larger and richer insight into an ideological point of focus? How does the rhetor express her personal attachment to an experience for a public performance to evoke sociopolitical action by uncovering the experience for an audience that represents their shared political interests? Further, what is the kairotic moment that initiates the ascent and exhibition of autopoiesis for the rhetor? For many activists of sociopolitical movements the questions are deferred to time, vague and shifting instincts, and early childhood traumatic experiences. For Ida B. Wells, her shaping presence as the most prominent anti-lynching orator in U.S. history was October 5, 1892 at Lyric Hall in New York City. Alternatively, perhaps, as she posits in *Crusade*, it was on March 9, 1892, when her friends McDowell, Stuart, and Moss were shot and lynched by a mob. At any rate, these two events interlock for Wells because both were anchors in her shaping presence.

The belief that there is a convergence and strategic linking of subject, audience, and occasion by the orator to "create rhetorical discourse" (Bitzer 1) is well defined in rhetorical studies. Indeed, the orator rhetorically assembles her discourse in a sustained and tactical manner to empower her audience to assist with change in favor of a sociopolitical interest. In her study of Wells' agitation rhetoric against both the legal and cultural sanctioning of lynching, Shirley Wilson Logan examines presence in relation to how "Wells employs selective description to persuade audiences geographically and emotionally removed from the circumstances to which they were asked to respond" (74-75). Logan follows by noting that "Well's discourse not only invokes the presence of the act of lynching but also heightens awareness of the perpetrators and the carnivalesque atmosphere among the spectators" (75). Indeed, while I reinforce Logan's examination of lynching as an attendant factor in Wells' discourse, I employ the term "presence" in relation to the performative shaping of Wells' communication style as an artistic statement to examine lynching within the ideology of culture. Similarly, asserting that "there was art [. . .] in Wells's discourse against mob violence" (75), Logan's position opens a gateway to further theorize Wells' rhetorical innovation to creatively resist and analytically break the moral closure of Southern lynching rationale. Therefore, in bracing my use of the term "shaping presence" to Logan's, I confirm and expand her definition to emphasize both the verbal and visual characteristics manifest during Wells' testimony at New York's Lyric Hall.

In order to tell the untold story to her Lyric Hall audience, Wells first had to produce, process, and perform the dynamic features of the Lynching at the Curve in her mind to visually shape what she wanted her audience to encounter during the experience of seeing. "Although every detail of that horrible lynching affair was imprinted on my memory," writes Wells, "I had to commit it all to paper, and so I got up to read my story" (*Crusade* 79). By recognizing the relevance of the Lynching at the Curve to her middle-class black Lyric Hall audience, Wells chose to translate the untold story through the performative and oral storytelling method of testimony. With the rhetorical virtuosity of an experienced journalist, Wells rooted her testimony in the cultural story of the black jeremiad to discredit the moral backing of Christianity that lynch mobs used to justify their vigilantism. Moreover, she followed the composition of legal discursive practices to illuminate the extensive lawlessness of lynching. With this strategy, Wells tacitly conveys in her testimony the inseparability of lynching, law, and Christianity. At first glance, this yoking may appear far-reaching and full of ambiguities when examined outside their rhetorical province. However, when examined more closely, by interweaving the three discourses of lynching, law, and Christianity, Wells rightly embeds and situates the narratives in a unified manner. This not only strengthened the rhetorical power of her Lyric Hall testimony, it also stimulated new questions about the political and legal role of lynching in a civil society

In the words of Geneva Smitherman, "*testifyin*" is a ritualized [form of black cultural expression] in which the speaker gives verbal [and visual] witness to the efficacy, truth, and power of some experience in which all blacks have shared" (58). This is an important point that Smitherman makes since "*testifyin*" is remarkably similar to legal deliberation in a court of law. Similarly, Wells employs the rhetoric, structure, and formality of a legal brief, which is an argument that details the main points of a case with evidence. Like biblical law, the body of laws that govern its citizenry is a legal system that generates outcomes in the name of justice. Smitherman has noted that, "[t]o testify is to tell the truth through 'story'" (150), which enables the orator, and particularly the African American orator to invoke culturally inclusive language, customs, prominent

and accomplished African Americans, and traditions which resonate with audience members who share the same kinship. As rhetorical strategy, testimony allowed Wells the agency to burrow her story within the religious language of biblical Christianity; it also was a familiar form of sociopolitical address to her middle-class audience, and like the law of the land, *testifyin*(g) within the provisions of Christianity had a binding, although spiritual, judgment.

By using the classic format of a legal brief: summary of the argument, statement of the case, argument (s), and conclusion, Wells makes the case for the repeal of lynch law and authoritatively combines all of the rhetorical appeals—ethos, pathos, and logos—to expose the dehumanization and law-lessness of lynching. Furthermore, the titles of each section of her Southern Horrors speech discursively parallel "point headings" used in a legal brief to guide the reader through the document (Ricks and Istvan 1115- 1116). However, before Wells proceeds with "The Offense," her first point heading in Southern Horrors, she creates a "Preface" to establish her ethos and to define the pervasive legal impediments in the law blind to the practice of lynching. By using the rhetorical style of legal discourse to situate her argument, Wells' adjudication begins by declaring that her objective is to give an "unvarnished account of the causes of lynch law in the South" (50). From there, Wells harmonizes for her audience the central pillars of her argument—lynching, law, and Christianity

For example, Wells strategically invokes a visual anchor in her opening remarks with the biblical story of love, lust, and deception—Samson and Delilah2. With this famous and no doubt familiar narrative of betrayal tacitly presented to her black middle-class woman audience, Wells significantly influences their mental processing of black male/white female sexual relations that she will reiterate throughout her speech. With this imagery of the vulnerable Samson to the sexually cunning Delilah embedded in her audience's consciousness, Wells tacitly generates a visual preference for the black male seduced by the white female. Another visual claim Wells makes in her argument is the social and legal preference for white bodies over black bodies. Further still, the Samson and Delilah narrative also functions as a reference and caveat to the social strictures of intermingling with lower class whites

As the first post-Reconstruction African Americans who were educated, entrepreneurs, and owned property, it is important to note that Wells' black middle-class woman audience was not quite in the "middle" of American society. That is, while they were elite in their social, economic, and educational status compared to the majority of African Americans, black middle-class women were still on the social periphery with limited social and spatial mobility compared to white middle-class women. However, it is safe to assume that although they were elite, they still distinguished themselves from poorer blacks. In fact, Wells notes in Crusade that New Yorkers were not "[...] interested in anybody or anything [...] who did not belong to their circle" (78). Therefore, by visually prompting her black middle-class woman audience to sympathize with the black male by the politically coded insertion of the Samson and Delilah narrative, Wells' encourages them to consider class structures since it was of strategic importance in the development of her testimony.

Wells continues with the deliberate construction of her ethos saying she is deeply committed to making "a contribution to truth [by providing] an array of facts [...] to demand that justice be done" (50). Indeed, by presenting a letter from Frederick Douglass as part of the careful shaping of her presence, Wells' credentials as a witness to the lynching issue are legitimized without a self-centered tone. By tactically positioning her ethos next to Douglass', Wells sought to create a uniform and visual reading of black racial and gendered opposition to dominant strategies of disempowerment. In this way, Wells creates an enabling and particular "oppositional gaze" (hooks) for her black middle-class woman audience to construct. Wells' strategy is important since it builds and defines the ideological shaping of her presence, which was central to illuminating the perversion of the legal system, the rhetoric in laws, and their philosophical intimacy with lynching. Therefore, in her first point heading "The Offense," Wells' facility with legal discourse has established a point of entry for her to rupture the legal system and laws associated with the practices of lynching. To accomplish this task, Wells integrates another familiar rhetorical form of social criticism in her testimony—the black jeremiad3 to illuminate and emphasize how the discursive practices of the law and Christianity are wedded to the lives of African Americans.

In The Afro-American Jeremiad: Appeals for Justice in America, David Howard-Pitney observes that the American jeremiad, "a lamentation or doleful complaint," (6) was radically recast as the "black" jeremiad into a cultural, political, and rhetorical form of address by African American orators "from the age of the Civil War" (15) in response to America's denial of their constitutional guarantees. For Wells, like many African Americans, the Afro-American jeremiad was a powerful rhetorical strategy used to present a parallel reading of America and to restore moral balance to the ethos of a nation founded on religious ideology. Therefore, it is not inconsequential that religion, morality, and politics played a significant role in lynching discourse, and Wells, to her credit, wedded those discursive processes to the experience of seeing.

For example, in "The Offense" Wells situates the beginning of her argument of black male/white female sexual relations by seriously questioning the logos of white men's claim that white females are virtuous and defenseless. Wells validates visual imagery as a sensible form of meta-cognition by prompting her black middle-class woman audience to give public and deliberate visual attention to what they have silently materialized in their private thoughts. Although this particular section of Southern Horrors was directed at Southern white men, the rhetorical arc of the testimony was framed exclusively for the visual consumption of her black middle-class woman audience when she states, "Nobody [my emphasis] in this section of the country believes the old thread-bare lie that Negro men rape white women" (52). This statement also recircles back to Wells' highlighting of class status with the subtle stress on the educated black elite of the North. She continues with a bold warning to Southern White men saying, "If Southern white men are not careful, they will overreach themselves and public sentiment will have a reaction; a conclusion will then be reached which will be very damaging to the moral reputation of their women" (52). Once again, using visual signposts, Wells is stirring her black middle-class woman audience to grasp another lynching possibility by structuring what governs their visualizing during the experiencing of seeing.

Understanding the social importance of middle-class comfort, Wells is tactfully and tactically suggesting to her "Northern" black middle-class woman audience that "Southern" white men would not want their ethos publicly soiled in exchange for defending sexually promiscuous white women from their social underclass. At first glance, it appears as though Wells is speaking singularly of morals and manners. However, with a closer look, one can argue that Wells is also juxtaposing white male masculinity to black male masculinity with the sexual desire of white women making the determination. It is important to note that in the nineteenth century white men from the social elite were also bound to Victorian ideals of behavior just as white women were bound to the social creed of True Womanhood (Welter), with white men's social proscriptions centered on manliness. This was especially so for Southern white men, who in addition to white women's bodies, had sexual access to black women's bodies due to slavery. However, with the erasure of the slave economy, white women were no longer limited in the expression of their sexual desire. The result was the thawing of sexual space that allowed white women to choose which body and thus what form of masculinity she desired. Therefore, with the visual calculus that Wells shaped for her "Northern" black middle-class woman audience to analyze during the experience seeing, she emptied the black male/white female dynamic of a pathos driven aesthetic for a logos centered ideology to emerge. In deflecting attention away from her audience's pathos-infused visualizing, the true obscenity behind lynching-politics and economics-began to emerge. What also materializes is Wells' ontological association of self-fashioning, agency, and power—all critical for her shaping presence at Lyric Hall. Wells' ontology also produced a visual portal for her Lyric Hall audience's experience of seeing to reinterpret and reconfigure mob lvnching.

The revolutionary effect of Wells' Lyric Hall testimony is also profound because she was the first orator to publicly cross-examine white men's manliness with a precise line of argument. Moreover, Wells gives "Southern" white men an invitation to redefine their position as the moral custodians of white womanhood, while challenging her "Northern" black middle-class woman audience to transform their experience of seeing from a passive to an active visualizing. However, it is important to examine implicitly and explicitly how Wells continues to give verbal and visual status to African American culture during her testimony at Lyric Hall. At the same time, it is valuable to illuminate why cultural signifiers are vital to subjugated groups when progressing beyond socio-political restricted boundaries.

Cultural Narrative as a Mechanism for Shaping Presence

A shaping presence enables interdiscursivity between the orator's representation of the experience and the audience's cultural processing of the experience.

We tell our stories with the presence of others. Whether the subject in the narrative is dead, alive, or integrated or not in our lives—the subject is intimately involved with the structuring of our stories. Although all stories have material reality either by minutes, days, weeks, months, or years from when they are narratively represented; despite their material distance, some stories sit at the forefront of our consciousness and are easily retrievable for the narrative. Other stories, however, when verbally articulated are brought into our consciousness unwillingly and we struggle to analyze and interpret their ethos from the narrative infrastructure.

Yet, despite the material isolation from the moment between when the event occurred and when it is situated in a coherent narrative, all agents and events are critical to the orator's narrative judgment. Both subjects and events, then, regardless of their material location are not compositional barriers but rhetorical bridges to the "reading" of the narrative scene for the orator and her audience. However, this is a perplexing and ambiguous proposition since the relevance of the presence of others, and particularly the canvas of one's culture, enables the shaping presence of the orator through narrative balance. To be sure, there is no silent construction during the building of a story. Both the orator and her culture are unconsciously colonizing each other's narrative perspective—with both influencing the representation and performativity of the story. Cognitive psychologist, Jerome Bruner, for example, argues that "[t] he story of one's life is [...] a privileged but troubled narrative" (693) because he sees it as "reflexive" (693) given that the narrator is often a character in her own story.

Wells titles her second point heading as "The Black and White of It," which aptly characterizes not only the racial split between blacks and whites, but also the socio-cultural divide between the two races. By tracing the contours of the "troubled narrative" between blacks and whites over the lynching issue, Wells continues to braid her testimony within legal discourse and with visual force. For example, Wells strategically returns to her "Preface" and pushes the white Delilah plot by recounting a story from the Memphis "Ledger" on "Lillie Bailey, a rather pretty white girl of seventeen years of age" (55) who gave birth to "a little coon" (55). Wells uses Lillie Bailey to demonstrate to her "elite" audience that "the "leading citizens" of Memphis were making a spectacle of themselves in defense of all [my emphasis] white women of every kind" (56) to include a poor "country girl" from "Mississippi" (56). The visual imagery of the white Delilah Wells painted earlier semantically shifts her black middle-class woman audience into her new framing of the lynching motive. Moreover, Wells boldly states again to Southern white men that the Northern public will not suspend doubt and judgment like "the South [...] shielding itself behind the [...] screen of defending the honor of its women" (61), especially white women like Lillie Bailey, who Wells suggests is sexually immoral and of a lower social status, like the biblical temptress Delilah.

Wells uses Lillie Bailey's lower class status as a visual signpost to remind her elite audience that like her middle-class friends McDowell, Stuart, and Moss, as African Americans, they cannot escape the indignities of Jim Crow even in New York. As evidence of this point, Wells clearly situates lynching as a genuine material threat to all African American regardless of their standing on the social ladder and argues persuasively that the judicial system is guilty in the legal tyranny of blacks. For example, Wells cites several cases of middle-class black men having sexual liaisons with willing lower-class white women and that "leading white men show that with them it is not the crime but the class [her emphasis]" (58). By utilizing the argumentative structure of a legal brief, Wells elaborates and extends her argument that lynching is powered by the economic climbing of blacks. Furthermore, by strategizing her testimony through a lawyer's prose, Wells intersects race, culture, and the middle-class status of her audience to permit them to recognize the material reality of their situatedness. This tactic is not an empty rhetorical gesture since it will enable Wells to join her language marked by legal discourse to the discursive practice of visualizing.

Bruner theorizes, "language constructs what it narrates [. . .] semantically [. . .] pragmatically and stylistically" (696). I argue language visually guides as well and with considerable awareness by the rhetor to influence the audience's framing of the narrative. If a life story is to be discursively meaningful, according to Bruner, it has to "mesh [. . .] within a community of life stories" and he says, "tellers and listeners must share some 'deep structure'" (699) to support the arrangement of the narrative. For example, by using the chosen people narrative as a refrain, Wells gives rhetorical, structural, thematic, and cultural unity to her life story. Wells also repeatedly calls the audience's attention to her exile status as a member of the divinely appointed lost tribe4. In doing so, Wells not only collapses the boundaries between a religious and political division of lynching; her testimony takes a subtle "civic turn," when later she places civic action demands on her audience. For Bruner, there has to be an ideological commitment or "tellers and listeners will [. . .] be alienated by a failure to grasp what the other is saying or what he thinks the other is hearing" (699). Indeed, with her purposive "life-story meshing" (700) Wells bridges the rhetorical distance between she and her audience with an ancient form of rhetorical practice.

Ekphrasis⁵ at the Scenes of the Struggle

A shaping presence is the rhetorical binding of the rhetor's visual consciousness and verbal consciousness.

In her introduction to Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice, Ruth Webb argues that ekphrasis is an ancient rhetorical skill that currently has "a very different definition" (1) because of "modern critical discourse" (1). Webb argues that ekphrasis' threading to "the visual arts" (1) buries the "ancient sense" (1) of the term and wrongly implies simply an aesthetic reflection of the world. Webb has shown, for example, that the visual imagination can never exist apart from the verbal framing of the scene in the audience's cognizance of the experience. Therefore, the verbal and the visual imagination are not neutral abstractions, but embodied discourses to frame an understanding of the scene. For Webb, rhetorical ekphrasis in ancient settings was about "the use of language to try to make an audience imagine a scene" (3). She argues they "were alive with rich visual and emotional effects" (5). Ekphrasis, in this view, requires a cultivated ear and a cultivated eye, for they claim distinct aspects of the audience's experiences and perspectives to engage the orator's discourse. As Webb further notes, ekphrasistic rhetoric was a way "to make the audience feel involved in the subject matter" (10). Moreover, like Bruner, Webb argues that culture plays an important ideological role because "the audience [will import] the details from their own imaginative resources and cultural knowledge" (153) as a means to participate in the rhetorical structuring of the rhetor's discourse. Webb's theories are important to consider when examining Wells' Lyric Hall testimony since both listening and seeing within ekphrasistic rhetoric has broad ranging influence in the signifying effect of an orator's structuring of the story. Wells notes in Crusade, "[a]s I described the cause of the trouble at home" [...] "my

mind went back to the scenes of the struggle" (79). For Wells, then, the "verbalizing" of the untold story was a rhetorical binding to the "visual" framing of the scene, which is why I argue that she applied the rich imagery of the Samson and Delilah biblical story in the "Preface" of her testimony. To reiterate Webb's point, both modes (verbal and visual) discursively map a conceptual pathway for the audience's and the rhetor's experience of seeing to unify and grasp the rhetorical impact of the narrative.

By discursively interlocking the verbal to the visual, Wells is mapping for her audience a process for them to interpret how the visual and verbal are ideologically "acting on" each other. That is, for Wells, the verbal and visual are not insulated discursive practices but compounded representations that enable new systems of relations for critical analysis. Therefore, in Wells' exphrasis testimony, which is how I will refer to her speech for the remainder of this article, she provides verbal and visual conceptual pathways to the experience of seeing the untold story for her elite audience.

"The New Cry," is Wells' third point heading in her fusion of legal brief discourse to her argument on the lawlessness of lynching. In Wells' exphrasis testimony, she gives her elite audience no option but to consume lynching imagery since in many respects lynching carried greater force in their bourgeois society than in lower-class African American culture. Therefore, Wells intensifies her deliberation that lynching is not separate from racial uplift ideology, but is part of racial uplift ideology. With this thesis, Wells is strategically broadening her claim that McDowell, Stuart, and Moss were lynched for economic reasons. This is important because Wells is demonstrating the effects of racial uplift, which was a social and increasingly political status she knew elite audience would not easily walk away from given the horrors of slavery, from which many of them were only one generation removed. Wells supports her argument, saying, "the whole matter is explained by the well-known opposition growing out of slavery to the progress of the race" (59-60). Wells continues to jolt her elite audience out of their middle-class comfort by reminding them they were still walled in and by their racial category into spaces that signify their difference and marginality. As an example, Wells cites the "separate car laws" (60) on trains where blacks "regardless of advancement" (60) had to sit in "filthy, stifling partitions" (60) although they were financially capable of paying for a better space on the train. By haunting her elite audience with imagery from the social indignities of their everyday lived experience, Wells is also suggesting that they must rebel or the roots of their middle-class lifestyle.

Although Wells concedes, "the crime of rape is revolting" (61), she argues against the "better class of Afro-Americans [. . .] take[ing] the white man's word" (61), without due process. For them to continue accepting the cultural construction of rape as she once did, Wells argues white society will continue,

"to stamp us a race of rapists and desperadoes" (61) and bolster lynch mobs. Wells also appears to mock the naive idea of her elite audience that "general education and financial strength [of racial uplift ideology] would solve the difficulty" (61) of lynching. Wells' critique of her bourgeois audience may be viewed as harsh, but it also reveals Wells' rhetorical skill, art, and craft with exphrasis. Moreover, the "The New Cry" of Wells' third point heading makes the claim to her elite audience that their middle-class status was not protection against lynch mobs, but was in dialectical relation to lynching as was the middle-class status of McDowell, Stuart, and Moss.

Wells' use of ekphrasis then becomes fundamental to the construction of her testimonial at Lyric Hall given her visual packaging of the scene and her verbal account of lynching using public and legitimized documented sources from reputable newspapers. Nevertheless, how does the rhetor structure her narrative when the presence of accumulated cultural practices, codes, and knowledge loom, and often unrecognized, while shaping a presence for an audience? For anthropologists, the process is embodied in the symbolic system of culture, which is always already active at the margins of the agent's cultural consciousness intervening during the portraiture formation. Further still, some of these cultural behaviors are called upon intentionally by the rhetor for affect.

Encountering Symbolic Traffic During Testimony

A shaping presence requires a method of reading, which is why the rhetor may use symbolic markers of culture, value-systems, and connection to a shared body of ideas for her audience to gain entrance into and engagement with the rhetor's experience of seeing.

In Wells' fourth point heading titled, "The Malicious and Untruthful White Press" she recounts in ekphrasistic detail the Lynching at the Curve. To be sure, at this stage in Wells's testimony it was critical to insert the presence of McDowell, Stuart, and Moss to reiterate not only the racial ideology behind lynching, but also the black bourgeois style of life, which threatened and rivaled white Southern ideals of their social and economic station. However, it is important to note how Wells centers and harmonizes her criticism of the "White Press" and its rhetorical justification of lynching to African American social and economic mobility—hallmarks of white middle-class values, which McDowell, Stuart, and Moss were lynched for acquiring. By examining the intractability of lynching, Wells uses evidence printed in the Memphis "Daily Commercial" and the Memphis "Evening Scimitar" (62) to form her argument and to emphasize why newspapers were complicit in justifying lynch law. Wells writes, although "there had been no white woman in Memphis outraged by an Afro-American [...] the "Commercial" of May 17th," published a story recounting "More Rapes, More Lynchings" (62) that occurred in Alabama. In Wells' interpretation, newspapers like the Memphis Daily Commercial with their superficial "truth factor" wanted to incite lynch mob vigilantism and suppress the continuous economic ascent of middle-class blacks.

It is valuable once again to stress the rhetorical and strategic brilliance of how Wells drew upon newspapers to shape her legal argument since many white journalists unintentionally reported the psychic impact of the sociopolitical and cultural exclusion that African Americans experienced. It is equally valuble to stress that Wells was a highly competent and professional editor and journalist as co-owner of Free Speech. Therefore, we must not subsume Wells' rhetorical and strategic crafting of Southern Horrors as discursive luck, but as a tactical epistemic and moral counterargument to lynching. For example, in the Memphis Evening Scimitar an unknown journalist writes, "Since the emancipation came [...] the Negro has drifted away into a state which is neither freedom nor bondage" (62). This unknown journalist seems to grasp superficially the liminal state that African Americans were in as the progeny of slaves, and as free but disempowered people, without being able to comprehend intellectually the structural impediments they faced to assume sociopolitical and economic agency. Wells, however, clearly understood the restrictions, but also recognized the fundamental role the law would have to play in securing equal protection and due process against lynching. Equally fundamental to Wells were African American cultural anchors significant to the racial uplift campaign of her middle-class black woman audience, which is why the rhetorical arc of her testimony is discursively visualized to the Lynching at the Curve.

Of McDowell, Stuart, and Moss, Wells writes, "[t]hey were peaceful, law-abiding citizens and energetic business men" (64). With this view of her friends, Wells is also making a similar character argument for her elite audience. Furthermore, she is also representing middle-class blacks as law-abiding citizens while at the same time denouncing the ethos of the white press, which racially depicts African Americans as "hopelessly [. . .] behind the other in everything that makes a great people" (64). The value in Wells' character assertion of McDowell, Stuart, and Moss and her elite audience is that it is contained within the black jeremiad's visual imagery of the chosen people narrative.

By embedding the ethos of African Americans within the visual field of the "chosen people" narrative, Wells is also subverting the white press's depiction of them. These visual divisions are important since they culturally constitute her elite audience within a higher visual realm of God's faithful people suffering in bondage for eventual deliverance, rather than the white press' imagery of a sexual and immoral race of people. Therefore, in organizing her elite audience's experience of seeing within culturally mediated imagery, Wells discursively mutes the white press' depiction of McDowell, Stuart, and Moss and all

African Americans by visually trafficking them in familiar culturally significant symbols (Geertz 45). Drawing from cultural traffic to "impose meaning upon experience" (Geertz 45), Wells visually equips her elite audience with cultural imagery to synthesize their liminal space as middle-class African Americans after the "mockery of law and justice" (65) that failed to protect McDowell, Stuart, and Moss. Wells also articulates the legal deficiencies in middle-class black assimilation when Memphis blacks wanted to avenge the lynchings but were "counseled obedience to the law which did not protect them" (65). Wells illustrates the rhetor's effectiveness of infusing symbolic markers of culture, value-systems, and connection to a shared body of ideas. By rhetorically harnessing her exphrasis testimony to the chosen people narrative, Wells visually drives her elite audience's experience of seeing to the Mosaic people's exodus from Egypt, who like her fellow Memphis blacks, "left the city in great numbers" (65) mindful of the coming liberation.

During the experience of seeing, the agent's culture places individual and collective demands on her that are rooted in symbolic traffic. Indeed, culture simply inspires the meaning-making process, serving only as an index for the agent to discover and reveal the difficulties through which she views, constructs, and interacts within her world. With this understanding, culture is a political instrument where power and agency are mobilized against oppression.

Shaping Presence Within Civic Discourse

A shaping presence is a public portraiture rather than the private identity of the rhetor.

In this section, I analyze Wells' fifth point heading, "The South's Position" and Wells' sixth and final point heading "Self Help," to demonstrate her intertwining of cultural identity to political activism. Staying true to the framework of the legal brief, Wells continues to present evidence from reputable newspapers as a statement of facts, offers her argument, and provides a conclusion to make her case on the lawlessness of lynching. Wells presents the everyday lived experiences of blacks, and particularly middle-class blacks, in a legal discursive frame to criticize the absence of protecting blacks from lynching, but also as legal leverage to use for changing lynch law. For Wells, linkages between the two are undeniably related to agency for middle-class blacks and the entire race. A greater relationship Wells seems to suggest to her elite audience is the public role they must play in transforming the legal system despite claims from respected journalists. For example, Wells cites distinguished journalist Henry W. Grady to amplify the white press' central argument that blacks were "incapable of self-government" (66). As a counterargument, Wells emphasizes the extreme exclusion of blacks from the "ballot [...] civil rights [and] civil courts" (66) to challenge the false claim that blacks were incompetent to govern themselves. This was a meaningful and significant point for Wells to

mention to her elite audience since earlier in her testimony she rooted lynching in a racial and cultural context that had economic overtones. Although Wells maps lynching to the growing economic strength of middle-class blacks, she suggests at its core, lynching is a genocidal assault on the black race and culture. This again is an echo back to the prophetic tone of the chosen people narrative from the "murdering, burning and lynching" (66) that black people must endure as a precondition of liberation. With this point of view, cultural stories are not benign and trivial narratives but a "bridging device" (Burke 224) with both verbally and visually expressive rhetorical tools for racial unity and collective sociopolitical agency. By optimizing the cultural awareness of the chosen people narrative in her exphrasis testimony, Wells is also priming her elite audience for active civic engagement to influence political opinion on lynch law.

Wells notes to her elite audience the growing divisions within the press over the continued "lawlessness and lynching" (67) by the South, which was the moral gateway for many "dailies and weeklies" (67) to say publicly "lynch law must go" (67). Building on the "healthy public sentiment" (68) forged by some members of the white press, Wells accuses their morally silent audience of being "equally guilty" (68) with the vigilantism of the lynch mobs. To be sure, for white anti-lynching sympathizers, this visual imagery of being ideologically in alliance with lynch mobs was perhaps morally and religiously offensive to their belief system. Consequently, Wells demanded the institutionalized discourse of the law and the legal system "to be employed against them [lynch mobs]" (68), which was beneficial to the nation as a whole.

It is important to note, however, that out of the six point headings, Wells' fifth point heading, "The South's Position," is the briefest section of her statement of facts. In it, Wells reiterates her main arguments: the intersubjective relation between the white press, lynching, law, black economic progress, and black people as a race. That these are impediments to black exclusion in the larger sociopolitical and economic spheres was not surprising; that the mechanisms are discursively related to the transformation of lynch law, individual and collective African American liberty, was a new point of entry to situate the all-encompassing force of lynching. Wells' rhetorical appropriation of the discourse and structure of a legal brief enabled the storytelling method of "testifyin" (Smitherman) to expose the obstacles of the legal system to lynch law. As noted above, Wells did provide examples of slow moral change by a handful of the white press. Although this was an important shift in the public rebuttal of lynching, Wells argues for a sustained legal and critical reaction against lynching (Horrors 68) to awaken the frustration and impatience that African Americans were experiencing as targets for lynching violence. For Wells, then, there was only one group with the moral backing to present an unremitting legal, moral, and critical attack on the sociopolitical transformation of lynch law—her middle-class black woman audience at Lyric Hall.

Jones Royster encourages modern scholars of feminist rhetoric to keep a penetrating vigilant eye on history lest we miss the varied character(s) and characterization(s) of the past that shape our presence. In her article, "In Search of Ways In," Royster writes that "We need to keep prying the inquiry open, to keep extending the conversation, casting and recasting, to find other 'ways in' to a territory that is so richly endowed with a multiplicity of experiences and so deeply deserving of attention, thought, and more thought" (390). Who sees, as Royster suggests, influences the representation of history, since the past is never transparent but only transferred through a constructed consciousness, and often one of privilege freed of marginal and subjugated status. Wells' 1892 Lyric Hall exphrasis testimony is an explicit oratorical example of a black woman in Royster's words of "prying the inquiry open," into the myth, manners, and false morality that substantiated the lynching of African Americans in the nineteenth-century.

Like Royster, Wells stirs a related rhetorical appeal in her sixth and final point heading titled "Self-Help," to embolden her elite audience into civic action. It is worth noting that Wells is once again suggesting—although in her title—that culture is not separate from politics but intertwined with it. Wells also takes aim at black reliance on a broken legal and political system to act on their behalf. Moreover, she argues that "black" governability is critical to "black" sociopolitical agency. "[The] Afro-American can do for himself what no one else can do for him" (68), she asserts as she reached the climax of her exphrasis testimony.

Wells alters her middle-class black woman audience's presence from their private Victorian complacency to a public portraiture with civic action as an essential feature. With the convergence of the two, Wells argues that blacks can no longer remain subordinate and powerless to a law and legal system with its token representation of them. For Wells, freedom did not mean blind obedience to a corrupt standard of law that defined blacks as inferior human beings. To continue to give allegiance to a judicial system that did not ensure "equal protection of the laws" not only guaranteed more lynchings; to Wells it also violated human dignity and moral self-worth. "Nothing, absolutely nothing," she expresses with a new revolutionary politic, "is to be gained by a further sacrifice of manhood and self-respect" (69). With this radical call for insurgent activism, Wells marks the turning point in her exphrasis testimony because she is consciously integrating and applying race to politics and law. Thus, Wells shifted the political and legal onus of sociopolitical empowerment from the law to blacks arguing, "the Afro-American can demand and secure his rights, the punishment of lynchers, and a fair trial for accused rapists" (70).

This weakening of the law's ethos as the singular legal and moral protector of blacks is a valuable prerequisite for Wells' elite audience in the final statements of her exphrasis testimony because it strengthened African American's claim to political, legal, and moral autonomy.

As a concluding point in her exphrasis testimony, Wells returns to her first statement of fact which indicts the veracity of the white press because they print "unreliable and doctored reports of lynchings" (70). For Wells, one could not divorce insufficient facts and information from constituent elements of a society who would benefit from the creation of false documentation. This was apparent in the Lynching at the Curve of her friends McDowell, Stuart, and Moss whose Peoples grocery store rivaled in both customers and profit a grocery store owned by a white male. As Wells argued, there was not only an economic reason created to repress, subjugate, and lynch blacks who were economically successful, but also to forestall the economic rise of future black entrepreneurs. Wells' view not only provides a cogent interpretation of the lynching issue, it also brought out the possibility that unless blacks took substantial civic action on their behalf, blacks cannot presume that the white press would report the truth behind many of the false claims of rape that precipitated lynchings. "The Afro-American papers," (70) in contrast to the white press, Wells argues, "are the only ones which will print the truth" (70). Wells' emphasis on the collective ethos of blacks stemmed from the traditions, practices, and stories of African American culture that revealed their power and significance when bound to civic action. Shirley Wilson Logan gives a rhetorically systematic study of the the black press in Liberating Language and argues that it was more than just a passive communication medium to disseminate facts. For Logan, the black press "functioned as a site of rhetorical education" (97) to intervene and counter the marketing of racial stereotypes of African Americans within the white press. For Wells, shattering this dehumanized view of African Americans perpetrated by the white press in favor of an image that endowed black humanity with moral autonomy was critical.

In her final comments, Wells elevates the theme and tone of her last point heading, "Self-Help," to drive home the view that lynch law demanded extraordinary and immediate civic action from African Americans. If blacks were to achieve a new and revolutionary political presence in the United States, she argues, "[we] must act" (72). To be sure, Wells' statement is consciously charged with kairos to stress the urgency of reforming lynch law since all blacks shared the risk of being lynched. Wells' promotion of civic action also necessitated a public portraiture of her elite audience rather than a veiled one if they were to reform the "last relic of barbarism and slavery" (72). By ascribing a public visual presence—rather than a private one—as central to civic action, Wells is asserting the visual ethos of black humanity while invading and demolishing the degenerate visualization of blacks created with picturesque language by the white press. Visual rupture, then, promotes a vision of resistance and reformation which "is central to disrupting fixed notions of identity embodied in the act of visualizing" (August 255). In both cases, the experience of seeing is enmeshed within the visual constituting of black humanity. With this view, blacks become the emissaries of their own racial and cultural self-fashioning rather than the vision constructed by the visual coding in the discursive practices of the white press.

Wells reiterates the chosen people narrative to conclude her exphrasis testimony because of the rhetorical weight of its messianic mission in African American culture. The story's central concept is that God has given a liberated race of people a profound task to set an example of human dignity and moral righteousness for their nation to follow. In giving lived reality to the flowering of the divine call, Wells lifts the story from its ancient biblical domain and locates it within the legal discourse over lynch law. Wells ends with the statement, "The gods help those who help themselves" (72). With these last words to her middle-class black woman audience, Wells calls on them as the "chosen people" to come from the periphery so the prophecy can materialize. Her words are explicit, tactical, and politicized because they shift the burden of black liberation from God to African Americans. Wells is suggesting that legal and civic inaction is no longer an option since they are rhetorically interdependent and one cannot obscure the discourse of the other. This is also an argument that agency and power is best represented as a collective instrument for communal social change, rather than an individual interest to secure personal entitlements. For Wells, then, the public reformation of lynch law was a risk, but it was a risk that collectively African Americans needed; communal solidarity would restructure the law for protection from the vigilantism of lynch mobs. By fastening a God-given right to social, political, and legal justice in her exphrasis testimony, Wells is enriching both the verbal and visual ethos of the black jeremiad. Furthermore, she is also arguing that the exigence for the "chosen people" to wage war against their enemy has arrived.

Conclusion

The key idea in this interdisciplinary analysis of Ida B. Wells' 1892 Lyric Hall exphrasis testimony is that a shaping presence is a deliberate summoning of the rhetor's understanding and representation of a discursive practice bound up in hegemonic ideologies. For example, the economic status of middle-class blacks was not just a masking force behind lynch law; rather, it played an active role in lynching practices to confine all African Americans into an unprotected legal state, which would allow the lawlessness of lynching to continue without due process. By providing a richer framing of lynch law; specifically within legal discourse and the black jeremiad, Wells pointed out to her middle-class black woman audience the necessity of collective civic action to reform and redress lynch law. Furthermore, Wells stressed the importance of a visual presence during civic action since "everything signifies ceaselessly and several times" (Barthes 12). Perhaps, then, the most significant effect of Wells' *exphrasis* testimony was, in her words, "the real beginning of the club movement6 among the colored women" (*Crusade* 81), which advocated their participation in the political culture as African Americans and as civic-minded women.

Notes

1 The lynching was named thus because it took place where "They [McDowell, Stuart, and Moss] had located their grocery in the district known as the "Curve" because the streetcar line curved sharply at that point" (*Crusade* 48).

2 The story of Samson and Delilah is a biblical narrative of power, lust, and seduction in Judges 16. Samson, a Nazirite and favored by God as judge to deliver Israel from their oppressor was known for his inhuman strength, which was a secret. Delilah, a temptress, was paid by the Philistines to sexually seduce Samson into revealing his war strength (his hair). When Samson falls asleep, Delilah invites someone in his tent to shave his hair, which makes him vulnerable to the Philistines who eventually blind him in order to neutralize his God-given strength and power.

3 Sacvan Bercovitch refers to the jeremiad as a "state-of-the-covenant address" (4) used in seventeenth-century New England Puritan pulpits as a political sermon delivered "at every public occasion [. . .] and most elaborately at election day gatherings" (4) to reinforce Christian morals and instill fidelity to a particular political perspective. However, by the time of the Civil War, African Americans took ownership of the term and discursively inscribed "jeremiad" with their cultural, political, and rhetorical situatedness in America. Thus, the "black" jeremiad.

4 The biblical description of the "lost tribe" refers primarily to the twelve tribes of Israel who were conquered and enslaved by the Assyrian Empire. However, in African American religious lore, the lost tribe is a vision of transcendence for a diasporic people chosen and favored by God to preach and exemplify an ethical and resilient conception of faith to a corrupt system of justice.

5 *Enargeia* (rather than energeia) is often cited to demonstrate the vividness of imagery during the visualizing process. While it is an enriching term to depict the subject's encounter with imagery, I prefer Webb's weightier definition of ekphrasis, which focuses the subject's attention on the cognitive processing of imagery rather than the aesthetic awareness. Although the words enargeia and exphrasis are used interchangeably, Webb clearly distinguishes the two with ekphrasis providing the audience a more directed visual of the experience of seeing to include cultural content.

6 For more information on the emergence of Black Women's Clubs, see Paula J. Giddings, When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America. New York: William Morrow, 1984.

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"Were Those Bad Times for Women or What?": The Practical Public Discourse of Mary Leite Fonseca, Massachusetts State Senator, 1953-1984 Jamie White-Farnham

Mary Leite Fonseca was a state senator in Massachusetts who served in office from 1953 to 1984. In her many years in the state house, she became well-known and well-loved by her constituents in Southeastern New England, especially the Portuguese-American families who have defined the character of the "South Coast" region of Massachusetts since the immigrant boom of the 19th century and in increasing numbers since the 1960s (Bloemraad 29). As a local politician, Fonseca is best known for the advances in education she helped to legislate, especially the establishment of Southeastern Massachusetts University (today known as UMass-Dartmouth), a comprehensive regional university that serves many immigrant, first-generation college students. Fonseca is not necessarily notable because she is a woman who served in the state legislature: she was neither the first in Massachusetts nor was she the only woman who served during her tenure. However, Fonseca has merited attention for her longevity in office, her legislative effectiveness, and her popularity, each of which are attributable to her unique combination of characteristics—her gender, her roles as a wife and mother, her high school-level education, her class status, and her family's Portuguese immigrant background.

Fonseca also merits rhetorical attention as a female rhetor speaking and writing in the mid-20th century, an era ripe for study in its oscillation between two extremes: the end of formal legal inequality for women and the well-documented persistence of *de facto* sexism that even cost women with official power, like Mary Fonseca, jobs, respect, and dignity. Within such a context, we learn from Fonseca's papers that her right to be heard on the senate floor or in conversations in meetings, though granted by the electorate, needed defending. Accordingly, in order to succeed amidst the sexism she perceived in her constituency and which was patently on display in the state house, Fonseca relies on what Drema R. Lipscomb calls a "practical public discourse," a personal alternative to the belles-lettres tradition cultivated in educational institutions (231). Analyzing the rhetoric of Sojourner Truth, Lipscomb describes this type of self-sponsored rhetoric as practical in both its means and ends - its means drawn from Truth's own personal knowledge and experiences (as a woman, a mother, a slave, a Christian), and its deliberative purpose, helping to effect equalizing social legislation. Lipscomb writes: "at no time, perhaps,

in the history of American speech and amidst mass social turmoil was there a period more conducive to a rhetoric of practical public discourse" (231).

In this essay, I will extend a comparison between the means and ends of Truth's rhetoric and that of Mary Fonseca, recognizing that Fonseca was a 20th century American citizen of European ancestry who enjoyed a high school education and paid employment. But, because these subjectivities did not automatically grant Fonseca privilege in the context of her career, "practical public discourse"—in terms of its development based on lived experience, its use in the context of social turmoil and change, and its purpose to effect legislation—is useful in considering Fonseca as a 20th century example. As evidence from her archive suggests, including speeches, campaign materials, press clippings, interviews, and correspondence between colleagues and constituents, Fonseca developed a practical public discourse drawn on her subjectivities amid an isolating political scene in which few to no contemporary female models existed.

Women's Domestic Roles in Women's Public Rhetoric

Rhetoricians have long studied the connection between women's domestic roles and responsibilities, especially motherhood, and rhetoric, asserting variously that such roles can inspire the content and strategies of women's rhetoric as surely as they can pose limits on women's rhetorical production. As Lindal Buchanan has recently stated in this journal, motherhood has a "paradoxical capacity to generate powerful persuasive resources and to reduce women to gender stereotypes" (33). Many examples of women rhetors, cutting across time, class, and race, exist in the literature, providing evidence to support each side of this paradox – whether motherhood "works" or not in terms of writing and rhetoric.

Janet Carey Eldred and Peter Mortensen, in *Imagining Rhetoric: Composing Women of the Early United States*, describe motherhood's role in rhetoric in the early United States as a supportive one in which mothers serve as their sons' literacy teachers "to instill in America's youth an intelligent respect for written laws and civic virtue" (13). This perspective suggests the figure commonly referred to as "The Republican Mother," famous examples of which are embodied in Abigail Adams and, across the pond, Mary Wollstonecraft, each of whom were attuned to the power of their biological, and by extension, ideological, contributions to society. Wollstonecraft's own argument regarding the relationship between motherhood and civic duty in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* appeals to upperclass women to take more seriously the political impact they can have as mothers through a heightened attention to their roles as caregivers and educators of their own children. Lamenting the condition of women's minds, trained to focus only on clothing and social circles, Wollstonecraft writes: "the management of their household and children need not shut [women] out from literature [...] which strengthens the mind" (par. 64). Education is also a necessity for women so that they might impart in their children reason and virtue, the main values necessary for participation in society (par. 2). According to Eldred and Mortensen, early American women writers such as Judith Sargent Murray follow suit with a Republicanism such as Wollstonecraft's, since Murray supported classical rhetorical education for women. Murray, similarly to Wollstonecraft, outlines a mother's role in a nation that values and relies on written laws and legal discourse: women "could inculcate [their] children with the literate values of science and law, a wholly reasonable foundation for succeeding generations" (Eldred and Mortensen 12). This view couches women's rhetoric as available through their domestic subject positions.

Even into the 19th century, Nan Johnson, in *Gender and Rhetorical Space in American Life 1865-1910*, asserts that the rhetorical education offered to women in the popular conduct manuals and letter-writing guides of the day served mainly to enhance women's activities in the domestic realm, and more specifically, the parlor, where "gender propriety" was the watchword for rhetoric's usefulness (16). Even when women like Susan B. Anthony attempt to influence the public through rhetoric, their long-engrained ties to playing the mother don't break; Johnson argues that in Suffragette rhetoric, the women's rhetorical personas are limited to those of maternal teachers (112). She sums up the political rhetoric of Suffragettes as disappointing because it couldn't shake off women's connection to motherhood. She writes that

> the prominent women of the 19th century were venerated in the public mind not because they were considered to be great orators but because they were represented as great women, a perception that left virtually unchanged the cultural assumption that women were only eloquent when they spoke from the moral authority of their roles as wives and mothers. (114)

Motherhood also plays a part in Frances Willard's rhetoric, according to Lisa Zimerelli, who highlights how Willard uses her maternal body to legitimate her rhetorical action as a Christian Socialist leader. In articulating her feminist theology, Willard's *Woman in the Pulpit* blends the expected either/ or feminist arguments for women's status of the day; in other words, Willard's work does not rely strictly on the sameness of women to men or their inherent differences to argue for women's rights. Zimmerelli writes that Willard "blends the common arguments based on difference and equality: it is precisely because of women's natural differences that they are equal with men" (266). Furthermore, Willard's "rhetorical use of the domestic and the feminine did not necessarily indicate a worldview grounded in the separate sphere ideology" (356). By drawing attention to childbirth as a particularly feminine act of strength, for instance, Willard counters arguments that preaching is too physically strenuous a task for women. In this way, the "opposites" of femininity and strength are derailed.

Of course, gender and motherhood have as often been described as a precluding factor in women's rhetorical and otherwise literate pursuits. Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *Women and Economics* describes the double-bind women face when their "natural" place at home is used to both mandate unpaid domestic labor and limit one's opportunities to make money (for her, through writing) (par. 31). Thirty year later, Virginia Woolf's "A Room of One's Own" identifies economic dependence as a main problem for women's success as professional writers: "give her a room of her own and five hundred a year" (1269). The room is not a metaphor, as Anne Aronson reminds us; space away from the rest of the household and, more to the point, cash to pay substitute caretakers are necessary for writing (282).

A drastic example of the limits that domestic subject positions can have on rhetorical production is featured in Aronson's study of adult, undergraduate women, "Composing in a Material World: Women Writing in Space and Time," in which Aronson weighs Virginia Woolf's "room of one's own" argument against Ursula LeGuin's claim that writers, as mothers, only need a pen and paper to write. While Woolf acknowledges the materials necessary for writers such as time, space, and money, LeGuin welcomes the chaos of a household that surrounds women as inspiration for writing. While of course these arguments represent well their places in first and second wave feminist thought, Aronson eventually comes down on Woolf's side since Aronson's participants, as college students, struggle to write at home. They each face challenges in terms of time, space, and privacy, mostly because they are mothers.

Articulating the politics attendant to motherhood and rhetoric necessitates acknowledging that certain privileges must be present in order for one to tout one's domestic subjectivities as evidence of strength or remarkableness. Fonseca also benefited from privilege in her tight-knit family, but her rhetoric bears out the use of her motherhood in a way that reflects Lipscomb's practical public discourse in a 20th century context: in both its means and ends. Sensitive to gender politics of the day, Fonseca centers gender in her public persona in strategic ways, allowing the public's perception of domestic subjectivities as milquetoast to cover for her "real" political persona, what amounts to a legislative tiger. In fact, while the artifacts in Fonseca's collection at first glance represent her as conservative, vaguely sexist, and even clinging to the maternal role that Johnson describes in suffragette rhetoric, I suggest that they are quite rhetorically savvy exploitations of feminine stereotypes and sexist assumptions about gender. After an analysis of this public persona, a second set of artifacts—communications between Fonseca and her constituents and colleagues centered on women's working lives amid *de facto* sexism—complicate the story of Fonseca's legislative success, further elucidating the deliberative ends of practical public discourse.

Practical Means: Exploiting Sexist Assumptions

A quite striking group of artifacts housed in Fonseca's collection reflect stereotypical and sexist notions of women and their roles in the home to portray Fonseca as a woman her constituents can understand: one who, even while pursuing full-time work, is not neglecting her home duties. As cases in point, two human-interest stories in particular make significant use of her domestic subjectivities. Generous and sympathetic in spirit, both the Fall River Herald News and the New Bedford Standard-Times offer upbeat profiles pieces on Fonseca. In particular, in the 1958 Standard-Times piece entitled, "Mary Fonseca – Working to Change an Image," staff writer Barbara Ashton describes Fonseca as neither "militant" nor "fuzzy-minded," but as a powerful women in politics who is helping to "change minds and remove barriers that are remnants of a bygone era" (Ashton 25). That the profile writer is a woman presumably lends to the angle of the piece, yet the two accompanying photographs slightly undermine Ashton's tone. In the first, Fonseca poses holding a soup tureen at the dining room table as if about to serve her family. In the second, she stands before a mirror adjusting one of her famous Jackie Kennedy-style hats, ostensibly getting ready to depart for the State House. Her husband can be seen sitting behind her in the mirror's reflection. The suggestion of Fonseca's presence in both the domestic and the public spheres is notable, but her physical presence in her home and seeming "approval" of her husband does little to bolster an image of her as powerful in the political realm, though the text suggests as much.

Another, similarly dichotomous depiction of Fonseca appears in an undated *Fall River Herald News* photograph whose caption reads: "Mary Fonseca Proves Good Homemaker, Senator." In addition to the order of the roles in the text, the photographs accompanying this piece are printed as if on a split-screen, side-by-side. The proximity of the images suggests a more direct comparison between "home" Fonseca and "work" Fonseca. This time, the right-hand Fonseca wears a floral-print apron and a smile while she stirs a large stockpot. The left-hand photo shows Fonseca holding a document in one hand and the telephone to her ear with the other. The caption notes: "State Sen. Mary L. Fonseca, who has one of the best attendance records in the State Senate, is shown in her Webster Street home transacting government business by telephone (left) and – one apron later – at the usual task of every homemaker, preparing supper for her family" (Box 3, Folder 33A). Again, this set of photos represent Fonseca in a pantomime of her work while actually at home; they rely on the suggestion of competing domestic/public spheres, yet the message of each piece is that Fonseca successfully moves between or even elides the distinction between her roles as homemaker and senator.

Fonseca relies on the public's belief in this impossible elision in her own use of her gender and domestic roles in her practical public discourse. For instance, a campaign speech exemplifies a sort of rhetorical misdirection, aligning with common assumptions of a dominant audience while delivering simultaneously liberalizing meanings to a minority audience. In a 1952 campaign speech for her very first campaign, Fonseca introduces herself straightaway as a mother: "May I call your attention to certain qualifications and experience which I think should help you determine my fitness. I am a life-long resident of this city, born here and educated in its schools. I am married, and the mother of two children" (Box 4, Folder 65). Having served as a member of the school committee, a common first step for a local politician, Fonseca has little experience in politics. Therefore, in running for a state-level office, she links her subjectivities to qualification for office. This statement asserts her credibility as a citizen of Fall River, Massachusetts, the political center of the South Coast of Massachusetts.

But, motherhood perhaps stands out as a curious qualification. On one hand, Fonseca articulates her vested interest in her district because she and her family rely on its infrastructure, especially because her children go to public school. Fonseca mentions her marriage and motherhood despite their potential as a liability, establishing an ethos of local knowledge and experience and characterizing herself as someone for whom policy in her district has been and will be a life-long and personal priority. Moreover, given the full political picture of the 1952 campaign, this seemingly neutral mention of being married is actually quite strategic; Fonseca is well-known for supporting the so-called Married Teachers Bill, which would end the war-time practice of limiting jobs for women who didn't "need" them. In this subtle way in her campaign, she paints her family life as a simple fact for the dominant audience, while sharing her sympathy for the minority audience of professional women and suggesting, rather than claiming it out loud, that a vote for her at the polls means a vote for them on the senate floor.

In a later re-election campaign, Fonseca puts her domestic circumstances to use in a far slier example of rhetorical misdirection; consider her slogan on a bumper sticker: "Re-elect Mary L. Fonseca / Your Full Time State Senator" (Box 3, Folder 33A). Remembering that the *Herald News* article noted her excellent attendance in legislative sessions, this bumper sticker calls attention to Fonseca's ability, as someone who does not have a "real" full-time job like the men who serve in the state senate do, to focus her attention on her duties as an elected official more carefully and oftener, as well as to be more available during the day to her constituents. Describing herself as "your full time senator" reminds the audience that her political opponents' attention will be divided between their professional lives and their public service. She expects voters to reason that a committed senator is more effective than a half time or absent senator, even if she is a woman.

In touting a status that the male senators, who practiced law and held down other jobs, cannot, Fonseca makes a rhetorical move that begs the question: how was she able to maintain such high professional standards and also what is represented as an uncompromised commitment to homemaking? Like many critics of a belief in "having it all," the answer reveals the privilege attendant to one's circumstances. And, though hard working, Fonseca did benefit from the privilege in her life, mainly in the form of a supportive family. In an oral life history collected by UMass-Dartmouth undergraduate student Yvonne Levesque in 1987, Fonseca credits her mother and her husband for their support, noting especially that housework fell to her mother while Fonseca worked: "I couldn't have done it without my mother. I lived in the tenement above her and she took care of my children when I needed her to [...] she fixed my husband's supper when he came home" (Levesque).

In drawing attention to how much time she has on her hands, Fonseca plays into assumptions about what housewives do all day and instills confidence in her constituents that, as a homemaker and mother, she brings this unique and desirable qualification, time, to the job. The campaign slogan exploits the elision of the material support necessary to taking on full-time employment as a main caretaker at home. Fonseca is confident that those audience members who take for granted the demands of homemaking will not wonder how she is able to work "full-time."

Practical Ends: Confronting *De Jure* and *De Facto* Sexism

In her 2005 obituary, Fonseca is described as "a precursor to the feminist movement at a time when there were far fewer [feminists] than there are now" (Brown A8). Yet, Fonseca's legislative record also reflects the political interests of Portuguese-Americans in Southeastern New England generally, especially the previous century-long reformation of working conditions for laborers in the textile industry, the area's historic mainstay (Reeve 340). Even into the early 21st century, "Portuguese-Americans remain staunchly loyal to the Democratic party and the economic tenets of New Deal liberalism" (Barrow 303). Therefore, while Fonseca's allegiance to the party and her Portuguese-American constituents are evident in the larger story of ending *de jure* sexism, the conversations and efforts among Fonseca and her contemporaries, both constituents and colleagues, document the difficulty of pursuing these social changes amidst the *de facto* sexist conditions of the day. Accordingly, the historical record reflects Fonseca's role in the passage of two pieces of equalizing social legislation, Senate Bill No. 93, the Equal Pay for Teachers Bill, and Senate Bill No. 184, the Married Teachers Bill, as a matter of party politics. Yet, the ends do not reflect in full the means of this legislation.

As the bills' names suggest, the legislation changed the conditions for women to work as teachers in the state, protecting them from being fired if they got married and eliminating sex as a factor in commensurate wages a good decade ahead of the Civil Rights Act. On this issue in particular, examples of constituent correspondence are stirring; their jobs threatened, teachers address the urgency of the situation for them. As an example, a woman from Winchester, Massachusetts writes: "You see, if I should decide to get married, I'd want to be sure that I would not be dismissed!!" (Box 3, Folder 30). Several responses of Fonseca's remain mimeographed and stapled to constituents' notes, sometimes hand-written and sometimes typed on two-cent postcards, tattered stationery dotted with ink from fountain pens, and even an index card in one case. In responding to letters to the state house, Fonseca assures the writers that she is working for them, articulating her position on the issue clearer than in any public message housed in the archive. A typical letter dated March 17, 1953 reads: "Needless to say, I am in favor of allowing teachers to continue working after marriage [...] I intend to do all I can to ensure passage of this legislation" (Box 3, Folder 30).

Her political conviction was not what Fonseca's constituents needed to worry about. As a woman in the state house, Fonseca had very few political resources at her disposal to influence policy. Fonseca describes her exclusion from other senators in Levesque's oral history interview: "You see, the male senators wouldn't talk to the women, so I studied the rules hard and learned them myself. That's why I know so much about senate rules and was able to get so many bills passed" (Levesque). "The rules" to which she refers are comprised of the State Constitution, Session Law, and General Law, each of which outline laws of the state and the laws of the legislature. Today, the processes and procedures a member of the government or a citizen must follow to introduce a bill or a petition for a hearing are available online. In 1953, when Fonseca first entered the state house, she faced a large law library, rather than a friendly face, to orient her to such policies and procedures. However painful this treatment by her colleagues may have been, Fonseca took huge advantage of being ignored. Whereas rules suggest limits on one's actions, Fonseca used them to gain footing; she notes in a 1984 *Boston Globe* profile, "I soon learned that in order to find out anything, I had to find out for myself [...] I learned the rules" (Negri 66). Fonseca became highly regarded for her detailed knowledge of the rules; in a 1987 "Golden Dome Citation," State Senate President William Bulger notes Fonseca for "her preparation, her knowledge of the rules" (Box 18).

Twenty years later, when feminist messages become more mainstream, Fonseca's rhetoric becomes more direct and relies on her personal experiences that counter traditional, idealized notions of "what women do" with what women of her class *actually* do: work for a paycheck. A *Boston Globe* article recounts a moment, in 1974, when she speaks on behalf of a day care bill whose detractors claimed that state-funded day care "would destroy family life in the state" (D32). Tom Long quotes Fonseca and describes the scene:

> 'I resent the senator's remarks, and I resent them on behalf of all women and working women in Massachusetts,' she said, her voice cracking with emotion. 'If we can find money for welfare, we can find money to assist women who want to work, who MUST work to help support the needs of a growing family.' (D32)

Fonseca, herself having been employed immediately following high school as a secretary to help her parents support her eleven brothers and sisters, no longer allows assumptions to operate as they will in regard to women's working lives.

Fonseca's own working life exemplifies the political shift of the intervening twenty years; even after passing successful anti-sexist legislation, *de facto* sexism prevailed, and women who worked at the state house continued to deal with mistreatment. In a 1966 interview, for instance, Fonseca describes the scrutiny she and her female colleagues faced:

A woman in politics and government must be more sure of her position on issues, because people tend to be more critical of a woman's performance. For instance, when a man makes a mistake in his job, no one says 'what else would you expect from a man/ People just note that he's made a mistake. When a woman makes the same error, the female sex is indicted. They ascribe her mistake to the fact that she is a woman, not simply that she's a human being. Therefore, each of us has to prove herself deserving of equal treatment by her professional performance" [...]I think men rather enjoy having a few women in the legislature. They'd be disturbed, though if the ratio ever approached one to one. (Box 19) The conditions in which Fonseca and her colleagues worked is further illustrated by a piece of personal correspondence. The letter is typed on state house letterhead and dated June 4, 1962. Across the top of the page, written in ink in loopy handwriting is a brief note from a colleague of Fonseca's named Ann dated 1998. The whole thing is a black and white photocopy. If I might stitch together how this document came into existence: it seems that in 1962 Fonseca sent Ann a personal letter congratulating her on a promotion within the state house. Ann found the letter years later, made a copy to show Fonseca, and jotted a note at the top to reminisce with her. I quote Fonseca's 1962 text and then Ann's 1998 note in full:

Please accept my sincere congratulations on your long deserved promotion, and be assured that I was most happy to be of service to you in this instance. In my opinion, the State Department is, at times, unkind to women, but I am indeed happy that in this instance we were able to make some progress.

How I fought for that promotion! I was bypassed three times and the position was given to a man who had never passed a civil service exam. Were those bad times for women or what? (Box 5, Folder 80)

This type of archival find is what Michael R. Hill calls an "overlay channel," a document that conveys "two or more sequences of communication, possibly written at different times" (66). This particular overlay channel squarely imbricates the two colleagues' struggles with sexism in 1962 with their reflective knowledge of 1998, offering a fuller picture of the time and conditions in which the women worked. It also adds to our understanding of the work Fonseca undertook to improve the conditions for women: add everyday political jockeying to official state house work and maybe also housework. Together, the correspondence between Fonseca and her constituents and colleague interjects nuance and details into the broader story of Massachusetts at midcentury; they name and distinguish the individuals involved in social and political change, prefiguring the action of the state. They also demonstrate how Fonseca and her colleagues contended with both *de jure* and *de facto* sexism in their time by illuminating the ironic challenge of changing unfair working conditions while working in them.

Enriching Understanding: Massachusetts at Mid-Century

Archival research is well documented as a sometimes dusty proposition in which one is challenged to "read absolutely everything and try to make sense of what happened" (Gold 18). However, my experience is somewhat different;

in the cool, pleasantly lit Ferreira-Mendes Portuguese American Archives in the Claire T. Carney Library at UMass-Dartmouth, Fonseca's collection is a lot cleaner and neater than the conventional wisdom on archival research suggests, mainly because Fonseca's artifacts are relatively young, having been collected after her retirement in 1984 and available since the opening of this new archive in 2009. Therefore, only rarely were her artifacts stacked messily in the boxes, though the occasional three-dimensional object, such as her hats, were crammed in sideways.

Disorder has come to be both expected and welcomed in archival research; according to Marlene M. Kadar, the fragmented, postmodern nature of archival research allows researchers to represent resistance to patriarchal oppression in the form of commonly accepted cultural narratives about women (115). Similarly, Gesa Kirsch and Liz Rohan describe "how using these less frequently consulted resources can enrich our understanding of history, culture, and rhetoric" (2). To do this, Helen K. Buss argues that one must resist the temptation to "read from above," or impose one's own contemporary knowledge or understanding of a subject onto the archived materials, "resorting to narrative closure" (34). A similar methodological lens is offered by Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean: "material feminism," or a way of critically reading artifacts to resist "hometruths" with which a research subject is associated (230).

To resist narrative closure in terms of Fonseca, I have confronted the hometruths that draw me to her archive in the first place: she was a popular, effective state senator whose gender and longevity contribute to her legendary reputation. She wore fancy and fashionable hats that added to her persona a sense of glamour and good-humored eccentricity. In a time when "having it all" was not yet articulated as a goal or a problem for women, Fonseca seems to have been a protofeminist who stood up for women and immigrants on the South Coast, a region that competes for attention and resources with nearby, center-of-the-universe Boston. Lusophone scholar Clyde W. Barrow has noted that despite a perception that recent immigrants are not politically active, Portuguese-Americans have contributed greatly to progressive politics in Massachusetts, and the Portuguese "archipelago" of Southeastern Massachusetts in particular is home to a proportionately high rate of voter turnout and political participation compared to other immigrant ethnic groups (299). Impressively, Fonseca herself became politically active within one generation of immigration.

Studying Fonseca's archive results in a complication of her accepted narrative that I don't believe belittles her accomplishments or diminishes her reputation in any way. Instead, the materials offer a rare account of a rare 20th century female politician who builds for herself a practical public discourse. Far different than the outspoken feminists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries who worked as a collective for the vote and workers' rights, the 20th century woman politician operates in a context bereft of contemporaries and in conditions defined by gains in legal equality and yet pervasive with sexism. Attendant to these circumstances, Fonseca at first creates a feminine, nonthreatening public persona complete with a selection of hats *qua* costumes to draw attention to her gender and domestic subjectivities and deflect attention from her political goals to change the status quo. Fonseca's practical public discourse therefore springs from her reality, grounded in local ethics and hometown knowledge of what will play and for whom.

And, while legislative success is the dominant historical narrative, the official state record, the writing and rhetoric of and between Fonseca, her colleagues, and her constituents offers an enlightening alternative story of the slings and arrows of social change. Pulling with and for her constituents and colleagues, Mary Leite Fonseca's archive evidences her commitment to legislate equal rights and to demonstrate the potential of gender equality to her family, colleagues both sympathetic and hostile, and admiring constituents with a practically suited mid-20th century feminist rhetoric.

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An Apparent Feminist Approach to Transnational Technical Rhetorics: The Ongoing Work of Nujood Ali

Erin Frost

Compared to dreams, reality can be cruel. But it can also come up with beautiful surprises. —Nujood Ali

Introduction

Faez Ali Thamer married Nujood Ali when she was nine years old. Thamer had promised Ali's¹ father that he would not touch her until she had been through puberty. He lied. Nine-year-old Ali endured horrendous physical and emotional abuse—including repeated rape. Distressing though this is, Ali's story is not unusual. Child marriage is common in many parts of the world, and it leads directly to widespread abuse of girls. What is unusual about Ali's story, though, is that she was divorced at age 10. In 2008, Ali escaped her abusive husband. She went to the Sana'a courthouse and met Shada Nasser. Nasserthe first woman to head a Yemeni law office—became Ali's attorney, advocate, and mentor.² This essay, however, focuses on a part of Ali's story that is not so apparent in the developing accounts that already are being used to build histories: After her divorce, Ali chose to return to her family—including the father who married her to Thamer against her will—instead of pursuing her studies abroad, an option that was made available to her shortly after her divorce because of donations from supporters (159). This choice—and, more importantly, the way Ali has narrated her return—reflects courage and a refusal to be cast only as a victim as well as making apparent the complexities involved in Ali's efforts to seek female agency in Yemen.

Widespread Western media coverage of Ali's story ended with her divorce, despite the fact that her story continues.³ The hard cultural work Ali engages in every day *after* her divorce—which includes doing interviews and advocating on behalf of her younger sister—is deserving of attention in historical records. Drawing on Ali's story as an example, I situate this essay as a commentary on the nature and development of histories as transcultural technical rhetorical artifacts that wield great power because of their potential rhetorical velocity (Ridolfo and DeVoss). In other words, the opportunity to include Ali's continuing story in historical records now is a kind of early recovery; it is a chance to alter perceptions about female agency and reputation for Yemeni child brides before limited perceptions are reinscribed too many times on Ali's

"cultural career" (Bordo xiv). Making apparent Ali's continuing dedication to female agency in Yemen is a transcultural project that stands to benefit many audiences—if only those potential audiences are paying attention.

To support these claims, I utilize an *apparent feminist* methodology (Frost). Apparent feminism manifests in three main features. First, apparent feminists respond to a kairotic moment in which the term *postfeminism* is in vogue and feminisms are assailed as ideologies of the past; in other words, apparent feminists seek to make the importance of feminisms in contemporary contexts—and particularly in technical rhetorics—explicit or apparent as a response to unrecognized instances of misogyny. Further, apparent feminists seek to do this in transdisciplinary ways that allow for more awareness of "the possible connections that can allow us to navigate" (Bay 33) diverse and fluid circumstances. Secondly, apparent feminists do this work while also embracing non-feminist allies. These allies are people who are interested in social justice. They are people whose philosophies and actions *appear* to be feminist in a given context, although they themselves—for whatever reasons—may not identify "feminist" as a permanent feature of her or his identity. Apparent feminism is a term that can be taken up without requiring its user to commit to an identity. Thus, the term *apparent feminist* is flexible in that it can refer to someone who identifies as feminist, but it can also refer (in a limited context) to a person who engages in action that appears to be feminist. Third, apparent feminism sponsors critiques of rhetorics of efficiency, which are too often used to silence those who speak from bodies marginalized by mainstream cultures. More specifically, apparent feminism—a theory emerging from technical communication scholarship, which itself is increasingly critical of notions of objectivity and neutrality-promotes a reframing of standardized understandings of efficiency. Instead of buying into normative efficiency-based arguments, apparent feminist critique is rhetorical in that it recognizes that truly efficient work requires a large and diverse audience in order to be most useful for the greatest number of people-and not just the people with access to economic and social power. More importantly, apparent feminism requires us to ask *who* efficiency serves in any particular context.⁴ In other words, apparent feminist rearticulates efficiency as dependent upon diversity.

An apparent feminist approach shows that Ali's actions since her divorce are complementary to feminist goals, that they hail allies and have had positive effects for other Yemeni child brides (several of whom have come forward, as I will discuss later in this essay), and that they implicitly critique a patriarchal ethic of efficiency. Further, my apparent feminist analysis emphasizes the challenges Ali—with Nasser's support—continues to work through, including dealing with threats to her reputation and safety as well as the reputation and safety of her family, addressing transnational and local audiences of varying cultural backgrounds, and navigating socioeconomic pressures and limited access to education. This essay demonstrates that apparent feminism is an especially useful mechanism for transnational work, since it recognizes and accepts a variety of different identifications and supports the inclusion of diverse audiences and rhetors. Further, this work shows that apparent feminism is useful precisely because it allows for recognition of people—children, men, those who don't know what feminism is—who do feminist work without identifying themselves as feminists. The question of whether or not Ali might identify as a feminist, for the purposes of this essay, is less interesting than the question of how she has already engaged in feminist work.

In sum, this essay widens understandings of what constitutes "rhetorical performance, accomplishment, and possibilities" (Royster and Kirsch 29). Further, it helps us to consider some of the potential effects of which stories we choose to include in histories and how those choices affect the development of empirical knowledge (Yu and Savage). I offer my analysis of Ali's post-divorce actions as one possible example of how we might recover a set of technical rhetorics that we recognize as a person's individual history; my analysis is not the only perspective or the final word, but rather a call for many potential re-framings. As Yu argues, we can benefit from dealing with examples that are "less like closed case studies and more like open stories" (Yu and Savage 4). Advocating the inclusion of Ali's continuing story in contemporary histories is one method for helping us to see how those histories shape what is possible in the public imagination, studies of technical rhetorics and composition practices, and transnational feminist work. In order to accomplish this, I first discuss the contexts of child marriages, arguing that it is an oppressive institution that particularly targets girls. Then, I apply an apparent feminist critique of Ali's experiences specifically and, in so doing, support a revisionist version of her experience. Finally, I discuss takeaways from that revised historical account and provide ideas for how apparent feminist activists can use rhetoric and composition scholarship to support the creation and maintenance of revisionist technical rhetorics about social issues in the public sphere.

Contexts of Oppression

Although it is not possible to represent the ubiquity and complexity of child marriage as an institution in the space of an essay, the following accounts provide some indication of the enormity of this problem. Thereby, they also provide some hint as to the complexity of the apparent feminist work that Ali engages in on a daily basis.

Child marriage occurs when a person under age 18 is married (Nour 1644). A 2005 UNICEF study showed that Niger, Chad, Mali, Bangladesh, Guinea, and Burkina Faso all had child-marriage rates of higher than 60 percent (United

Nations Children's Fund 4). Although both boys and girls are married as minors around the globe, child marriage disproportionately affects girls; in Mali, for example, just one underage boy is married for every 72 underage girls who are married (Nour 1644). Although some might argue that child marriage is a culturally relative issue that should be dealt with contextually, it is inarguable that child marriage disproportionately affects girls and significantly increases girls' chances of being physically and emotionally abused. Child marriage, for girls, "leads towards inadequate socialization, discontinuation of education, physiological and psychological damage to girls due to early and frequent pregnancies, and quite often an early widowhood" (Nagi 2). Drawing on a variety of interdisciplinary sources (Bunting; Gangoli, McCarry, and Razak; Mikhail; Nour; Raj, Saggurti, Balaiah, and Silverman), I argue that child marriage is a transnationally relevant human rights violation affecting girls in three main ways: Child marriage causes girls to be denied education, it makes girls vulnerable to abuse, and it increases girls' risk of serious health problems. Further, it affects girls' understandings of their own agency in the world, since entering into marriage as a girl is often deeply influenced by localized economics and thus is supported by family members who constitute the child's entire social network.

However, establishing understandings of the dangers of child marriage cross-culturally—a first step toward preventing child marriage—is not easy. Child marriage is "linked to social and economic expectations" and is affected by "conflicts and pressures to maintain social and gendered behavioural norms" (Gangoli, McCarry, and Razak 428). Gangoli, McCarry, and Razak found that the difference between an arranged marriage and a forced marriage is often blurred; girls are socialized into wanting to please their parents and adhere to their home culture, making it extremely difficult for them to refuse an arranged child marriage even if they live in a country where legal help is available to them. Bunting showed that the age of consent is a controversial issue. Further, Gorney's reporting shows that families often believe that marrying girls protects them from sexual predation because their husband will protect them from rape—at least, he will protect them from rape by men besides himself. In most cases, local cultural resistance to the criminalization of child marriage occurs for many complex reasons and is extremely strong.

Even more troublingly, child marriage primarily impacts girls from rural and poor families, who may see girl children as an economic burden (Kamal; Singh and Kapur). In some cases, families marry their daughters early in hopes that they will have better lives with a husband than the family could provide (Gorney; Worth; UNICEF). Whatever the reason for the prevalence of the underage marriage of girls, child marriage certainly is an issue influenced by intersectional identities. Religion, ethnicity, class, nationality, and other factors affect the likelihood of child marriage, making the issue ripe for third-wave feminist analysis and intervention (van Wormer and Bartollas). Feminists should be particularly invested in intervening in systematic patterns of child marriage since it perpetuates generational cycles of inequity, disempowerment, and poverty—all of which already affect women in greater numbers than men.

Addressing the problem of child marriage is also complicated by the fact that such marriages often are conducted in secret or at the least are not officially recorded. Scholars report that child marriage is closely connected with human trafficking of minor girls, and investment in covering up this criminal activity further distorts efforts to understand the prevalence of and cultural reasons for child marriage (Ghosh; Mikhail). For example, only 490 cases of child marriage were reported in India for the five-year period preceding 2006, although experts believe "the percentage of under-18 marriages of girls in the country has increased from 34% in 1998–99 to 45.6% in 2005–06" (Ghosh 723). Several sources estimate that around 60 million currently living girls and women are victims of child marriage (Terkel; UNICEF).

Despite this massive cover-up, child marriage has recently become more apparent in the popular press on an individual level, largely because of Ali. Her courage resulted in a precedent-setting legal case when she was granted a divorce, went home to her family with the protection of a variety of authorities, returned to school, advocated for her younger sister and other Yemeni girls, became an international symbol of resistance to practices that oppress girls and women, and demonstrated to other girls in similar situations how they could take action. Such cases provide positive role models for other victims of child marriage who may have avoided seeking divorce for a variety of reasons—including fear, cultural shame, violence, and the possibility of losing the chance to ever marry again—and they aid feminists and activists in describing the individual consequences of child marriage because they help put faces to an otherwise largely unapparent institution.⁵ Cases like these also provide increased impetus for transnational media to discuss child marriage and its implications for girls and women. For example, Essence and National *Geographic* magazines have both published pieces on the devastating effects of child marriage in the past several years (Amber; Gorney). Further, Ali's own book has made significant headway in increasing global awareness of child marriage. However, child marriage is still largely unapparent in that it gets little attention relative to the enormity of its effects.

Ali as Apparent Feminist

Recent historiographical efforts to include female contributions to rhetoric and composition studies have shown that such endeavors do not simply recover lost histories and add them to a pre-determined body of work, "but rather recast the condition of study" (Gaillet and Horner viii) and make apparent new ways of thinking about feminist tools and areas of influence (Enoch).⁶ Following in the tradition of advocating epistemic shifts, this essay uses apparent feminism to show how contemporary activism can set the stage for—and complicate—the writing of transnational feminist histories in the present. As I have argued above, child marriage constitutes a significant and transnational act of violence against girls and women, and action is necessary in order to protect girls from the consequences of being married as children. Part of that action is historiographical critique; as such, the remainder of this essay uses apparent feminism to enact that critique by demonstrating how some of Ali's most important work—the work she has engaged in after her divorce—is in danger of being minimized or even erased in historical records. In fact, the divorce—the very circumstance that brought Ali to international attention can be (and has been) cast as a cultural and familial betrayal in local contexts; as I will discuss below, Ali's relationship with male family members remains contentious in part because of media attention brought about by Ali's divorce. Such reactions are further evidence of the need for feminist perspectives that support Ali and girls and women like her.

Apparent feminism is a theoretical response to understudied and unrecognized misogyny in technical rhetorics, including laws and customs that support and propagate institutions like child marriage. As stated above, apparent feminism asks its practitioners to make feminisms explicit, to hail allies in social justice, and to critique rhetorics of *efficiency*. I suggest that Ali's courageous return to her family and community is complementary to feminist goals and should be studied as such, that it hails allies and has had positive effects for other Yemeni child brides, and that it implicitly critiques a patriarchal ethic of efficiency. I focus, in this analysis, on news articles that have appeared with quotations from Ali in addition to including information from her memoir. Although Ali's memoir certainly constitutes her most direct apparent feminist work, I am interested in seeing how Ali has affected technical rhetorics in the social realm, and her book is only one piece—and, in fact, probably not the most commonly circulated piece—of that rhetorical assemblage.

It is important to note that my recognition of Ali as an apparent feminist someone who does not (to my knowledge) identify as feminist but who is doing work that is feminist in nature—is also a partial construction. The work I do here is not biographical; it is not intended to report on the totality of Ali's life. It is, rather, a selected assemblage of technical rhetorics that Ali has contributed to. My analysis is intended to help apparent feminists and social justice advocates to learn about Ali's work so that we might support it, expand on it, consider its importance as a model, theorize its effects on feminist networks, and take other action that I have not yet imagined.

I begin this work by pointing out that Ali's decision to return to her family and community as an activist—a choice I find astonishing and brave—is deeply feminist. I make this claim, despite the fact that I do not know Ali's perspective on the term *feminist*, because of the effects her actions have had on her family, community, and the world. Faced with several options—including attending school abroad—Ali became determined to return to her family so that she could protect her little sister, Haïfa, continue her own education, and work to change opinions in her community about how girls should be treated (Ali 159). She made the choice to stay involved—and continues to make that choice, every day—despite the fact that her family and community are not always supportive. "Mohammed, my big brother, is not pleased. Ever since the session in court, he often yells at Haïfa and me. . . . He [says] all this publicity about our family isn't good for our reputation" (Ali and Minoui 130-131). Ali's determination to stand against this rhetoric makes her an apparent feminist, not because she explicitly identifies as such, but because she is doing work that other activists can recognize as feminist and can support and build upon.

Since her divorce, Ali has made her goals, which are complementary to feminist movements to empower girls, explicit and public—or, apparent. She has spoken to many reporters from a variety of countries and she has publicly advocated against the marriage of young girls; this includes speaking against her father's intentions to arrange a marriage for young Haïfa, a challenging rhetorical project that requires constant attention. With the help of Delphine Minoui, Ali co-wrote a book about her experiences and agreed to support her family with the proceeds (Ali and Minoui).⁷ In fact, *The Guardian* (a British daily newspaper with an international readership) recently reported that Ali's father has squandered much of her money and has kicked her out of the new family home—and yet Ali remains dedicated to her mission of ensuring safety for her sister. "I won't let it happen to her," she says, when asked about the engagement her father has arranged for Haïfa (Sheffer). Ali continues to do feminist work that is possible only because she has chosen to remain a member of the community her family belongs to. To be clear, it is the way that Ali has returned to her family and community-not the mere fact of her return-that makes her return an example of apparent feminist activism.⁸ It is her constant advocacy for her sister and her careful, smart engagements with reporters that make her current trajectory an apparent feminist move.⁹ It is her willingness to engage in hard work and the fact that she is still living this story that makes it so important for others—including Western feminists—to pay attention.

Meanwhile, Ali's story has both created and made apparent and accessible a variety of allies for Yemeni child brides—and, indeed, has called some

of those child brides into becoming allies to each other, as well. The *New York Times* reported that another Yemeni girl, Arwa Abdu Muhammad Ali, 9, came forward to accuse her husband of maltreatment shortly after Ali (Worth), as did Rym, 12, who had first attempted suicide as an escape from her marriage (Ali and Minoui 163). Both enlisted the services of Nasser in filing for divorce. Ali said, "I was proud to learn that my story had helped them find the means to defend themselves" (Ali and Minoui 164). Arwa and Rym are not the only girls to take up Ali's tradition of resistance; since Ali's divorce, Nasser has been "receiving calls about girls, some younger than Nujood, trying to escape their marriages" (Worth). Ali engages in work I recognize as apparent feminist activism because she is both aware of and active in forming relationships with allies—like Nasser; Nadia Abdulaziz al-Saqqaf, editor in chief of the *Yemen Times*; and Yemeni judges Mohammad al-Ghazi, Abdo, and Abdel Wahed—and, in fact, dedicates the book to "Arwa, Rym, and all the little Yemeni girls who dream of freedom."

Finally, Ali's return to her family is an implicit critique of an implicit ethic of efficiency. Ali's choice to put herself at risk in order to enact change in her community demonstrates her understanding of a systematic and oppressive patriarchy that must be disrupted. In the epilogue of I Am Nujood, Age 10 and Divorced, Minoui wrote, "In Yemen, many factors drive fathers to marry off their daughters before they reach puberty," including poverty, custom, lack of education, family honor, and fear of adultery. Ali's father claims to have married Ali off because her older sisters had been kidnapped and raped, resulting in "forced" marriages; he saw Ali's early marriage as a way to keep her from her sisters' fate. Clearly, he was not protecting her from rape; rather, he was "protecting" her from a forced marriage where a dowry would be foregone. Ali's marriage at the age of nine was an efficient course of action for Ali's father since his main loss when his older daughters had been kidnapped was the loss of the dowry he would have received had they been married off purposefully. Marrying Ali so young was the most efficient way for her father to use her for financial gain.

Ali, engaging in apparently feminist activism, is now adamant that she can intervene in this oppressive, efficiency-based, patriarchal system and "can be an example to other girls and encourage them to demand their rights" (Ali and Minoui 177). Ali's return to her family—her insistence on being on the front lines of this struggle for female agency—demonstrates that she has learned to speak in her own voice, make her own allies, and be an example herself of how to intervene in the patriarchally efficient status quo.

Avenues for Action Through Revised Technical Rhetorics

Apparent feminist social justice workers (and perhaps especially those operating from within rhetoric and composition) can both draw on and contribute to Ali's work by recognizing the need to revise and critique technical rhetorics. When I invoke the term technical rhetorics, I mean any rhetorical assemblage that attempts to persuade a specific audience with a specialized set of knowledge (Frost and Eble). I encourage apparent feminist activists to support the creation and maintenance of revisionist *technical rhetorics* about social issues in the public sphere. In Ali's case, this assemblage includes most prominently newspaper and magazine articles (Daragahi; Sheffer; Worth) and Ali's own book (Ali and Minoui), which together constitute Ali's written history and which are aimed at an audience of those interested in female empowerment and equality on a global scale. To be clear, this essay is one example of a way to do this work; this analysis contributes to the rhetorical velocity of Ali's message.

My focus on technical rhetorics that influence and prescribe social action is purposeful. While legal action—like Ali's divorce—can be compelling, it is social action—like her work since the divorce—that has the greatest power for change (partly because social action most often precipitates legal and other sorts of actions). Gaffney-Rhys argues that, while law is important for establishing understandings about child marriage, national and local social programs are better for preventing it. This essay suggests that social policy is now far more important in working to prevent child marriage than legal policy¹⁰ and that Ali is on the front line of that struggle. Social programs like those discussed by Erulkar and Muthengi would support awareness and education about child marriage in countries where early marriage is the norm. Such programs could help girls and their families gain access to alternatives in cases where girls are married for protection. Further, aggressive and culturally sensitive social programming would significantly impact the steadiest indicator of child marriage: education.¹¹ Better education for girls will likely have the result of decreasing the prevalence of child marriage. Finally, at the very least, social programs could provide girls with more knowledge about how to take care of themselves in the instance that they are married and facing health complications or abuse. Such programming stands to improve the situation of girls and women on a global scale.

Making apparent the importance of technical rhetorics like social and cultural programming is necessary because child marriage is a widespread act of transnational violence against girls and women. This is true because of its prevalence and its negative consequences for girls' health and education; child marriage puts girls at significant risk for physical abuse, including sexual assault. I suggest that composition and rhetoric scholars, because of their understanding of persuasion and privilege, are uniquely situated to create new technical rhetorics that disrupt hegemonic systems. Privileged rhetors have an obligation to organize, participate in, and pay attention to social programs (like those mentioned above) to educate girls and their families about the dangers of child marriage and about other viable options for girls' social success. The critical part of any such venture, however, is engaging as an apparent feminist ally rather than as a colonizing authority. It is essential that all parties see themselves as participating in reciprocal networks, much like the mentoring networks described by Gaillet and Eble, wherein "we all benefit from the opportunities afforded by our mutual connections." Further, we can best do this complex transcultural work when we recognize the already existing nodes or "productive spaces" (Bay 36) of "the cultural network of life through which we are all connected" (Bay 39).

Part of such networks are the assemblages of technical rhetorics—the artifacts that make up histories, both written and oral—that give those networks exigence. It is important to acknowledge, though, that any such assemblage of technical rhetorics is both partial and—like the mentoring model Gaillet and Eble describe—recursive. For example, I have focused in this essay on written artifacts because they are accessible to me as well as being static enough to allow for analysis. However, Ali's history—and any technical rhetorical assemblage—also includes oral technical rhetorics, which are harder to represent and examine in a forum like this one. The conversations that surround an artifact like a newspaper article not only continue important discourses begun by the article itself, but also affect how that article might be read in the future. As such, the term technical rhetorics encompasses a set of artifacts as well as the conversations that both emerge from and re-situate those artifacts.

These dynamic, oral conversations represent the first and most important point of intervention for apparent feminists. For example, because the news media focus on circumstances that are exigent, it is likely that stories on Ali's situation will continue to decrease in frequency over the coming years. By drawing on rhetoric and composition scholarship and practice that emphasizes the importance of oral histories (Bryson; Ramsey; Rhetoric and Composition Sound Archives), apparent feminists can continue to emphasize and make apparent the importance of Ali's continuing efforts to solidify female agency—even, perhaps, in the face of a lack of information about her most recent work. Despite waning reporting, we can continue to take up her story as a model for feminist apparency.

In addition, promoting Ali's continued presence in technical rhetorical textual formats—including scholarship in field journals, digital publishing venues like blogs and online reference sources, the documents that support and explain organizations devoted to social justice, and more—also contributes to the goal of doing justice to Ali's story by making apparent her continuing cultural work. It is vital, though, that activists and scholars who wish to participate in this work must do so as allies and not colonizers. It is important to tell and re-tell Ali's story, but it is equally important to recognize that no single re-telling (including this one and excepting only, perhaps, Ali's) is the final word on the issue. By focusing on the recursive nature of technical rhetorical assemblages and on the simultaneous subjectivity and validity of perspective-based knowledge, we can work towards new understandings of Ali's work and ways to productively and responsibly intervene in situations of unjustly reduced or limited female agency. In addition, by doing this work in this context, we will also learn—and model—new ways of using our disciplinary knowledges to change social practices in positive ways.

Conclusion

By making apparent and continuing to talk about the work of Nujood Ali and the ways her work is—and is not—discussed in major media outlets, apparent feminists can engage as allies in critiquing the patriarchally efficient institution of child marriage. By recognizing that people like Ali are already leading the way and functioning as nodes that connect vast networks of technical rhetorics, we can recognize new ways to engage with, intervene in, and mediate between disparate networks. Further, we can look to Ali's work as one example that underscores the importance of recovering contemporary histories that are left out when we depend solely on dominant narratives. In other words, paying attention to Ali's continuing story and taking it up as an apparent feminist intervention can help us to understand how the supposed efficiency with which major media outlets operate sometimes causes us to miss important pieces of cultural histories. This, in turn, makes apparent both the necessity and the means to tell alternative histories so that we might develop more diverse, efficient, and culturally informed understandings of the world.

Notes

1 Although many citation traditions advocate using first names to identify minors, I use Ali's last name as a measure of respect and to signify that her work is challenging and important by adult standards.

2 I hope it is obvious that this version of events is extremely abbreviated. For a more detailed account, see *I Am Nujood, Age 10 and Divorced* (Ali and Minoui). 3 To be clear, some reporters have continued to write about Ali and her life after her divorce. However, their stories are less frequent than they once were, and media outlets are not featuring them nearly so prominently.

4 Note that this is a critique that can be—and has been—applied to some feminist work. For example, Mohanty has critiqued white, Western feminist rhetorics for too often considering "third-world women" a homogeneous group. While Mohanty does not herself employ study of efficiency rhetorics as a major component of her critique, we can recognize that the rhetorical trends she is talking about developed as a matter of efficiency (for white, Western feminists) rather than as malicious intention. For this reason, critiques of efficiency are especially important to take up—and they are most important to take up precisely when they are difficult to recognize.

5 Movements that utilize this strategy include the Half the Sky Movement, the Girl-Child Network Worldwide, Women Thrive Worldwide, and Tapestries of Hope.

6 For some examples of this body of feminist historiographic work in rhetoric, composition, and technical communication studies, see Bokser, Brasseur, Durack, Flynn, Glenn, Lippincott, Lunsford, Logan, Madaus, Neeley, Ritchie, Skinner, Sullivan, Wells.

7 Ali's agreement was no doubt affected by the fact that Yemeni law would not allow the proceeds to go to a minor.

8 I feel compelled to point out that, while I find Ali's choice to remain in her community to be brave and responsible, I do not suggest that this would necessarily be the best—or even the most deeply feminist—course of action for other girls in similar situations.

9 Ali's smart and careful managing of publicity related to her divorce also serves to protect her safety—which is, of course, a basic necessity in order for her activism to remain tenable.

10 International bodies, most notably the United Nations, have expressed disapproval toward child marriage. The UN has opposed child marriage since 1948. "Article 16 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that persons must be at 'full age' when married and that marriage should be entered into 'freely' and with 'full consent''' (Nour 1644). Despite this international statement, anti-child marriage legislation has proven difficult to pass even in the United States. Republicans in the House of Representatives successfully blocked the International Protecting Girls by Preventing Child Marriage Act of 2010—even after it passed the Senate—because they believed it would lead to increased abortions (Terkel). In addition, legal and social policy opposing child marriage meets with overwhelming opposition in countries where child marriage is the cultural norm. In effect, laws against child marriage

actually contribute to the invisibility of its victims as they cause child marriages to take place in secret.

11 The importance of education for girls has recently been made internationally apparent by the young Pakistani activist Malala Yousafzai. As a preteen, Yousafzai wrote publicly in favor of education for girls, an action which resulted in a 2012 attack in which a terrorist shot her in the head in an attempt to silence her. Yousafzai recovered and has since been a powerful advocate for girls' education.

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About the Author

Erin A. Frost is an assistant professor of technical and professional communication in the Department of English at East Carolina University. Her research focuses on highlighting instances of sex- and gender-based injustice in technical communication and rhetorics with the intention of moving toward social transformation. She is especially interested in examining communication often considered to be "neutral" or "objective" by its users, and she often focuses her work on digital, transnational, and transcultural rhetorics. Her most recent publication is an article on apparent feminist pedagogy in *Programmatic Perspectives*.

Book Reviews

Hayden, Wendy. Evolutionary Rhetoric: Sex, Science, and Free Love in Nineteenth-Century Feminism. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois UP, 2013. Print.

Jane Marcellus

Near the beginning of *Evolutionary Rhetoric: Sex, Science, and Free Love in Nineteenth-Century Feminism,* Wendy Hayden tells the story of Victoria Woodhull, who captivated a crowd assembled at New York City's Steinway Hall in November 1871 with her views on women's sexual emancipation. "Yes, I am a free lover," Woodhull declared. "I have an *inalienable, constitutional*, and *natural* right to love whom I may, to love as *long* or as *short* a period as I can; to *change* that love *every day* if I please, and with *that* right neither you nor any *law* you can frame have *any* right to interfere" (qtd. in Hayden 20, emphasis in original).

Although Woodhull was among the most vocal advocates of "free love," she was far from alone. Both she and her sister, Tennessee Claflin, were members of a loosely organized movement comprised of women and supportive men who sought, as Hayden puts it, "to redefine women's sexuality and to critique the social and legal systems that attempted to regulate it" (16). Advocates included physicians such as Mary Gove Nichols and Juliet Severance, spiritual leaders such as Lois Waisbrooker, and women who had suffered in early marriages in which they had no control over their sexuality. Often forgotten, these "free-love feminists" sought to do away with traditional marriage, arguing that marital sex was coercive, if not by physical force—which it often was-then by economic, social, or familial pressures to marry. "Revealing marriage as an institution that fostered the degradation and inequality of women, free-love advocates rejected the ideologies behind marriage altogether" (3), Hayden writes. Though sometimes accused of either promiscuity or prudery, they were neither. Most thought that love should be "an agreement between partners, not a compulsory activity validated by church or state" (20).

Free-love feminists were not a cohesive group, nor were their arguments static. Instead, their beliefs and rhetorical strategies changed across several decades of the nineteenth century in relation to emerging scientific discourses—evolutionary theory, physiology, bacteriology, embryology and heredity. It is this shifting rhetoric that is the focus of Hayden's highly original and thorough study. Drawing on extensive archival research and scientific literature, she argues that the movement devolved from its early focus on the needs and rights of women to what she calls the "dark path" (9) of eugenics at the turn of the twentieth century. By 1907, it disappeared altogether. Her goal is to trace this shifting discourse through a close reading of contemporary texts, asking why the movement changed from pro-woman advocacy to implicit racism.

The book is organized chronologically, with each chapter focusing on the relationship between free-love feminism and a specific scientific theory. Although women's speech in the mid-nineteenth century was proscribed, scientific thought, beginning with Charles Darwin's theory of evolution in the 1850s, "granted women rhetors the language to discuss the once-taboo topic of women's sexuality and to do so in a scientific register" (59). For example, feminists repurposed Darwin's contention that among most animals, females choose to mate with the best males. "To free-love feminists, the interpretation that males must make themselves worthy of females warranted the logic of women's rights in sexual relationships" (58), Hayden writes. Moreover, it "became a stricture against marital rape and a justification for birth control" (67). With its focus on what is "natural," Darwinian discourse also found its way into free-love feminist periodicals such as Lucifer, the Light Bearer, which "juxtaposed the 'natural' with the government-imposed" (61). Claflin, who with Woodhull was co-editor of Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly, used Darwinism to question marriage itself. If animal unions are "marriages," she asked, "who is there that will prepare some marriage law not in harmony with natural law, that shall compel each of these to forever remain mated?" (64). Meanwhile, Severance argued that marriage stood in the way of women's natural right to health, while Waisbrooker argued that it impeded spiritual evolution.

"Physiology," a term that had multiple meanings and was often conflated with "hygiene," was sometimes used by anti-feminists to prescribe sexual behavior. Yet for free-love feminist physicians such as Dr. Mary Gove Nichols, the term provided a discourse through which to advocate that a woman had the right to "control of her own person" (81) and maintain her health. It also provided a rationale for sex education, which most free-love feminists advocated. Nichols, in particular, used growing interest in the human body to argue that menstruation and pregnancy should not be pathologized. Disputing notions of "purity," she contended that female orgasm was normal. Though married herself to Thomas L. Nichols, her collaborator on several free-love treatises, she blamed marital coercion for obliterating women's sexual and maternal instincts.

The discovery of bacteria provided a new discourse for understanding disease and, by extension, a way of seeing marriage as a "diseased" institution.

This was literally true when bacterial agents of venereal disease were discovered, since men who frequented prostitutes often infected their wives. Questioning the double standard that both protected male promiscuity and deemed prostitutes "fallen women," some free-love feminists advocated "social purity," which was not about virginity but about obliterating the double standard. Germ theory brought "a new rhetoric of responsibility" (125) and the idea of "home protection." Some free-love feminists, such as Angela Heywood, saw "home" as a woman's own body, so "home protection" was about a woman's right to protect her health and enjoy sex. Yet this discourse also opened the way for eugenics as the concept of "fitness" for marriage—meaning freedom from venereal disease-emerged. With knowledge of embryology and then heredity came the idea that if "women were united in love with the partner of their choice and provided with sex education, they would be more healthy and able to produce 'a better race'' (155). Yet anxieties about "race suicide," which were aimed mainly at white women who had the means to have smaller families, were inherently racist and classist. By about 1900, the rights of children had eclipsed the rights of mothers, Hayden argues, as "Eugenics became the end in itself, not the means for arguing for women's rights" (171).

Built on an impressive amount of research, Hayden's work in recovering this movement is exhaustive and articulate. As she notes, free-love feminism was "a multifaceted, multi-voiced social movement" (209). She does not simplify it, but uses the sometimes subtle differences in women's rhetoric to bring a deeper understanding of how nineteenth-century women viewed their own sexuality. Tracing the evolving rhetoric of free-love feminism in terms of scientific thought provides a clear context for the movement's change over time. Moreover, the book challenges the still-prevalent stereotype of Victorian women as passionless.

Resisting hagiography, Hayden stresses in her conclusion that not everything these women embraced—meaning eugenics—should be applauded. "Why recover rhetorics that we cannot—and should not—celebrate?" (215), she asks, concluding that "we learn not from their wisdom but from their mistakes" (217). The point is worth making, though Hayden's slightly apologetic end is surprising in a study that is otherwise so carefully focused on understanding the past on its own terms, avoiding historical presentism until the last few pages. If we're going to compare free-love feminism to our time, it might be more intriguing to ask what we might learn from these women's plainspoken critique of marriage, some of which seems relevant today, and some far too radical even for the twenty-first century. Notably, Woodhull's rhetorical claim that she had "an *inalienable, constitutional,* and *natural* right to love whom I may" could easily be transplanted into a twenty-first-century argument for legalizing gay marriage. Yet her other claim—the right to change lovers daily—would be questionable even now. Given our shifting marital mores and the concurrent media obsession with weddings and bridal gowns, it might be worth asking what we can learn from nineteenth-century free-love feminism about what it means for love to be "free."

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Robbins, Sarah and Ann Ellis Pullen. Nellie Arnott's Writings on Angola, 1905-1913: Missionary Narratives Linking Africa and America. Parlor Press, 2011. Print.

Liz Rohan

Nellie Arnott's Writing on Angola, 1905-1913: Missionary Narratives Linking Africa and America, by authors Sarah Robbins and Ann Ellis Pullen, frames and showcases the public writings of one Protestant American Christian missionary, Nellie Arnott. Arnott wrote as she worked in what was then Portuguesecontrolled, Catholic, Angola. Angola had been colonized by the Portuguese since the seventeenth century and remained so until a civil war that lasted from 1975 until 2002. In a series of introductory chapters, the authors provide a range of informational and theoretical interdisciplinary tools so readers can best engage with Arnott's round-robin circulated missionary letters, scrapbook entries, and articles for missionary magazines written exclusively by women missionaries for American women readers. Among these tools for reading Arnott's work the authors lay out are: the layered contexts of Arnott's far-flung audiences for the several genres she used to mediate her experience, Arnott's personal history as a devout, forward-thinking young lowan and later a California wife and mother, and most ambitiously, the complicated power structures shaping discourse and language use among a range of stakeholders in colonized Angola where missionaries like Arnott also taught in the native language, Umbundu, among a group known as the Ovimbundu. The authors furthermore identify the "discursive gaps" that characterize Arnott's writing, and her shifting "authorial authority" as she inevitably used and resisted the tropes for writing home assigned to her by the US female-run missionary movement then coined, "Women's Work for Women." In doing so, Robbins and Pullen essentially curate an archive of the range of genres Arnott used to mediate her experience as a missionary, which is a largely unique structure for a historical case study.

Pullen and Robbins argue convincingly that Arnott's "self-positioning," marking her mercurial and even controversial "authorial authority," makes this case study most compelling. At the same time, the texts Arnott used to mediate her missionary career don't translate necessarily to a more universal and/ or more secular audience, when considering that, as the authors put it, "Arnott was...a liminal figure in a fluid space"(xxvii). As one result, Arnott's "writing reflects inconsistent self-positioning" as she wrote about the Angolan

landscape, customs among the Ovimbundu that both delighted and repulsed her, and also about the work of her Protestant colleagues, subjects for which her lens was constantly shifting with her evolving perspective (xxvvii). Arnott wrote in order to manage her experience, but writing was also assigned to her as a member of a vast system of female professionals who produced a range of genres, including print and multi-modal. These were circulated for the unabashedly espoused purpose of empire building, inspired by a complex set of ideologies and resulting in some predictably mixed and immeasurable results. The profoundity of Arnott's experience working and writing about her mission work is also inevitably "lost in translation," but the arrangement and care she took to lovingly preserve and arrange the texts she produced about Angola during and after her missionary career punctuates American archeologist James Deetz's argument that when examining history we can't always rely on what people report is true to determine their values, but rather the arrangement of the things they've left behind (260).

Arnott's case study and the methods Robbins and Pullen develop to better understand female missionary authors during their heyday in American culture is important to scholars of writing and to scholars of feminist rhetorics. Most obviously, this history can circumvent some troubling and proliferating presentism among scholars who study global encounters, and transnational discourse, in today's "contact zones" (Pratt). As Robbins and Pullen point out, "Globalization is hardly a new phenomenon...writers like Arnott were early practitioners of global communications bound up with both nation-enhancing and transnational social goals" (xxxii). The history of Angola is particularly understudied in part because longtime civil unrest has made the country a dangerous, if at the least intimidating, one to visit. Many of the secondary sources about the country are written in Portuguese, a language which is far afield for many scholars, and especially scholars of Composition and Rhetoric who, until recently, have focused their case studies primarily within the contexts of American culture. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, the US woman-run missionary movement itself is understudied as a site for studying the consumption and production of female-authored texts. In its flourishing years between the Civil War and World War I, US women's missionary work was mediated by the prolific publishing of magazines and newsletters that was an empire unto itself. For example, the Congregational women's missionary board, which was an arm of the missionary board that supported Arnott's work in Angola, published the magazine *Mission Studies*, for which Arnott was a frequent contributor.

Arnott wrote home from Angola at the fragile peak of the American women's missionary movement, which by 1915 included the participation of over three million women, nearly just as this work became less mainstream as World War I wound down in 1918. Warmongering, death and destruction promoted by Western and Christian nations contradicted a key belief underpinning women's work for women: that conversion to Christianity "could promote social betterment as well as spiritual salvation" (Robert 272). The blatant hypocrisy of Christian nations also undercut the assumption among middle-class American women working for missions about the superiority of Western Christian culture. Nearly at the same time, the passage of the nineteenth amendment promised American women opportunities for work and mobility in their own country as it became less fashionable, as well as ostensibly less necessary, for career-minded young women to travel to non-western nations to pursue interesting work opportunities.

While giving readers a taste for the authorship opportunities afforded a young female missionary during this time period, the Congregational missionaries' presence in Ovimbundu-Angola at the turn of the twentieth century when Arnott joined their endeavor in 1905 also provides a better education about the contradictory role of missionaries as colonizers during the last heydays of the American female-run missionary movement. As agents of colonialism and ushers of modernity, missionaries have also, "sought to protect peoples from the excesses of government and others" (Burridge 5). The missionary compounds and schools Arnott helped to develop during this time period were erected in the same historical period when the Portuguese government solidified an aggressive restructuring of their power centers in Angola, which had begun in the 1880s. Previously, the Portuguese had limited their entanglement with their Angolan colony to the coasts when involved with the slave trade, and later with general international trade of commodities after the slave trade was abolished. Former elite native Angolan rulers were among the Protestant missionaries' first converts. Angolan citizens who were educated in the Western style, some whom were professionals, also looked toward the missionaries to educate them, and presumably their families, when the Portuguese placed restrictions on them (Wheeler and Pélissier 100). It could be argued therefore that the young girls boarding with Arnott, who were unselfconsciously taught skills and behavior that could be labeled as too-modern, too-sexist and too-Western, also gained a degree of agency when at the school. The arguable necessity and usefulness of this type of mission work is nevertheless difficult if impossible to fully prove without the direct inclusion of these young women's voices with and among those like Arnott's, which is a methodological and ideological problem inherent to scholarship foregrounding the Western missionary perspectives that Roberts and Pullen also address.

When more or less celebrating the writing of a missionary who had some role in the global enterprise of Western colonization, Robbins and Pullen take on a significant scholarly challenge. As American culture and the academy

have become more secular, declarations of faith, or discussions of faith, have been either marginalized or relegated to the private realm. Yet the public dimension of religion, as well as the sanctioned culture of the home, was also pivotal to the development of the turn-of-the-century woman's missionary movement, a phenomenon accentuated by Robbin and Pullen's choice to feature Arnott's public writing even though she kept a diary, which the authors discuss but don't share entries from. Arnott's position as a Christian, and her opinion about the role of Bible teaching when engaging with non-Western people, was also typical among her fellow Congregationalists during this time. As an evangelical Christian, Arnott was also a "premillenialist," meaning that she believed in the "Second Coming" of Christ who would judge the living and the dead, a view which rationalized and exalted the work of missionaries who made it their business, quite literally, to encourage and administrate mass conversion to Christianity among non-western people. So Arnott's faith, like that of her colleagues, was inevitably intertwined with her work as writer and a teacher. Within the constructs of the turn of twentieth-century feminist-evangelism, women were considered the best ushers of Christianity to non-Western people because of the perceived interplay between femininity, mothering and authentic emotion. Relatedly, missionaries learned and taught native languages not so they could better understand the culture of their constituents, though this was a byproduct of language translation, but because religious conversions in native languages were considered more genuine. Witnessing and writing about this conversion inevitably topped off this ambitious enterprise among female missionaries during this time period.

Stories of conversion authored by missionaries like Arnott are made even more complicated to fully understand and entirely interpret because these writers conflated conversion to Christianity with the adoption of rather nebulous, Western-style behavior among their constituents, behavior that is difficult for any reader to identify as particularly spiritual. For example, when writing about the work of a mission-sponsored boarding school for Ovimbundu girls in a 1911 article published in Mission Studies, Arnott outlined the advantages experienced by the young women under her care because they had been separated from their own families and presumably these families' homemaking habits—or lack thereof. The lives of the girls boarding at the mission had been improving, Arnott observed, because these young women were learning to "wash, iron, make baskets [and] pots and to sew aside from their regular schoolwork" (gtd in Robbins and Pullen 221). Similar claims and observations made by historical missionaries working in and writing from colonized countries might trouble contemporary, secular readers to the extent that this writing becomes mostly or nearly unreadable. However, the methods of conversion sponsored by Western missionaries encouraged a type of social justice

and a significant degree of efficacy among the Ovimbundu who were taught to read and write in their native language, but again as part of the ultimate goal of Christian conversion. In another *Mission Studies* article Arnott wrote, for example, about setting up technologies such as typewriters and a type of printing press so the Ovimbundu could better read and write in Umbundu (qtd in Roberts and Pullen 219). Umbundu-educated Angolans who were taught by Protestant evangelicals like Arnott were threatening to Portuguese stakeholders who went so far as to outlaw the writing of Umbundu a few years after Arnott left the country, through a decree passed in 1921.

Measuring just a few of the major factors shaping literacy instruction and the production of rhetoric by women for women, and by Arnott in particular, in the "contact zone" of just one colonized country suggests that any smug critique of women imperfectly transcending borders, if inevitably, is all too easy from our armchairs. Resisting presumptuous or snap judgments of subjects whose work seems too audacious, too politically incorrect, too conservative, or even too radical, is related to a scholarly dilemma I have written about at length when studying the writing of Arnott's contemporary, Janette Miller, who arrived in Angola in 1910. Miller wrote the same type of texts, for the same magazines, and about as much as Arnott, if not more, during relatively the same time period in and from the same region of Angola, where the two women at times actually rubbed elbows. Like Arnott, Miller maintained her passion for missionary work throughout her lifetime and in fact stayed in Angola until her death in 1969, working for various missionary enterprises and eventually establishing her own mission that she co-ran with an African woman and a Portuguese woman. As Miller's missionary work deepened, her engagement with her American audiences became more fragmented, particularly after World War II, as she wrote home less and shared even fewer personal details than she had in her earlier texts. The "discursive gaps" characterizing Miller's discourse written in the latter part of her missionary career widened to the extent that I hadn't the tools to create a cohesive and factual narrative about her overall career. That Arnott returned to the United States, and continued to mediate her texts post-career, are among Roberts and Pullen's advantages as scholars studying female missionary work written in a colonial context. Arnott's longstanding, lifetime meta-analysis of her own story allow Roberts and Pullen to ethically repackage it within a larger story of female missionary work that is vast, fragmented and to some degree untellable because of the lost or missing voices of its more marginalized participants.

Given that I am also a scholar of another Protestant female missionary working in Portuguese-controlled, historical Angola, Robbins and Pullen might be preaching to a too-small choir. Readers who are intimidated by postcolonial theory, who aren't fascinated with layers of power shaping the political landscape of early twentieth-century Angola, or who are inevitably turned off by religious subjects, might also find the do-it-yourself structure of this book too much work. That is, readers access Arnott's archive only after Robbins and Pullen set up significant and multiple framing of its contexts. Readers might also question why the book features only one missionary's writing after learning that three million American women were reportedly engaged in some kind of missionary work during Arnott's missionary career. I'd argue, however, that the arrangement of this book, featuring the nuanced particulars of one woman's writing shaped by complex layers of material and ideological power structures, is not only thorough and responsible scholarship, but downright necessary.

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George, Ann, M. Elizabeth Weiser, and Janet Zepernick, eds. *Women and Rhetoric between the Wars*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2013. Print.

David Gold

Feminist historiographers in rhetoric and composition have long worked to expand our understanding of what constitutes both rhetoric and rhetor. While this work has greatly increased our historical knowledge of women's rhetorical practices, it has also made us acutely aware of the large scholarly gaps that remain, even in as well-traversed a field of inquiry as the U.S. We still know too little, for example, about the colonial era and early republic, and we know perhaps even less about the ostensible nadir of women's rhetoric, the period between the first two "waves" of American feminism, from roughly the passage of suffrage to the publication of *The Feminine Mystique*.

The collection *Women and Rhetoric between the Wars*, edited by Ann George, M. Elizabeth Weiser, and Janet Zepernick, admirably fills this latter gap. As the editors note, "the culturally shared 'memory' of U.S. women's history is that women didn't participate in public life after suffrage or work outside the home until the 1960s advent of 'women's lib''' (2). Despite a backlash against feminist-fought advances, women *did* increasingly participate in public life through the twentieth century in a variety of forums. This volume traces this participation through three broad "scenes"—the civic, the epideictic, and the professional—as well as considering the mechanisms by which this participation has often been rendered invisible.

Opening the book's section on the civic scene, Wendy B. Sharer's "Continuous Mediation: Julia Grace Wales's New Rhetoric" examines the rhetorical principles of the "largely unheralded" (21) peace activist and University of Wisconsin English professor, whose 1915 mediation plan to end World War I was adopted by the International Congress of Women for Permanent Peace and presented to international government leaders. Sharer argues for Wales not simply as an important rhetor, but an important rhetorical theorist, who through both her teaching and writing promoted "cooperative, dialogic rhetorical attitudes and practices" (25), undergirded by "constructive, supportive listening" (27) and a search for shared, universal values, thus anticipating the Burkean and Rogerian principles that would be later taken up by academic rhetoricians. Though Jane Addams is perhaps best known for her settlement house work, she had a long career as a peace advocate, for which she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931. In "The Hope for Peace and Bread," Hephzibah Roskelly recovers these later efforts, demonstrating that the public space women had carved out in the early twentieth century was still tenuous; indeed, she suggests that the reaction against Addams's peace advocacy was in large measure a reaction against women entering a domain of politics still sharply defined as male. Roskelly argues that though we might regard Addams's efforts as a rhetorical failure, her faith in reason, her remarkable self-reflection and willingness to embrace uncertainty, and her perseverance in the face of obstacles offer a feminist model for communication still relevant today.

In "Gertrude Bonnin's Transrhetorical Fight for Land Rights," Elizabeth Wilkinson documents the rhetorical strategies Bonnin (perhaps best known to rhetorical scholars as Zitkala-**Š**a) employed as part of her contribution to a 1924 report for the Indian Rights Association documenting widescale land theft and other abuses during the Oklahoma oil boom. Employing her "Christian, married name" (54) rather than her Dakota one, Bonnin, argues Wilkinson, consciously eschewed the polemic persona she often employed under that name, adopting instead Anglo-American tropes of sentimentality to move her audience and advance the cause of Native land rights. Rather than see Bonnin as a hybrid or bicultural figure, Wilkinson argues for her as a transrhetorical one, gaining agency from her multiple positionalities.

In "A Rhetor's Apprenticeship: Reading Frances Perkins's Rhetorical Autobiography," Janet Zepernick examines the rhetorical education of Perkins, secretary of labor under Franklin Delano Roosevelt and one of the architects of Social Security, as depicted in her political memoirs of Roosevelt and New York Governor Alfred E. Smith. Zepernick attributes Perkins's achievements to both her training in social work—which included a stint at Hull House— and her skill in practical political rhetoric, which she learned first-hand by observing both Roosevelt and Smith in action. Her memoirs, argues Zepernick, serve as an "autobiographical textbook of rhetorical theory" (68), showcasing and commenting on examples of successful rhetorical practice she observed, learned, and enacted herself in her long career.

In "Working Together and Being Prepared: Early Girl Scouting as Citizenship Training," Sarah Hallenbeck depicts the movement's role in offering civically oriented rhetorical education to its members. As envisioned by its founder, Juliette Gordon Low—and as evidenced by early Scouting documents—the early Girl Scouts was to be no mere hobbyist organization but rather one that offered girls and young women the same opportunities to practice the leadership, teamwork, and problem-solving skills traditionally offered to men through sporting, military, and fraternal organizations. Rather than simply reinscribing tropes of domesticity, the early Girl Scouts, Hallenbeck argues, helped prepare its members for a broad range of "diverse contexts—domestic, social, professional—in which they would likely find themselves" (81).

Turning to the epideictic scene, the next section opens with Ann George's "Reading Helen Keller," which depicts Keller's attempts to resist her public image in her 1929 *Midstream: My Later Life*. Despite Keller's lifelong advocacy for progressive and radical causes, she remains fixed in public memory as the "miracle girl" (112) at the water pump, a triumph of the individual will over tragedy. George argues that while Keller deconstructed this pious image and invited readers to see her as multifaceted, readers were unable to do so because they read her words through the terministic screen—and powerful epideictic symbol—of her body. George thus invites readers to consider the extent to which language-centered rhetorical theories are complicated by material realities and the lived experiences of embodied rhetors.

In "Dorothy Day: Personalizing (to) the Masses," M. Elizabeth Weiser complicates both our readings of Day, editor and cofounder of the *Catholic Worker* newspaper (and its namesake lay movement), and, by extension, religious activism, which, she argues, can still discomfort our field. Through intimate, personalized accounts of the lives of the poor—and those who served them—Day transmitted Catholic social teachings emphasizing the dignity of workers and the needs of the poor to an audience that might otherwise have been suspicious of the left-leaning economic critique they entailed. In doing so, Weiser argues, Day anticipates and enacts Burkean rhetorical theory, "falling on the bias between religiosity and progressivism" (128) as she "urged middle-class Americans toward a rhetorical identification with radical movements" (114–15).

Well known during her lifetime as a journalist, churchwoman, activist, and educator, Nannie Helen Burroughs has largely faded from public memory. Though increasingly revisited by scholars in history, African American studies, and education, she remains underexamined in rhetorical studies. In "The Shocking Morality of Nannie Helen Burroughs," Sandra L. Robinson takes up Burroughs's complex rhetoric of racial uplift, through which she challenged not just white racism but black classism and colorism, often "strategically violat[ing]" norms of decorum for rhetorical effect (139). Robinson argues that Burroughs's promulgation of an afrocentrist rhetoric, and in particular her insistence on the moral superiority of black women, was an effective, even necessary response to the endemic racism and sexism of the era.

In another essay exploring the diverse rhetorical traditions within African American culture, "Bessie Smith's Blues as Rhetorical Advocacy," Coretta Pittman depicts the tensions between middle-class African American norms of feminine decorum in the early twentieth century and the lived experiences of working-class African American women that Smith's music evoked. Pittman argues that Smith's presentation of her "blues self," in her lyrics, vocals, and public persona, drew from and spoke to these experiences, asserting the right of working-class African American women to "independence, sassiness, and sexual freedom" and "implicitly arguing that [they] did not have to alter their behavior in order to be worthy of respect" (145).

In "Traditional Form, Subversive Function: Aunt Molly Jackson's Labor Struggles," Cassandra Parente examines the folk music of Appalachia, in particular the means by which it has offered rural white women rhetorical agency. Jackson, a midwife and folksinger from Harlan County, Kentucky, was deeply involved in that region's labor struggles during the 1930s. She drew upon and innovated within a rhetorical tradition in which songs were passed down to women by women and which at times served subversive functions. "Discovered" by urban intellectuals and labor leaders, Jackson gained renown, but found herself removed from the communal tradition that was the source of her ethos. Throughout, Parente challenges scholars to "understand that the construction of an individual rhetor involves the work of many hands" (174).

Women rhetors have often made use of prevailing gender norms to open a space for their rhetorical activities. In "Sweethearts of the Skies," Sara Hillin depicts the rhetorical performances of three pioneering women aviators, Amelia Earhart, Bessie Coleman, and Florence Klingensmith, arguing that their rhetorical success depended, rather, on their ability to at least partially decouple gender from their field of endeavor. Earhart's renown as a pilot allowed her to write on aviation for mixed audiences; Coleman's flying prowess afforded her a platform for promoting African American racial uplift; and Klingensmith's skills were so widely recognized that her fatal crash was read not as a fault of gender but a mark of her heroism. Presenting themselves as "aerocyborgs," inseparable from their aircraft, these women, argues Hillin, "disrupt[ed] culturally constructed norms of American womanhood" (175).

Opening the book's final section on women's participation in the academy, Risa Applegarth's "Field Guides: Women Writing Anthropology" depicts the collective efforts of women anthropologists to promote their discipline and women's participation in it—by examining two loci of community formation strategies. In the papers of Elsie Clews Parsons and Ann Axtell Morris, Applegarth finds a "rich network of women engaging in social and intellectual exchange" (198) through "backstage" (195) activities. Extending this framework to two popular field autobiographies by Morris, Applegarth finds they "functioned as rhetorical recruitment tools" (202), both inviting women into the profession and offering them elements of its procedural knowledge. By engaging with strategies of community formation, argues Applegarth, feminist scholars can "better identify significant instances of collective, not just individual, rhetorical practice" (207–8). In "Have We Not a Mind Like They?': Jovita González on Nation and Gender," Kathy Jurado examines two little-studied works by the Tejana folklorist and novelist. In her master's thesis, "Social Life in Cameron, Starr and Zapata Counties," González documents the "longstanding roots of the ethnic Mexican community in Texas" (213), challenging popular inscriptions of that community as outsiders to the region. In the short story "Shades of the Tenth Muses," González imagines a conversation between Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz and Anne Bradstreet in which the colonial Mexican poet subtly instructs the Puritan New England one in feminist principles. Throughout, argues Jurado, González "demonstrates a rhetorical reconfiguration of ethnic Mexicans and women as knowledge producers that challenges the racist and sexist discourses at the time" (210).

In "Exceptional Women': Epideictic Rhetoric and Women Scientists," Jordynn Jack documents the complex epideictic function of two popular rhetorical genres. Examining feature news articles on women scientists such as Marie Curie and Florence Sabin, Jack finds them simultaneously praising their achievements and reinscribing "conventional values of femininity" (225) by detailing their ostensible adherence to traditional gender norms or ascribing spurious "maternal" (226) exigencies to their work. Turning to career guides, Jack finds that while they offered a vision of gender equity, under that same guise they sometimes blamed women for their exclusion from science or failed to acknowledge systemic discrimination. By promoting a narrative of individual triumph and exceptionality, both genres, Jack concludes, upheld a status quo that ultimately circumscribed possibilities for women in the sciences.

In "'Long I Followed Happy Guides': Activism, Advocacy, and English Studies," Kay Halasek examines the professional lives and relationships of Adele Bildersee and her mentor, department chair Helen Gray Cone, two English faculty members at a New York normal school (now Hunter College). Halasek argues that Bildersee's 1927 textbook, *Imaginative Writing*, discounted by James A. Berlin for its expressivist pedagogy, is a much richer text when read through its fuller "biographical, institutional, historical, and cultural contexts" (241). Both women, concerned with educating women and promoting writing skills, "consciously constructed courses to situate the study of literature in a social context" (253). Situating Bildersee thus, argues Halasek, exposes a writing pedagogy that values "both personal rhetorical agency *and* communicative purposes" (255) appropriate to its local institutional context.

Women and Rhetoric between the Wars demonstrates a remarkable diversity in locating heretofore lost, underexamined, and misunderstood feminist forebears, as well as encouraging us to broaden the various rhetorical scenes we examine. Its contributors and editors have collectively done an admirable job in producing consistently cogent and readable text, making particularly effective use of the limited space a 15-essay volume allows. This work will make an outstanding volume for advanced undergraduate and graduate courses in twentieth-century women's rhetoric, and many of its essays will serve as research exemplars for burgeoning scholars.

While it is thrilling to recover these voices, especially those that might at one time have been deemed rhetorical failures or even outside of the realm of rhetorical study, this volume does suggest the need, as Carol Mattingly has argued, for more attention to the full range of women's rhetorical activities across the political spectrum. We still have too little work in rhetorical studies to compare to the body of scholarship in historical studies on, say, women's participation in the anti-suffrage movement (or race and class tensions within the suffrage movement), the home economics movement, white evangelical churches, Confederate memorial societies, or nativist or racist organizations such as the Klan. Such activities, even those painful to contemplate from a contemporary feminist perspective, are part of women's history; understanding them may also help us to better understand the fractures and fissures within contemporary feminism, the roots of which trace back at least to Seneca Falls. But no edited collection can be completely comprehensive; indeed, good scholarship exposes as many gaps as it fills. Women and Rhetoric between the Wars not only advances the conversation on a number of underexamined rhetorical figures and rhetorical scenes but should inspire a substantial body of future research as well.

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About the Author

David Gold, Associate Professor of English at the University of Michigan, is the author of *Rhetoric at the Margins: Revising the History of Writing Instruction in American Colleges, 1873–1947* (Southern Illinois UP, 2008), winner of the 2010 CCCC Outstanding Book Award, and essays on rhetorical history and historiographic practice; with Catherine L. Hobbs, he coedited *Rhetoric, History, and Women's Oratorical Education: American Women Learn to Speak* (Routledge, 2013) and coauthored *Educating the New Southern Woman: Speech, Writing, and Race at the Public Women's Colleges, 1884–1945* (Southern Illinois UP, 2014). He is currently studying women's participation in the elocution movement.

Gold, David, and Catherine L. Hobbs, eds. Rhetoric, History, and Women's Oratorical Education: American Women Learn to Speak. New York: Taylor & Francis, 2013. Print

Kristine Johnson

Scholarly efforts to position women in rhetorical history first addressed women as writers, placing them into established narratives of rhetoric and composition. Feminist rhetorical scholars are now expanding this work into material rhetorics, public and private rhetorical practices, and overlooked time periods—and they are doing so with broader definitions of rhetoric and rhetorical education. Rhetoric, History, and Women's Oratorical Education: American Women Learn to Speak reflects this new agenda and draws attention to a wide range of spoken rhetorical practices including etiquette, conversation, and elocution. David Gold and Catherine Hobbs define the scope of the collection in expansive terms: oratorical education refers to "any educational practice that promotes the ability to instruct, delight, move, or engage in conversation with an audience, whatever its size" (4). Many chapters in the collection address individual women and their oratorical practices, and readers interested in specific women or historical moments will find thorough essays based on extensive archival research. As a collection, Rhetoric, History, and Women's Oratorical *Education* highlights several themes of interest to feminist rhetorical scholars, including material and bodily rhetorics, race and class, and the nature of the public and private spheres.

The collection opens with three essays on oratorical education in the early republic, each of which reveals how rhetoric and oratory were used to subvert and maintain prevailing gender roles and political ideologies. M. Amanda Moulder, in "By Women, You Were Brought Forth into This World," analyzes two speeches given in 1781 by Nanye'hi, a Cherokee woman living in what is now northeast Tennessee. These speeches, delivered to a white, male audience during treaty negotiations, are notable because they effectively used irony and invoked matrilineality, the clan structure that gave Cherokee women political, economic, and discursive power based on their reproductive power. In "A Vapour Which Appears for but a Moment," Carolyn Eastman explores oratorical education in female academies. Perhaps surprisingly, teaching girls oratory "virtually never required justification or debate" (43) in part because female education was though to produce better wives and more socially advantageous marriages. Although both boys and girls were taught belletristic

rhetoric from Blair, girls were taught to begin their speeches with apologies for their "feeble efforts" (45) and to include other hedges that indicated modesty and female excellence. Annmarie Valdes examines the influence of belletristic rhetoric on one woman, Eleanor (Nelly) Parke Custis Lewis—a granddaughter of Martha Washington who was informally adopted by the Washingtons. In "Speaking and Writing in Conversation," Valdes traces Scottish Enlightenment influences in letters from Nelly to Elizabeth Bordley Gibson: a focus on beauty and taste, attention to important literary figures, and an appreciation of *discourse* that fosters conversation about significant social and political issues.

As American entered the nineteenth century, women negotiated conflicting ideals: at the same time they were encouraged to learn oratory, practice elocution, and speak publicly, they were held to standards of modesty and femininity. The second section of the collection articulates these tensions as they existed in educational and public spaces. In "Negotiating Conflicting Views of Women and Elocution," Jane Donawerth examines three rhetorical handbooks written by women to uncover contradictory perspectives. She finds, for example, that although Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps strongly advocated rhetorical education and reading aloud in her Lectures to Young Ladies, she nonetheless endorsed corsets and distrusted "bodily freedom and expression for women" (82); at the same time, Florence Hartley denounced corsets but saw the ability to read aloud as only a social grace. Kristen Garrison, in "To Supply this Deficiency," analyzes Margaret Fuller's 1839–1943 Boston Conversations as informal rhetorical education for middle-class women in conversation, systematic thought, and precise speaking (110). Along with other women studied in this collection, Fuller was influenced by eighteenth-century rhetorical theory, and Garrison argues that Whatley's The Elements of Rhetoric "influenced the very purpose and subject matter of the Conversations" (100). In "God Sees Me," Elizabethada Wright offers insight into Roman Catholic education in the late nineteenth century, specifically rhetorical education at St. Mary-of-the-Woods in Indiana. The school for girls functioned on intricate systems of internal and external surveillance, and teachers and students were publicly visible through performances and declamations. This constant surveillance may suggest the girls were subjugated, yet Wright argues the public demonstrations actually encouraged and rewarded oratory, helping girls become comfortable speaking to public audiences.

Composition scholarship often characterizes the turn of the century in terms of current traditional rhetoric, an era when women entered American colleges and normal schools in increasing numbers. In the third section of the collection, Lisa Suter and Paige Banaji explore instead how the New Elocutionists revived elocution in the Delsarte movement. Suter argues in "The Arguments They Wore" that Delsartists wore togas for rhetorical effect: they invoked classical orators, signifying their rhetorical education and fitness for public life. Togas also served as a conciliatory gesture to audiences because they were vaguely feminine and modest, enabling women to avoid criticisms associated with contemporary reform dress. Banaji focuses on the relationship between elocution and physical culture, noting that the Delsarte movement brought gymnastics and calisthenics into elocutionary education. In "Womanly Eloquence and Rhetorical Bodies," she explores how the Delsartists revived the classical idea of bodily eloquence in specifically feminine and increasingly public terms.

The final section of the collection includes three essays on women rhetors in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Nancy Myers reads Emily Post's 1922 Etiquette in Society, in Business, in Politics and at Home as a "rhetoric of self-reliance" that offered strategies for greater social mobility (178). In "Rethinking Etiquette," Myers outlines the ways in which the Etiquette offers women instruction in conversation, rhetorical invention, bodily gestures, and politeness—instruction that was particularly important as women entered public life in new ways. Two generations after Emily Post, Barbara Jordan was the first African American woman elected as to represent a southern state in the United States House of Representatives. Linda Ferreira-Buckley, in "Remember the World Is Not a Playground but a Schoolroom," examines how Jordan carried her oratorical training into her political career. African American public schools in Texas and the Southern Baptist Church encouraged girls to participate in oral performance, training them in declamation and forensics. Finally, in "Learning Not to Preach," Emily Murphy Cope explains how Beth Moore has recently become a popular figure in the evangelical movement despite prohibitions on women preachers. By blurring the genres of Bible study (appropriate for women) and preaching (appropriate only for men), Moore preaches to large audiences of women through her dialogical, collaborative video messages.

Rhetoric, History, and Women's Oratorical Education addresses a regionally, racially, and socioeconomically diverse group of women. Taken together, these essays speak strongly to the relationship among women, the private sphere, and the public sphere. Discussions of public rhetoric often suppose a male public sphere (associated with oratory) and a female private sphere and both spheres are assumed to be not only separate but also quite stable during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The collection first demonstrates that women were not simply restricted to the private sphere. Women orators in fact participated in the public sphere as it is conventionally understood: Moulder finds early Cherokee women in treaty negotiations, and Buckley chronicles the oratorical education of an American politician. Beyond this clear public participation, oratorical education for women took place in public and aimed toward public life. Eastman and Wright describe how young girls publicly performed declamations, readings, and debates, and the quality of their education was accountable to the public—to towns and churches and citizens. In their work on Delsarte, Suter and Banaji frame the movement as elocutionary education concerned with public participation, intended to "level the competitive playing field of life" and prepare women for diverse rhetorical situations (Suter 134). Women entered the public sphere carrying conflicting, gendered expectations, but these essays affirm that women nonetheless participated in public discourse and taught each other how to enter the public sphere.

Ultimately this collection also complicates the idea that the public and private spheres were separate and stable, directing attention to the hybrid spaces women orators have occupied. Although Valdes addresses letter writing—perhaps ordinarily understood as a private rhetorical practice—she frames it as an act of public participation implicated in societal and political issues. Margaret Fuller hosted the Boston Conversations in a bookstore, a space with public and private attributes, and she taught women how to participate in philosophical discussions on public issues (Garrison). And in the 1920s, learning etiquette prepared women to participate in the social sphere; Emily Post demonstrated how "understanding rhetorical situations in the home can help a woman's self-reliance extend to more public situations" (Myers 191). American women have done significant oratorical work in the public sphere and hybrid spaces, and *Rhetoric, History, and Women's Oratorical Education* chronicles the ways that women constructed and participated in these spaces.

About the Author

Kristine Johnson is assistant professor of English at Xavier University, where she directs the writing program and teaches courses in first-year writing, peer tutoring, professional writing, and composition theory. She studied Rhetoric and Composition at Purdue University, and her work has also appeared in *Rhetoric Review, Pedagogy, Writing Program Administration*, and *College Composition and Communication*. Her work on Dorothy Day as a public rhetor has been published in *The Journal of Communication and Religion*. In September 2014, she will join the English department at Calvin College.

Triece, Mary E. Tell It Like It Is: Women in the National Welfare Rights Movement. University of S. Carolina P. 2013. Print.

Rebecca Dingo

Mary E. Triece's Tell It Like It Is offers feminist rhetorical scholars interested in the history of women's rhetorical practices new methodologies for situating those rhetorical practices within wider political, social, and economic contexts. In the spirit of books like Lindal Buchanan's Regendering Delivery, Nan Johnson's Gender and Rhetorical Space, 1866-1910, Roxanne Mountford's The Gendered Pulpit, and Jessica Enoch's Refiguring Rhetorical Education: Women Teaching African American, Native American, and Chicana/o Students 1865-1911, Tell It Like It Is importantly demonstrates how women, even in dire circumstances, use each other for support to create both eloquent and witty arguments that not only explain their own struggles against poverty but also expose the classed, gendered, and raced differences between them and policy makers. As a result, Triece's book also complements and extends Jacqueline Jones Royster and Gesa Kirsch's book Feminist Rhetorical Practices: New Horizons for Rhetoric, Composition, and Literacy Studies, as it offers a rhetorical analysis of more contemporary women's rhetorical practices and grounded theories. Additionally, Tell It Like It Is offers methods for feminist rhetorical scholars to engage with texts situated within specific gendered, economic, social, and political contexts by using black feminist and feminist theory. Centering on the speech acts and use of bodily and activist rhetoric of members of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), established in 1967, Triece's study importantly highlights the ability of welfare rights activist women from this time to demonstrate agency under social and economic constraints (especially under the intersections of extreme racism and sexism) and shows the usefulness and importance of lived experience for making knowledgeable and credible rhetorical claims. Thus, for scholars and students working in the area of feminist rhetoric and especially feminist rhetorical historiography, this book importantly demonstrates how to study an archive of women's speech acts and activism while attending to the ways that race, class, gender, economics, and state and geopolitics impact and compel those speech acts/activism.

Yet, of equal importance, this book offers a way for scholars to explicate the explanatory power of historical materialist methods just as feminist rhetoricians continue to hone their methods for examining modes of oppression and possibilities for rhetorical intervention. As a strong demonstration of how Triece treats her archive (and indeed the women she is representing), she advocates for historical materialism precisely because it accounts for identity politics within geopolitical and national politics in her analysis of the women's speech acts. Historical materialism, Triece shows, makes it possible for scholars to "affirm human capacity without subscribing to a naïve account of subjectivity that ignores discursive and structural constraints of the actor" (21). In other words, Triece importantly makes clear that agency is not a thing inherently possessed by individuals but that it is a "situated intervention" that emerges in the dialectical struggle between subjectivity and structure. Triece's intervention uniquely draws from feminist standpoint theory and black feminist scholars and thus sees agency and its relationship to individual speech acts as something that an individual does not organically possess, but rather as cultivated when individuals work in a group to begin to reflect upon, examine, and then act to change their life circumstances. As a result, one of Triece's core feminist rhetorical theoretical interventions is her conceptualization of "agency as dialect" (21), which she describes as a three phase process: the development of critical awareness; the mass collecting of first-hand experience; and then how that awareness and experience is mobilized publicly through activism or other modes of public expression. Each chapter in the book addresses one of these phases.

In the first chapter, Triece lays out the theoretical assumptions that undergird her analysis of welfare rights rhetoric throughout the remainder of the book. In Triece's study, an individual's activism and speech acts are aided by reflection and conversation with other welfare recipients who share common experiences and thus justify, affirm, and give credence to those experiences. Consequently, Triece draws her readers' attention to the importance of accounting for historical materialism within the context of oppression. In doing so, in Chapter One Triece introduces the term "reality referencing," which she describes as "both a strategy and an epistemological stance that calls up the interplay among experience, consciousness, and rhetorical intervention" (23). For Triece, existing life experiences can influence communication strategies for social change and these life experiences give speakers and their arguments authority. The chapters that follow demonstrate how a marginalized group can "make epistemological claims to knowing" (39) not only through their words but also their choices to be present at some events and not others, direct action, and even bodily presence (or absence) in the welfare debates of the 1960s and '70s.

Drawing from feminist standpoint theory, Chapter Two examines how welfare rights activists cultivated a critical awareness of their collective experiences as poor black women and then used that awareness in their public speaking and extradiscursive actions focused on changing welfare policy and the welfare system. Triece places archival research, specifically the speech acts and activist activities of figures like Johnnie Tillmon, the founder of Aid to Needy Children-Mothers Anonymous, in conversation with Black feminist theorists such as Patricia Hill-Collins to show how these welfare recipients drew from first hand experience and consciousness raising to create collective agency to respond to discriminatory economic and political structures. Building on Chapter Two, Chapter Three introduces several new key figures in the welfare rights movement including Beulah Sanders, Joy Stanley, Simone St. Jock, and Betty Meredith, each of whom offered testimonies at welfare hearings. This chapter focuses specifically on how these women rhetorically represented themselves as credible workers deserving of solid employment and as mothers deserving of welfare support in order to stay home with their children (especially after years of forced and exploitative labor). In doing so they drew attention to the dually racist and sexist assumptions policy makers made about welfare recipients while also exposing the contradictions of the ideograph "opportunity" for their lives where there have been few viable opportunities. Triece's rhetorical analysis in this chapter clearly illustrates how welfare recipients worked against the stereotype of the "chiseler," a racist ideology that presumed black women as employable regardless of their status as mothers and that also rhetorically constructed black women as always avoiding labor. She analyzes how welfare recipients drew important attention to the fact that their poverty was rooted in social and economic systems and not due to a lack personal choice or to the fact that they did not embrace opportunities.

As an example of this, one of Chapter Three's most notable contributions to the field of feminist rhetorical study is the importance of scholars looking not only at earnest and political rhetorical agency but also humor and exaggeration of the obvious, or as the title of the book so clearly describes it, "telling it like it is." To illustrate, during her speech to the Pima County Welfare Rights Organization, Tillmon states: "The best way to get me to work is to pay me a decent salary. Folks tell us we have to be making an honest living—what's so honest about slinging a mop for \$1.25 an hour?" As this instance exhibits, Tillmon exposes the limitations to the notion of opportunity by showing that unless opportunities pay they are not really opportunities but another form of exploitative labor. In Chapters Three and Four Triece continues by showing how welfare recipients actively made clear how race and exploitation within a capitalist system work alongside the welfare state to ensure a pool of desperate and cheap laborers. Chapter Four begins by exploring the dominant discourses about African American motherhood and shows how policy makers used arguments about African American women's social and biological degeneracy to garner national support for their policies. Much like Chapters

Two and Three, then, this chapter shows how welfare recipients used spirited rhetoric to expose this racist and sexist discourse.

Chapter Five ends the body of the book by shifting gears slightly to explore how welfare recipients used direct actions to try and make policy makers see their economic and political influence on recipients' private lives. Situating this chapter within classic definitions of rhetoric as persuasion—and specifically using the art of persuasion to change attitudes and actions—as well as contemporary feminist approaches to rhetoric—as invitational, as a way to develop relationships rooted in equality and collectivity (see Foss and Griffin)— Triece offers new examples of persuasion rooted in what she describes as a tradition of black women's resistance and militant motherhood. In this final chapter, Triece explores how welfare recipients brought their children to political events and welfare hearings to show how discrimination against them as black women and mothers trickled down to impact their children. For example, during the National Governors Conference in 1972, welfare activists skirted the secret service to enter the conference and asked Gov. Nelson Rockefeller to be allowed to speak. Rockefeller, however lectured the women and their children, instead suggesting that welfare recipients took part in welfare fraud. In the spirit of "telling it like is" and African American women's talking back, one of the activists replied, "The Fraud is when people like Reagan don't pay taxes" thereby making "[their children] starve" (103). In this instance, the activists' bodily presence with their children and their speaking back disrupted business as usual and made clear that activists needed to be part of the decisions that policy makers made that impacted the recipients' lives.

Overall, Triece's book offers scholars not only theoretical intervention into historiography but, as the conclusion of the book makes clear, she also offers insight into praxis. In the conclusion, *Tell It Like It Is* extends its focus to the twenty-first century where the author connects praxis to neoliberal policies that continue to marginalize the poor. She makes clear that as scholars it is our job not only to uncover rhetorical practices but to engage with politics and promote activist rhetoricians who draw attention to the connection between governmental policies, labor conditions, and people's abilities to survive in a neoliberal economy.

Ultimately, for the fields of rhetoric and communication studies at large, Triece emphasizes that as scholars address agency and oppression they must consider how agency and oppression relate to and are informed by political, social, and economic policies and contexts; these contexts can also notably create possibilities for agency and rhetorical intervention. From the very start of the book, *Tell It Like It Is*, author Mary E. Triece demonstrates a rare humility with her archive of speeches, welfare hearings, conversations between and among welfare rights organizers, and interviews with welfare recipients from

the late 1960s/early 1970s. As she asserts early in the book, within the field of rhetoric and communication studies there has been little research or attention paid to how poor women on welfare represent themselves and even less work examining how they cultivate personal and collective agency in creative and often unacknowledged ways. Triece's study then importantly highlights the ability of welfare rights activist women from this time to demonstrate agency under extreme racism and sexism and shows how lived experience and community involvement can be the basis for credible and well-informed rhetorical claims. She importantly situates the speech acts in her archive within the social, political, and economic milieu of the late 1960s and 1970s global capitalism and illustrates how policy makers employed gendered and raced stereotypes of women to justify arguments about national labor demands and welfare policy restrictions. In doing so, she documents how those policy makers also used raced, gendered, and economic arguments to scapegoat black female welfare recipients and ultimately keep them in poverty. Then, turning to the speech acts given by welfare recipients from the NWRO, Triece productively shows how, through speaking back and using direct action, these women confronted policy makers and the state, drawing attention to the complications they experienced of being poor and on welfare, working in low-waged labor, raising children, and having to be under the surveillance and management of caseworkers. More to the point, for rhetorical scholars to fully understand agency within the confines of oppression they must look beyond an individual speaker and look at a wider community functioning under particular social, economic, and even geopolitical constraints. For "telling it like it is" does not happen organically only from within a speaker; rather for an audience to truly understand the material and social limitations of oppressive regimes like welfare policy, several activists must "tell it like it is" so that rhetoricians speak not only as a singular voice but as a community of voices that echo one another.

About the Author

Dr. Rebecca Dingo is an associate professor in Women's and Gender Studies and English (rhetoric and composition) at the University of Missouri where she has also served as the Director of Undergraduate Studies for Women's and Gender Studies. She has published several articles and has published two books on this topic: *Networking Arguments: Rhetoric, Transnational Feminism, and Public Policy Writing* and *The Megarhetorics of Globalized Development* (edited with J. Blake Scott). She is currently writing another book on the rhetoric of anti-gender oppression campaigns, focusing specifically on those that target girls in the two-thirds world. Rebecca is the recipient of the South Africa Linkages Grant, two University of Missouri Research Council Grants, and a University of Missouri Research Board Grant.



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