REGENDERING DELIVERY

The Fifth Canon and Antebellum Women Rhetors

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Illustrations

Tables

1. Distribution of genres in Sanders's school readers and speakers 32
2. Prevalence of themes in Sanders's school readers and speakers 33
3. Gender and textbooks' coverage of elocution 38

Figures

1.1. *Actio* in *Sanders' School Speaker,* 1857 36
2.1. Young ladies on the academic platform, 1816 43
2.2. The exhibition room at the Troy Female Seminary 52
2.3. Oberlin's Young Ladies' Course Catalogue, 1849–1850 64
2.4. Olympia Brown and Antioch's class of 1860 70
3.1. Emma Willard 81
3.2. The reading rhetor 86
3.3. Sarah Grimké 92
3.4. Angelina Grimké 92
3.5. Catharine Beecher, 1860 97
4.1. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Harriot Stanton, 1856 107
4.2. Abby Kelley Foster, 1846 111
4.3. Frances Wright 123
4.4. Antoinette Brown Blackwell and Florence Blackwell, 1857 125
5.1. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, 1870 132
5.2. The collaborative continuum 135
5.3. Sojourner Truth 137
5.4. Lucy Stone and Alice Stone Blackwell, 1858 145
5.5. Mary Ann Shadd 149
5.6. James and Lucretia Mott, 1842 151

Introduction

Gender and Rhetorical Delivery

When Lucy Stone began lecturing for the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1848, she plunged into a hectic touring schedule that often required her to make "six speeches in five different towns" within a single week (Kerr 50). In the course of these talks, Stone and other antislavery agents routinely confronted rowdy and hostile crowds, whose antics ranged from throwing hymn books, eggs, pepper, and tobacco plugs at speakers to tarring and feathering them. Therefore, for the sake of survival, antislavery agents learned to read and handle audiences adeptly, an ability at which Stone excelled as an incident from one of her early speaking tours suggests.

Stone was participating in an open-air antislavery meeting in Cape Cod, Massachusetts, when an angry mob gathered, "looking so black and ugly, and so evidently meaning mischief, that the speakers one by one got down from the platform and quietly slipped away," all, that is, but Stone and fellow agent Stephen Foster (Blackwell 80). As the throng grew increasingly antagonistic, petite, one-hundred-pound Stone urged Foster to run and save himself, assuring him that she would be fine:

> At that moment, the mob made a rush, and one of the ringleaders, a big man with a club in his hand, sprang up on the platform. Lucy turned to him and said, without hesitation, "This gentleman will take care of me." It touched his feelings, and he declared that he would. Taking her upon one arm, and holding his club in the other hand, he started to march her out through the mob, who were roughly handling Mr. Foster, and such of the other speakers as they had been able to catch. On the way, she talked to him; and presently he mounted her on a stump, and stood by her with his club while she addressed the mob. She made them so ashamed of themselves that they not only desisted from further violence, but took up a collection of twenty dollars on the spot, to pay

> Mr. Foster for his coat, which they had torn in two from top to bottom, half of them hauling him one way and half the other. (Blackwell 80–81)

Stone wields the rhetoric of gender to defuse a dangerous situation. She uses the term *gentleman* and thereby elicits chivalrous behavior, places her hand on her assailant's elbow and thereby invites protection, converses steadily with the mobster-turned-bodyguard, and thereby creates connection. Then, with his assistance, she repositions the speaker's platform and addresses the crowd from a tree stump. This incident includes a remarkable series of negotiations involving gender and discursive performance, but if we try to analyze it via the fifth rhetorical canon, the most interesting aspects of the event—namely, Stone's strategic use of gender norms and deployment of space—must go unaddressed because they are not conventionally recognized as components of delivery.

The traditional fifth canon—variously described as *hypokrisis*, elocution, and delivery over the centuries—examines how orators convey their messages in terms of volume and tone, rhythm and speed, gesture, movement, and expression. In particular, the fifth canon focuses on two distinct facets of rhetorical presentation: *pronuntiatio*, the vocal elements of delivery, and *actio*, the gestural. Vocal considerations might include the proper pronunciation of vowels and consonants, the correct accentuation of syllables, the appropriate emphasis of words and phrases, the effective use of pauses or stops, the distinction between vocal tone and key, and the proper management of the voice. Gestural considerations, on the other hand, might address how facial expression, physical positioning, posture, and movement convey emotion or construct ethos. Although *pronuntiatio* and *actio* are certainly central to any study of delivery, rhetorical performance involves additional issues and concerns as well that the traditional fifth canon simply does not acknowledge.

For example, although the physical and vocal concerns of delivery initially appear relevant to all public speakers, closer scrutiny of the canon soon reveals masculinist biases and assumptions. Delivery has not pertained equally to both men and women because, for millennia, women were culturally prohibited from standing and speaking in public, their voices and forms acceptable only in the spectator role (if at all). Thus, women were systematically discouraged from the very actions that constitute delivery, a matter unrecognized in the traditional fifth canon. Because of women's exclusion from the public sphere, the canon only needed to address masculine issues of rhetorical performance. Once seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century women began to defy convention and address audiences in religious, theatrical, and civic settings, female speakers discovered powerful undercurrents at play in public spaces. Women rhetors, for instance, automatically incurred suspicions of sexual and moral impropriety, suspicions that did *not* routinely plague male speakers; however, the social and ideological forces that shaped women's rhetorical performances are, again, not recognized in the traditional fifth canon. Indeed, I would argue that when researchers' attention is focused too narrowly on the voice, gesture, and expression of the good woman speaking well, much that is germane to her delivery is overlooked. Clearly, the traditional fifth canon is in need of renovation.

I suggest we begin the task by recognizing that rhetorical delivery is a socially situated act and that the surrounding context exerts enormous pressure on the speaker, imposing constraints, affording compensating strategies, and establishing audience expectations. Change the speaker, change the space, change the time period, and the surrounding constraints, strategies, and expectations change, too. Delivery involves far more than a speaker's use of voice, gesture, and expression on a public platform; it involves complex interplay among a speaker, an audience, and a plethora of social and ideological factors. Roxanne Mountford reaches a similar conclusion in *The Gendered Pulpit: Preaching in American Protestant Spaces* (2003), her study of three contemporary women ministers:

> Delivery involves space, the body, and the place of both in the social imaginary. Delivery involves historical concepts of the public and private spheres. As an art, delivery is creative, progressive, active, mobile; it promotes and reflects relationships. . . . Delivery is based in and on cultural norms and the breaking of those norms. (152)

It follows, then, that since a speaker's delivery unfolds in social surroundings, her performance should be read in relation to them.

Positioning delivery in a particular social and historical context dramatically alters the scope of the fifth canon, which continues to address the speaker's use of voice and body, of course, but also interprets that performance in relation to the larger cultural currents that envelop and affect it. Such analysis necessitates expanding one's focus from the speaker's performance onstage to include offstage elements not normally associated with delivery. Thus, a socially situated fifth canon might examine who is permitted or denied access to the public platform as well as how rhetors obtain an education to prepare for public speaking. It might identify the types of rhetorical constraints imposed upon particular groups in particular contexts as well as the strategies devised by groups to honor, circumvent, or revise those constraints. Additionally, in order to understand the many variables that inform (and are reflected

in) an orator's delivery, it might review earlier stages of the rhetorical process, addressing the speaker's strategies of invention, research, drafting, and revision. Finally, it might consider such unconventional rhetorical factors as the behind-the-scenes arrangements needed for nonprivileged groups to reach public platforms in the first place.

Envisioning delivery as socially situated public performance affords scholars a useful site for investigating how a variable like gender (or sexuality, race, religion, nationality, ethnicity, age, class, disability, and so on) affects rhetoric. It also offers them a window for viewing the speaker's performance of gender and rhetoric in relation to a particular social context, which ultimately, of course, involves issues of power. A socially situated fifth canon requires a broader analytical framework, one that encompasses the speaker onstage as well as the setting that surrounds her. Indeed, extending the fifth canon's scope is absolutely essential if scholars hope to understand how gender affects delivery and, consequently, how delivery differs for women and men. Therefore, my analysis will enlarge conventional boundaries around the speaker in order to consider how cultural context, gender conventions, elocutionary education, sexuality, maternity, feminine ethos, rhetorical process, and collaboration inform women's delivery. Although this exploration is wide ranging, I am not suggesting that delivery should be erased as a viable canon or key aspect of public address. A fifth canon grounded in context may at times stray far from the public platform, but it always returns to the speaker as its central interest, interpreting her public performance in relation to surrounding social, cultural, and ideological forces.

My interest in the intersection of gender and delivery was initially piqued by scholarship that uncovered gender biases within the overarching discipline of rhetoric itself, which, until recently, was the undisputed "property of men, particularly men of property" (Connors, *Composition* 24). Feminist scholars first challenged male-centered rhetorical histories by recovering long-neglected women rhetors. Lillian O'Connor's *Pioneer Women Orators: Rhetoric in the Ante-Bellum Reform Movement* (1954), for example, identifies the unique rhetorical obstacles confronting early women rhetors as well as their strategic uses of ethical, logical, and pathetic appeals. Similarly, Karlyn Kohrs Campbell's *Man Cannot Speak for Her: A Critical Study of Early Feminist Rhetoric* (1989) reclaims the primary texts and details the distinctive rhetorical style of American women rhetors.

These landmark studies launched an avalanche of research aimed at recuperating the texts and accomplishments of women speakers. Cheryl Glenn's

Rhetoric Retold: Regendering the Tradition from Antiquity Through the Renaissance (1997) theorizes the need for and demonstrates the potential of regendered rhetorical history through its examination of overlooked figures, from Aspasia and Diotima to Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe. Particularly germane to my study is the rich and diverse body of work produced by scholars in communication studies, rhetoric, and history examining the public discourse of nineteenth-century American women. A number of important essays highlighting the ingenuity of ante- and postbellum women rhetors have appeared in such edited collections as Catherine Hobbs's *Nineteenth-Century Women Learn to Write* (1995), Andrea Lunsford's *Reclaiming Rhetorica: Women in the Rhetorical Tradition* (1995), Molly Wertheimer's *Listening to Their Voices: The Rhetorical Activities of Historical Women* (1997), and Christine Sutherland and Rebecca Sutcliffe's *Changing Tradition: Women in the History of Rhetoric* (1999). Significant books in this area include Carol Mattingly's *Well-Tempered Women: Nineteenth-Century Temperance Rhetoric* (1998), which details the rhetorical acumen of temperance reformers, including Amelia Bloomer, Frances Willard, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Carla Peterson's *"Doers of the Word": African American Women Speakers and Writers in the North (1830–1880)* (1995), Shirley Wilson Logan's *"We Are Coming": The Persuasive Discourse of Nineteenth-Century Black Women* (1999), and Jacqueline Royster's *Traces of a Stream: Literacy and Social Change among African-American Women* (2000) recover the legacy of African-American women orators and writers and explore how gender intersects with race and class to create a multiplicity of women's rhetorics. Stephen Browne's *Angelina Grimké: Rhetoric, Identity, and the Radical Imagination* (1999) analyzes how the pioneering antebellum lecturer crafted a prophetic identity in order to advance abolition and woman's rights. Feminist historiographers have also begun to challenge conventional definitions of what counts as rhetorical evidence. Nan Johnson's *Gender and Rhetorical Space in American Life, 1866–1910* (2002) studies parlor rhetorics, Carol Mattingly's *Appropriate[ing] Dress: Women's Rhetorical Style in Nineteenth-Century America* (2002) explores women's fashions, and Susan Zaeske's *Signatures of Citizenship: Petitioning, Antislavery, and Women's Political Identity* (2003) details reform women's use of petitioning.[1]

In addition to revising the discipline's historical narratives, feminist scholars have also scrutinized rhetorical precepts through the lens of gender and, whenever necessary, have developed "alternate critical and theoretical frameworks" to reconceptualize them (Campbell, "Consciousness" 51). These feminist revisions of rhetoric have taken a variety of forms. Sonja Foss, Cindy

Griffin, and Karen Foss, for example, have sought to redefine rhetoric, moving away from an agonistic, Aristotelian concentration on discovering available means of persuasion and moving toward an invitational approach that values "feminist principles of equality, immanent value, and self-determination" (31). Another tactic for revising rhetoric consists of identifying the ways in which a universalized or prototypical male speaker inhabits rhetorical precepts and then challenging the resulting assumptions and exclusions. Lisa Ede, Cheryl Glenn, and Andrea Lunsford undertake precisely this project in "Border Crossings: Intersections of Rhetoric and Feminism" (1995). They argue the importance of recasting the five-part classical canon (consisting of invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery) by situating a gendered rhetor within a "larger context of personal, social, economic, cultural, and ideological forces," noting whom that context includes and supports as well as whom it excludes and silences (412). Collectively, these fine works provide the foundation upon which mine is built.

Regendering Delivery: The Fifth Canon and Antebellum Women Rhetors contributes to ongoing feminist efforts to revise the history and conceptual groundings of rhetoric by focusing on the changes that occur when a particularly situated woman, rather than a man, delivers public discourse. Nineteenth-century America provides a rich locus for regendering the fifth canon, first, because of the period's deep resistance to women's delivery and, second, because of the large numbers of women who, nevertheless, elected to speak publicly in order to advance social justice and improvement. Although a rhetor can address an audience or deliver a message through oral, textual, or visual means, I concentrate primarily on the first, examining how women used voice, gesture, movement, and expression on public platforms in an antebellum social context.

To trace the contours of a regendered and retheorized fifth canon, I ground my analysis in the rhetorical practices of pioneering American women rhetors, identifying the gender constructs promoted in the surrounding context and examining how speakers honored or modified those constructs in their public performances.[2] In the process, I address a series of questions concerning late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century women. Where, for instance, and when did American women typically learn about elocution? How and where did they hone the skills needed for public speaking? What distinctive styles of delivery did women develop and employ once they began to address civic matters? What unique audience considerations arose when women, rather than men, spoke publicly? How did the body, especially pregnancy,

affect women's rhetorical delivery? What kinds of offstage assistance did antebellum women require in order to stand and deliver discourse on public platforms? In a quest for answers to these questions, *Regendering Delivery: The Fifth Canon and Antebellum Women Rhetors* moves chronologically through the life cycle, beginning with schoolgirls in the academy and progressing to mature women rhetors in public and private spaces. Furthermore, it examines the rhetorical practices of a wide variety of American women, including former slaves and social aristocrats, northerners and southerners, religious and secular women.

Chapter 1, "Readers and Rhetors: Schoolgirls' Formal Elocutionary Instruction," challenges conventional wisdom holding that late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century women received no formal elocutionary training because of their exclusion from higher education and the public sphere. Schoolbooks tell a different story. Reading was one of the few nongendered school subjects, and it served as a staple of the curriculum throughout the colonial, early national, and antebellum periods. Therefore, when eighteenth-century reading textbooks began to incorporate elocutionary instruction as well as reading selections, both girls and boys learned formal precepts of delivery. Furthermore, reading selections typically included orations, debates, and declamations, thereby providing schoolgirls with models of civic discourse for imitation, adaptation, and appropriation. Eighteenth-century school readers thus contributed to women's rhetorical education in important ways. In the nineteenth century, however, school readers began to adjust coverage and content according to gender. Readers targeting a male audience continued to cover the full range of elocutionary matter, addressing both *actio* and *pronuntiatio*, while those directed toward female or mixed-sex audiences limited coverage chiefly to *pronuntiatio*. I suggest that gender differences apparent in textbooks' coverage of elocution reflect an educational backlash that developed in response to antebellum women's heightened presence in public forums, a result stemming, in part, from the elocutionary knowledge they had obtained through reading instruction. As the connection between education and women's rhetorical delivery became apparent, institutions and educators modified instructional materials to make full elocutionary knowledge less accessible to schoolgirls.

Chapter 2, "Practicing Delivery: Young Ladies on the Academic Platform," addresses another significant but little studied site of women's rhetorical education. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, schools regularly provided girls and boys opportunities for oral display both in the classroom and at public exhibitions, forums I describe as academic platforms. Typical student

exercises included reading compositions, performing dialogues or skits, debating, declaiming, or orating to mixed-sex audiences, and schoolgirls often used these occasions to examine such gender issues as women's education and social roles. Carrying forward the notion of educational backlash examined in chapter 1, I argue that once antebellum women adapted the rhetorical abilities acquired in sanctioned school settings to previously prohibited public venues, controversy increased concerning schoolgirls' performances on academic platforms as well. As women petitioned political bodies for legislative changes, asked the powerful to fund educational and philanthropic projects, organized and directed benevolent and reform associations, lectured to mixed-sex audiences on political topics, and preached in churches and camp meetings, young women's access to academic platforms became more tightly policed. Common school educators debated whether schoolgirls' public displays damaged feminine character while coeducational colleges vacillated over women's participation in mixed-sex rhetoric classes, literary societies, and public exhibitions. Despite widespread institutional resistance, many female students fought for access to academic platforms and, when unsuccessful, created extracurricular venues in which to obtain the elocutionary training and practice they desired.

Chapter 3, "Performing Gender and Rhetoric: 'Feminine' and 'Masculine' Delivery Styles," turns from schoolgirls' acquisition to women's application of elocutionary abilities. As antebellum women emerged as civic rhetors during the 1820s and 1830s, two distinct manners of delivery became apparent. The feminine delivery style was unlikely to challenge or alienate audiences, succeeding through a number of strategies that complemented conventional gender ideals. Women rhetors who employed this style might read their addresses from a seated position or, when addressing large or mixed-sex audiences, sit silently onstage while men delivered their speeches for them. The masculine delivery style, on the other hand, was initially more shocking to spectators. Its practitioners unapologetically stood and spoke directly to listeners of both sexes, thereby embracing a delivery style typically used by men. After contrasting the rhetorical strategies and gender ideals associated with these two manners of delivery, I examine why the feminine style, despite its undeniable success and effectiveness, has been forgotten while the masculine style has been celebrated in historical and canonical treatments of nineteenth-century rhetors. I conclude that the feminine delivery style, although highly unconventional in terms of the traditional fifth canon, merits recognition and acknowledgment within the discipline.

Chapter 4, "Delivering Discourse and Children: The Maternal Difficulty," explores the challenges that public performance posed for women who delivered discourse *and* children, in other words, for those who were both speakers and mothers. Although maternity's shaping force in the lives of nineteenth-century women is well-traveled terrain in history and literary studies, it has largely been ignored in rhetoric. The antebellum maternal rhetor's particular constraints and compensating strategies, however, highlight the ways in which gender affects rhetorical delivery. For example, maternal speakers not only had to negotiate the visual rhetoric of pregnancy on the public platform but also had to reassure the audience that their public appearance did not entail the neglect of either their homes or families, justifications *not* required of paternal speakers. Furthermore, maternal obligations often determined the arc of women's rhetorical careers, sometimes interrupting or delaying them for years or decades. Thus, antebellum women's tandem delivery of children and discourse intersected in complicated ways, and its study can provide insights into gender's impact on rhetorical performance.

Chapter 5, "Forging and Firing Thunderbolts: Collaboration and Women's Delivery," examines the network of behind-the-scenes relationships that surrounded and supported antebellum women rhetors. Although such a framework is unorthodox in studies of the fifth canon, which traditionally focus upon the solitary public speaker, it is necessary if scholars are to do justice to the complexities of women's rhetorical production and delivery in hostile surroundings. Antebellum women collaborated with families, friends, and hired help in order to negotiate conflicting private and public obligations, accommodate gender norms, construct feminine ethos, and create and present public discourse. However, despite collaboration's central importance to women's rhetoric, scholars currently lack a model that can account fully for its many forms, multiple functions, and impressive versatility. This chapter introduces a new model of rhetorical collaboration capable of explaining how and why this cooperative method offers marginalized groups an indispensable means for coming to public voice in resistant settings.

When delivery is reconsidered in the light of antebellum women's experiences, its concerns and contours shift in surprising ways. Traditionally perceived as the most physical, sensory, and material of the classical canons, delivery begins to reveal its social and ideological grounding, which determines masculine and feminine gender ideals and thus shapes public performance. Once we acknowledge that the fifth canon is socially situated, the need to broaden conventional analytical frameworks surrounding the public speaker becomes apparent as well. The book's conclusion outlines the regendered fifth canon and identifies six topoi useful for analyzing socially situated delivery: education for public speaking, access to public platforms, the connotations

of delivery in public spaces, the available genres of rhetorical presentation, the challenges and opportunities posed by the body, and typical patterns of oratorical careers. Finally, I suggest how interested scholars might adapt these topoi to study the delivery of differently located women or other disenfranchised groups.

Ultimately, by considering delivery from the vantage point of marginalized rhetors, researchers recognize new dimensions to the canon and thus begin to reconceptualize it, a project that provides a powerful site for feminist analysis and theorizing. A regendered fifth canon addresses who is and is not entitled to stand and speak in public spaces, examines how women educate themselves (formally and informally) for public speaking, identifies the rhetorical strategies developed by women determined to deliver civic discourse despite social prohibitions, and recognizes that gender ideology influences the forms of public expression available to women rhetors. Furthermore, a regendered fifth canon permits feminist scholars to examine the immediate temporal and material issues confronting the rhetor as well as the overarching social and ideological forces enacted, resisted, or revised by her in the act of public speaking.

My efforts to regender delivery and thus incorporate women's experiences into the fifth rhetorical canon represent "a feminist performative act, a commitment to the future of women, a promise that rhetorical histories and theories will eventually and naturally include women" (Glenn, "Regendering" 29). This endeavor, however, is more broadly relevant. By proposing frameworks and theories that can account fully for women's rhetorical experiences, feminist historiographers develop methods adaptable to the study of other nonprivileged groups as well, those who have likewise been excluded because they deviated from rhetoric's rational, masculine, elitist standards. Collectively, our examinations of heretofore unquestioned concepts and traditions can renovate the discipline and create a more comprehensive, complex, and compelling understanding of the history and practice of rhetoric.

1

Readers and Rhetors

Schoolgirls' Formal Elocutionary Instruction

Rhetorical scholars have long assumed that as long as women were prohibited from civic participation, they received little to no formal training in the arts of public expression. Lillian O'Connor, for example, speculating on the educational backgrounds of pioneering American women rhetors, states that "formal training in schools, with few exceptions, was lacking, and . . . practice in public speaking was for women *anathema*" (230). Such suppositions have led scholars to overlook evidence indicating that late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century schoolgirls actually learned about delivery in reading classes and textbooks, which introduced them to basic principles of elocution as well as models of civic discourse.

The relevance of this instruction is apparent at the outset of Ebenezer Porter's popular textbook *The Rhetorical Reader* (1831). Porter observes that the "art of reading well" is of value not only to future orators but also to those debarred by class or gender from public address:

> The art of reading well is indispensable to one who expects to be a public speaker; because the principles on which it depends are the same as those which belong to rhetorical delivery in general, and because nearly all bad speakers were prepared to be so, by early mismanagement of the voice in reading. . . . Of the multitudes who are not called to speak in public, including the whole of one sex, and all but comparatively a few of the other, there is no one to whom the ability to read in a graceful and impressive manner, may not be of great value. In this country, then, where the advantages of education are open to all, and where it is a primary object with parents of all classes, to have their children well instructed, it would seem reasonable to presume that nearly all our youth, of both sexes, must be good readers. (2)

and thus provides the major impetus for women's collaboration. Change the culture, and women's reliance on collaboration changes, too. A contextual grounding allows scholars to stop considering collaboration in simple binary terms, forever attributing cooperative, communal processes to women and competitive, individualistic practices to men. Collaboration is more usefully viewed as a rhetorical option available to and used by both men and women. Granted, as result of their cultural conditioning, women and men may collaborate for different reasons, in different settings, and with different types of people, but they both enjoy full access to the collaborative continuum.

If all rhetors, then, employ and have recourse to collaboration, antebellum women's cooperative efforts are not especially noteworthy. What is significant, however, is what their practices reveal about the process by which marginalized groups come to public voice. Collaboration permitted pioneering women rhetors to access and speak from public platforms in hostile surroundings, and their discourse and delivery, in turn, advanced changes in gender and power relations. Furthermore, the ever-shifting patterns and purposes of their cooperative relationships indicate that collaboration may well be the most effective means of rhetorical production and delivery available to nonprivileged groups. Indeed, without collaboration's rich malleability, diverse forms, and multiple functions, it is virtually impossible to imagine antebellum women even reaching the public platform, much less using voice, gesture, and expression to advocate reform and renovate society.

Conclusion

Regendering the Fifth Canon

Throughout these chapters, I have made the case that the traditional fifth canon suffers from a number of blind spots. First, it makes the assumption that rhetors are male, privileged, and authorized to speak publicly, thus ignoring the concerns and constraints of those who are not. Second, it focuses solely upon the speaker's vocal and physical presentation of discourse, which is too narrow a framework to allow for a full exploration of delivery's complexities for disenfranchised rhetors. Third, it defines delivery in corporeal terms (the speaker standing and addressing the audience directly) that are off limits to many rhetors, particularly those from marginalized groups, and, therefore, elides alternative forms of rhetorical presentation. Fourth, it completely overlooks the fact that rhetorical performance is grounded in social context, which exerts itself subtly but insistently in everything leading up to and expressed at the moment of delivery. Regendering the fifth canon—and thereby redefining, retheorizing, and reinvigorating it—promises to make the study of delivery more comprehensive, relevant, and productive.

A regendered fifth canon envisions delivery as a dynamic rhetorical performance occurring in a particular time and place and acknowledges the reciprocal influences of society upon speakers and speakers upon society. It thus historicizes delivery by situating it in a specific cultural and ideological setting and then tracing how that setting affects the delivery of particular groups and vice versa. Rhetorical presentations are interpreted simultaneously as an embodiment of and response to the surrounding social milieu. Although analysis begins and ends with the speaker, it also travels offstage in order to identify and evaluate the social factors shaping and informing delivery. The speaker's performance is considered in relation not only to an immediate audience but also to an enveloping context. The movement from stage to social

setting and back again becomes a defining feature of the regendered fifth canon, expanding and contracting the boundaries of delivery but not erasing them. Cumulatively, these moves transform the fifth canon from a set of abstract, timeless, and presumably universal precepts about voice, gesture, and expression into analysis of an individual's or group's delivery in contingent social surroundings.

Adding the social to a canon that has traditionally focused exclusively on the individual both enriches and complicates it. A regendered fifth canon addresses far more than the speaker's manipulation of voice and body on a public platform and instead views rhetorical performance as the moment when dominant cultural values are enacted and, sometimes, are resisted and revised. Delivery thus becomes a site for investigating the intersection of variables like gender, sexuality, race, religion, nationality, ethnicity, age, class, or disability with power and discourse in particular settings, for what transpires on the public platform is simply a microcosm of larger social and ideological forces. In this study, I have demonstrated a method for examining how gender affected women's delivery in antebellum America and have considered speakers' onstage performances as well as offstage factors that obstructed or facilitated them. Six topoi have emerged from this analysis—education, access, space, genre, body, and rhetorical career—topoi that provide useful sites for tracing gender's impact upon delivery. Both context and ideology saturate each of these elements.

The first topos is education: Social context determines not only whether but also how particular groups are educated for public speaking. Chapter 1 details how late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century women were denied opportunities for higher education, which centered on preparing male students for public life, but did encounter precepts of elocution and models of civic discourse in reading classes. Although their elocutionary instruction was intended strictly for private consumption, antebellum women appropriated the knowledge acquired in school settings and applied it to addressing public issues in public spaces. As they did so, pedagogy and educational materials changed in response, resulting in a backlash that eventually restricted the elocutionary coverage and oratorical content of textbooks likely to be read by young women. Thus, a reciprocal relationship is suggested between women's rhetorical delivery in public spaces and their rhetorical instruction in educational settings, a relationship that receives attention in a regendered fifth canon.

The second topos concerns access to public platforms: Social context grants or denies particular groups recourse to public forums in which to deliver rhetoric. As chapter 2 explains, when college women at Oberlin and

Antioch were denied access to academic platforms, venues where they could hone their presentation skills and practice addressing real audiences, many not only protested institutional policy but also founded extracurricular literary and debate clubs, thereby creating alternative platforms and circumventing restrictions. Furthermore, as chapters 4 and 5 detail, feminine gender ideals and expectations posed serious obstacles to women rhetors, who had to fulfill responsibilities to home, children, and family before even attempting to reach public platforms. Speakers managed to reconcile the two through collaboration, which proved indispensable for concurrently attending to private duties while entering public spaces. Thus, issues of access often determined how, where, and whether antebellum women delivered rhetoric, a connection that is recognized in a regendered fifth canon.

There is some overlap between the second and third topoi. The second topos of access concerns a rhetor's ability to reach a suitable platform from which to deliver (or practice delivering) public discourse. The issue of access is closely related to, but nevertheless distinct from, the third topos of space, which examines how a rhetor is perceived once she stands and speaks onstage. Thus, the second topos explores how a rhetor reaches the public forum while the third traces what transpires once she arrives there.

The third topos, then, examines space: Social context determines whether or not particular groups are perceived to "belong" in public settings. Because public space was gendered as masculine and private space as feminine during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, women who stepped onto public platforms were automatically perceived as being unnatural or out of place. One strategy for addressing the problem of fit, outlined in chapter 3, was to deliver discourse in feminized settings. Emma Willard and Dorothea Dix, for example, persuaded politicians in parlors rather than legislative halls and thereby circumvented the negative connotations clinging to women in public spaces. Another strategy for exonerating women's presence in masculine spaces was to argue that moral and religious obligations mandated their public participation, justification perfected by the Grimké sisters. Spatial issues like these constrained antebellum women's delivery, and they are acknowledged in a regendered fifth canon.[1]

The fourth topos explores discursive genre: Social context determines which forms of physical and vocal performance are deemed appropriate for particular groups. Antebellum women were strongly discouraged from directly addressing promiscuous audiences, a genre of delivery coded as masculine, and this restriction exerted pressure on speakers to devise alternative methods of rhetorical presentation. As chapter 3 details, pioneering rhetors

developed a feminine delivery style that employed such feminized genres as conversation, letter writing, and reading and substituted male surrogates in situations requiring promiscuous address. This indirect, muted manner of rhetorical performance harmonized with conventional ideals of feminine comportment. Women rhetors' downcast eyes, seated position, reading and conversing, and occasional ventriloquism packaged public discourse into socially acceptable forms. The impact of genre on rhetorical presentation—in particular, which delivery options are [un]available to women rhetors—is addressed in a regendered fifth canon.

The fifth topos concerns the body: Social context determines how variables like sex and gender are typically practiced or enacted physically and thereby influences speakers' rhetorical delivery. Chapter 4 explains that visible pregnancy was considered unsightly and unseemly in certain public settings and that maternal rhetors arranged their speaking schedules carefully so as to accommodate gender norms surrounding the female body. Typically, antebellum women addressed mixed-sex audiences into the second trimester of pregnancy and thereafter restricted their appearances to same-sex audiences. Thus, the surrounding context established parameters for the public pregnant body and prompted women to devise inventive strategies of rhetorical presentation, corporeal concerns that are recognized in a regendered fifth canon.

The sixth topos examines rhetorical career: Social context influences the overall shape of speaking careers (which consist of a history or sequence of public performances) by encouraging particular groups to embrace particular life patterns. Antebellum women, whether single or married, were assigned primary responsibility for attending to family needs, an obligation that had an enormous impact on their rhetorical delivery over time. As chapters 4 and 5 describe, single women routinely abandoned speaking tours when siblings or parents called, and maternal rhetors interrupted or delayed their careers for extended periods in order to bear and raise children. Because private duties so frequently disrupted public involvement, women speakers often developed to their full potential later in life and continued their rhetorical careers longer than their male contemporaries, sometimes continuing to lecture well into their seventies, eighties, and nineties. The correlation between gender ideology and women's rhetorical careers is acknowledged in a regendered fifth canon.

The six topoi of education, access, space, genre, body, and career overlap at points, but they, nevertheless, provide generative sites for exploring the nexus of gender, power, and delivery and for identifying social and ideological currents at play on public platforms. The topoi indicate that pioneering

women speakers attended to very different concerns and constraints when delivering public discourse than did men. Antebellum women struggled to obtain adequate educational preparation for and access to the public platform; negotiated distinct spatial, generic, and bodily issues onstage; and tolerated frequent interruptions to their rhetorical careers in order to accommodate feminine gender norms. Although I have focused on the impact of gender on families and antebellum women's delivery, the topoi are equally useful for examining the rhetorical performances of differently located women or other nonprivileged groups. After all, delivery occurs in a particular social setting and entails the speaker's enactment of identity, rhetoric, and ideology on a public platform; therefore, a cluster of concerns intersect and become apparent at the moment of performance. The regendered fifth canon can provide scholars with a window or framing device through which to view and study these elements in all of their richness and complexity.

At the conclusion of *The Gendered Pulpit*, Roxanne Mountford speculates that feminist rhetoricians may well find a new theoretical home in the "neglected" fifth canon (152). The regendered fifth canon does indeed provide a home in which to trace the differences that arise when good women (rather than good men) speak well on public platforms, but I would add that it welcomes not only feminists but all who study marginalized rhetors. While my own efforts center on women's practices and experiences, further studies of the distinct constraints and compensating strategies of disenfranchised speakers—however they are identified or defined—are likely to reveal additional topoi and further reinvigorate a canon that has for too long been undertheorized and understudied. Therefore, I throw open the doors and invite all interested scholars to enter the theoretical home afforded by the regendered fifth canon, confident that our examinations of delivery from multiple perspectives and through multiple lenses will ultimately make the classical canons, the rhetorical tradition, and the discipline itself more inclusive, pluralistic, and compelling.

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