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KEEPING THE CONVERSATION GOING: JANE ADDAMS' RHETORICAL STRATEGIES IN "A MODERN LEAR"

Abstract. The first noticeable thing about almost any situation of conflict is how soon conversation breaks down and the proverbial 'other means' take the fore. This study explores how Jane Addams, a prominent Chicago mediator, crafted new rhetorical openings for conflict resolution. The bloody Pullman Strike of 1894 was a landmark event in Addams' rhetorical career, since it was during this strike that she learned to negotiate the rhetorical space between labor and management, as well as learning how to enlist the public in the work of reconstructing severed human relationships. Using the lenses of invitational rhetoric and fantasy theme analysis, I show how Addams attempted to create a more conciliatory mode of speech for seemingly intractable situations.

Many conflict situations appear to call for polarized rhetoric at first glance. In fact, over two thousand years of precedents say that rhetoric involves persuading others and dominating the discussion, as when Aristotle writes in *On Rhetoric*, "Let rhetoric be defined as the ability, in each particular case, to see the available means of persuasion" (36). However, feminists and other practitioners of new rhetorical strategies are asking that rhetors begin to view rhetoric in a broader fashion. Ernest Bohrmann's studies of *fantasy themes* as factors in the articulation of group identity are also extremely helpful in viewing the stages of rhetorical escalation in conflicts, for instance. In other areas, feminist theory now takes into account how certain narrative patterns of inclusion, validation, and mutual acknowledgment may affect a crisis or other rhetorical situation as much as any persuasive strategy. This analysis of Jane Addams' essay "A Modern Lear" probes her unusual rhetorical response to a labor dispute and also applies the new rhetoricians' insights to her text. Addams' essay occupies no convenient niche because, for strategic reasons, Addams chose to write a literary analysis of the play *King Lear* as her format to discuss a *labor* conflict. Taking into account both how the essay was received and its possible role in defining rhetoric, this study generates questions about why Addams made this rhetorical choice, what constitutes rhetoric, and what verbal strategies seem to work in defusing conflict situations.

Today there is great interest in exploring what can take an intractable

situation and reframe it in ways that allow for process and shifting positions on the part of the previously deadlocked sides. Wars and terrorist attacks in the Balkans, the Mid-east, and now in the United States have made the study of rhetorical paths to defusing conflicts of grave significance. Feminist theorists in particular have been exploring the contested and problematic aspects of rhetoric as a bearer of both war and peace. For instance, in *Feminist Rhetorical Theories*, Sonja Foss and Cindy Griffin introduce several feminist theorists who invite the hearer in as a co-creator of the text. The editors explain that when audiences perceive that they are not merely being talked *at*, but listened *to*, to some degree sympathized with, and included, they are far more willing to back down from stances that allow little room for negotiation. The text "A Modern Lear" and its historic context offer us a chance to examine how well feminist rhetoric applies to the type of conflict situation wherein feminism may sometimes be accused of accommodating the imbalance of power.

This study attempts to demonstrate that the unique approach that Addams used in "A Modern Lear" opened a generative process, one that today's theorists claim can arise when the rhetor acts not so much to persuade but to acknowledge and include. Sally Miller Gearhart deals with the limits of a rhetoric based upon persuasion and ultimate domination in "The Womanization of Rhetoric," when she refers to persuasion itself as oppressive, charging that "any intent to persuade is an act of violence" (195). Like Foss and Gearhart, Theresa Enos has explored various rhetorical strategies that have been unrecognized in the dominant or masculine paradigm of rhetoric. Enos discovers that processes of becoming, including, and identifying often run parallel to processes of persuading and controlling, yet this "eternal golden braid" of understanding has been traditionally downplayed and devalued in contrast to the strategies of winning over an opponent ("Golden" 111).

And this analysis of "A Modern Lear" also echoes Andrea Lunsford's critique of traditional rhetoric's binary methods and dominating tendencies, which she articulated most powerfully in *Reclaiming Rhetorica*. Specifically, Lunsford asserts that previous rhetorics, even such as that of Kenneth Burke, were based upon "masculinist assumptions" of the need to dominate and control any given situation (5). Instead, Lunsford asks why rhetoric cannot become *rhetorics* and assume a number of different forms. She further defines these different forms as having "different goals, methods, and strategies" not recognized by followers of the masculine paradigm as *rhetorical*. This examination of Addams' rhetorical means in "A Modern Lear" will highlight those aspects of rhetorical strategy that would not have been classed as traditional rhetoric. Lunsford proposes such properties for a feminist rhetoric as metaphor, metonymy, and consubstantiality in addition to the

more aggressive values of definition, division, and synecdoche (6). This analysis also examines "A Modern Lear" for evidences Lunsford's list of feminist characteristics. For instance, Lunsford envisions an interruption of the seamless history of masculinist history with a rhetoric that breaks the silence, names in personal terms, employs dialogue, and that recognizes and uses the power of conversation, insisting upon collaboration. "A Modern Lear" shows early signs of these means (6). Finally, Lunsford projects her belief that women *will find* such means in the future to shift the rhetorical paradigm, but in Addams' essay we have evidence that women *have already found* such means.

Therefore, Lunsford's and other theorists' visions should raise the issue of where else among historic documents have scholars encountered old texts that were already enacting these new rhetorics? Addams' "A Modern Lear" is a one century-old text that appears to be shifting the rhetorical paradigm in just such ways as those elements listed above. This text's pioneering qualities prompt the question of why "A Modern Lear" seems to exist outside the rhetorical tradition when, in fact, Jane Addams used an inclusive, co-creation rhetorical strategy. Instead of remaining obscure and largely overlooked in rhetorical circles, is it not possible that "A Modern Lear" should be viewed as an early forerunner of generative processes involved in the rhetoric of becoming and identification? Enos details similar processes in "An Eternal Golden Braid," particularly where two participants are encouraged to collaborate, creating a welcoming space for change (111). Addams' goal was never to give up on this generative process; that is, never to let the conversation flag or be abruptly halted by intransigent, polarized factions. In this essay I will employ Addams' essay "A Modern Lear" as a lens to see how far into the past women can be seen creating a sort of invitational rhetoric of a type that Lunsford calls for in *Reclaiming Rhetorica*. The richness of Addams' text poses questions about her rhetorical strategies as perhaps advancing in ways even beyond those that current theorists have described. A close reading of Addams' "A Modern Lear" should help to augment and to enlarge some of the work being done in re-visioning rhetoric by examining such parameters as group identification tactics and use of genre. But to view this text adequately, Addams' essay must first be historically situated.

The last decade of the nineteenth century is remote enough to lose most of its contextual terms and values for those living today. To aid in assessing the importance of an essay dealing with events of 1894, it is necessary to paint that year's social and historical contexts in a few broad strokes. In late May of 1894, Chicago industrialist George Pullman passed word to his vice president that he had nothing to discuss with workers who had begun striking at his railway car plant. As the first days of the strike passed, settlement house founder Jane Addams tried repeatedly to intervene on behalf of the

Pullman workers and their families. By June 1, the *Chicago Mail* was reporting that Pullman had ignored Addams's letters asking for arbitration. But when she tried to meet with Pullman's vice president, Thomas Wickes, historian Victoria Brown relates that Addams was told that he was "out" (134). And when Wickes finally consented to see Addams on June 2, he flatly informed her that there was "nothing to arbitrate" (135). Sensing the danger immediately in Wickes' flat refusal to negotiate, Addams detailed the impasse to the press, describing the strike as

A struggle between one of the great monopolies on earth and the most powerful organization in railway labor. And if the Civic Federation, representing all the best elements in the community, cannot effect so desirable a result, it cannot justify its existence. ("Lear" 135)

Since founding Hull-House, a settlement on Chicago's south side, in 1889, the wealthy and socially-prominent Addams had praised Pullman's philanthropic work, in particular, his founding of the town of Pullman, Illinois, for his employees. At the time, urban blight, industrial grime, and widespread mortality due to tuberculosis ran rampant in tenement housing districts. In particular, Chicago's immigrant and working class neighborhoods were especially exposed to such unsanitary conditions. Seeing an opportunity to deal decisively with urban blight, Pullman had tried to create a sanitary environment for his workers, one that sanitized them not only from disease germs but from what Pullman deemed the dangerous ideas of labor unions, anarchism, and socialism, as well. The town was a major public relations coup for Pullman and his company. Therefore, Addams was not alone in her praise for Pullman in the years following his founding of the model town in 1883. Chicago's civic elite also sang the railway magnate's praises. Visiting dignitaries from all over the world poured into Pullman to see how to make a workers' utopia. With the ferocity of capitalism on display elsewhere in Chicago's slums, many civic leaders were concerned about how the weak and destitute were being crushed by the mad dash to industrialization. These leaders saw Pullman's utopian village as holding great promise for the future.

Yet, as often is the case in times of economic uncertainty, the Panic of 1894 caused Pullman to make severe cuts of up to one fourth of his workers' wages. He saw no need to make similar cuts in their rents, utilities, and other bills in his town. When the workers' families went from hungry to actually starving, reporters followed the stories and public opinion, including that of Addams, turned against the railway benefactor. Having become accustomed to being praised as a philanthropist, Pullman suffered doubly when his publicity soured. He responded to his new image by practicing denial and hiding

away from the press. When approached by the union representatives from his plant, Pullman had them turned away at his door with the unvarying answer that there was nothing to negotiate. His town became his captives. Chicago historian Emmett Dedmon explains that "the workers were to take Pullman's terms or starve, and many of them did choose to starve rather than take Pullman's terms" (242). Until violence took over Pullman, visitors continued to be impressed by the model town, but now "its aesthetic features held little money value for workers who lacked bread," comments James Gilbert in his study of late-nineteenth-century Chicago, *Perfect Cities* (163). Although the financial Panic of 1894 had been the immediate cause for the wage cutting and resulting strike, Addams watched the escalation of tensions with a sense of dread, because she perceived the deeper meaning of these isolated acts of workers and management officials. In order that she might respond rhetorically to what she feared would only be recalled as a "shameful episode" in labor relations and explore the connections between her general principles and everyday life, Addams chose to write a labor essay in the genre of literary criticism. Although her choice may seem odd to us today, Addams' use of this genre showed her to be a keen judge of her audience, the reformers and elite of the nation near the turn of the twentieth century, since women's sphere was not then believed to include labor relations.

Contemporary newspaper accounts detail the reception that audiences gave to Addams' essay in its speech versions. Addams initially presented "A Modern Lear" as an address to the Chicago Women's Club, the Twentieth Century Club of Boston and at a New York conference of settlement workers in the fall of 1894. Her thoughts were well received, with one newspaper calling the speech "a striking characterization of Pullman" (Brown 142). Of course Addams was not the first to note George Pullman's tendency toward one-way communication. Economist Richard T. Ely had condemned the town of Pullman as "un-American" as early as the mid-1880s because of the curtailed civil rights of its inhabitants and the aloof paternalism by which Pullman ruled his town (Raff 66). Addams built her essay upon such criticism of Pullman's behavior to his workers but added her own perspective that this was less a cause for rancor than an occasion of tragedy.

As a method of assessing the contemporary reception that "A Modern Lear" enjoyed, note first of all that Addams began circulating her essay in its formative stages among friends in 1896. She spread her cut-and-pasted speech notes on the big library table at Hull-House and began to develop these into a text for publication, a practice that was not uncommon for lecturers. John Dewey was impressed enough with the resulting six page revised text to confess that "it is one of the greatest things I have read both as to its form and ethical philosophy." And he added that the essay "avoided 'harm' by saying exactly the things that must be realized if the affair is going to be more than

a disgusting memory" (Brown 148). Addams took up the themes and rhetorical tactics that she first practiced in "A Modern Lear" many times over the years. She found numerous opportunities to attempt mediation as she worked among marginalized immigrants at the Hull House Settlement. In addition, she tested various rhetorical strategies as a regular columnist in several nationwide magazines, starting with two influential 1892 articles in *Forum* magazine detailing the work at Hull House and Addams' settlement house philosophy (131). By the turn of the century, it was often said that there was no woman in America who was more "listened to" than Jane Addams.

Yet if "A Modern Lear's" rhetorical style were so moderate, why did it remain unpublishable, becoming an object of controversy among national magazine editors? The previously easily published Jane Addams found herself rejected by such major magazines as the *Forum*, the *North American Review*, and the *Atlantic Monthly*. Brown states that Addams' efforts to publish her essay "hit a wall of resistance" everywhere she submitted it (142). In fact, "A Modern Lear" only found publication in 1912, a full eighteen years after Addams delivered her early speech. Brown suggests that Addams' rhetorical style was what made this essay different, because "while others talked about making room at the table for all points of view, Addams actually did it" (141). And this is an important distinction.

Brown informs us that because her rhetorical means were so striking and unfamiliar, Addams thought at times that her efforts at mediation were destined to alienate everybody (143). And admirable though it may have been, Addams' firm sense of restraint did not endear her to publishers, nor did it entice editors to publish "A Modern Lear." The longest rejection letter came from Horace Scudder at the *Atlantic Monthly*. Scudder's letter shows the size of the ideological gulf between Addams and other members of the elite. While Scudder credits Addams with "great skill, earnestness, and impressiveness," he concludes that her argument "fell to the ground" because Addams assumed that Pullman's intent was philanthropic when it was actually "to get a good return on his investment." Scudder continues that philanthropy might require some consensus and democratic principles, but capitalism does not share these requirements (Brown 144). Scudder's letter does not entertain the possibility that all human relations, charitable or profitable, required some respect for democracy. Was Scudder's thinking representative of his fellow editors who also rejected "A Modern Lear"?

To contextualize the conditions under which this text was produced, it is important to note that Addams was one of the rare women of the 1890s who made a career of lecturing in public. In practicing her speaking style, Addams had to learn what pleased audiences, what they would tolerate and what offended by going beyond bounds. She was aware that women who spoke

directly regarding public issues were often ridiculed as “unfeminine” and “humorless” by figures such as ex-president Grover Cleveland and the writer Margaret Deland. So Addams chose another model for her essay, a literary essay that seemed, at first glance, like so many others being given at women’s clubs. For the most part, essays dealing with canonical writers such as Shakespeare typified the genteel culture of Addams day. But her insistence that *King Lear*, although a tragedy of state affairs, was first of all a *family tragedy* comprises Addams’ rhetorical strategy for moving beyond the domestic or private sphere into social commentary on the Pullman Rail Strike. She asks if “it is not stretching the analogy too hard [to] compare the indulgent relation of this employer to his town to the relation which existed between Lear and Cordelia” (Addams 184). Some writers like Deland (in her *Ladies’ Home Journal* essay) argued that civil rights for women were “unnecessary” and stressed the indulgent behavior of men toward their wives and families. Deland assures her readers that “the kindly humorous American husband, the most wife-ridden man in the world, smiled” when women charged that they were “slaves” (11). But Addams takes a different view of the patriarchal benefactors such as Pullman, claiming that

In so far as philanthropists are cut off from the influence of the *Zeit-Geist*, from the code of the ethics that rule the great body of men, from the great moral life springing from our common experiences, so long as they are “good to people” rather than “with them,” they are bound to accomplish a large amount of harm. (“Modern” 136)

Finding such analogous points as that above, Addams wove her comparisons of Lear to the autocratic Pullman. Her novel use of the genre of a literary essay disarmed those who denied women’s right to speak on industrial matters and opened the door for a female voice upon a public issues.

Addams states that depending upon the whims of someone upon whom one is utterly dependent is the root of both Lear’s and Pullman’s tragedies. Lear disowned his daughter and shut off conversation similarly to the way that Pullman had cut off communication with his striking workers. Pullman had gone from being a benevolent despot to being totally uncommunicative, and Lear similarly closes the door on Cordelia, charging that

We have no such daughter, nor shall we ever see
That face of hers again. Therefore be gone
Without our grace, our love, our benison. (1.1.266-68)

The similarity of the two cases struck Addams all the more forcefully because she perceived common elements in the struggles of the first genera-

tion of college-educated daughters in America with those of workers in industry who were trying to find a voice. In fact, in the three years before the Pullman Strike, Brown relates that Addams had been delivering a series of semi-autobiographical commentaries on the struggle between college-educated daughters and their parents "caught in a generational shift between one set of expectations and another" (138). Addams' growing conviction was that the Pullman Strike was a historic moment in which business leaders attempted to silence workers' voices by employing the national guard. And Dedmon claims in his account of the affair that this was one of the first times that the National Guard had been used for this purpose on such a grand scale and over the objections at various points of the mayor of Chicago and the governor of Illinois (243). Although President Grover Cleveland "successfully" used federal troops to crush the striking ARU (American Railway Union), the President's actions were "controversial" at the time (Hirsch 54). According to Chicago historian John Gilbert, The strike ultimately cost the lives of twelve workers, lives that need not have been lost, according to Governor Altgeld and progressive leaders in Chicago (163).

Addams often advanced her ethical and rhetorical projects as she does in "A Modern Lear" by calling for "lateral movement" and for "slow, collective progress that was more permanent than coerced victory" (137). But what did this gradual improvement mean in terms of how she rhetorically structured her texts? Addams sets out a number of rhetorical and organizational strategies to allow all sides to feel that they are being heard and included. These rhetorical means included

- Seeking to invite co-creators of the future rather than to persuade people.
- Laying out the sides' themes as if they were blocks that could be shuffled.
- Taking what Burke later termed 'identification' in her own novel direction of what amounts to *dialogic identification*.

Addams' rhetorical strategies will next be examined in some detail to display their operation and how they may be regarded as foreshadowing today's new rhetorics.

INVITING CO-CREATORS OF THE FUTURE

Addams held no doubts that any solution that was partial or that favored a faction was no solution at all. She calls the appeals of demagogues for a victory and one-sided or imposed "peace" the "fleshspots" in this situation ("Modern" 137). Some historians have used Addams' commitment to

inclusion as evidence of her waffling upon important issues. These scholars accuse Addams of finally lacking the strength to support the workers in a situation of extremely unbalanced power. For instance, biographer Allen Davis attributes Addams’ “habit” of seeing both sides in a conflict as preventing her from ever “becoming an impassioned advocate in any cause” (110). But others have found the same rhetorical strategies to be evidence that Addams was set upon expanding the idea of what counted as rhetoric. That is, Addams’ strategies moved rhetoric from the “persuade and dominate” model to a model of inclusion, mutual respect, mutual understanding, and coexistence.

The most impressive evidence for Addams’ rhetorical strategy of inclu-

<i>Labor had</i>	<i>Pullman (and his management) had</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- the barbaric instinct to kill (131)- gropings toward justice (134)- a world-wide moral impulse (134)- great vitality in their movement (134)- a conception of duty, even to seeing wives and children go without food for workers they’ve never seen (134)- worthy watchwords: brotherhood, sacrifice, subordination of individual to good of working class (135)- cause ill-directed, ill-timed, disastrous results (135)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- the barbaric instinct to kill (131)- the ability to give job opportunities (134)- lost their common touch (134)- an inability to see the situation (134)- used old, philanthropic watchwords that were negative and inadequate (135)- confused moves of workers with elements of violence and bloodshed only (135)- demanded sense of gratitude to himself (135)- become unconnected to consent of fellow men (137)- ‘feasible right,’ rather than- failed to consult Lincoln’s ‘absolute right’ (Addams “Lear,” 137)

Table 1: Fantasy themes in Addams’ “Lear.”

sion and reconciliation is that she presents the idealized view that each polarized faction held of itself followed by how the opposition viewed the other side. Musing upon the better side of each group and initial good intentions caused Addams to compare this strike to the tragedy of *King Lear*. Moreover, Addams explains that meditating upon the analogy with *Lear* "served to soften and modify her opinions" (132). The preceding list is a sample of keywords that Addams used to characterize the two polarized positions of Pullman's labor and management sides. Notice how Addams includes the good intentions as well as the slippage into extremist stances.

Far from organizing her essay in some usual fashion to persuade the audience that one side was better than the other and should get public sympathy and support, the chart above shows Addams drawing her readers into the process by which communication falters and goes astray. By creating views of the process of alienation and growing distrust, Addams shows change as a series of stages, just as communication and trust sour throughout the play *King Lear*. What makes "A Modern *Lear*" most at variance from the model of persuasion is that Addams lists instances of the feet of clay of both sides to the audience, yet refrains from judging these sad attributes, keeping her focus firmly upon the *process of faltering communication*. Since both sides fell into habits that kept them from gaining a workable solution to their problem, Addams offers no hope of picking a "right side" or "team" with which to identify. As noted, Addams claimed that "one-sided solutions" are "fleshpots" to be avoided, because these "fleshpots" grow from too *narrow* a view of the situation. Polarized rhetoric takes one still snapshot of a dispute, showing characters at their most heinous or virtuous, and making this instant suffice for ongoing shifts. Addams demonstrates something more like a live camera over days, weeks, and months of missed opportunities for better relations through improved communication.

Once this better communication has been established, Adams invites everyone to the table as co-creators of the future. In conclusion, she asks

Is it too much to hope that some of us will carefully consider this modern tragedy, if perchance it may contain a warning for the troublous times in which we live? By considering the dramatic failure of the liberal employer's plans for his employees, we may possibly be spared useless industrial tragedies in the uncertain future which lies ahead of us. ("*Lear*" 137)

Addams' invitation to learn from the process of faulty communication and willfulness allies her with such modern feminist rhetoricians as Sally Miller Gearhart, Sonja and Karen Foss, Cindy Griffin, Andrea Lunsford, and Theresa Enos. The strategy that Enos calls a "golden braid of understand-

ing” and that Griffin and Foss call “invitational rhetoric” shows similarity to the novel rhetorical process of *dialogic identification* employed by Addams in “A Modern Lear.” One similarity both to feminist rhetoric and to Bohrmann’s *fantasy theme* theory that surfaces via the keywords Addams employs is her creative use of lists that can open paths for restructuring.

LISTS AND BLOCKS FOR RESHUFFLING

In an appeal to make the unconscious conscious, Addams asks that all sides not merely label and develop negative lists of stereotypes of each other but that they hold these labels and stereotypical images at arm’s length. Addams shines a bright light upon what normally happens more or less invisibly in a polarized situation such as a war or large labor dispute. The labels and the names are far more crucial in the equation than any participant has imagined, she tells both sides. Yet, by making the naming, fantasizing, and stereotyping conscious, Addams hopes to hold up the option of making these labels and judgmental terms (re)movable, rather than indelible and permanent.

Addams’ lists follow the pattern of *fantasy themes*, which derive from work on communication theory. Fantasy theme theory, as detailed by Bormann in his 1972 article in the *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, is designed to provide insights into shared worldview of groups of rhetors. In this usage a *fantasy theme* is what members of a group say to each other about persons, groups, or events that are not present in space or time. Groups create fantasy themes among themselves and apply these to subjects in the broader community. *Fantasy* here does not mean personal dreams and wishes but the shared symbols a group creates and develops, which can include jokes, songs, puns, and humor as well as serious argument. For example, groups might depict the police with a variety of fantasy theme labels, depending upon their attitudes toward the law enforcement. Addams critiques the management worldview, its “fantasy theme,” and labor’s “fantasy theme,” while braiding in the metaphor of King Lear’s tragic blindness as analogous to both. Bormann describes the polarized building blocks of fantasy themes, the keywords which Pullman and his workers created, for example, as being

Two rhetorical communities living side by side in the same culture [but having] mirror-image rhetorical visions. That is, the same historical personages may be heroes in one community and villains in another; or one group may celebrate certain courses of action as laudable while the other denigrate the same scenarios. (Bormann “Narrans” 132)

The first job of analyzing Addams’ rhetorical strategy, then, is to locate

textual evidence of symbolic convergence, evidence that people have shared their building block images in some common worldview. Addams opens her text with the statement that

Every public-spirited citizen in Chicago during that summer felt the stress and perplexity of the situation and asked himself, "How far am I responsible for this social disorder? What can be done to prevent such outrageous manifestations of ill-will?" ("Lear" 1)

By opening thus, Addams echoes the concerns of an Aristotelian *phronoimō* or statesman re-cast significantly as a *woman*, as well as assuming that a large group shares her civic ethos. She further segments her argument to define two subdivisions of the epistemology of the events of 1894. Labor and management were the two camps who shared keywords among themselves about the other side. Bormann's term *dramatizing* helps to define fantasy in Addams' usage. The participants in a fantasy theme dramatize settings, characters, and events that are removed from the present time, place, and speakers (Foss, "Rhetorical" 123). A connection between labeling and argument is that shared images attempt to give the most credible explanation of events, and such scripts are necessary and a prior condition to argument. All fantasy themes contain settings, characters, and actions.

Given the evidence in "A Modern Lear," I believe the manner by which Addams weaves her lists of stereotypes into her plea for reconciliation places her firmly within the tradition of conflict resolution rhetoric. Her invention of a face-saving method whereby each side *could* soften in its position (as she says that she has after considering the resemblance of this strike to the tragic story of King Lear) moves the strike from the finality of a snapshot to a process ("Modern" 131). Steps along a path may be retraced. Names given may be rethought and revised when viewed as links in a chain of missed opportunities for communication. By turning a solid wall of hate into smaller blocks that can be shuffled or even removed, Addams' rhetoric presents an opportunity for better future communication.

MAKING BURKE'S IDENTIFICATION *DIALOGIC*

In making her invitation across boundaries of hate and fear, Addams stretches Kenneth Burke's definition of *identification* and creates her own form of *dialogic identification*. Following tradition, Burke defined a weaker or partial form of identification as a rhetorical means that groups use to bond and to rally, often against some opposition. For example, Burke explains that John Milton uses identification in *Samson Agonistes* as a magnet to attract the support of all the Israelite forces, who are symbolically linked with

Milton's faction, the Puritans (Burke 19) This process is how each side has constructed an image or *fantasy theme* of itself over time. In polarized rhetorical situations, groups concoct ideal themes about themselves with which members are expected to identify. The reverse side of this identification process is that groups tend to demonize other groups and expect their members to form identity by distancing themselves from these other groups. Addams shows this two-sided process of group *identification* in progress bilaterally and she hopes that exposing the fabrication procedures will demystify the groups for each other. What those inside each group may have seen as only the attributes of the other side, they now, on the basis of further data, should see as universal. They should now be able to perceive that all sides partake equally in the group dynamics of identification via demonization of the 'other.' Addams herself firmly resisted calls to speak divisively and join the picket lines to the extent that her biographer wonders that she retained any of her progressive friends. According to Brown, only one close friend briefly lost patience with Addams during a heated strike. Ellen Gates Starr lamented that "if the devil himself came riding down Halsted Street with his tail waving out behind him," Jane Addams would say "what a beautiful curve he had in his tail" (147). So deeply and intuitively did Addams understand the functions of *fantasy themes* that she overcame any urges that she may have had to indulge in them.

Since Addams lays her groups' narratives about each other in detailed catalogs in "A Modern Lear," she also invites her readers in as co-creators who can shuffle these blocks at will, discarding some that serve only to poison communication between people. Enos comments that such a generative process of understanding, once begun, can be invoked again and again because

When the writer stylistically parallels another's linguistic world, the writer thus is increasing the possibility that the audience being created through identification and the reader being invited to participate can come together through the presence of the text. ("Golden" 106)

In the hands of ordinary or unexamined group rhetorical strategies, things just happen, some people seem mysteriously full of malice and are perennially bent upon thwarting one's own group. Enemies tend to be static, frozen products of evil natures, rather than human beings who can grow, change, and learn from past mistakes. By showing a *process* of faltering communications, Addams invites readers to have discovery moments where they can view the false step being taken that began the downward spiral of communication. Where the snapshot freezes the situation at its worst, the progression of moments shows blocks that can be arranged, discarded, or reshuffled.

Moreover, groups may see that their own qualities are shared with others. Those positive traits reserved for identification with one's own group may be seen as human and shared with other groups if the ultimate aim of identification is changed from an ideal communion with one's own group to a communication and reconciliation process with one's 'other.'

While Addams could not know the names that theorists now give to some of her rhetorical strategies, she was clearly "onto something" in terms of inviting her polarized audience into the co-creation both of her text and of the future. She asks all sides to consider the difference between grudge match and *tragedy*, and she presses her point that tragedies are not inevitable but are constructed piece by piece, missed opportunity by missed opportunity. Her process approach takes the idea of *rhetorical situation* in a rather different direction than was usual then or now. Instead of a few key speeches by a few great men, Addams patiently lays out all the little moments of slippage and all the tiny gestures of stereotyping by people in general that brought the strike at Pullman to its tragic outcome.

Clearly, polarized and violent situations are more with us today than ever, in that wars and rumors of wars abound in today's society. Moreover, we have seen in the Balkans, in the Mid-east, and elsewhere what the cost of intransigence entails. What Addams contributes to our understanding of rhetoric is a valuable lens for viewing the process of communications gone wrong, not just a snapshot of its end result. And she does this by structuring her rhetoric in ways that have not been traditionally regarded as rhetorical. She uses a literary analysis essay skillfully to wedge the door open for women to comment upon current events at a time when women's participation in public debates was frowned upon. Foregoing the precedents of centuries, Addams' rhetoric seeks not to persuade, but to create a new, inclusive space for all parties to review entrenched stands. Her meditation on violent conflict, "A Modern Lear," offers one method we can learn for keeping the conversation going. Addams' inclusive rhetoric challenges us to realize the promise that those who were enemies yesterday may yet co-create a livable future.

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