

SEMINAR IN PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC

PSC/CSS 5350

Spring 2008

Dr. Martin J. Medhurst

Course Description: This course surveys the genres of presidential rhetoric and theories of the rhetorical presidency. We will undertake critical analysis of presidential discourse in selected eras of American history, from the early republic through the present. Class will focus on the texts of presidential rhetoric within their political contexts and on different methods of evaluating presidential communication.

No person's rhetoric receives more attention--deserved or undeserved--than that of the President of the United States. From major speeches such as the Inaugural Address or the State of the Union to press conferences to campaign discourses (including convention films, television spots, radio ads, debates, bumper stickers, etc.) to impromptu reactions--everything the President says and does is grist for someone's interpretive mill. Indeed, the modern presidency produces so much rhetoric, disseminated through so many different media, at all hours of the day and night, to audiences large and small, foreign and domestic, that it is virtually impossible for any one person to keep up with it all, even if that were one's sole occupation.

James Ceaser, Glen Thurow, Jeffrey Tulis, and Joseph Bessette coined the phrase "the rhetorical presidency" in 1981 to describe this overflowing fountain of presidential discourse and to distinguish the modern presidency--starting with Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson--from the presidency of the late 18th and 19th centuries. Modern presidents, unlike most of their predecessors, appear to view rhetoric as an important tool of presidential leadership. The ability to go "over the heads" of Congress by appealing directly to the public is viewed by Ceaser, et al. as the essence of "the rhetorical presidency," a fact that many political theorists such as Ceaser and Tulis view with some degree of alarm.

Rhetorical scholars have long studied presidential rhetoric, though it has only been within the last 30 years or so that presidential rhetoric has emerged as a distinct subdiscipline within the larger world of rhetorical studies. Indeed, the sustained book-length analysis of presidential rhetoric is a phenomenon that dates only from the middle 1980s.

Course Goals: I have several goals for this course. It is my firm belief that the study of rhetoric--any kind of rhetoric--can only be fruitful if studied in context. That means that it is not enough just to read what a President said on a given occasion. Nor is it sufficient simply to learn the standard types of rhetoric commonly associated with U.S. Presidents. The speech text is essentially meaningless (not to mention misleading) absent the relevant contextual factors. Speech is a force or a power that is used to accomplish different kinds of ends or goals in different circumstances. Hence, one must understand the purposes or goals of the communicator (i.e., the President), the circumstances under which the communication is taking place (i.e., the

rhetorical exigencies and constraints), the audience or audiences being addressed, the genres of discourse being employed, the theories or techniques of rhetoric being utilized, and the standards of judgment that are implicitly or explicitly suggested by the particular confluence of textual and contextual factors. In short, one must really *study* presidential rhetoric, not merely consume it.

Toward this end, I want this course to: 1) survey selected presidential rhetoric from 1789 to the present; 2) expose students to significant types and texts of presidential discourse; 3) learn ways of studying texts in contexts; 4) study the various methodological approaches to presidential rhetoric now being used by scholars in both political science and rhetorical studies; 5) learn what has already been done and, more importantly, what still needs doing in the study of presidential rhetoric; and 6) struggle with significant theories, problems, and criticisms in presidential discourse. If we can accomplish all of this, we will have done something worthwhile. By the end of the course, students should be able to:

- Identify the components of a complex rhetorical situation
- Discuss the various methodological approaches, including their strengths and weaknesses
- Explain the theory of the rhetorical presidency and identify its primary advocates and opponents
- Differentiate the rhetorical presidency and presidential rhetoric
- Display research skills using historical-critical methods
- Write a doctoral-level research paper suitable for publication in an academic journal

Course Requirements: 1) Come to class regularly and participate in the discussion, 2) read the week's assigned readings before arriving for class, 3) Write a major paper (20-30 pages) on a rhetorical controversy (or, better, a political controversy having rhetorical dimensions) that occurred during the course of a presidential administration. Although we will be focusing on the administrations of Washington, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Eisenhower, Johnson, Reagan, Clinton, and George W. Bush, you may write your paper on any presidential administration. Representative controversies might include the Whiskey Rebellion (Washington), any major event of the Civil War (Lincoln), natural resource conservation (T. Roosevelt), the League of Nations debates (Wilson), the court packing scheme (Roosevelt), sputnik crisis (Eisenhower), Voting Rights Act (Johnson), strategic defense initiative (Reagan), health care bill (Clinton), and the Iraq war (Bush). Please note that these are merely *representative* types of controversies. You should find a topic/controversy in which you are particularly interested. Please clear your topic with me no later than the end of week three. 3) To facilitate the timely completion of this major paper, you will turn in four sets of bibliographies, starting in Week 4: Bibliography of Works Appearing in Communication Journals (due Wednesday, February 6); Week 6: Bibliography of Works Appearing in History Journals (due Wednesday, February 20); Week 8: Bibliography of Works Appearing in Political Science Journals (due Wednesday, March 5); Week 10: Bibliography of Works Appearing in Newspapers, Magazines or Other Popular Sources (due Wednesday, March 19). The first draft of the final paper itself is due on Wednesday, April 23, with the final draft due on Wednesday, May 7.

Course Evaluation:	Class attendance and participation:	20%
	Four Bibliographies	40%
	First Draft of Final Paper	20%
	Second Draft of Final Paper	20%

Scale:	100-95 = A
	94-90 = A-
	89-87 = B+
	86-83 = B
	82-80 = B-
	79-77 = C+
	76-73 = C
	72-70 = C-
	69-60 = D
	59-0 = F

Required Textbooks:

Jeffrey K. Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987)

Garry Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992)

Martin J. Medhurst, ed., *Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1996)

Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Deeds Done in Words: Presidential Rhetoric and the Genres of Governance*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007)

George C. Edwards III, *On Deaf Ears* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003)

Leroy G. Dorsey, ed., *The Presidency and Rhetorical Leadership* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002)

Terry L. Price and J. Thomas Wren, eds., *Presidential Leadership* (New York: MacMillan/Palgrave, 2007)

Davis W. Houck, *FDR and Fear Itself: The First Inaugural Address* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002)

J. Michael Hogan, *Woodrow Wilson's Western Tour: Rhetoric, Public Opinion, and the League of Nations* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006)

David Zarefsky, *President Johnson's War on Poverty: Rhetoric and History* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1986)

Recommended Readings:

- Halford Ryan, ed., *U.S. Presidents as Orators: A Bio-Critical Sourcebook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995)
- Halford Ryan, ed., *The Inaugural Addresses of Twentieth-Century American Presidents* (New York: Praeger, 1993)
- Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Eloquence in an Electronic Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988)
- Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency: A History and Criticism of Presidential Campaign Advertising* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996)
- Amos Kiewe, ed., *The Modern Presidency and Crisis Rhetoric* (New York: Praeger, 1994)
- Denise M. Bostdorff, *The Presidency and the Rhetoric of Foreign Crisis* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994)
- Roderick P. Hart, *The Sound of Leadership* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987)
- Wayne Fields, *Union of Words: A History of Presidential Eloquence* (New York: Free Press, 1996)
- Kurt Ritter and Martin J. Medhurst, eds., *Presidential Speechwriting: From the New Deal to Reagan and Beyond* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003)
- Samuel Kernell, *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*, 4th ed. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2006)
- Vanessa B. Beasley, *You, the People: American National Identity in Presidential Rhetoric* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004)
- Colleen J. Shogan, *The Moral Rhetoric of American Presidents* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006)
- Fred I. Greenstein, *The Presidential Difference: Leadership Styles from FDR to George W. Bush* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004)
- Erwin Hargrove, *The President as Leader: Appealing to the Better Angels of Our Nature* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999)

Mary E. Stuckey, *Defining Americans: The Presidency and National Identity* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004)

Richard J. Ellis, ed., *Speaking to the People: The Rhetorical Presidency in Historical Perspective* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998)

Mel Laracey, *Presidents and the People: The Partisan Story of Going Public* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002)

SYLLABUS

Week 1: January 16

The Rhetorical Presidency as Construct

READ: James W. Ceaser, Glen E. Thurow, Jeffrey Tulis, and Joseph M. Bessette, "The Rise of the Rhetorical Presidency," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 11 (1981): 158-171.

Jeffrey K. Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency* (all)

Jeffrey K. Tulis, "Revising the Rhetorical Presidency," in *Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency*, pp. 3-14.

Jeffrey K. Tulis, "Reflections on the Rhetorical Presidency in American Political Development," in *Speaking to the People*, ed. Richard J. Ellis (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 211-222.

Jeffrey K. Tulis, "On the Forms of Rhetorical Leadership," in *Before the Rhetorical Presidency*, ed. Martin J. Medhurst (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, forthcoming).

Week 2: January 23

Presidential Rhetoric as Construct

READ: Martin J. Medhurst, "A Tale of Two Constructs: The Rhetorical Presidency versus Presidential Rhetoric," in *Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency*, xi-xxv.

Theodore Otto Windt, Jr., "Presidential Rhetoric as a Research Field," in Theodore Otto Windt, Jr. and Beth Ingold, eds., *Essays in Presidential Rhetoric*, 2nd ed. (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt, 1987), xv-xliii.

Martin J. Medhurst, "From Retrospect to Prospect: The Study of Presidential Rhetoric, 1915-2005," in *The Prospect of Presidential Rhetoric*, ed. James Arnt Aune and Martin J. Medhurst (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, forthcoming).

Stephen E. Lucas, "Present at the Founding: The Rhetorical Presidency in Historical Perspective," in *Before the Rhetorical Presidency* (forthcoming).

Mary E. Stuckey, "Establishing the Rhetorical Presidency through Presidential Rhetoric: Theodore Roosevelt and the Brownsville Raid," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 92 (2006): 287-309.

Mel Laracey, "Talking without Speaking, and Other Curiosities," in *Before the Rhetorical Presidency*, forthcoming.

Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Deeds Done in Words: Presidential Rhetoric and the Genres of Governance*, chapt. 1.

Week 3: January 30 **Extending the Rhetorical Presidency and Presidential Rhetoric Constructs**

- READ: Bruce E. Gronbeck, "The Presidency in the Age of Secondary Orality," in *Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency*, 30-49.
- Thomas W. Benson, "Desktop *Demos*: New Communication Technologies and the Future of the Rhetorical Presidency," in *Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency*, 50-74.
- Martin J. Medhurst, "Presidential Rhetoric: A Situational Taxonomy," in *Presidential Leadership*, chapt. 3.
- Martin P. Wattenberg, "The Changing Presidential Media Environment," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34 (2004): 557-572.
- Jeffrey E. Cohen, "If the News Is So Bad, Why Are Presidential Polls So High? Presidents, the News Media, and the Mass Public in an Era of New Media," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34 (2004): 493-515.
- Reed L. Welch, "Presidential Success in Communicating with the Public through Televised Addresses," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 33 (2003): 347-365.

Week 4: February 6 **Establishing the First Rhetorical Presidency through Presidential Rhetoric: The Case of George Washington**

- READ: Stephen E. Lucas and Susan Zaeske, "George Washington," in *U.S. Presidents as Orators*, ed. Halford Ryan, 3-17.
- Glen E. Thurow, "Dimensions of Presidential Character," in *Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency*, 15-29.
- Stephen E. Lucas, "George Washington and the Rhetoric of Presidential Leadership," in *The Presidency and Rhetorical Leadership*, 42-72.
- Stephen E. Lucas, "Genre Criticism and Historical Context: The Case of George Washington's First Inaugural Address," *Southern Speech Communication Journal* 51 (1986): 354-370.
- David Zarefsky, "The Presidency Has Always Been a Place for Rhetorical Leadership," in *The Presidency and Rhetorical Leadership*, 20-41.

Fred I. Greenstein, "Presidential Difference in the Early Republic: The Highly Disparate Leadership Styles of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36 (2006): 373-390.

Standard Genres of Presidential Discourse

Week 5: February 13 The Inaugural Address

READ: Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Deeds Done in Words: Presidential Rhetoric and the Genres of Governance*, chaps., 2-3.

Halford Ross Ryan, "Roosevelt's First Inaugural: A Study of Technique," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 65 (1979): 137-149.

Davis W. Houck, *FDR and Fear Itself: The First Inaugural Address* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002) (all)

Suzanne K. Daughton, "Metaphorical Transcendence: Images of the Holy War in Franklin Roosevelt's First Inaugural," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 79 (1993): 427-446.

Davis W. Houck and Mihaela Nocasian, "FDR's First Inaugural Address: Text, Context, and Reception," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 5 (2002): 649-678.

Week 6: February 20 **The State of the Union Address**

READ: Campbell and Jamieson, *Deeds Done in Words*, chapt. 4.

Dan F. Hahn, "Archetype and Signature in Johnson's 1965 State of the Union," *Central States Speech Journal* (now *Communication Studies*) 34 (1983): 236-246.

Mark P. Moore, "Reagan's Quest for Freedom in the 1987 State of the Union Address," *Western Journal of Speech Communication* (now *Western Journal of Communication*) 53 (1989): 52-65.

Laura Crowell, "Building the 'Four Freedoms' Speech," *Speech Monographs* (now *Communication Monographs*) 22 (1955): 266-283.

James C. McCroskey and Samuel V.O. Prichard, "Selective-Exposure and Lyndon B. Johnson's 1966 'State of the Union' Address," *Journal of Broadcasting* 11 (1967): 331-337.

Dan F. Hahn and J. Justin Gustainis, "Anatomy of an Enigma: Jimmy Carter's 1980 State of the Union Address," *Communication Quarterly* 33 (1985): 43-49.

Kenneth R. Chase, "Reagan's First State of the Union Address: A Case Study in language, Argument and Culture," in *Argument and Social Practice*, ed. J. Robert Cox, Malcolm O. Sillars, and Greg B. Walker (Annandale, VA: Speech Communication Association, 1985), 289-309.

Week 7: February 27 **The Rhetoric of War**

READ: Campbell and Jamieson, *Deeds Done in Words*, chapt. 6.

Hermann G. Stelzner, "'War Message': December 8, 1941: An Approach to Language," *Speech Monographs* (now *Communication Monographs*) 33 (1966): 419-437.

Robert L. Ivie, "The Metaphor of Force in Prowar Discourse: The Case of 1812," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 68 (1982): 240-253.

Robert L. Ivie, "Images of Savagery in American Justifications for War," *Communication Monographs* 47 (1980): 279- .

David Hoogland Noon, "Operation Enduring Analogy: World War II, the War on Terror, and the Uses of Historical Memory," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 7 (2004): 339-365.

John M. Murphy, "'Our Mission and Our Moment': George W. Bush and September 11th," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 6 (2003): 607-632.

Denise M. Bostdorff, "George W. Bush's Post-September 11 Rhetoric of Covenant Renewal: Upholding the Faith of the Greatest Generation," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 89 (2003): 293-319.

David Domke, et al., "Going Public as Political Strategy: the Bush Administration, an Echoing Press, and Passage of the Patriot Act," *Political Communication* 23 (2006): 291-312.

Week 8: March 5 **Presidential Campaign Rhetoric**

READ: Kurt Ritter, "American Political Rhetoric and the Jeremiad Tradition: Presidential Nomination Acceptance Addresses, 1960-1976," *Central States Speech Journal* (now *Communication Studies*) 31 (1980): 153-171.

Davis W. Houck, "Reading the Body in the Text: FDR's 1932 Speech to the Democratic National Convention," *Southern Communication Journal* 63 (1997): 20-37.

Martin J. Medhurst, "Text and Contexts in the 1952 Presidential Campaign: Eisenhower's 'I Shall Go to Korea' Speech," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 30 (2000): 464-484.

Martin J. Medhurst, "Religious Rhetoric and the Ethos of Democracy: A Case Study of the 2000 Presidential Campaign," in *The Ethos of Rhetoric*, ed. Michael J. Hyde (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004), 114-135.

Christian Spievogel, "'You Know Where I Stand': Moral Framing of the War on Terrorism and the Iraq War in the 2004 Presidential Campaign," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 8 (2005): 549-570.

Roderick P. Hart and Mary C. Johnson, "Constructing the Electorate during Presidential Campaigns," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 29 (1999): 830-849.

Sharon E. Jarvis, "Partisan Patterns in Presidential Campaign Speeches, 1948-2000," *Communication Quarterly* 52 (2004): 403-419.

SPRING BREAK

Analysis of Landmark Presidential Speeches

Week 9: March 19 **Lincoln's Gettysburg Address:**
Online at
<<http://libertyonline.hypermall.com/Lincoln/gettysburg.html>>

READ: Garry Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg* (all) Edwin Black, "Gettysburg and Silence," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 80 (1994): 21-36.

Ronald F. Reid, "Newspaper Response to the Gettysburg Address," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 53 (1967): 50- 60.

Allen Guelzo, *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), chapt. 1.

Michael Nelson, "Lincoln, Religion, and Presidential Leadership," in *Presidential Leadership*, chapt. 1.

Martha Watson, "Ordeal by Fire: The Transformative Rhetoric of Abraham Lincoln," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 3 (2000): 33-49.

Week 10: March 26

Kennedy's Speech to the Greater Houston Ministerial Association:

Online at <<http://americanrhetoric.com/speeches/jfkhoustonministers.html>>

READ: Hermann G. Stelzner, "John F. Kennedy at Houston, Texas, September 12, 1960," in *Rhetoric and Communication*, ed. Jane Blankenship and Hermann G. Stelzner (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 223-235.

Harold Barrett, "John F. Kennedy Before the Greater Houston Ministerial Association," *Central States Speech Journal* (now *Communication Studies*) 15 (1964): 259-266.

Barbara Warnick, "Argument Schemes and the Construction of Social Reality: John F. Kennedy's Address to the Houston Ministerial Association," *Communication Quarterly* 44 (1996): 183-196.

Lloyd E. Rohler, "I Am Not the Catholic Candidate for President': JFK's Houston Ministerial Association Speech," in *Great Speeches for Criticism and Analysis*, 4th ed., ed. Lloyd Rohler and Roger Cook (Greenwood, IN: Alistair Press, 2001), 29-35.

David Henry, "Senator John F. Kennedy Encounters the Religious Question: 'I Am Not the Catholic Candidate for President,'" in *Contemporary American Public Discourse*, ed. Halford R. Ryan (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1992), 177-193.

Week 11: April 2

Eisenhower's Farewell Address: Online at
<<http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/farewell.htm>>

READ: Campbell and Jamieson, *Deeds Done in Words*, chapt. 10.

Duane Litfin, "Eisenhower on the Military-Industrial Complex: Critique of a Rhetorical Strategy," *Central States Speech Journal* (now *Communication Studies*) 25 (1974): 198-209.

Charles J. G. Griffin, "New Light on Eisenhower's Farewell Address," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 22 (1992): 469-480.

Martin J. Medhurst, "Reconceptualizing Rhetorical History: Eisenhower's Farewell Address," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 80 (1994): 195-218.

Robert L. Scott, "Eisenhower's Farewell Address: Response to Medhurst," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 81 (1995): 496-501.

Martin J. Medhurst, "Robert L. Scott Plays Dwight D. Eisenhower," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 81 (1995): 502-506.

Robert L. Scott, "Eisenhower's Farewell: The Epistemic Function of Argument," in *Perspectives on Argumentation: Essays in Honor of Wayne Brockriede*, ed. Robert Trapp and Janice Schuetz (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1990), 151-161.

Rhetorical Thematics

Week 12: April 9 **Case Studies in Tracing Rhetorical Themes or Topics Across Time**

READ: Martin J. Medhurst, "George W. Bush, Public Faith, and the Culture War over Same-Sex Marriage," in *The Prospect of Presidential Rhetoric*, ed. James Arnt Aune and Martin J. Medhurst (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, forthcoming).

David Zarefsky, "Consistency and Change in Lincoln's Rhetoric about Equality," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 1 (1998): 21-44.

Steven R. Goldzwig and George N. Dionisopoulos, "John F. Kennedy's Civil Rights Discourse: The Evolution from 'Principled Bystander' to Public Advocate," *Communication Monographs* 56 (1989): 179-198.

Denise M. Bostdorff, "The Evolution of a Diplomatic Surprise: Richard M. Nixon's Rhetoric on China, 1952-July 15, 1971," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 5 (2002): 31-56.

Vanessa B. Beasley, "Engendering Democratic Change: How Three U.S. Presidents Discussed Female Suffrage," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 5 (2002): 79-103.

Leroy G. Dorsey, "The Frontier Myth in Presidential Rhetoric: Theodore Roosevelt's Campaign for Conservation," *Western Journal of Communication* 59 (1995): 1-19.

Rhetorical Campaigns

Week 13: April 16 **Woodrow Wilson's Western Tour**

READ: J. Michael Hogan, *Woodrow Wilson's Western Tour* (all)

Leroy G. Dorsey, "Woodrow Wilson's Fight for the League of Nations: A Reexamination," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 2 (1999): 107-135.

Week 14: April 23 **LBJ's Great Society**

READ: David Zarefsky, *President Johnson's War on Poverty: Rhetoric and History* (all)

David Zarefsky, "The Great Society as a Rhetorical Proposition," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 65 (1979): 364-378.

Perspectives on Rhetorical Efficacy

Week 15: April 30 **What Does It Mean for Rhetoric to Be Successful?**

READ: George C. Edwards III, *On Deaf Ears* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003) (all)

Martin J. Medhurst, "Response to *On Dear Ears*." National Communication Association, 2004.

George C. Edwards III, "Presidential Rhetoric: What Difference Does It Make?" in *Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency*, 199-217.

Martin J. Medhurst, "Afterword: The Ways of Rhetoric," in *Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency*, 218-226.

David Zarefsky, "Presidential Rhetoric and the Power of Definition," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34 (2004): 607-619.

James N. Druckman and Justin W. Holmes, "Does Presidential Rhetoric Matter? Priming and Presidential Approval," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34 (2004): 755-778.

PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following books have been written from the perspective of communication and rhetorical studies. They are arranged according to type of study or individual president.

General Overviews of Presidential Rhetoric

- Roderick P. Hart, *The Sound of Leadership* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987)
- Kathleen E. Kendall, ed., *Presidential Campaign Discourse* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995)
- Martin J. Medhurst, ed., *Beyond the Rhetorical Presidency* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1996)
- Halford Ryan, ed., *U.S. Presidents as Orators: A Bio-Critical Sourcebook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995)
- Craig Allen Smith and Kathy Smith, *The White House Speaks: Presidential Leadership as Persuasion* (New York: Praeger, 1995)
- Theodore Otto Windt, Jr. and Beth Ingold, eds., *Essays in Presidential Rhetoric*, 2nd ed. (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 1987)
- Theodore Otto Windt, Jr., *Presidents and Protesters: Political Rhetoric in the 1960s* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990)

Studies of Specific Rhetorical Genres

- Denise M. Bostdorff, *The Presidency and the Rhetoric of Foreign Crisis* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994)
- Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Deeds Done in Words: Presidential Rhetoric and the Genres of Governance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990)
- Roderick P. Hart, *The Political Pulpit* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1977)
- Amos Kiewe, ed., *The Modern Presidency and Crisis Rhetoric* (New York: Praeger, 1994)
- Halford Ryan, ed., *The Inaugural Addresses of Twentieth-Century American Presidents* (New York: Praeger, 1993)
- Herbert W. Simons and Aram A. Aghazarian, eds., *Form, Genre, and the Study of Political Discourse* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1986)

Analyses of Presidential Language and Style

- Roderick P. Hart, *Verbal Style and the Presidency: A Computer-Based Analysis* (Orlando, FL: Academic Press, 1984)

History and Criticism of Presidential Campaigns and Campaign Advertising

- Robert E. Denton, Jr., *The 1992 Presidential Campaign: A Communication Perspective* (New York: Praeger, 1993)
- Kenneth L. Hacker, ed., *Candidate Images in Presidential Elections* (New York: Praeger, 1993)
- Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency: A History and Criticism of Presidential Campaign Advertising, 3rd ed.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996)
- Arthur H. Miller and Bruce E. Gronbeck, eds., *Presidential Campaigns & American Self-Images* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994)
- Judith S. Trent and Robert V. Friedenberg, *Political Campaign Communication: Principles and Practices, 3rd ed.* (New York: Praeger, 1995)

Presidential Debates

- Lloyd F. Bitzer, *Carter vs. Ford: The Counterfeit Debates of 1976* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980)
- Diana B. Carlin and Mitchell S. McKinney, eds., *The 1992 Presidential Debates in Focus* (New York: Praeger, 1994)
- Robert V. Friedenberg, ed., *Rhetorical Studies of National Political Debates, 1960-1992, 2nd ed.* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994)
- Edward A. Hinck, ed., *Enacting the Presidency: Political Argument, Presidential Debates, and Presidential Character* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993)
- Kathleen Hall Jamieson and David Birdsell, *Presidential Debates: The Challenge of Creating an Informed Electorate* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988)
- Sidney Kraus, *The Great Debates: Background, Perspective, Effects* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962)
- Sidney Kraus, *The Great Debates: Carter vs. Ford, 1976* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979)
- Sidney Kraus, *Televised Presidential Debates and Public Policy* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1988)
- Michael Pfau and Susan A. Helweg, *Televised Presidential Debates: Advocacy in Contemporary America* (New York: Praeger, 1992)
- Kurt Ritter, *The 1980 Presidential Debates* (Lawrence, KS: Allen Press, 1981)

The Rhetoric of Specific Presidents and Presidential Administrations

Andrew Jackson

- Robert G. Gunderson, *The Log-Cabin Campaign* (Lexington: University of Kentucky

Press, 1957)

Abraham Lincoln

Lois Einhorn, *Abraham Lincoln the Orator: Penetrating the Lincoln Legend* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992)

David Zarefsky, *Lincoln, Douglas, and Slavery: In the Crucible of Public Debate* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990)

Theodore Roosevelt

Robert V. Friedenber, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rhetoric of Militant Decency* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990)

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Halford Ryan, *Franklin D. Roosevelt's Rhetorical Presidency* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1988)

Harry S. Truman

Halford Ryan, *Harry S. Truman: Presidential Rhetoric* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993)

Robert Underhill, *The Truman Persuasions* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1981)

Dwight D. Eisenhower

Martin J. Medhurst, ed., *Eisenhower's War of Words: Rhetoric and Leadership* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1994)

Martin J. Medhurst, *Dwight D. Eisenhower: Strategic Communicator* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993)

John F. Kennedy

Steven R. Goldzwig and George N. Dionisopoulos, *"In a Perilous Hour": The Public Address of John F. Kennedy* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995)

Lyndon B. Johnson

Kathleen J. Turner, *Lyndon Johnson's Dual War: Vietnam and the Press* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985)

David Zarefsky, *President Johnson's War on Poverty: Rhetoric and History* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1986)

Richard M. Nixon

Hal Bochyn, *Richard Nixon: Rhetorical Strategist* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990)

Ronald Reagan

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