University of Louisville

ThinkIR: The University of Louisville's Institutional Repository

Faculty Scholarship

9-15-2019

Kenneth Burke at the MoMA: A Viewer's Theory

Debra Hawhee

The Pennsylvania State University

Megan Poole

University of Louisville, megan.poole@louisville.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ir.library.louisville.edu/faculty>

Part of the [Museum Studies Commons](#), [Photography Commons](#), and the [Rhetoric and Composition Commons](#)

Original Publication Information

Hawhee, Debra & Megan Poole. "Kenneth Burke at the MoMA: A viewer's theory." 2019 *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 105(4): 418-440.

ThinkIR Citation

Hawhee, Debra and Poole, Megan, "Kenneth Burke at the MoMA: A Viewer's Theory" (2019). *Faculty Scholarship*. 545.

<https://ir.library.louisville.edu/faculty/545>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by ThinkIR: The University of Louisville's Institutional Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Faculty Scholarship by an authorized administrator of ThinkIR: The University of Louisville's Institutional Repository. For more information, please contact thinkir@louisville.edu.

Kenneth Burke at the MoMA: A Viewer's Theory

Abstract

When Kenneth Burke visited the Museum of Modern Art exhibition “Road to Victory: A Procession of Photographs of the Nation at War” in the summer of 1942, he most likely did not expect to leave with such intense and intensely contradictory impressions. His visit there offers rhetoric scholars an opportunity to examine the exhibition—important for museum rhetoric because of its propagandistic political message and its innovative visual design. Considering the exhibition on its own terms, and the way designers managed problems of circulation and implemented new methods of “extended vision” helps us to present Burke’s then-developing theories (placement, the pentad) as themselves decidedly visual, and concomitantly, for that moment at least, as decidedly war-directed.

Keywords:

Museum rhetoric, visual rhetoric, Museum of Modern Art, Kenneth Burke, Herbert Bayer

On May 21, 1942, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York opened its much-anticipated exhibition titled “Road to Victory: A Procession of Photographs of the Nation at War,” co-created by the famed photographer Edward Steichen, who selected the photographs, and his brother-in-law, the poet Carl Sandburg, who composed captions. The sprawling exhibition took up the entire second floor of the museum and was installed by the Bauhaus artist and designer Herbert Bayer. Museum administrators touted the exhibition’s propagandistic function; its express purpose, according to the Director of Exhibitions, “was to enable every American to see himself as a vital and indispensable element of victory.”¹ It did so by having museum visitors follow a winding yet deliberate path—what the exhibition director called a “procession”—through a sequence of 150 government-agency-furnished photographs enlarged to mural sizes ranging from 3 feet by 4 feet to 10 feet by 40 feet.² By the time it closed on October 4, 1942, the exhibition had attracted more than 100,000 visitors, one of whom was Kenneth Burke.³

Our foray into accounts of this exhibition follows the lead of rhetoric and photography scholar Cara Finnegan, whose *Making Photography Matter* stresses what Finnegan calls the “‘eventfulness’ of the photographic encounter” and everyday responses to that eventfulness.⁴ The result, in Finnegan’s case, is a “viewer’s history,” “a *rhetorical* history that considers how photography animated particular ways of seeing and habits of response among viewers.”⁵ Finnegan’s is a history, in other words, that uses viewers’ responses as a measure of their citizenly rhetorical consciousness.

To be sure, Kenneth Burke hardly needed the “Road to Victory” exhibition to draw out his own rhetorical sensibility. But the exhibition exemplified what Burke called “an enlistment of art and rhetoric in the service of war,” thereby marking, for him, a significant shift in the intellectual climate. Following Finnegan’s lead, then, helps us show, first, the eventfulness of as well as the eventfulness *within* “Road to Victory.” Second, it allows us to examine how that eventfulness prompted this particular visitor to think harder—and explicitly so—about how images and their sequencing create drama, and even more broadly, how the exhibition situated the war itself.

This essay has two complementary goals, best worked through in order: first, we wish to reanimate the visual, material, and political life of “Road to Victory” for scholars of rhetoric, making available its principles of circulation and visual design to those working in museum rhetoric and visual rhetoric; and second we will consider how the exhibition, so designed, led Burke to direct his key rhetorical concepts (placement and the pentad) to the broader global political context of World War II. The resulting essay offers new concepts for a rhetoric of movement and vision while also discovering the heretofore unconsidered visual cast of dramatism. Call it a viewer’s theory.

I. Circulation and Vision on the “Road to Victory”

Scholars working on museum rhetoric have established a thriving interdisciplinary subfield that examines the rhetorical workings of museum design.⁶ Most of this scholarship tends to focus on current exhibitions such that scholars are able to experience firsthand a museum’s design as they theorize its rhetorical dimensions. Finnegan’s chapter on the First International Photographic Exposition stands as an exception, and her work establishes the importance of considering a long-dismantled exhibition as part of rhetoric’s material—and richly visual—history.⁷

What makes “Road to Victory” especially worthy of attention for scholars in rhetoric is its cultural significance as the first explicitly propagandistic exhibition shown at the MoMA—the exhibition effectively enlisted art and cultural institutions in the war effort—and the archival and published evidence of plans developed and altered in light of bodily movement and sensuous possibilities.⁸ At the time of the exhibition’s opening, the museum’s Director of Exhibitions predicted that “few people will see this exhibition without feeling that they are part of the power of America and that if that power is exerted to the utmost our freedom shall endure.”⁹ And in many cases he was right: visitors to the museum raved in their letters, and press coverage was almost uniformly positive. A *Vogue* feature writer called it “the most moving, the most dramatic” exhibition “ever held at the Museum.”¹⁰ One *New York Times* writer found it “as effective as the best drama.”¹¹ “Together,” concluded the *Vogue* writer, echoing the museum’s news release, “picture and word enable Americans to see themselves.”¹² This section will show how that seeing happened by first describing visitor movement through the exhibition and then drawing out the rhetorical, bodily dimensions of its approach to circulation and vision.

Upon entry, visitors to the second floor of the MoMA encountered a vast twelve by sixteen-foot mural of Bryce Canyon, flanked by a scenic photo of buffalo and three individual portraits of American Indian men, with a long caption starting with the words “In the beginning.” Next, visitors moved through small rooms to see photographs of fields and laborers at work and at rest—“the fat of the land,” read one of Sandburg’s captions; other rooms showed scenes from daily life in the U.S., including those photographed by the Farm Security Administration of black and white children in schoolrooms.¹³ Then the exhibition wound into industry, with images from mines, factories, and dams. One visitor, trying to capture the sublime effect of an Interior Department photomural of Boulder Dam, described it as “a combination of Reims Cathedral and Niagara Falls.”¹⁴ The rest of the exhibition was devoted first to the industry of war, with photographs of battleship and submarine construction, and finally to scenes of the war itself. In the approach to images of the country’s preparation for and entry into war, visitors ascended a railed ramp to an eighteen-inch elevation.¹⁵ At this elevation, the ramp wound along images of battle, with photographs of troops traveling over oceans, racing across a bridge, and marching in formation, and then photos taken of bombers in the air and launches at sea, depicting what Sandburg labels “tons on tons of annihilation.”¹⁶ After winding through the final images furnished mainly by the U.S. Navy, and while descending the long ramp, visitors came upon a series of staggered F.S.A. portraits of couples waiting at home on couches and porches, leading into the exhibition’s denouement, a sixteen-foot high panoramic mural curving for a width of forty feet—the longest in the show—showing hundreds of helmeted infantrymen marching shoulder to rifle-bearing shoulder.

Circulation

By stressing visitor movement through the exhibition in the foregoing description, we have deliberately emphasized circulation, attention to which has long been deemed important by rhetorical scholars. Rhetorical circulation usually designates the movement of texts or images by print or digital means—naming the specific ways rhetoric spreads. As public address scholar Mary Stuckey puts it, “circulation impinges on every aspect of rhetorical theory and criticism.”¹⁷ Exhibition spaces facilitate this kind of circulation, for curation is nothing if not a choice to place a sequence of art pieces in front of people’s eyes. But in the instance of an exhibition, the more familiar kind of circulation is nested within another kind of circulation, one that engages scholars in museum studies: the circulation of visitor bodies through a curated space.¹⁸

This kind of circulation concerns physicality and kinesis. In detailing it, we follow the lead of Swiss historian of photography Olivier Lugon who has, within the last decade, sought to give “the physical and kinetic component” of exhibitions “the importance it deserves.”¹⁹ After all, museum exhibitions share the common feature that “visitors are supposed to be able to move around inside them.” Lugon’s concerns about bodies and movement are shared by museum-rhetoric scholars Eric Aoki, Greg Dickinson, and Brian Ott, who examine the rhetorical features and effectiveness of directed movement in a museum context.²⁰ Aoki, Dickinson, and Ott discuss visitor circulation in terms of “directed movement,” an apt description of the approach taken by Herbert Bayer and the other creators of “Road to Victory,” where the “road” followed by visitors became, for the time of their visit, the road followed by the United States into and through the second World War.²¹

That the circulation of visitor bodies concerned the creators of “Road to Victory” is evident in a December 12, 1941 memorandum detailing revisions to the exhibition’s ground plan, sent by MoMA staff member and artist Carlus Dyer to the head of exhibitions and

publications and two leaders in the newly created Department of Photography.²² According to Dyer, the revised plan “retains the advantages of” the plan it replaced, “in particular its spaciousness and the placement of the large photomural so there may be a long approach to it.”²³ With the amendment of the plan, in Dyer’s words, “the problem of circulation is more adequately solved.” Dyer then directly enlists his colleagues’ agreement about the importance of attending to circulation: “We believe you will agree there is wisdom in designing the galleries keeping the factor of circulation well in mind, as one of major importance.”²⁴ At issue, according to Dyer’s memo, was the focus on the exhibition’s denouement—the twelve by forty-foot photomural of soldiers marching—which the original plan had apparently flanked with projection screens. This plan, Dyer believed, “would establish too great a concentration of the major elements of the exhibition at this one point.” Instead, Dyer’s memo, and the new plan, which placed the screens “in a spot which tends to lag in the usual large exhibition,” stressed “greater variety through the exhibition.” This memo richly documents the exhibition creators’ concerns with a broader principle of circulation: objects of visual interest can overwhelm if placed too close together.²⁵ Dyer’s conclusion to the memo raises the idea of the exhibition’s pace: “We believe this new plan, in so far as the physical scheme of the gallery may function toward this end, opens greater possibility for an exhibition possessing a sustained dramatic tempo throughout.”²⁶ At issue, for Dyer, is the way the exhibition unfolds for—and moves—visitors. Variety sustains attention, and placement keeps things moving through time, encouraging speed and slowness, a rhythm of sorts, or what Dyer terms “tempo.” Optical circulation therefore depends on the matters of sensation, perception, movement, and time.

One striking case in point—or really in bend—may be found in the middle of the exhibition, where drama, by all accounts, reached a peak. Figure 1 shows an aerial view of the exhibition’s floor plan inset with an enlarged image of the exhibition’s near center. The model

Figure 1: “Road to Victory” floor plan, with center display enlarged..²⁷

shows how sharp the curve was and how the designers created what amounts to a material turning point. The approach to the curve showed an enlarged photograph of a meeting of The America First Committee, an organization that opposed U.S. involvement in the war. Sandburg’s text reads, “It can’t happen to us”; “We’ve got two oceans protecting us”; and “The United States is not in the slightest danger of invasion.” Leading up to the curve, visitors could not see what was coming because the murals were angled away from them. Once they rounded the curve, though, what visitors saw is the iconic photograph captured by the U.S. Navy: the moment

the USS Shaw's forward magazine detonated during the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.²⁸ Placed at a near ninety-degree angle with this familiar image was a Dorothea Lange portrait of a Texas farmer whose eyes, because of the angle of placement, are directed toward the explosion.²⁹ Also directed toward the explosion are the eyes of Saburō Kurusu, a Japanese special envoy to the U.S., and Kichisaburō Nomura, Japan's ambassador to the United States. The photograph with the caption "Two Faces," depicts the two figures having a laugh. Figure 2 shows these three images as installed.

Figure 2: Installation View of Pearl Harbor segment.³⁰ Sandburg's caption reads: "War—they asked for it—now, by the living God, they'll get it."

The memo from Dyer, the one stressing the importance of variety in circulation, was typed five days after Japanese forces attacked Pearl Harbor, the U.S. entered the war, and the America First Committee disbanded.³¹ Museum officials changed the name of the exhibition from "Panorama of Defense" to "Road to Victory." That shift—from an at-a-distance,

encompassing, visual panorama of defending freedom to the singular, no-turning-back “road” through war to victory—is crucial for the life of the exhibition, and this shift is rendered dramatically with the sharpest curve in the exhibition. Dyer’s hoped-for shift in tempo in visitor experience was directly perceived by at least one reviewer, who wrote, “Like the climax of a moving-picture the sensational Navy picture of the Pearl Harbor bombing hits home. From here on, the tempo steps up sharply. Planes take off, parachutists spill out, soldiers break into a run.”³² Writing for the communist newspaper the *Daily Worker*, culture editor Edith Anderson described this moment in the exhibit in this way: “Then a sudden large picture of an America First meeting—and just around the turn of the ramp a startling photograph of the fiery exploding inferno of Pearl Harbor.”³³ Writing for *The New York Times*, Edward Jewell describes the moment this way: “Startlingly, round a corner, one comes to a superb enlargement of the United States Navy photograph of the explosion of the destroyer Shaw’s magazine . . . also Japanese Ambassador, Nomura and the Japanese peace envoy, Kurusu, ‘rocking with laughter.’”³⁴ This segment also carries the dramatic shift in the U.S.’s stance on the war after Pearl Harbor. In other words, the exhibition’s point of crisis mirrors the moment when the U.S. joined the fight against fascism.

Extended Vision

As “Road to Victory” visitors approached the dramatic turn into the war proper, they also ascended the ramp. As Anderson described it, “As you move through the exhibit you arrive at a winding ramp which carries you up and up the climatic development of the theme.”³⁵ This ramp was Bayer’s innovation, and it embodied his approach to exhibition rhetoric.³⁶ That approach, according to art historian Alexander Dorner, was motivated by Bayer’s “urge to intensify the language of public communication.”³⁷ Bayer achieved this intensification by creating a highly

controlled itinerary, an itinerary whose rigidity was eased by the use of winding curves and by what Dorner calls Bayer's a "philosophy of dynamic display."³⁸ That philosophy is itself fascinating and warrants closer attention from scholars of visual rhetoric and communication. To introduce Bayer and to pursue one more bodily-sensory concept informing the exhibition's design, we will attend to the most striking material manifestations of Bayer's design philosophy in "Road to Victory": the extended vision achieved by elevation of the path and a minimalist mode of photographic display.

Bayer placed exhibition design at the "apex of all media and powers of communication," characterizing it as "an intensified new language" because of the way it integrates architecture and graphics with various media, surfaces, colors, light, and materials.³⁹ To achieve such directed circulation Bayer enlisted all available materials to smooth the otherwise erratic circulation of visitor bodies through the exhibition. The elevated, railed path gave little choice for the direction of movement. Constructed of Masonite with a curving wooden rail/barrier, the ramp's primary purpose was to extend what Bayer called "field of vision."⁴⁰ Whereas most museum exhibitions at the time relied on a horizontal direction of viewing, Bayer experimented with bodily positions and angles of display, maximizing the exhibition space by elevating the eye. And "the eye" it was: one of Bayer's many diagrams of extended vision, with a single eye perched on top of a leisure-suited visitor, is reproduced in Figure 3.⁴¹ The diagram shows "all possibilities" of angles and display, expanding the viewable exhibition space to 360 degrees from the flat, one-dimensional space in traditional exhibitions.⁴² The viewer here stands on a platform surrounded by a panoramic display. The eye, free from (what Bayer evidently considered as) a constraining neck and head, is positioned in the center, fully immersed in the display. On Lugon's reading of the sketch, when bodies are elevated and art works are mounted at angles,

“the field of vision is broadened beyond the horizontal axis alone . . . with visitors invited to move their heads from the floor to the ceiling or . . . in all possible directions.”⁴³ It bears remembering from the previous section that the bodies themselves were also moving.

Figure 3: Bayer's sketch of extended vision.⁴⁴

The ramp was integral to this exhibition's circulation. As Bayer himself described "Road to Victory" in a 1961 retrospective: "More than half of the linear length of the visitor's walk was over a ramp which enabled . . . long views as well as close views of small and giant photographs. By raising the viewing point it became possible to place many of the exhibits on the floor."⁴⁵ The circulation plan and the ramp combined to allow multiple perspectives simultaneously—"long," "close," and—in the case of the ramp and the photomurals angled up from the floor—bird's eye. These multiple perspectives made the exhibition an immersive, participatory experience in which

visitors were enlisted in its message of doing their part for the war effort. Edward Steichen would describe the bodily experience of Bayer's extended vision as a kind of participatory viewing: "The contrast in scale of images, the shifting of focal points, the intriguing perspective of long- and short-range visibility with the images to come being glimpsed beyond the images at hand—all these permit the spectator *an active participation* that no other forms of visual communication can give."⁴⁶

Working in tandem with extended vision to deepen the immersive experience was Bayer's principle of minimalist display. The photomurals in "Road to Victory" were presented without frames and were secured at optimal viewing angles by wire cable—a work order called for 1400 feet of it.⁴⁷ The "nearly invisible" wire cables were, as one scholar writes, "used to suspend photographic enlargements out from the wall toward the viewer. Prints were angled off the walls in various directions, or curled out from either end to meet the viewer."⁴⁸ Without traditional picture frames or even curatorial frames the photographs were effectively laid bare. Bayer regularly eschewed frames in his exhibits, insisting that all "material effort" must remain "as inconspicuous as possible" to allow "subjects [to] speak for themselves."⁴⁹ In a discussion of this approach, he returned to "Road to Victory" to illuminate the point:

In an exhibition of giant photographs depicting the American nation at work, the photographs were placed without frames and without visible supports. It was possible here to eliminate all elements, structural and otherwise, that might detract from or interfere with the images themselves. The ultimate solution of this train of thought would be displays created without any material effort or visible support, placed in midair by methods of the future.⁵⁰

Bayer's streamlined design "of the future" had as its goal focusing visitors' attention on nothing but the sequence of images and was his solution to museum fatigue. The absence of discrete frames also created something like a cinematic effect by allowing the images to move more quickly into each other. Whereas framed photographs are presented as discrete entities for which viewers are to stop, stare, and linger, unframed ones, by contrast, speed up the movement from one to the next. As the reviewer Elizabeth McCausland characterized it at the time:

Using esthetic concepts from the film form, the exhibition may be thought of as a movie in three dimensions with the different [sic] that it is the spectator who moves, not the pictures. In this kinesthetic relation between the one who sees and what is seen lies the explanation of the moving psychological effect of the exhibition. It has visual activity, as life has. It speaks with a variety of accents, and it shows the various face of remembered experience.⁵¹

The cinematic effect of the frameless images sped up the circulation's tempo and deepened the immersion. An overview of the exhibition featured in a special issue of *Art News* devoted to "how visual art can help beat the axis" noted the cinematic effect: "Like the climax of a moving-picture the sensational Navy picture of the Pearl Harbor bombing hits home. From here on the tempo steps up sharply" (29).⁵² One critic has described the effect of "Road to Victory" as "full sensorial immersion."⁵³ Bayer's expansive and innovative view of visual communication was made manifest in this exhibition by studs, braces, rails, turnbuckles, wire cable, and eye bolts.⁵⁴

The immersive, not to say coercive, design is likely what both inspired and frustrated Kenneth Burke, who had never been one to follow such a confined road.

II. Burke at the MoMA

On the day before Independence Day, 1942, in the exhibition's sixth week, Burke visited "Road to Victory," taking in, in his words, first, images of "the nation in its customary peacetime pursuits," followed by "the men and the scenes indigenous to war."⁵⁵ What he saw was not so much "the power of America" but—in his words—"the most 'natural aesthetic adjustment to war conditions I have seen so far.'"⁵⁶ In a letter to Malcolm Cowley, Burke expressed mixed feelings about the exhibition:

Was in town last week, looking at the America (as per Sandburg) photographs at the Modern Museum. Go look at them, if you wd. Be impressed with what depressed me as a futuristic present shallow in futurity (unless it can somehow manage to reverse itself) with Sandburg contributing some official-mouthpiece verbalizing (of the kind that happens after Whitman's catalogues, as tempered by Sears Roebuck catalogues, have been transformed into a kind of proto-material from which one may in turn get such re-transformations as Corwin or MacLeish). But the technical work on the photographs was very impressive, as was the progression from the rural to the industrial, to the military. And some of the folk subjects.⁵⁷

Burke's account to Cowley somewhat neatly divides Sandburg's words and the exhibition's outlook, which depressed him, from its aesthetics or "technical work," which he found impressive and almost uplifting.

The mix of strong reactions Burke had—positive and negative—made "Road to Victory" perfect fodder for Burke's writings, and he began to wrestle with what he had encountered at the MoMA, incorporating the exhibition and its images into an article he had promised the editors of the *American Journal of Sociology*, published that fall under the title "War and Cultural Life." He also drew on his experience at the exhibition while drafting—and that fall, revising after a

rejection—the manuscript that would become *A Grammar of Motives*. Burke’s trek on “Road to Victory” helped him illuminate “placement,” a concept that works in tandem with circulation and more broadly as a critical tool for adjusting to a situation—in this case, what he called “the war situation.” In addition to illuminating placement, the exhibition furnished for Burke an emblem for the pentad. Burke’s mixture of political dissatisfaction and intense aesthetic appreciation prompted him to try to surpass the exhibition’s reach, to widen the road, so to speak, and to further extend the vision it allows.

Placement and the War

A list of central concepts in *A Grammar of Motives* is not likely to include placement, unless, that is, Burke himself were to have made that list in the early forties. The entire first 124-page section of *A Grammar of Motives* is, after all, entitled “Ways of Placement.”⁵⁸ Placement, in Burke’s scheme, is linked to definition: it delimits a thing, gives context. As he puts it in *Grammar*, “This idea of locating, or placing, is implicit in our very word for definition itself: to define, or determine a thing, is to mark its boundaries, hence to use terms that possess, implicitly at least, contextual reference.”⁵⁹ A few pages later, he points out that whereas “contextual definition stresses *placement*, ancestral definition stresses derivation.”⁶⁰ In *A Rhetoric of Motives*, Burke offers this surprisingly brief summary of that book’s prequel (*Grammar*): “it considered resources of placement and definition common to all thought.”⁶¹ Placement is not strictly interchangeable with contextual definition, but it performs similar work. In a printed version of a lecture on poetry as symbolic action that he delivered at Princeton in 1942, Burke notes that “the quickest way to argue for this approach [to poetry as symbolic action] is to indicate its serviceability as a way of placement.”⁶² As a creative act, placement sets things in relation to each other. As a critical tool, it prompts the critic to parse existing relations. Burke

put placement to work in the context of the exhibition and—through a resistant reading of the exhibition—in the broader context of the War.

Burke's discussion of placement in the context of "Road to Victory" helps to draw out the concept's visual and kinetic offerings, cuing as it does into the sequencing of the photographs and the movement of bodies through that sequence. In "War and Cultural Life," Burke notes that "in this 'procession' of photographs the war is not so much 'featured' as it is 'placed.'"⁶³ Placement, in this instance, gives a name to the ways images in sequence operate in relation to each other and, by extension, rhetorically, as an inducement to action, to use Burke's early definition. The abstract to "War and Cultural Life" notes that "Road to Victory" exemplifies a shift in the "intellectual climate" "to an enlistment of art and rhetoric in the service of the war."⁶⁴ In other words, placement came to the fore for Burke when art took on a rhetorical, exhortative cast. Indeed, his Princeton lecture notes how the insistence on separating poetry from rhetoric "was always untenable, but the war situation has made its insufficiencies more apparent."⁶⁵

If the "war situation" renewed Burke's commitment to the importance of keeping rhetoric in the mix, "Road to Victory" set placement into motion, such that it is productively paired with visitor circulation. Not only does museum circulation set placement into motion, but Burke's own circulation through "Road to Victory" animated his notion of placement.

Burke's observation that in the exhibition "the war is not so much 'featured' as it is 'placed'" precedes his kinetic description of the exhibition, which intersperses verbs of vision with verbs of movement. So after describing his initial encounter with the exhibition using the more distant grammatical third person—"as one enters, the first vista one encounters is a vast canyon in Zion National Park Utah"—Burke settles into the exhibit and moves to the first-person plural, his signature grammatical subject, interspersing verbs of movement with verbs of vision:

“we turn,” “we observe,” “we see,” “we see,” “we see.”⁶⁶ The verbs alone in Burke’s description of the exhibition show how inextricable are the placement of both the images, of the U.S. through those images, and directional movement, or visitor circulation. “By this ‘placing,’ Burke writes, “we see the third section—the war section—growing out of the two foregoing sections that depicted the pursuits of agriculture and industry quite as they are in times of peace.”⁶⁷ Placement, then, may be distinguished from the usual rhetorical canon of arrangement in that arrangement focuses on advantageous order, while placement focuses specifically on the object, act, or phenomenon that receives emphasis by means of a certain relational arrangement. In this case that object, act, phenomenon is War.

A case in point is the way Burke describes the Pearl Harbor segment of “Road to Victory,” which he refers to as a “crisis en route”:

The sequence, as installed, allowed also for a crisis en route. For it was so designed that, at one turn in the way, we come upon three pictures so arranged as to be isolated from all the others: two photographic comments flanking a scene of the bombing at Pearl Harbor. It is beyond this point that we turn to the military section of the exhibit. Thus, as there is a continuity of motivation depicted here, there is also a change of motivation. Though we see our war power developing out of our peace power, we also see the critical point at which the quality of motivation changes from that of profit to that of defense.⁶⁸

Here Burke continues narrating the directional movement of visitors while also managing to capture the ways image placement and circulation of visitor bodies work together to stage shifts in motivations, thereby enlisting visitors in that shift. As Bayer wrote in an article entitled “Fundamentals of Exhibition Design,” “an unseen direction will be easily accomplished by placing interesting and outstanding things at points where they will be immediately observed.”⁶⁹

Such a theory of placement, considered in the context of visitor circulation whereby placement and circulation mutually facilitate and reinforce each other, heightens the “eventfulness of the photographic encounter,” to return to Finnegan’s phrase. Through placement and circulation, time and the eventfulness of a moment can not only be “represented,” but pointedly and dramatically animated (or re-animated). As a visitor, Burke experiences the turns and shifts with a mix of appreciation and critique.

The exhibition, that is, helped Burke bring to the fore his concept of placement, which allowed him to find the limits of “Road to Victory,” to expand the terse and grumbly “futuristic present shallow in futurity” assessment he offered Cowley. Much as the War lifted the U.S. economy out of the lingering conditions of the Great Depression, it also, once and for all, exposed the folly of a “categorical opposition to all rhetoric” that Burke attributes to intellectuals advocating for “pure art” or laboring “under the general label of ‘semantics.’”⁷⁰ What the exhibition reveals, for Burke, is the indispensability of rhetoric to a cultural critic: “War, when fought under conditions of totality, obviously requires the enlistment of art, of hortatory or admonitory rhetoric, of information presented in ways that cushion the discouragement of defeats or intensify the encouragement of victories.”⁷¹

A more immersive, sensorial—or at least multifocal—method is exactly what Burke began to pursue in his revisions of *Grammar of Motives*, which he was completing that very summer, after receiving a rejection from Norton.⁷² In fact, to Burke, the exhibition’s “inclusive picture of all possibilities” was not nearly comprehensive enough. His dissatisfaction, clear in his letter to Cowley, becomes even clearer in “War and Cultural Life,” where he notes “The element of placement in the “Road to Victory” photographs could hardly be called complete from a purely administrative point of view.”⁷³ He elaborates this criticism:

In contemplating these scenes and portraits, one gets a very strong feeling that the war, vast as it is, is part of a still vaster configuration. The war may be considered as a scene motivating our acts—but this exhibit causes us to remember that the war may also be considered as an act placed in a more inclusive motivational scene and being enacted by agents with whom, likewise, motives originate.

The exhibition, while impressive, still, for Burke presented an all-too-narrow account of cultural life in the war. “The study of war aims,” he continues, “should thus be grounded in the most searching consideration of human motives.”⁷⁴ The exhibition appears to have strengthened Burke’s resolve to provide a stronger, more expansive “aesthetic adjustment,” (to use his term) to extend vision even further than Bayer and his colleagues could. He wanted to do this by returning to the importance of placement, and by expanding the range of attitudes that he believed ought to be included in a broad act of placement. In the passage above, Burke performs that very broadening, unhitching placement from the exhibition to a stance toward the war more generally. The abstract for “War and Cultural Life” indicates as much: “What is now needed, in the cultural sphere, is a whole intellectual movement designed to give placement to the conception of our exigencies, resources, weaknesses, and intentions.”⁷⁵ The opening of the article puts placement to work in precisely this way. Here, Burke argues that “Business and war are ‘scenic;’ they are situations. But democracy, as a motive against fascism, is an ideal, a purpose.”⁷⁶ War has shifted the placement of democracy, though, effectively transforming it from “connotations of problematical actuality to connotations of futurity”—we would stress, invoking Burke’s letter to Cowley, a particular “*shallow* in futurity”—one that according to Burke “fits well with the logic of the military motive. Burke also adds that this shift to democracy as a purpose is what allows the otherwise perplexing condition in which “the

disenfranchised, such as the natives or India or the Negroes of the South, can logically be asked to defend democracy as a purpose even when they could not be asked to defend it as an actuality.”⁷⁷ In other words, the “shallow in futurity” sacrifices the depth and complexity of democracy in practice. Such depth and complexity Burke and other visitors may have occasionally glimpsed in the meditative attitude inspired by the exhibition’s aesthetics and its longer view of the past, the vision nevertheless narrows, especially as the ramp begins at Pearl Harbor. The guardrails go up, and visitors must march on. Burke drew from the exhibition the need to do better, the need for “a study of war. . . grounded in the most searching consideration of human motives”; what he characterizes in the concluding paragraph as “a patient review of the human scene in all its fulness and complexity.”⁷⁸

“At a glance”

As Burke shuffled on through the exhibition during what had to have been a fairly crowded exhibit toward the end of the ramp, a particular photograph caught his eye. This photograph appears to have given Burke pause, if it did not bring him to a full stop.

Figure 4: “Photo 115”⁷⁹

The photograph is not by any stretch an iconic one, as evidenced in part by the archival feats required to track it down.⁸⁰ Catalogued as “Photo 115,” the image was placed on the floor and angled upward, the penultimate image in the naval section of the exhibition, positioned just before the visitors descended the ramp facing the gigantic forty-by-twelve curved mural of soldiers marching with guns on their shoulders. Burke’s description of the photograph appears on the second page of *A Grammar of Motives*:

In an exhibit of photographic murals (*Road to Victory*) at the Museum of Modern Art, there was an aerial photograph of two launches, proceeding side by side on a tranquil sea. Their wakes crossed and recrossed each other in an almost infinity of lines. Yet despite the intricateness of this tracery, the picture gave an impression of great simplicity, because one could quickly perceive the generating principle of its design. Such, ideally, is

the case with our pentad of terms, used as generating principle. It should provide us with a kind of simplicity that can be developed into considerable complexity, and yet can be discovered beneath its elaborations.⁸¹

In photo 115, Burke found an emblem for his method, a multifocal tool for keeping an eye on generating principles while simultaneously grasping, as he put it in an earlier draft of the above passage, the “identity of each detail among the infinite crossings and recrossings of the terms.”⁸²

Consider the fourth paragraph of *A Grammar of Motives*:

Act, Scene, Agent, Agency, Purpose. Although, over the centuries, men have shown great enterprise and inventiveness in pondering matters of human motivation, one can simplify the subject by this pentad of key terms, which are understandable almost at a glance.

They need never to be abandoned, since all statements that assign motives can be shown to arise out of them and to terminate in them. By examining them quizzically, we can range far; yet the terms are always there for us to reclaim, in their everyday simplicity, their almost miraculous easiness, thus enabling us to constantly begin afresh. When they might become difficult, when we can hardly see them, through having stared at them too intensely, we can of a sudden relax, to look at them as we always have, lightly, glancingly. And having reassured ourselves, we can start out again, once more daring to let them look strange and difficult for a time.

The pentad, in other words, is at base—and simultaneously—a renewable method for seeking and for seeing, for seeking and re-seeing—for locating existing placements and finding ways to transform them. The decidedly visual, even optical, cast of dramatism’s pentad was made so with an assist by the immersive, multifocal nature of “Road to Victory.” As such, Burke’s experience as a visitor to the MoMA helped him to return to work on *A Grammar of Motives* after a

dispiriting rejection from Norton, turning it more explicitly into a war book.⁸³ In making exhibition's "Photo 115" the pentad's emblem, Burke helped his readers visualize how the pentad might function. And with its encouragement of seeking and re-seeing, of squinting, starting, seeing anew, Burke hoped that the pentad would offer an even more comprehensive approach to the war than did "Road to Victory." He did so by retaining—indeed, using the "almost mightily enlarged" photographs and their capacity to "call forth a certain philosophic or 'meditative' attitude toward the war."⁸⁴ As Burke put it in a draft of the passage about the exhibition photograph, still working with the boats as "generating principles": "From the standpoint of our pentad as a generating principle, of course, our concern here is not primarily to 'settle' such issues as to participate in the generating of such transformations 'from within.'"⁸⁵ Such an ability to seek and see possibilities for transformation "from within" is a perfect characterization of the *spirit* of Burke's methods, if not of Burke himself. And such is the spirit with which he offers the emblem from "Road to Victory"—two launches, Japanese launches at that.⁸⁶

Conclusion: Burkean rhetorical vision⁸⁷

This essay set out to delineate a "viewer's theory" inspired by Burke's procession through—and writings on—"Road to Victory." The term viewer's theory is derived from Finnegan's "viewer's history" in which she examines the evidence left by viewers, and out of which she builds an argument that "engagement with photography in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries helped viewers negotiate emergent anxieties and crises of U.S. public life."⁸⁸ As the first part of this essay shows, the exhibition in and of itself stands as a case study for exploring the controversies and theories, namely circulation and extended vision, built into a historic

exhibition. By focusing on how the exhibition simultaneously irked and animated one viewer in particular—Kenneth Burke—we have shown how the tandem concepts of placement and circulation work together, and how Burke developed his rhetorical vision by means of inhabiting the extended vision built into the design of “Road to Victory.” Finally, we examined—and presented on its own for the first time—one photograph in particular that Burke found arresting for all its complex movements, a photograph that became emblematic of his famed pentad. In doing so, we show how vision and viewership, art and photography gave rise to, and were embedded into, one of modern rhetorical theory’s most practical critical tools, tools that Burke put immediately to work on the war and the prospects for cultural life growing up around it. Our account has Burke as a critical yet appreciative viewer, a theorist of rhetorical vision, who himself wanted to strain and squint to see how things work—and how, in particular, they might work better.

¹ Wheeler, Monroe. “Re: Steichen Exhibition,” May 13, 1942. MoMA Exhs. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY. Series Folder 182.1. The museum’s Publicity Director, Sarah Newmeyer, quotes Wheeler in the press release as well. Museum of Modern Art, “Two Famous Americans Arrange Road to Victory Exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art,” May 13, 1942, p. 1. Available at https://www.moma.org/documents/moma_press-release_325317.pdf

² The majority of the photographs came from the Farm Security Administration, the Army Signal Corps, and the Navy Bureau of Aeronautics. Wheeler, Monroe. “A Note on the Exhibition.” *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* 9, no. 5/6 (June 1942), 18-19.

³ Handwritten note, “Attendance,” by Miss Ulrich, listing month-by-month attendance for the exhibit. MoMA Exhs. Series Folder 182.3, The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY. The total number of attendees according to this tally sheet was 108,426.

⁴ Finnegan, Cara. *Making Photography Matter*, 5. Finnegan’s quotations around the word “eventfulness” refer to her own use of the word in her first book, *Picturing Poverty: Print Culture and FSA Photographs*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2003, xii; 178 n 8.

⁵ Finnegan, Cara. *Making Photography Matter*, 4, emphasis in original.

⁶ See, for example, Aoki, Eric, Greg Dickinson, and Brian L. Ott. “The Master Naturalist Imagined: Directed Movement and Simulations at the Draper Museum of Natural History.” In *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*, 238–65. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010. Kenneth S. Zagacki and Victoria J. Gallagher, too, examine how the Museum park at the North Carolina Museum of Art enacts a material, civic rhetoric by means of deliberately fashioned “spaces of attention.” Zagacki, Kenneth S., and Victoria J. Gallagher. “Rhetoric and Materiality in the Museum Park at the North Carolina Museum of Art.” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 95, no. 2 (May 2009), 181. M. Elizabeth Weiser’s book *Museum Rhetoric* brings together the disciplines of rhetoric and museum studies to examine how national museums create civic identity, and Lisa King draws on visual and material rhetorics to show how Indigenous museums in the U.S. move toward “legible sovereignties.” Weiser, M. Elizabeth. *Museum Rhetoric: Building Civic Identity in National Spaces*. University Park, PA: Penn State Press, 2017. See in particular Weiser’s first chapter, “the Rhetorical Museum,” 19-36. King, Lisa. *Legible Sovereignties: Rhetoric, Representations, and Native American Museums*. Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2017.

⁷ Finnegan, Cara. *Making Photography Matter*, 125-168. Like Finnegan's work with the Exhibition, our examination of "Road to Victory" relies on a good deal of reverse engineering based on archival accounts and a mixture of published and unpublished photographic and written accounts of "Road to Victory."

⁸ For a consideration of "Road to Victory" as the first in a series of "political and propagandistic shows mounted at the Museum during World War II and the cold war," see chapter 4, "Installations for Political Persuasion," in Staniszewski, Mary Anne. *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1998, 209.

⁹ Wheeler, Monroe. "A Note on the Exhibition." *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* 9, no. 5/6 (June 1942), 20.

¹⁰ "Road to Victory." *Vogue*, July 15, 1942, 26. We would be remiss not to mention Steichen's former position as photography editor at *Vogue*.

¹¹ van Gelder, Robert. "An Interview with Mr. Carl Sandburg." *The New York Times*, May 31, 1942, 14.

¹² "Road to Victory." *Vogue*, July 15, 1942, 26.

¹³ For a history of the Farm Security Administration's role in bringing poverty to the forefront of American minds, see Finnegan, *Picturing Poverty*.

¹⁴ Wheeler, Monroe. "A Note on the Exhibition." *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* 9, no. 5/6 (June 1942), 20. Source information, including photographer ([Cliff] Segerblom) is included in a six-page typed document titled (by hand) "Photographs." The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY. MoMA Exhs. Series Folder 182.2

¹⁵ Eighteen inches is the authors' estimation based on exhibit photographs included in *Vogue* magazine that summer. We derived the height from an estimation of the height of visitors pictured on the ramp. "Road to Victory." *Vogue*, July 15, 1942, 26-27.

¹⁶ Steichen, Edward, and Carl Sandberg. "Road to Victory, a Procession of Photographs of the Nation at War." *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* 9. No. 5/6 (June 1942), 14.

¹⁷ Stuckey, Mary. "On Rhetorical Circulation." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 15, no. 4 (2012): 609. Cara Finnegan discusses circulation as one of five complementary methods for studying public address's "visual modes." "By combining attention to circulation with the study of reproduction," writes Finnegan, "the critic is able to explore both the specificity and fluidity of visual images." Finnegan, Cara. "Studying Visual Modes of Public Address: Lewis Hine's Progressive-Era Child Labor Rhetoric." In *The Handbook of Rhetoric and Public Address*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2010, 258. In collaboration with Jiyeon Kang, Finnegan develops a theory of circulation for public sphere theory. Finnegan, Cara, and Jiyeon Kang. "'Sighting' the Public: Iconoclasm and Public Sphere Theory." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 90, no. 4 (2004): 395. Rhetoric and Writing scholar Laurie Gries frames circulation studies as "the study of rhetoric and writing in motion." Gries, Laurie A. *Still Life with Rhetoric: A New Materialist Approach for Visual Rhetorics*. Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 2015, xix. See also O'Rourke, Sean Patrick. "Circulation and Noncirculation of Photographic Texts in the Civil Rights Movement: A Case Study of the Rhetoric of Control." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 15, no. 4 (Winter 2012): 685-94. Jason Edward Black defines "rhetorical circulation" as a framework that "attends to the ways rhetoric flows, unanchored, around and through our daily lives." Black, Jason Edward. "Native Authenticity, Rhetorical Circulation, and Neocolonial Decay: The Case of Chief Seattle's Controversial Speech." *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 15, no. 4

(Winter 2012): 636. Catherine Chaput conceives of rhetorical circulation somewhat broadly as “a fluidity of everyday practices, affects, and uncertainties.” Chaput, Catherine. “Rhetorical Circulation in Late Capitalism: Neoliberalism and the Overdetermination of Affective Energy.” *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 43, no. 1 (2010): 6.

¹⁸ The leading authority on museum circulation appears to be Stephen Bitgood. See especially Bitgood, Stephen. *Attention and Value: Keys to Understanding Museum Visitors*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2013; Bitgood, Stephen. “An Analysis of Visitor Circulation: Movement Patterns and the General Value Principle.” *Curator: The Museum Journal* 49, no. 4 (October 2006): 463–75; Bitgood, Stephen, and Amy Cota. “Principles of Orientation and Circulation within Exhibitions.” *Visitor Behavior* 10, no. 2 (1995): 7–8. See also Melton, Arthur W. “Visitor Behavior in Museums: Some Early Research in Environmental Design.” *Human Factors* 15, no. 5 (1972): 393–403; Klein, Hans-Joachim. “Tracking Visitor Circulation in Museum Settings.” *Environment and Behavior* 25, no. 6 (November 1993): 782–800. Guler, Kutay. *Stimulating Visitor Behavior*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016, 47 ff.

¹⁹ Lugon, Olivier. “Dynamic Paths of Thought: Exhibition Design, Photography and Circulation in the Work of Herbert Bayer.” In *Cinema Beyond Film: Media Epistemology in the Modern Era*, edited by François Albera and Maria Tortajada, 117–44. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University press, 2010, 117.

²⁰ See in particular their essay on the Draper Museum of Natural History, “The Master Naturalist Imagined.”

²¹ The creators of this exhibition designed this exhibition with the U.S.’s distinctive situation in mind. The exhibition did in fact travel beyond New York—across the Midwestern United States (Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis), to San Francisco and Honolulu, and it even appeared in London,

albeit with a different title—66,000 people saw it there as “America Marches with the United Nations: A Procession of Photographs of a Nation at War.” The exhibition’s traveling of course adds yet another mode of circulation, one that space prevents us from attending to. We will focus instead on the circulation of visitor bodies.

²² Given the date of the memorandum, one must conclude that the bombing of Pearl Harbor figured in to their deliberations, though archival materials available at the MoMA are silent on such connections. The MoMA’s department of photography was created at the very end of 1940, with Newhall as curator and McAlpin as Trustee Chairman. See the memorandum “Museum of Modern Art Establishes New Department of Photography” for details.

https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/661/releases/MOMA_1940_0092_1940-12-24_401224-83.pdf

²³ Correspondence from Mr. Dyer to Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Newhall, Mr. McAlpin, 12 December 1941, MoMA Exhs. Folder 182.1, The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY. McGill, Douglas C. “Monroe Wheeler, Board Member of Modern Museum, Is Dead at 89.” *The New York Times*. August 16, 1988.

²⁴ Correspondence from Mr. Dyer to Mr. Wheeler, et al.

²⁵ Correspondence from Mr. Dyer to Mr. Wheeler, et al.

²⁶ Correspondence from Mr. Dyer to Mr. Wheeler, et al., emphasis added.

²⁷ This image is one of 36 images catalogued in MoMA’s online collection of installation images. The addition of the inset is our modification. Source: “Road to Victory” MoMA digital collection, https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/3038/installation_images/13641?locale=en

Last accessed September 21, 2018.

²⁸ “Photo 75, Pearl Harbor: USS Shaw explodes, U.S. Navy (9875),” from an unpublished catalogue list of exhibition photographs, MoMA Exhs. Folder 182.1, The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY. The term iconic photograph is of course from Robert Hariman and John Lucaites. Hariman, Robert, and John Louis Lucaites. *No Caption Needed: Iconic Photographs, Public Culture, and Liberal Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 5-6.

²⁹ n.b. this photograph is a by FSA photographer Dorothea Lange depicting the Dust Bowl. For a discussion of the repurposing of these photographs see Phillips, Christopher. “Edward Steichen and World War II Naval Photography.” MFA Thesis, Rochester Institute of Technology, 1981, p. 26. The use of Lange’s photograph in this context perfectly illustrates Cara Finnegan’s point about the “fluidity and specificity of [FSA photographic] images’ meanings across the contexts in which they circulated in the 1930s and 1940s.” Finnegan, Cara. “FSA Photography and New Deal Visual Culture.” In *American Rhetoric in the New Deal Era, 1932-1945*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2006, p. 117.

³⁰ This image is one of 36 images catalogued in MoMA’s online collection of installation images. Source: “Road to Victory” MoMA digital collection https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/3038/installation_images/13650?locale=en Last accessed September 21, 2018.

³¹ The leaders of the national America First Committee voted for the AFC’s dissolution on December 11, 1941. Cole, Wayne S. “The America First Committee.” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society (1908-1984)* 44, no. 4 (Winter 1951): 321. For a brief, popular account linking the AFC to Donald Trump’s “America First” slogan, see Calamur, Krishnadev. “A Short History of ‘America First.’” *The Atlantic*, January 21, 2017.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/01/trump-america-first/514037/>. Accessed on September 20, 2018.

³² Phillips, Duncan. "Visual Road to Victory." *ART News*, August-September 1942, 29.

³³ Anderson, Edith. "Sandburg and Steichen Produce Fine War Photo Exhibit." *Daily Worker*. May 24, 1942, 7. ESA IV.C.1. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY.

³⁴ Jewell, Edward Alden. "In Photographic Display of the 'Road to Victory.'" *The New York Times*, May 21, 1942.

³⁵ Anderson, 7.

³⁶ Our decision to call Bayer's design "exhibition rhetoric" is inspired by Bayer himself. In "Fundamentals of Exhibition Design," he writes that an exhibition's "theme should be brought close" to the spectator; should explain, demonstrate, and even persuade and lead [the spectator] to a planned reaction." "Fundamentals of Exhibition Design." *PM* 6, no. 2 (December 1939), 17. The "PM" in the magazine's title referred to production managers; the subtitle of the *PM* is "An Intimate Journal for Advertising Production Managers, Art Directors, and their Associates."

³⁷ Dorner, Alexander. *The Way Beyond 'Art'—The Work of Herbert Bayer*. New York: Wittenborn, Schultz, Inc., 1947, 193.

³⁸ Dorner, 207.

³⁹ Bayer, Herbert. "Aspects of Design of Exhibitions and Museums." *Curator: The Museum Journal* 4, no. 3 (1961): 257–58.

⁴⁰ Bayer, "Fundamentals," 24.

⁴¹ Bayer, "Fundamentals," 17–25. This diagram amounts to a depiction of Bayer's ideal viewer, shown here with eyeball and emphatic eyebrow in place of a head and dressed in a business/leisure suit. This image is too little to suggest that Bayer embraced neurodiversity in his

exhibition designs, but it does present a foil to the objective gaze that had dominated museum studies up to that time. There is no *ideal gaze* in Bayer's visual rhetoric. Instead, there is a bodily optics, a moving viewer who scans, questions, interprets, and acts. Bayer reproduced the diagram in a 1961 *Curator* article: Bayer, "Aspects of Design," 277, Fig. 35.

⁴² In an examination of how Bayer's work evolved over time and in a global political context, art historian Kristie La notes that Bayer's "viewing circumference reached 360 degrees" by 1939. See La, Kristie. "'Enlightenment, Advertising, Education, Etc.': Herbert Bayer and the Museum of Modern Art's *Road to Victory*." *October* 150 (Fall 2014): 63–86.

⁴³ Lugon, Olivier. "Dynamic Paths of Thought: Exhibition Design, Photography and Circulation in the Work of Herbert Bayer." In *Cinema Beyond Film: Media Epistemology in the Modern Era*, edited by François Albera and Maria Tortajada, 117–44. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University press, 2010, 125.

⁴⁴ Bayer, "Fundamentals," 25.

⁴⁵ Bayer, "Aspects," 264.

⁴⁶ Steichen, Edward. "The Museum of Modern Art and 'The Family of Man.'" *A Life in Photography*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1963, 227, emphasis added.

⁴⁷ "Estimate for Steichen Show Based on details available." 17 April, 1942, MoMA Exhs. Folder 182.3, The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY.

⁴⁸ Phillips, Christopher. "Steichen's 'Road to Victory.'" In *Public Photographic Spaces: Exhibitions of Propaganda, from Pressa to The Family of Man, 1928-55*, 366–78. Barcelona: Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, 2008, 375.

⁴⁹ Bayer, "Aspects," 284-285.

⁵⁰ Bayer, "Aspects," 270-276.

⁵¹ McCausland, Elizabeth. "Photographs Illustrate Our 'Road to Victory.'" *Photo Notes*, June 1942. ESA IV.C.1. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY.

⁵² "Visual Road to Victory." *Art News* 41, no. 9 (September 1942): 26–29.

⁵³ Ribalta, Jorge. "Introduction." In *Public Photographic Spaces Exhibitions of Propaganda, from Pressa to The Family of Man, 1928-55*, 19.

⁵⁴ These materials are listed in work estimate for the exhibition initialed by D.L Baxter.

"Estimate for Steichen Show Based on details available." 17 April, 1942, MoMA Exhs. Folder 182.3, The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY.

⁵⁵ After combing through two archives, we have deduced the date of Burke's visit from three letters he wrote. The first is a somewhat oblique reference to the exhibition in a June 18, 1942 letter to James Sibley Watson: "Are you going to be in NY next week? And if so, could I see you, say, Thursday? Or any other day but Friday (when I bring down enemy planes)?" This visit is followed by another letter dated June 30 confirming a meeting between the two on Thursday (July 2). (Kenneth Burke to James Sibley Watson, 18 June, 1942 and Kenneth Burke to James Sibley Watson, 30 July 1942, James Sibley Watson / The Dial Papers, Series III, Papers related to Kenneth Burke, Box 16, Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English and American Literature, New York Public Library). The second is a letter to Malcolm Cowley dated July 6 confirming that the visit went forward as planned: "Was in town last week looking at the America (as per Sandburg) photographs at the Modern Museum." (Kenneth Burke to Malcolm Cowley, 6 July 1942. Box 52, Folder 6, Kenneth Burke papers, 6369, Special Collections Library, University Libraries, Pennsylvania State University.) According to Weiser's deeply archival account, at this point Burke was probably redrafting the book that would become *A Grammar of Motives*, a manuscript that he at this point had titled "On Human Relations." Weiser

aptly demonstrates how the entry of the U.S. into World War II reconfigured his frame more generally, perhaps even inspiring him to place dramatism at its center. Weiser, Elizabeth.

“Burke, War, Words: Rhetoricizing the Theory of Dramatism.” *Rhetoric Review* 26, no. 3 (2007): 286–302. Weiser, Elizabeth. *Burke, War, Words: Rhetoricizing Dramatism*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2008, xiv; 5-26.

⁵⁶ Burke, Kenneth. “War and Cultural Life.” *American Journal of Sociology* 48, no. 3 (November 1942): 408.

⁵⁷ Kenneth Burke to Malcom Cowley, 6 July 1942. Box 52, Folder 6, Kenneth Burke papers, 6369, Special Collections Library, University Libraries, Pennsylvania State University.

⁵⁸ Burke, Kenneth. *A Grammar of Motives*. 3rd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.

⁵⁹ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 24.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 28. Emphasis in original. Burke practices both with regards to definition. The opening of the of the “Antinomies of Definition” section reads “There is a set of words comprising what we might call the Stance family, for they all derive from a concept of place, or placement” (21).

⁶¹ Burke, Kenneth. *A Rhetoric of Motives*. 3rd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969, 21. We would modestly note that the eye-widening phrase “common to all thought” is a good way to account for the book’s unwieldiness.

⁶² Burke, Kenneth. “The Study of Symbolic Action.” *The Chimera* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1942): 7.

⁶³ Burke, Kenneth. “War and Cultural Life.” *American Journal of Sociology* 48, no. 3 (November 1942): 408.

⁶⁴ Burke, “War and Cultural Life,” 404.

⁶⁵ Burke, Kenneth. “The Study of Symbolic Action.” *The Chimera* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1942): 8.

⁶⁶ Burke, “War and Cultural Life,” 408-409.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 409.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Bayer, “Fundamentals,” 19.

⁷⁰ Burke, “War and Cultural Life,” 406.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² W.W. Norton to David Mandel, 30 November 1942. Box 21, Folder 14, Kenneth Burke papers, 6369, Special Collections Library, University Libraries, Pennsylvania State University.

⁷³ Burke, “War and Cultural Life,” 409.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 404.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 405.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 409, 410.

⁷⁹ “Road to Victory” Exhibition album, vol. 2. Exhibition Archives. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY.

⁸⁰ Special thanks to Elisabeth Thomas, Assistant Archivist at MoMA Archives for locating the uncatalogued two-volume exhibition album after our sixth visit to the MoMA and two to other archives in search of the photograph.

⁸¹ *A Grammar of Motives*, xvi.

⁸² Typescript of *A Grammar of Motives* draft by Kenneth Burke, circa 1941-1945, Box 10, Folder 15, Kenneth Burke papers, 6369, Special Collections Library, University Libraries, Pennsylvania State University.

⁸³ Consider this archival gem from a letter Burke sent to James Sibley Watson on December 19, 1942:

I meekly called at Norton's to pick up the Ms. It seemed just the right day for that sort of thing.

Then, on my way home, trudging through the slush with the Ms under my arm, lo! I found myself in fond fancy knocking out a letter to you. Telling you loudly, firmly, "By God, they are wrong, I am right" (as a matter of fact, they are, I am). Then I recalled the letter of mine that had gone out to you on the same mail that brought me your remarks on the "War and Culture" article. Norton had evidently had trouble seeing the connections in my Grammar, as per your earlier response to the Am. Journ. Of Soc. Item.

My pre-letter changed its tenor. "Believe in me just a little while longer, good dr. I swear that, when all returns are in, I'll prove that this project is . . . " I tried "sound," "basic," "fundamentally relevant," "clear later to those to whom it is not clear now." And I will prove it, I swear." (Kenneth Burke to James Sibley Watson, 19 December, 1942, James Sibley Watson / The Dial Papers, Series III, Papers related to Kenneth Burke, Box 16, Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English and American Literature, New York Public Library).

⁸⁴ Burke, "War and Cultural Life," 408.

⁸⁵ Typescript of *A Grammar of Motives* draft by Kenneth Burke, circa 1941-1945, Box 10, Folder 15, Kenneth Burke papers, 6369, Special Collections Library, University Libraries, Pennsylvania State University.

⁸⁶ Photo 115 is labeled “Jap Stingers” and credited to the *Daily News*. Unpublished catalogue list of exhibition photographs, MoMA Exhs. Folder 182.1, The Museum of Modern Art Archives, NY.

⁸⁷ For an elaboration of the concept “rhetorical vision,” see Hawhee, Debra. “Looking into Aristotle’s Eyes: Toward a Theory of Rhetorical Vision.” *Advances in the History of Rhetoric* 14 (2011): 139–65.

⁸⁸ Finnegan, *Making Photography Matter*, 1.