SCISSORS, PASTE AND SOCIAL CHANGE: THE RHETORIC OF SCRAPBOOKS
OF WOMEN’S ORGANIZATIONS, 1875-1930

DISSERTATION

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By

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, scholars in rhetoric and composition studies have focused increasingly more attention on “everyday” rhetorical practices, particularly those of marginalized groups, as well as the alternative educational sites where such practices are taught and learned. Feminist historians such as Anne Ruggles Gere, Jacqueline Jones Royster, and Wendy Sharer argue that women’s organizations functioned as significant sites of rhetorical education for women throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, an era in which women were denied access to higher education and public spheres of rhetorical activity. In “Scissors, Paste and Social Change: the Rhetoric of Scrapbooks of Women’s Organizations, 1875-1930,” I extend the focus on women’s organizations as educational spaces by examining the scrapbooks compiled by Progressive Era women in literary and social clubs and reform organizations like temperance and suffrage. I argue that progressive-era women appropriated the gendered genre of the scrapbook to compose vernacular histories of women’s reform efforts that situated women within a larger narrative of citizenship and national progress. Furthermore, I argue that scrapbooks served as sources of invention and self-education, similar in function to commonplace books, even though gendered perceptions of both genres typically assigns commonplace books to public rhetorical pursuits and scrapbooks
to private domestic hobbies. Finally, I argue that women in progressive era clubs and organizations developed their own arrangement strategies, such as appropriation, juxtaposition, layering and collage, to represent the complexity of their experiences.

While scrapbooks have received limited scholarly attention from scholars such as Patricia Buckler, Susan Tucker and Todd S. Gernes, the focus of existing studies has largely been on the autobiographical qualities of individual scrapbooks, which are often characterized as private, idiosyncratic documents, allowing “silent women to speak.” However, I argue that the scrapbooks compiled by women’s organizations were collective productions of articulate women who intentionally composed scrapbooks for public audiences. In the context of progressive era women’s organizations, scrapbooks constitute a fully public rhetorical practice, one which clubwomen developed for themselves and valued highly.
This dissertation is dedicated to my Mother, Grandmother and Great-Grandmother, who taught me how to be a strong, smart, and independent woman, and to all the women in progressive-era clubs and organizations who knew their work was historically important and left me the records to prove it.
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INTRODUCTION

LIVING SCRAPBOOKS AND EVERYDAY RHETORICAL PRACTICES

Our life is a living Scrap-book. Clipped from the scroll of time and pasted in by the hand of Fate, every day brings its contributions, and the leaves accumulate until the book is filled…Here a gleam of Poetry, there a long dreary stretch of Prose, now the Tragedy of an accident…then a ripple of Fun, a dash of Sentiment, a thrill of Joy, a pang of Grief. These are the scraps that make up our Books; it is the record of us all. We are all Scrap-books; and happy is he who has his pages systematized, whose clippings have been culled from sources of truth and purity, and who has them firmly Pasted into his Book.

E.W. Gurley, *Scrapbooks and How to Make Them* (1880)

Tracking everyday writing, like following people we have not previously noticed, is accepting an invitation to watch how cultures are made, remade, and finally ensconced in memory, the miscellaneous space for writing that teaches us to ourselves. (13)


In a how-to manual on scrapbook making published in 1880, E.W. Gurley\(^1\) conferred a great deal of value on a scrapbook by suggesting somewhat playfully that “we are all scrapbooks;” our life stories are a series of events that are selected, clipped, and pasted firmly into our memories. Gurley’s fifty-six page how-to manual was a comprehensive guide to keeping scrapbooks of all types, purporting to contain “full

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\(^1\) Further information on Gurley has proven elusive. The text itself offers no concrete clues as to the writer’s identity, though he/she does report having worked (perhaps as a journalist?) for an unidentified Minnesota newspaper. Gurley does not turn up in biographical databases, and searched historical newspaper databases only return reviews or advertisements for the book which do not list Gurley’s full name. Several scholars refer to Gurley as “she” though it is possible they simply assume feminine gender because scrapbooks were associated with women. Women writers in the nineteenth century often used initials rather than their full name to conceal their gender, so it is possible that Gurley is female. However, men, such as Mark Twain, also kept and wrote about scrapbooks in the nineteenth century.
instructions for making a complete and systematic set of useful books” (title page). The little volume prescribed scrapbooking for anyone who reads, suggesting that the farmer and the politician, the teacher and the student, the mother and the child, all have something to gain from carefully selecting and arranging printed scraps for self-education. Scrapbooks are suggested as a remedy for the overabundance of the printed word, a way to save the most interesting or important items printed in popular magazines or newspapers. Gurley argued that scrapbooks can be used to stimulate critical thinking and reading. By carefully selecting and arranging only the most important or relevant items, one could cure “gossipy” reading habits and develop a discriminating taste. Gurley even suggested that scrapbooking, when practiced as a family activity, could contribute to a “pleasanter” home, and “an advanced standing in society” (13). Gurley’s book was only one of many books and articles that addressed the importance of the everyday practice of scrapbooking in the nineteenth century. However, despite the enormous popularity of scrapbooking both then and today, academia has only recently begun to account for this widespread rhetorical practice that, by the end of the nineteenth century, was increasingly associated with women and valued accordingly.²

Scrapbooks represent an important site in which to investigate women’s rhetorical practices in the Progressive Era.³ As this study suggests, Progressive Era women participating in literary clubs and other organizations, such as temperance or suffrage,

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² As I argue in Chapter One, while some men made scrapbooks in the nineteenth century, and continue to do so today, scrapbooks were, and still are, largely understood to be a (worthless) feminine activity.

³ For this project, roughly defined at the years between 1870 and 1930, the period when women’s activism and involvement in clubs and reform organizations was at its height. Scholars studying different social reforms during the period set different beginning and ending dates. Where women’s social reforms are concerned, the period of activity extends considerably beyond the 1890-1920 dates often used to mark the boundaries of the Progressive Era.
adopted this popular cultural form for their own purposes; their scrapbooks reveal the interplay between dominant cultural ideologies and the new roles women carved out for themselves. Women had to negotiate between traditional rhetorical advice and their own need to develop rhetorical strategies and forms that were more useful for their immediate circumstances. Their scrapbooks also record the tension between dominant forms of history writing and record keeping and the women’s desire to construct and claim access to a history where women were central actors in the pageant of history.

The prevalence of scrapbooks in historical archives suggests that the women who made and preserved scrapbooks valued them as highly as other materials they carefully preserved. Further research revealed the pervasiveness of scrapbooking as a cultural practice that appears to begin in the early nineteenth century and continues into the present day. Scrapbooking was an enormously popular activity throughout the Progressive Era. Because the scrapbook is a flexible genre, many different people made scrapbooks, and often, for many different purposes. For example, women who made scrapbooks during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often reported on the multiple uses of scrapbooks through popular publications. Scrapbooks could be used to track family or personal histories or to record involvement in communities, clubs, or other organizations. Scrapbooks could be used to collect information from newspapers and magazines on topics of interest or to collect models of good writing as a way of furthering self-education efforts. Scrapbooks were also used as inventionals; scrapbookers collected information or quotations for use in other rhetorical productions. For women in progressive-era organizations and clubs, scrapbooking became a common practice for recording the histories and activities of their clubs, recording their rhetorical
effectiveness, and providing rhetorical models and source materials for future members. While much attention has been paid to women’s clubs and organizations as an alternative site of rhetorical education, very little study has been done on women’s use of scrapbooks as a rhetorical form they adopted and developed for their own purposes. My goal here is to contribute some new perspectives on women and rhetorical practices and education to the conversation about feminist historical studies in rhetoric and also to contribute some new insights about scrapbooks to the growing interdisciplinary study of scrapbooking practices.

**Scrapbooks and The Everyday**

Given that women have been barred from higher education and traditional rhetorical instruction, scrapbooks, which by the end of the nineteenth-century were linked almost exclusively with women, are an important site to study for evidence of women’s “available means of persuasion” and the ways those means were prescribed, followed or transgressed. As Jane Greer argues, scrapbooks represent “a vernacular history of rhetorical education” that “can enrich the already important narratives of our field’s traditions” (1). Greer emphasizes the importance of reading beyond “the autobiographical function” of scrapbooks in order to consider two female students’ representations of education in scrapbooks alongside the history of education more typically constructed through an examination “textbooks, curricula, syllabi, official records, and the authorized writing of students in the classroom” (1). Greer suggests that we take seriously the activities of the “ordinary” girls she describes, which as she points
out, reveal interesting intersections and divergences form the traditional story of education.

Scrapbooks represent an important form of "vernacular history" of women's clubs that reveals how women understood and imagined their public and rhetorical influence in the public sphere. The term vernacular, as Greer uses it, seems appropriate for women in clubs and organizations who use scrapbooks to collect and represent a history of women’s sustained rhetorical and civic participation, even though academic historians at the time failed to recognize it. As well, we can read scrapbooks as a “vernacular history” of rhetoric, a history that values the everyday communicative practices of ordinary people, which also reveals intersections and divergences from the traditional accounts of rhetoric focused primarily on people (mostly men) in elite academic institutions. Vernacular accounts give us the opportunity to re-think what counts as rhetoric, who does it, how and under what circumstances. As Martin Nystrand and John Duffy argue in *Towards a Rhetoric of Everyday Life*, “‘Rhetoric’ here refers not to the classical arts of persuasion, or the verbal ornamentation of elite discourse, but rather to the ways that individuals and groups use language to constitute their social realities, and as a medium for creating, managing, or resisting ideological meanings” (ix). While rhetorical theory in the nineteenth century ignored women's rhetorical activities and failed to address cultural attitudes about women that limited women's access to traditional rhetorical education, the rhetorical strategies clubwomen developed in scrapbooks demonstrate the ways women reconfigured rhetorical elements like invention to suit their own purposes and to overcome cultural limitations.
This project adds to current knowledge in women's rhetorical history by considering collective "everyday" rhetorical practices of women. The term "everyday rhetoric" draws from Michel De Certeau's description of "everyday practices," the means by which users resist and recombine elements of the systems that determine, yet never wholly circumscribe them. According the De Certeau, his objective is to “investigate the ways in which uses – commonly assumed to be passive and guided by established rules – operate” (xi). De Certeau, while acknowledging the power of dominant cultural ideologies, nevertheless argues that individual people become a site of “an incoherent (and often contradictory) plurality of such relational determinations” (xi). Thus, there is room for users to make choices, to use “clever tricks,” “to turn the tables on the powerful by …[making] use of the opportunities offered by the particular situation” (xix, xx).

De Certeau's definition of everyday practices relies on an understanding that language is determined by the formal rules of operation, yet "society makes more explicit the formal rules of action and operation" than the everyday practices of users (De Certeau xx). De Certeau uses the metaphor of a game to describe the relationship between formal rules of language use and the way users actually use language. If we imagine a game of chess, we can see that there are formal rules of operation that dictate how the game is played – how to take turns, where and how pieces can be moved, what counts as winning, and so on. However, as anyone who has tried to learn to play chess quickly finds out, the formal rules of operation say very little about how to play the game and how to win it. The formal rules do not address the individual tactics chess players can use in specific situations, tactics that have to be flexible and responsive to the context of the current game.
De Certeau even links his investigation of everyday practices to the study of rhetoric, which he argues offers tools to study both the formal rules of language use, the ways of being rhetorical that are sanctioned in given historical/social locations, and the actual rhetorical practices of individual people, who may appropriate, re-combine, and “bricolage” different strategies to respond to the specific rhetorical situation at hand. According to De Certeau, “rhetoric, the science of the ‘ways of speaking,’ offers an array of figure-types for the analysis of everyday ways of acting” (xx). However, while rhetoric certainly provides tools to analyze language use, the problem becomes much stickier when we realize, as many feminist historians have, that the formal rules of operation (what counts as a sanctioned way of being rhetorical) has historically often been derived from the practices of a set of elite users of language, typically men in privileged locations like the courts, the legislature, the pulpit and other political arenas. Even more importantly, the rules of rhetorical action derived from these practices, once formalized and deployed through texts that purport to be a description of the way rhetoric works, serve to naturalize some ways of operating over others. While rhetoric may provide us tools for analyzing how people use language, they can also operate as a set of blinders that make it possible to see certain practices but not others. This certainly was true in the Progressive Era when traditional rhetorical texts, such as those authored by elite male academics, virtually ignored women's rhetorical productions even though women took to pen and stage in unprecedented numbers.

However, such universal rules neither capture the way women actually practiced rhetoric in everyday circumstances nor address the rhetorical exigencies of women's groups. Examining women's everyday rhetorical practices reveals the extent to which
they appropriated and re-combined formal rules, sanctioned practices, and authorized
texts for their own purposes. In particular, a study of scrapbooks compiled by women's
clubs in the Progressive Era reveals tactics of appropriation and collage rather than
traditional linear argumentation. As Katherine Hoffman suggests in *Collage: Critical
Views*, “Collage may be seen as a[n]…art form with multiple layers and signposts
pointing to a variety of forms and realities, and to the possibility or suggestion of
countless new realities” (preface). Collage, understood as a rhetorical tactic of
arrangement, allowed women's clubs to collectively represent themselves and their
history in a way that opened up multiple possibilities for women's rhetorical
performances, multiple identities as clubwomen and women, and multiple realities that
included women's public participation. For clubwomen, collage was more useful than
traditional linear organization because it better represented different ways of thinking
about women's roles in public life.

**Scrapbooks and Studying Women’s Rhetorics**

This study adds to our growing knowledge about the range and diversity of
women’s rhetorical practices in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Prior to the
recent investigation of women's rhetorics, the dominant account of rhetoric in the
Progressive Era focused on the work of rhetoricians like A.S. Hill, John Franklin
Genung, or Alexander Bain, whose theories synthesized the epistemological and
belletristic features of eighteenth-century rhetoric by Blair, Campbell and Whatley.
Although traditional rhetorics provided useful advice that some women could employ,
they nevertheless did not adequately address the rhetorical problems women faced when
writing and speaking in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Rhetoric texts by men tended to assume a male rhetor and failed to recognize the special challenges faced by women who were not culturally authorized to speak or write. The kind of rhetorical education offered in white elite institutions largely prepared young, fairly affluent, white men for public lives as men of letters, preachers, politicians, or legislative figures. For example, in the *Principles of Rhetoric* (1895), Adams Sherman Hill explains the importance of clarity in genres produced by public men: “judicial opinions, expositions of doctrine, chronicles of events, text-books of science” (111). Similarly, Alexander Bain in his textbook *English Composition and Rhetoric* (1871) explains the usefulness of narrative for the (assumed male) historian and the biographer, the use of exposition for the scientist; and the art of persuasion used in the pulpit, the law courts and in the political arena. As recent feminist historians and scholars have pointed out, such texts do not really address or represent the range of rhetorical activity women engaged in everyday contexts. While some women at the turn of the century certainly did engage in public rhetorical pursuits such as public speaking, preaching, and writing, many more were engaged in rhetorical activity when composing scrapbooks, quilts, needlework, cookbooks, photograph albums, and diaries. As Maureen Daly Goggin argues in "An Essamplaire Essai on the Rhetoricity of Needlework Sampler-Making: A Contribution to Theorizing and Historicizing Rhetorical Praxis,” by studying alternative genres and material rhetorics women employed in their daily lives, “we push the boundaries of what

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counts as rhetorical practice and who counts in its production” (310). Because nineteenth century rhetoricians defined the rhetorical sphere so narrowly, they were unable to see the communicative functions of objects like scrapbooks, which probably appeared to violate rules of clarity, unity and linearity.⁵

Furthermore, feminist historians have pointed out that nineteenth-century male rhetoricians often indirectly discouraged women's rhetorical practice by defining rhetoric in terms of male experience and education, by using male authors as models for imitation, and when offering selections by women, using them primarily to illustrate styles to avoid.⁶ Additionally, previous accounts of rhetorical education in the Progressive Era, like James Berlin’s *Rhetoric and Reality: Writing Instruction in American Colleges* (1987) and John Brereton’s *The Origins of Composition Studies in the American College* (1994), focused on male institutions, even though the period represents a major shift in women's educational opportunities. Feminist scholarship on women's rhetoric in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries widens our understanding of rhetorical practices and theories by recovering women's rhetorical theory, describing the cultural conditions that shaped women's rhetorical practices, accounting for the education by and for women in both academic and extracurricular spaces, and by focusing on the specific strategies developed by women to overcome rhetorical obstacles that were not addressed by traditional rhetorical advice.

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⁵ While Bain, Hill or Genung never mention scrapbooks in their rhetorical texts, nineteenth century literary reviewers used the term scrapbook pejoratively based on the presumption that scrapbooks lacked clarity, linearity, and unity.

⁶ For example, see Joann Campbell, *Toward a Feminist Rhetoric: The Writing of Gertrude Buck*. Campbell argues that Gertrude Buck was far more likely to include passages by women authors for imitation than male rhetoricians, who used women writers to illustrate styles to avoid (xxxiii). I argue in Chapter 1 that literary critics often used the term scrapbook pejoratively, thus equating “feminine” writing styles with poor writing.
The scholarship on women's rhetoric in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has defined a new canon of women speakers and writers that can be anthologized and studied. One example, Karlyn Kohrs Campbell's *Man Cannot Speak for Her* (1989) analyzes and collects texts written during the struggle for women's rights in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Campbell notes that her intentions are to both make these works more available and also to prompt "a reexamination of U.S. rhetorical literature and the inclusion of some of those works in courses that survey the history of rhetoric" (9). Her analysis and subsequent anthology covers both white and African American women who wrote and spoke for women's rights such as the Grimke' sisters, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Sojourner Truth, and Maria Stewart. Such a move, of course, has not been uncontested. In "Coming to Terms with Recent Attempts to Write Women into the History of Rhetoric," Barbara Biesecker warns that the construction of a new canon reflects the assumptions that informed the "great man" model of traditional rhetoric and is concerned that the move to include individual women is merely tokenism rather than a more radical critique of rhetorical traditions. However, Campbell skillfully responded that she was concerned with collective efforts (as her concentration on a collective social movement indicates) and that she did collect examples of collaboratively written documents, such as the "Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions," written at the Seneca Falls convention in 1848 ("Biesecker Can't Speak for Her Either" 155). Most significantly, Campbell defends her collection by pointing out that her collection is "just a beginning" (154). Campbell admits the selectiveness of her anthology and issues a challenge to other feminist scholars to add to the store of women's texts. The challenge has already been taken up by scholars like Shirley Wilson Logan, whose *With Pen and
Voice (1995) anthologizes African-American women's rhetorical strategies. As well, Joy Ritchie and Kate Ronald's anthology Available Means (2001) contains a larger number of women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries than women from the previous ten centuries. Even in a more "traditional" anthology like Bizzell and Herzberg's The Rhetorical Tradition: Readings from Classical Times to the Present (2001), women account for four of the nine rhetoricians included for the nineteenth century, a proportion of women to men which is higher than in any other historical period covered in the anthology.

This project responds to both Campbell’s challenge and Biesecker’s warning. First, by accepting the rhetoricity of scrapbooks, we add an entire genre of women’s writing to our store of available texts for study. While men certainly made scrapbooks in the nineteenth century, by the turn of the century, scrapbooks were more likely to be made by women since they had become firmly associated with women’s crafts (as they remain today). Second, because scrapbooking was a popular everyday practice, it illustrates the extent to which rhetoric inhabits more spaces than the podium or the published work, which is what has been typically privileged in the canon of great works that Biesecker criticizes. In fact, because scrapbooks were essentially self-published books, scrapbookers were not necessarily famous or well-known. Finally, although scrapbooks were sometimes individual efforts, they were also often collective activities, much as they still are today. It was fairly common for women to exchange and share materials for their scrapbooks and a number of nineteenth-century accounts represent
scrapbooking as a communal activity. Furthermore, the scrapbooks compiled by women’s organizations analyzed in this study were usually collaborative efforts. Women would all save items to contribute, and albums would be passed down through a series of club historians. Even the albums that are attributed to a single author often contain evidence of a collective effort, as I illustrate in Chapter Two.

In addition to recovering women's texts, scholars have widened our understanding of rhetoric in the Progressive Era by analyzing the social and cultural conditions that shaped women's rhetorical activities. In *Gender and Rhetorical Space in American Life, 1866-1910* (2002), Nan Johnson illustrates the ways that parlor rhetorics appeared to widen access to rhetorical education, yet restricted women to "a code of rhetorical behavior for women that required the performance of conventional femininity" (2). Through an examination of the popular press, rhetoric manuals, letter writing advice, and accounts of women's activities, Johnson establishes the extent to which women were repeatedly directed to the domestic sphere and away from more powerful public and political rhetorical spaces. A specific example that illustrates Johnson's argument is her examination of images of men and women speakers in parlor rhetoric manuals which repeatedly constructed "a serious rhetorical role for men and a sentimental or frivolous one for women" (38). Images consistently depicted a larger public realm as men's appropriate sphere, while women were depicted performing only those rhetorical roles

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7 For example, Gurley’s how-to volume encourages families to scrapbook together and to critique one another’s selections, thus honing critical reading ability.

8 In fact determining individual authorship of club scrapbooks is often impossible, and perhaps, besides the point, since they are intended to be a collective representation of the organizations. While some volumes may note the names of various historians, many do not, and it becomes clear that even though one person may be in charge of a scrapbook for a certain amount of time, other members continually saved and contributed items for preservation.
that "corroborated their roles as wives, mothers or light-hearted entertainers" (38). In a similar way, I examine the popular how-to literature on scrapbooks to examine gendered constructions and restrictions meant to control and contain women’s scrapbook productions within “appropriate” feminine pursuits. Similar to Johnson’s description of the “frivolous” role assigned to women rhetors, scrapbooks, through association with feminine pursuits, also were depicted as “frivolous” volumes.

However, the dominant cultural codes are not necessarily an accurate description of what women actually did in practice. Both Shirley Wilson Logan and Jacqueline Jones Royster establish the cultural codes that worked against African-American women as they came to voice, and establish that the strictures against women in general were only intensified for African-American women, who had been identified as "amoral, unredeemable, and undeserving" (Royster 109). However, both of their projects go beyond situating African-American women in relation to white culture by documenting the multiple rhetorical influences on those women including a history grounded not only in white American culture, but also in African culture. As Logan notes, African American women's "rhetorical practices combined African foundations syncretically with appropriated Western practices of literacy to produce a discourse of liberation" (25). Both Logan and Royster highlight the importance of tracing the influences of a variety of discourses available to women rhetors in the nineteenth century; women, of course, could draw on traditional rhetorical advice, but they could also draw on a variety of other discourses that permeated their lives. Furthermore, while the dominant cultural code for women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries constrained women’s persuasive
opportunities, studies like Royster’s and Logan’s demonstrate the rhetorical ingenuity of women who worked against those codes.

Because of that ingenuity, scholars are led to consider how women, often excluded from traditional rhetorical education, learned how to be effective rhetors. Thus, feminist scholars have begun to examine the relationship between the rhetorical education of women in the Progressive Era and their access to and practice of rhetoric. These scholars have looked both at academic and extracurricular spaces where women taught and learned rhetorical practices, often in ways that were different from dominant traditions of men's education. Many of these studies serve also to demonstrate the link between women's education in rhetoric and activist work. Kathryn Conway's essay, "Rhetoric at the Seven Sisters Colleges," reveals the extent to which training for women in rhetoric was made available in the Progressive Era and the way it was then used in support of suffrage. She notes that the seven women's institutions made the study of rhetoric mandatory for all students, thus granting them access to skills in composition and delivery of written and spoken texts. Also, the development of community forums allowed students to practice rhetorical skills that were necessary to become active in matters of public debate. Most importantly, Conway shows how at many of these institutions (Radcliffe excluded), suffrage was firmly linked to rhetorical skills, thus highlighting the students' and teachers' awareness of the immediate consequences of their education. Likewise, Sue Carter Simmons examines the ways that women students at Radcliffe resisted the "male-centered curriculum" imported from Harvard. Her close examination of Annie Allen's student papers reveals the ways she used writing "to transform an alienating, masculinized, teacher-centered, connected [curriculum]...[and]
found ways of writing with more authority and privilege in an academic circle" (270).

Simmons' study also suggests that understanding pedagogical practices from a student's point of view is just as important as investigating the teacher's goals and the curriculum in which those goals are expressed. In a similar way, understanding scrapbooks means taking into account both the pedagogical advice contained in how-to manuals and popular publications and also examining the actual practices of scrapbookers themselves.

Likewise, Anne Ruggles Gere's *Intimate Practices: Literacy and Cultural Work in U. S. Women's Clubs, 1880-1920* (1997) expands our notion of educational spaces by showing how literacy practices in women's clubs were encouraged, exchanged and valued. Literary and social reform clubs became places where women, often denied access to higher education, could teach one another reading and writing strategies. Clubwomen's literate activities became one of the primary ways that they constructed identities that countered negative stereotypes and created a sense of connection with one another. Gere's account very carefully identifies the ways these strategies worked for groups differentiated by race, class and religious affiliation. Another account of women's rhetorical education comes through the analysis of conduct manuals and women's publications, especially those written for women by women. In "Nineteenth-Century United States Conduct Book Rhetoric by Women," Jane Donawerth analyzes conduct manuals throughout the 19th century and argues that, later in the century, women appropriated the conduct book as a means of teaching one another how to speak and write (17). She notes, however, one unique aspect of instruction in rhetoric for women. Conduct manuals seem to promote a more collaborative model of reading and writing than men's rhetoric, which seems to be constructed on a model of competition. Given the
work women had to do to construct places of authority from which to speak and the
absolute necessity of collective work in achieving social reform, it is hardly surprising
that a collective rhetoric emerges as one of progressive-era women's primary rhetorical
strategies. Scholarship in progressive women's rhetoric also then focuses on naming the
strategies that women employed to gain the right to speak, to formulate individual and
collective identities, and to encourage collective action.

Thus, scholars have begun to describe rhetorical strategies beyond those
advocated in traditional rhetorical texts. Annette Kolodny's essay "Inventing a Feminist
Discourse: Rhetoric and Resistance in Margaret Fuller's Woman in the Nineteenth
Century" reveals that, despite past and present critics' insistence that Fuller's text is
poorly organized, Fuller was "consciously trying to fashion a set of rhetorical strategies
appropriate to the emerging feminist consciousness of her era" (143). Kolodny describes
Fuller's text as a textual version of the "conversationals" she held with other women.
Kolodny reads Fuller's conversation against Whatley's *Elements of Rhetoric* (1832), a text
Fuller was familiar with, and argues that Fuller rejected Whatley's version of persuasion
that was metaphorically figured in terms of domination and submission. Instead,
Kolodny argues, Fuller adopted a less combative and agonistic model of discourse that
invited women's participation. Thus, Fuller refused to offer specific actions which
readers should take to correct the problems Fuller identified, assuming her audience
could supply those remedies. As well, her refusal to bring the matter into a kind of
closure reflects her sense that the conversation would continue beyond the confines of her
book.
Carol Mattingly accounts for women’s growing interest in visual rhetorical strategies among women in the temperance movement in *Well Tempered Women: Nineteenth Century Temperance Rhetoric* (1998). While visual aspects of delivery are discussed in traditional rhetorical texts, Mattingly describes women's use of visual rhetoric that clearly extends beyond traditional advice. She points out the attention temperance women paid to dress, fully conscious that their physical form and attire would affect an audience's perceptions before they even opened their mouths. Such attention resulted in the adoption of the Willard dress, designed specifically to reflect the carefully crafted womanly ethos adopted by Frances Willard herself. Mattingly also describes the attention temperance women paid to the physical surroundings in which they spoke, which they often decorated with flowers, banners, mottoes, and with national and state flags and symbols; Willard herself stressed the importance of religious music (67). These devices made the temperance movement appear more womanly and less threatening. However, it should be noted that womanliness in this regard is not necessarily a reflection of temperance women's internalization of essentialist notions of womanhood. As Mattingly points out, temperance women deliberately used such rhetorical devices to make more reserved women comfortable and to deflect negative commentary from the press (67). Studies like Kolodny’s and Mattingly highlight the ways women often worked out rhetorical tactics that better fit their immediate goals and circumstances than traditional rhetorical advice. Such studies suggest that we need to enlarge, modify, or re-think what counts as rhetoric to more fully account for the wide range of human communication.
Perhaps more than any other period in history, the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have yielded a wealth of information on women's rhetorical practices and pedagogies. The work of scholars has expanded our notion of what counts as rhetoric by recovering and extrapolating rhetorical theories created by and for women, by examining the dominant social codes and rhetorical theories that often excluded women from civic and rhetorical activities, by accounting for the institutional and extracurricular spaces where women taught, learned, wrote and spoke, and by delineating the strategies women created and appropriated to claim their role in social change and reform.

By arguing that scrapbooks constitute rhetorical artifacts, I seek first to recover a genre, that although clearly rhetorical, has received very little scholarly investigation. I argue that we also need to recognize, as women in Progressive Era clubs and organizations did, that scrapbooks are rhetorical artifacts, constructed with an audience in mind with an intention to persuade that audience. By recovering a genre that was both gendered feminine (and valued accordingly by the culture at large) and practiced by women in clubs and organizations in pursuit or larger reform goals, I seek to recover a rhetorical activity appropriated and practiced by women, which illustrates the rhetorical ingenuity of women in the Progressive Era. I consider both the scrapbooking practices of women who were nationally famous for their activist work, as well as those of women who, although well respected in their local communities, never achieved national fame. The similarity in construction, preservation, and intent across the scrapbooks I have studied suggests that the women implicitly understood the rhetorical principles they carried out in their volumes. Progressive Era women’s scrapbooks are constructed with
particular strategies and goals in mind even though clubwomen may not have explicitly stated their rhetorical strategies and goals.

Finally, I suggest that scrapbooks ask us to revise our understanding of rhetoric to more fully account for everyday rhetorical activities, especially those of women, in order to more fully understand the multiple ways people engage in rhetorical activities in their everyday lives. Such a reconceptualization asks us to reconsider tactics like appropriation, collage, and collective authorship as significant and pervasive rhetorical practices that were available to women, not as marginal or deviant practices in relation to academic theories that had been accepted as the hallmark of rhetoric in the nineteenth century. In her review of Robert J. Connor’s *Composition-Rhetoric*, Roxanne Mountford has the following to say:

> In fact, the only thing we can say with certainty about gender issues and rhetoric is that major institutions (mainstream churches and universities included) have often been slower than the culture surrounding them to admit the equal competence of women orators. It is certainly true that the discipline of rhetoric officially ignored women’s contributions and perspectives to the various rhetorical arts, but that does not mean that their contributions as rhetors were unacknowledged in their time (Mountford 2).

In a similar way, I argue that although the academic discipline of rhetoric has been slow to recognize the rhetorical nature of scrapbooks, for the women who made and preserved such books, they were clearly understood as persuasive documents. I investigate women’s scrapbooking practices in relation to the traditional rhetorical theories produced in the late nineteenth century, as well as in relation to the more popularly read “how to” advice on scrapbooking, to examine the ways text production was advocated in patriarchal ways that have repeatedly left women’s rhetorical productions, and specifically scrapbooks, outside of the realm of rhetoric. Furthermore, although
scrapbooking in general had a low reputation in the popular press throughout the
Progressive Era, archival evidence suggests that many people were aware of the
scrapbooking phenomenon and were also aware of its rhetorical implications.

If anything, scrapbook practices, disseminated as they were in the popular press,
were more widely available to people than academic rhetorics, which typically were
available to those wealthy and/or privileged enough to attend institutions of higher
learning. One of the virtues of scrapbooking was that it required no formal training in its
use nor did it require a large financial investment. Many how-to manuals and magazine
articles about scrapbooking suggested that the frugal scrapbooker could get by with an
old book, an out-of-date catalogue, or other cast-off volumes, although the process of
reading, selecting, organizing and pasting a scrapbook required some free time. In *Loom
and Spindle* (1898), Harriet H. Robinson’s account of women workers in the Lowell,
Massachusetts mill industry suggests that scrapping was known to working-class women,
who read popular magazines and newspapers, clipped especially interesting items and
pasted them above their looms: “it was very common for the spinners and weavers to do
this, as they were not allowed to read books openly in the mill; but they brought their
favorite “pieces” of poetry, hymns, and extracts, and pasted them up over their looms or
frames, so that they could glance at them and commit them to memory” (28). The focus
in this project is on women’s literary clubs and progressive reform organizations, many
of which tended to have a largely middle-class membership. However, the analysis of
scrapbooking practices within this specific group is not meant to suggest that all women,
regardless of race, class, or other social demographics had equal access to or equal
investment in scrapbooking; it is also not meant to suggest that such practices were solely
limited to middle-class women. While it is not within the scope of this project to provide a comprehensive account of scrapbooking in women’s organizations during the Progressive Era, it does suggest that a particular set of scrapbooking rhetorical strategies appear to be available to a variety of women, famous and obscure, with varying levels of education, representing several different ethnic or racial backgrounds, in both urban centers and small Midwestern towns.

**Scrapbooks and Material Culture**

The interdisciplinary appeal of material culture theory and methodology inspires and informs the investigations into scrapbooking practices for scholars in diverse fields; Scholars in English studies (especially autobiographical studies), library and archive curators and preservationists, art historians, and social historians have begun to articulate a history of scrapbook practices and the cultural value of scrapbook productions. As Tucker, Ott and Buckler argue in their introduction to *The Scrapbook in American Life* (2006), “as prime examples of material and visual culture, scrapbooks lend themselves to analysis with interdisciplinary tools. A material and visual culture approach examines the relationship between text or artifact and its social world” (16).

Because scrapbooks as a genre seem to sit somewhat uncomfortably between the domains of several disciplines – art and art history, history, autobiography studies, women’s studies, and as I will argue, rhetoric - the study of scrapbooks is generally an interdisciplinary effort, drawing common assumptions and techniques from material culture methodology, a methodology which is also an interdisciplinary enterprise. According to art historian, David Prown, “[m]aterial culture is the study through artifacts
of the beliefs – values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions-of a particular community or society at a given time” although of course, what counts as an artifact may differ widely according to different fields of study (18). Overall, material culture emphasizes the study of objects that had, until recently, not been studied academically, such as scrapbooks. While the study of material culture may not be methodologically constant across fields of study, a couple of key assumptions seem to be shared across disciplines, assumptions that support the work of scrapbook scholars.

The first assumption of this interdisciplinary perspective is that artifacts (whether human-made objects or human altered natural, architectural or geographic spaces) are expressions of culture. As Prown argues, “the existence of man-made objects is concrete evidence of the presence of a human intelligence operating at the time of fabrication” and these “objects…reflect, consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, the beliefs of the individuals who made, commissioned, purchased or used them and, by extension, the beliefs of the larger society to which they belonged” (Prown 18). When people make and use objects, they embue them with value, a value which can be economic in nature, as Arjun Appadurai argues in *The Social Life of Things* (1986), but can also extend beyond purely economic value. Makers and users of objects encode personal and cultural values and beliefs about the world and how it operates, values which are often readable.

Many of the studies of scrapbooks focus on the autobiographical aspects of the genre, particularly on the way scrapbook makers constructed and commented on their identities through the placement of texts, images, and objects. As E.W. Gurley observed in 1880, scrapbooks, like memory, are attempts to fabricate wholeness out of isolated fragments. However, as Susan Tucker has argued in “Reading and Re-Reading: The
Scrapbooks of Girls Growing into Women, 1900-1930,” such attempts at wholeness or unity may not always be completely realized. Tucker examines the scrapbook productions of girls in the early-twentieth century and discovers that their representations of self…served to legitimate traditional choices and, at the same time, celebrated new visions” (3). Tucker observes that while many of the scrapbooks embraced a number of traditional positions about womanhood, marriage and education, the scrapbook form also allowed some girls to comment critically on those images, to construct counter-images of themselves, at least within the space of the book itself. Tucker argues that the genre of the scrapbook, as a “tentative” and “layered” document served the needs of the girls well since it was most capable of expressing shifting allegiances and identities as the girls grappled with the various images of woman, scholar, wife and mother that were offered to them (19). When studied as autobiography, scrapbooks are often depicted as private documents that allowed makers to express their fantasies, desires, commentary and critique.

In “A Silent Woman Speaks: The Poetry in a Woman’s Scrapbook of the 1840’s,” Patricia Buckler expresses a similar view of the scrapbook as a therapeutic document. Ann Elizabeth Buckler, described as an “otherwise silent and anonymous woman,” “controls life by composing it;” Ann’s scrapbook allows her to “synthesize and reflect on experience, work through grief or disappointment, record aspirations, dreams, and accomplishments” (149). In a co-written article on the same scrapbook, Buckler and her co-author C. Kay Leeper define the aim of Ann’s scrapbook as primarily expressive; that is, the primary motive is the author’s desire to express herself as a way of working through identity issues.
Researchers studying scrapbooks use another assumption about material culture to validate studying scrapbooks. One of the values of studying material culture, and thus scrapbooks, is that such objects often reveal perspectives about underrepresented people that we could not get in any other way. For example, in “The Secret Scrapbook of a ‘Soiled Dove,’” Carol Bowers argues that one nineteenth-century prostitute’s scrapbook reveals “the intensely private, backstage realm of their lives or their perceptions of themselves as women, wives, daughters, sisters, and mothers” (159). Bowers points out that many prostitutes had little access to education, and many were illiterate, which means that histories of prostitution in the nineteenth century usually have to rely on other kinds of primary sources, such as public records. Prostitutes often do not get to tell their own stories, their own histories. Bowers argues that Monte Grover’s scrapbook provided her with a space for “self-expression, commentary and reflection through which she attempted to make sense of her environment and define her sense of identity” (156). Similar to Buckler and Leeper, Bowers emphasizes the private and “secret” nature of the scrapbook, arguing that its original purpose was self-reflection. However, she also emphasizes the importance of studying these kinds of documents, since they allow historical subjects to ‘speak for themselves,” which is especially important to gain more complex understandings of the history of underrepresented people.

Furthermore, scrapbooks, like other material artifacts, are valuable as objects of study not simply because they articulate individual identities but also because they reveal important information about the culture, values and beliefs of the larger communities to which the individual belongs. Thus, some studies of scrapbooks emphasize the relationship between collecting practices and dominant ideologies of consumption, and
the extent to which individual makers conform to or resist those ideologies. For example, Rodris Roth examines twenty-five turn-of-the-century scrapbook houses, volumes into which young girls would paste images of furnishings to create two-dimensional rooms. Roth argues that this form of play also served as an educational tool because scrapbook houses “were an ideal medium to introduce girls to their future roles as wives, mothers, and homemakers” (308). Making a scrapbook house required familiarity with commercial products and publications promoting women’s consumption of household goods and the underlying ideology of feminine domesticity in order to “select…proper and tasteful objects” (308). A study of scrapbook houses provides important cultural information about the education of young girls into gender appropriate roles, as well as information about ideologies of consumption that contributed to women’s domesticity in the late-nineteenth century.

Furthermore, scholars who look at scrapbooks have also begun to examine the ways scrapbooks may have allowed individual makers to resist certain ideological constructions, at least within the confines of a scrapbook. In her first chapter of The Adman in the Parlor (1996), Ellen Garvey Gruber examines trade card scrapbooks, volumes which contained collections of artfully arranged brightly-colored advertising cards popular throughout the late nineteenth century. Gruber argues that such albums allowed girls “to fantasize within the images of consumption provided, and they used the discourse of advertising to articulate and comment on their own fantasies” (43). However, trade cards could also be used to comment, sometimes critically, on the discourse of advertising, as well as to comment on constructions of domesticity. While

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*Making scrapbook houses was a form of play frequently advocated for girls in popular magazines in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.*
makers of trade card scrapbooks were educated both in specific products and ideologies of consumption, their scrapbooks also reveal that makers “had a variety of interactions with the cards, not always congruent with the advertisers’ ostensible purpose of having recipients think of their cards in relation to the advertiser and its name” (28).

For Gruber, studying the discourse of advertising means not only examining the artifacts produced by companies promoting individual products, but also investigating the way individual people put such discourses into play in their own lives. Studying trade cards as isolated artifacts does not reveal the same kind of complex interaction with advertising discourses as does a study of the everyday practice of compiling trade card albums. One of the assumptions of material culture methodology that supports the study of scrapbooks is that the study of objects can reveal historical information we might not get in any other way. Only so much historical information can be gleaned from traditional sources; the study of material culture adds new dimensions to historical knowledge. Particularly important is that many historically underrepresented groups have not had the same access to mechanisms of power, such as education, literacy, or publication, that would allow them to tell their own stories. The artifacts underrepresented peoples leave behind may be the only source of information historians have to tell a more inclusive story of the past. Thus, the study of material culture often emphasizes “vernacular” or “everyday” expressions of culture, as opposed to the more traditional academic enterprise of studying works of “high” art, masterpieces, or more traditional literary or historical writings.

Therefore, investigating vernacular or everyday expressions of culture also allows scholars to tell more inclusive histories. For example, in “Recasting the Culture of
Ephemera,” Todd S. Gernes argues that scrapbook making “constituted a popular literacy of collecting, arrangement, invention, and memory” (107). Gernes’ investigation of the everyday practice of assembling commonplace books, scrapbooks, and friendship albums allows him to question the dominant story of women and literacy in the nineteenth-century, allowing him to replace “the conventional portrayal of young women as passive consumers of literary culture” with an “image of active learning” (126). In a similar way, Anne Sinkler Whaley LeClerq uses the everyday scrapbook writings of three generations of southern plantation women to question what she calls the “prevailing historiography” of southern women as “subordinate, controlled creatures of a paternalistic society” (43). Her investigation of scrapbooks reveals a more complicated story of southern womanhood, one that acknowledges their “determin[ation], energ[y],” and their “full involvement in a multifaceted community and plantation life” in the face of “a patriarchal society where their roles were surely tightly circumscribed” (43).

It is the possibility of transforming historical narratives that makes the preservation and study of ephemeral materials like scrapbooks so important. As archivist Jennifer Brunig argues in “Pages of History: A Study of Newcomb Scrapbooks” the scrapbooks of Newcomb College women “paints an especially representative picture of [the] unique history of Newcomb college” making the “Scrapbook Collection…a valuable research tool” (1). Brunig notes that archivists often regard scrapbooks as “big, bulky, and difficult to store” and that researchers may assume that scrapbooks contain “common informational materials such as newspaper clippings which can be more easily found elsewhere” (2). However, Brunig stresses the unique nature of the materials left by women students that collectively form a valuable supplement to the larger institutional
history of the college, leading her to argue for the necessity of archiving and preservation practices and to highlight special preservation needs of scrapbooks. Because scrapbooks contain acidic papers and pastes that speed the decay of volumes, and because they often contain layered and three-dimensional materials that stress the spines of volumes, scrapbooks are easily damaged or destroyed when handled by researchers. However, for Brunig, removing access to materials denies researchers the important insights offered by scrapbooks, insights not to be found elsewhere: “Loose photographs and newspaper clippings do not reveal as much as a scrapbook filled with photographs and newspaper clippings arranged and labeled for semi-public display” (8). Brunig’s comment reveals the necessity of the physical context of the scrapbook to determine the meanings of individual scraps; their selection and arrangement are important contextual clues that aid readers in their interpretation of whole volumes. While many printed scraps may indeed be available elsewhere, they exist in different contexts, which can lead to different interpretations of their meaning and importance. Additionally, because scrapbook makers often were interested in preserving materials that were in danger of being lost, damaged, overlooked, or destroyed, scrapbooks will often contain materials that cannot be found anywhere else.

**Rethinking Scrapbooks**

With a few exceptions, sc10 scrapbooks are generally characterized as private, individual, and idiosyncratic documents. In the introduction to *The Scrapbook in*

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10 See Brunig above who describes scrapbooks as semi-public, and Katriel and Farrell’s account of contemporary scrapbooks in which they focus on the selection and display of scrapbooks for both specific and indeterminate audiences.
American Life (2006), Buckler, Ott and Leeper argue that, “most often, scrapbooks are created and kept in private, for a limited few to see. They are idiosyncratic making them impossible to pick up and read as one would a published book. The meaning found in any particular scrapbook depends on the nimble skill of the reader” (12). They argue that one of the difficulties of scrapbooks is that as private documents, meant to impart meaning and self-reflection for the author, the books become harder to read for outside audiences. Similarly, other researchers describe scrapbooks as “mysterious” albums, made with “as little rational intention as possible” (Helfland 45). However, I argue that scrapbooks were largely understood by proponents to be intentionally composed to be read by others, suggesting a generic regularity.

In Chapter One, “Efemmera: The Gendered Construction of Scrapbooks in the Progressive Era and the Present,” I review the “how-to” literature on scrapbooking in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in order to establish the pervasiveness of the practice and to establish some of the general understandings of the practice of scrapbooking. My research has revealed that early scrapbook advocates understood their albums to be rhetorical productions; they generally acknowledged that scrapbooks were audienced and that scrapbooks were arranged to facilitate readers’ ability to interpret the material artifacts pasted within the covers of an album. Scrapbook advocates also saw scrapbooks as tools of invention and self-education, a compiling practice that is very similar in intention and function to commonplace books. However, unlike the

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11 One could argue that reading any text always relies on the nimble skills of a reader. Just as postmodernist texts are more readable for those who have a working understanding of the theories and context of postmodernism, so too, does the reading of scrapbooks depend upon a reader who understands the contexts and rhetorical tactics deployed in scrapbooking.
commonplace book, the scrapbook was specifically represented as feminine genre by critics of scrapbooking practices. Despite the popularity and usefulness of scrapbooks, popular publications portrayed scrapbooking as a “trifling” literary practice, either as the silly Sunday hobby of women and children or as the potentially harmful activity of gossipy women. The dominant stereotype attached to scrapbooks continues to influence contemporary scholarship and prevents us from seeing the multiple rhetorical functions of scrapbooks beyond autobiography.

In Chapter Two, “The Map and the Compass: Composing Histories of the Nation and Women’s Activism,” I examine the scrapbooks of women’s organizations as a vernacular history practice that resists academic discourse on history writing in the Progressive Era. While the newly emerging discipline of History emphasized the objective role of the historian, academic historians nevertheless reproduced their gendered and raced assumptions. Rhetoricians such as Alexander Bain, Adams Sherman Hill and John Franklin Genung all recognized history writing as one of the species of narration, but ignored that history largely chronicled the accounts of men under the guise of objectivity or “factuality.” However, the prevalence of scrapbooks in women’s archives points to a tradition of history writing that developed within women’s organizations at the turn of the century, a tradition that was far better suited to the membership and goals of women’s organizations than academic modes of history writing. Rather than embracing the seemingly objective academic history writing practice, women in progressive-era organizations constructed gendered, self-interested histories to claim their right to participate in the construction of local and national historical narratives. Even more importantly for historians of rhetoric, the scrapbooks produced by women’s
clubs consistently recorded a tradition of female rhetors who were famous speakers, writers, and organizers in the Progressive Era, including Carrie Chapman Catt, Francis Willard, or Mary McLeod Bethune. However, the scrapbooks of women’s organizations equally represented less famous women who used rhetorical means to further the everyday work of their clubs and organizations.

In Chapter Three, “Making Sense with (of) Scrapbooks: Invention and Rhetorical Education,” I examine the implicit theories of invention represented in scrapbooks, which are fairly different from the nineteenth-century theoretical understanding of invention. While nineteenth century rhetoricians understood invention to be a process of determining rhetorical aim, mode, and arrangement, women in clubs and other Progressive Era organizations were more interested in invention as the finding and cataloguing of subject matter. They used their scrapbooks as works of reference—a collection of important evidence for use in other rhetorical productions. Furthermore, their scrapbooks acted as a repository of rhetorical knowledge developed and exchanged within the context of women’s organizations.

In Chapter Four, “Scrapbooks, Faithbooks, Crapbooks, and Other Sundry Albums: Scrapbooking and Contemporary Culture,” I evaluate the current scrapbooking trend. Scrapbooking has reemerged in the last twenty years as a popular pastime and as a commercial endeavor. A number of magazines are devoted to it, and stores that sell scrapbooking supplies like paper, stickers, and die-cuts are numerous, and yet there is only one published study of modern scrapbooking practices.\(^\text{12}\) While similar popular

\(^{12}\) As far as I know, Katriel and Farrell’s “An American Art of Memory” is the only rhetorical study of current scrapbooking practices, but as I argue in Chapter Four, there is a wider range of scrapbooking practices than has been represented in scholarly studies.
genres have received substantial scholarly attention – blogs, photo albums, diaries, journals - scrapbooks have remained relatively unstudied. Importantly, like the nineteenth century, scrapbooks are still a gendered genre. Similar to negative assessments of scrapbooks in the nineteenth century, modern critics depict scrapbooking as trivial, worthless, and a waste of time and money. More hostile pronouncements use tropes of obsession or addiction to imply that scrapbooking is either metaphorically or literally harmful to the scrapbooker herself. Furthermore, the dominant stereotype of scrapbooks as autobiographical family albums constructed by middle-class, white, conservative housewives obscures the range and diversity of scrapbooks and their makers. I argue that scrapbooks still serve some of the same inventional and educational purposes advocated by nineteenth century scrapbooking advocates. I suggest that, like academics in the Progressive Era, we continue to ignore the rhetorical significance and potential in “everyday” practices like scrapbooking.13

13 While current studies of electronic media have begun to account for similar practices of appropriation and collage, scrapbooking is still devalued according to the gendered terms that characterized nineteenth century perceptions.
CHAPTER 1

EFEMMERA: THE GENDERED CONSTRUCTION OF SCRAPBOOKS IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA AND THE PRESENT

Albums and Scrapbooks—We Perceive, by the last London Atlas, that scrapbooks and albums are going entirely out of fashion in England. This is one of those foreign examples, which, we trust, will be enthusiastically followed here. We give this information thus early for the government of misses in their teens, scribblers of sonnets, etchers of small designs, and, in short, all aiders and abettors of such abominations.

While the juveniles find amusement in such things as [scrapbooks], their olders, who possess some artistic talent and the ambition to produce a really beautiful object, need not think “scraps” contemptible.
Anonymous, Saturday Evening Post, 1875.

It is imperative in an account of scrapbooking as an everyday practice to articulate the “formal rules of operation,” constituted by the explicitly stated rules for scrapbook composing, as well as the cultural attitudes surrounding scrapbooks in the Progressive Era. Uncovering and articulating the formal operations of scrapbooking provides a space to evaluate the extent to which women conformed to or resisted these codes in the actual practice of compiling scrapbooks. Furthermore, uncovering the formal rules of operation also reveals the basis for the exclusion of scrapbooking from the realm of rhetoric. In Gender and Rhetorical Space in American Life, Nan Johnson argues that the recovery of women rhetoricians should be “supplement[ed]… with an account of the cultural
dynamics that created the possibility of that neglect” (Johnson 10). An examination of nineteenth and early twentieth century materials about scrapbooking fulfils both purposes – to explain the forms, techniques and uses of scrapbooks that were available to Progressive Era women, as well as to explain why their scrapbook productions have, until recently, been ignored or deemed worthless. In this chapter, I argue that while scrapbooking was widely acknowledged as a popular practice and supported by a large commercial apparatus, the dominant accounts of scrapbooking tended to devalue scrapbooks as the “trifling,” or even harmful, hobby of women and children. Furthermore, an examination of the attitudes of modern scholars reveals the extent to which nineteenth century ideas about scrapbooks still shape perceptions of scrapbooking practices and continue to relegate scrapbook practices to a marginal position.

Modern scrapbookers might be surprised to learn that the recent scrapbook craze was preceded by a similar phenomenon in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, during which time scrapbooking became a pervasive cultural practice. Like today, scrapbooking was encouraged and supported by commercial enterprises; albums like Mark Twain’s pre-pasted\(^\text{14}\) scrapbook were widely advertised in a variety of publications. In one such ad, published in the April 13, 1878 issue of *Harper’s Weekly*, Twain\(^\text{15}\) writes to his editors (Slote, Woodman and Company): “My Dear Slote: I have invented and patented a new Scrap Book, not to make money out of it, but to economise the profanity of this country” (298). Twain’s letter goes on to describe the scrapbooker’s frustration

\(^\text{14}\) Blank scrapbooks like Twin’s often came pre-pasted; that is, the pages were brushed with a substance that became sticky when moistened, like postage stamps.

\(^\text{15}\) Or more likely, some ad writer.
when having lost the paste pot (which presumably leads to profane utterances) and
describes his new pre-pasted scrapbook as the solution to the profanity problem. Twain’s
letter goes on to say:

One of the most refined and cultivated ladies in Hartford (the daughter of a
clergyman) told me herself, with grateful tears standing in her eyes, that since she
began using my Scrap Book she has not sworn a single oath (298).

The rest of the advertisement is filled with testimonials from other publications, calling
Twain’s Scrap Book “indispensable,” “meritous,” and a “capital invention.” The
Norristown Herald (supposedly) goes so far as to say that “no library is complete without
a copy of the bible, Shakespeare, and Mark Twain’s Scrap Book.” Twain’s scrapbook
was probably the most famous, but a number of other pre-made albums were available to
the scrapbooker. Many of the scrapbooks examined in this project were compiled in
commercial albums. Some are blank books with no publisher imprint, one is pre-pasted
scrapbook made by the same manufacturers of the *Mark Twain Scrap-Book*; others are
blank accounting ledgers pressed into service as scrap albums. Other inventions that
were meant to support scrapbook activities were advertised in popular publications. For
example, the March 3rd, 1894 issue of Harper’s Weekly advertised a contraption called
the “Etchene:” “A new amusement for children, absolutely harmless. It reproduces
pictures from ordinary newspaper prints. Every child can make its own Scrap-
Book…Every child wants one” (216).

A number of publications also appeared with the title of a scrap-book, often
referring to a collection of information published for personal or educational use. One
example, advertised in the January 1, 1885 issue of Harper’s weekly, was the “Scrap-
Book for Homely Women Only” which purported to contain a “collection of toilet
secrets…hundred of valuable receipts, with advertisements of latest inventions of the
toilet” available to the plain woman for the price of one dollar. Other types of collections
were also published with scrapbook titles, such as William G. Hoffman’s The Public
Speaker’s Scrapbook (1935) which collected “paragraphs, hints, cues, stories, and
illustrations that will…supply the substance, decoration, laughs, and eloquence for a
variety of addresses” (v). As Ellen Gruber Garvey notes in “Scissorizing and
Scrapbooks: Nineteenth Century Reading, Remaking, and, Recirculating” a number of
publications adopted scrapbook titles, such as nineteenth-century periodicals like Fisher’s
Drawing Room Scrapbook and The American Scrapbook (218).16

Popular as well were printed chromolithography sheets, containing images
popular in the nineteenth-century, including romantic images of cupids, flowers, and
other images of nature, beatific images of children, even images of past and (then)
present historical figures such as George Washington, or Queen Victoria, which could be
pasted into albums (Hart et. al. 19-27, 54-66). The process of chromolithography was
used for a number of other commercial purposes such as illustrated business cards,
postcards, cigar labels, and bills of advertisement, which often made their way into
scrapbooks (Hart et. al. 14-15). The increasing use and availability of cheap printed
material, such as newspapers and magazines, also meant that scrapbookers could more
easily record their interest and involvement in current events. Rather than having to
laboriously hand copy interesting textual gems from relatively expensive books, one
could cut and paste from the inexpensive and transitory mediums of newspapers and

16Both were literary annuals published in the 1830s and were collections of poetry and prose accompanied
by engravings.
magazines. Scrapbooking was a more efficient means of recording one’s textual interaction with and commentary on the culture in which one lived. In “Recasting the Culture of Ephemera,” Todd Gernes points out, “after the Civil War, scrapbooks became a pragmatic response to an over-abundance of mechanically reproduced words and images” (117).

Many historical archives contain scrapbooks made by a variety of people and for a variety of purposes. Some may conform to what modern audiences might expect: albums chronicling family life, books cataloguing school experiences, or volumes recording the achievements of professional life are relatively common in historical archives, and such forms still exist in current scrapbook practices. Still, other types of scrapbooks exhibiting forms, materials, and collecting practices that have disappeared over time may be surprising to modern audiences. Recent studies of scrapbook practices are gradually bringing these forgotten forms to light, such as Ellen Gruber Garvey’s study of nineteenth century trade card scrapbooks, which as she notes, allowed girls to “play” within discourses of consumerism and commercialism: “Girls learned to fantasize within the images of consumption provided, and they used the discourse of advertising to articulate and comment on their own fantasies” (43). In a similar way, Rodris Roth brings to light another form of forgotten scrapbooks, the scrapbook house, which consisted of paper rooms filled with paper furnishings and paper people clipped by girls.

17 As Garvey explains, trade cards were an advertising technique widely used in the nineteenth century. Garvey describes them as, “typically 2x4 or 3x5 inch cards...printed with the name and often address of a particular retailer or manufacturer and a picture, sometimes related to the product and sometimes not” (19). Salesman would give trade cards to shopkeepers who would then pass them on to customers, who valued them (and thus saved them) because of the beautifully printed chromolithographic images.
from catalogues or magazines. Roth notes that these scrapbooks were important tools for educating girls into “futures roles as wives, mothers, and homemakers” (308).

To understand the perceptions of and prescriptions for scrapbooking in the nineteenth century, it is also useful to understand a little bit of the history of the commonplace book, a related genre to scrapbooks, and also its generic predecessor. In his history of commonplace books, Earl Havens defines commonplace books as “a collection of well-known or personally meaningful textual excerpts organized under individual thematic headings” (8). Commonplace book scholars generally agree that commonplace books are grounded in the rhetorical tradition and can be traced back to Aristotle’s advice to categorize commonplaces under topics. Aristotle readily admitted that there was a difference between trained and untrained thinkers; those familiar with dialectical reasoning would more easily follow long and complex arguments than popular audiences. However, not all people were (nor could be) trained in dialectics, yet these same untrained thinkers necessarily must hear and weigh arguments in arenas like the law courts or the legislature in order to make important decisions. In the *Rhetoric*, Aristotle argues

> It is possible to form syllogisms and draw conclusions from the results of previous syllogisms; or, on the other hand, from premises which have thus not been proved, and at the same time are so little accepted that they call for proof. Reasonings of the former kind will necessarily be hard to follow owing to their length, for we assume an audience of untrained thinkers; those of the latter kind will fail to win assent, because they are based on premises that are not generally admitted or believed. (9)

Here Aristotle establishes one of the most basic and enduring principles of rhetorical theory, that arguments, especially those made to “untrained” thinkers, need to appeal to a

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18 See Havens, Miller, Berland et. al., Dacome, Gernes
common pool of wisdom, “notions possessed by everybody” or “fact[s] which everybody knows” (5, 9). Aristotle’s purpose is not to make a comprehensive list of all the common ideas that a rhetor could employ in persuading his audience, but rather to establish a method by which such common notions could be discovered. Thus he develops a set of topics, or general types of stock arguments, which could be employed either in arguments about all subjects, or that pertained only to specific subjects. Later classical authors repeated the advice to study the topics, as Cicero called them “the very homes of all proofs,” as a method of inventing arguments. “Accordingly, with these commonplaces firmly established in his mind and memory, and roused into activity with every topic proposed for discussion, nothing will be able to elude the orator, either in our own contentions at the Bar, or in any department whatever of speaking” (Cicero 328).

During the middle ages, a slightly different version of commonplace books came into being. As Havens notes, books of “Florilegia” (or books of flowers) “filled to brimming with the moral dicta of the Doctors of the church and the scriptures, and, with less frequency, the teachings of approved, classical moral philosophers” became common undertakings of theologians and preachers (Havens 19). Quotations drawn from authoritative sources were copied into volumes and were often organized under topical headings, allowing preachers to quickly access material they wished to incorporate into sermons. Similar to the inventional nature of the classical topics, the medieval collections of sententious excerpts were considered invaluable aids to invention. As Havens argues, during the Renaissance these two commonplace traditions merged to form the Renaissance commonplace books, projects of humanist scholars, and deployed in Renaissance grammar schools. Such books revived the ancient topical system, but
combined it with the medieval tradition of collecting and organizing specific *sententiae*. As Havens notes, “Renaissance humanists, teachers, and students were among the first to deliberately invoke the term “commonplace book” to describe collections of quotations for the express purpose of demonstrating the best moral wisdom and rhetorical felicity of the ancient Greek and Latin authors.” (25). Scholars’ commonplace books were often published for the educational benefit of the public, and schoolboys were often instructed to compile commonplace books to categorize and organize the fruits of their reading. “Graduates of the Renaissance grammar schools and universities ascended pulpits, entered courts of law, wrote literary works, and explored the heavens and natural philosophy, all with their commonplace books close at hand” (Havens 32).

John Locke, in the 17th century, published his “New Method of a Commonplace Book” in which he described his method for copying and cataloguing commonplaces in painstaking detail. Despite his insistence that his method is “so mean a thing, as not to deserve publishing,” the Lockean commonplace book became extremely popular, and blank books using his indexing method were published for popular consumption well into the nineteenth-century (Tucker “A Timeline…”). In “Noting the Mind: Commonplace Books and the Pursuit of the Self in Eighteenth-Century Britain,” Lucia Dacome argues that commonplace books were not limited to scholars and intellectuals: “the practice of compiling crucially contributed to the self-fashioning of the courtier and the orator as well as to the training and self-cultivation of the student and the learned” (610). According to Kevin Berland, Jan Kirsten Gilliam and Kenneth A. Lockeridge, commonplace books in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries served to “facilitate participation in the common culture” (30). However, this “common” culture appears to
have been limited to an educated, and relatively wealthy or powerful, elite. As they note, “gentlemen participating in the coffeehouse discourse need to be practiced in the recognized forms of eloquence and thus required access to the original body of reference, which we see represented in commonplace books” (33).

By the nineteenth-century, commonplace books had become small volumes into which people would copy quotations and commonplaces useful for argumentation and self-education. As Todd Gernes points out in “Recasting the Culture of Ephemera,” the early part of the nineteenth-century was dominated by the commonplace book. While Locke’s method of commonplacing remained popular, other authors, declaring Locke’s method too time consuming, published their own blank books. Dr. John Todd argued in his commonplace book Index Rerum, published in 1835, that Locke’s book was popular, not because of “any intrinsic merit’ but because Locke himself was famous. Todd argues that Locke’s method was impractical since it “require[d] too much time and too much labor (3). Todd explains that his book was “intended as a manual to aid the student and the professional man in preparing himself for usefulness” (title page). The emphasis on “man” highlights the way that the commonplace book was gendered masculine (even though women often kept them) through its association with the rhetorical tradition, which prepared men for public life. As Nan Johnson notes in Gender and Rhetorical Space, “at the start of the nineteenth century, the arts of rhetoric were the undisputed province of the male professional classes. Ministers learned to preach, lawyers learned to argue, politicians learned how to persuade the masses, and white middle-class, young men acquired the rhetorical habits of speech and writing that marked their status as those who would surely make everything happen” (3). Understood as part of the system of
rhetorical education, commonplace books were reserved primarily for these “men who would make everything happen,” those who had acknowledged access and privileges in public locations such as the courts, the legislature, the pulpit, the schoolroom and the university.

The association between men and commonplace writing was also reflected in an anonymous article in the American Annals of Education and Instruction published in 1832. The author lays out a defense of commonplace books, arguing that the practice is “meant only for the hard student, who employs whatever aids he allows to himself, solely to invigorate and expand his mental powers” (“Commonplace Books” 306). The picture of the “hard student” who emerges is undeniably male, as represented through the use of pronouns he, himself, and his. The author further cements the relationship between male scholarship and commonplacing by examining the commonplace practices of a number of famous men, including Locke, Swift, Bacon, and Gibbon. The anonymous author goes on to say that “it is quite fair to attribute some measure of their fame to the mode of study which they adopted” (306). Women appear only once in this essay on commonplacing in a short passage describing an essay on “indolence and intellectual dissipation” by a Mr. Wirt, who advises an unnamed young lady to form a “little book of practical wisdom” (307). While this one mention shows that the commonplace book was not entirely restricted to men, it also highlights the gendered division between the serious male student, and the women who were being admonished to correct their supposed “indolence and intellectual dissipation” through practical little volumes (and not, of course, through larger, more intellectual, scholarly tomes).
The same connection between commonplacing and men’s rhetorical practices remains intact even fifty years later in a published lecture on commonplace books by Professor James Davie Butler in *Bibliotheca Sacra* in 1884. Like the anonymous author in 1832, Butler describes the commonplace book as “useful to every scholar who would make the most of himself.” Butler connects the commonplace tradition with the rhetorical tradition by referencing ancient theories of commonplaces, specifically citing Cicero (481). Butler also repeatedly links commonplace books with men’s public activities by describing commonplace books “devoted to their profession[s],” and commonplace books as “the custom of so many an eminent scholar,” all of whom are men. Again, women are mentioned only briefly. In a curious passage, in what appears to be an aside to the audience, Butler says, “to the ladies I may say they [commonplaces] are the filling for the scholar’s scrap-bag” (481). Here Butler likens the act of commonplacing to the act of sewing and quilting, presumably to make the notion of commonplacing more clear to the female audience members. However, because of the way he constructs the very masculine activity of commonplacing, his remark serves as a reminder of the separate spheres advocated for men and women. Men might “scrap” metaphorically in their intellectual lives, but women clearly are meant to “scrap” only

19 In one passage, Butler lists a number of these eminent men; “I might occupy many pages with similar testimonies respecting Euripides, Dante, Alfred, Ben Johnson, Milton, Hobbes, Bentley, Bacon, Locke, Swift, Warburton, Gibbon, Voltaire, Coleridge, Southey, Wilberforce, Sir Matthew Hale, Sir William Jones, Richter, Flaxmann, Macaulay, Franklin, Edwards, Rush, Hawthorne, Emerson, and others, giants in culture, testimonies evincing that no printed books have done so much for their development as blank books have done” (482).

20 It is likely that the term scrapbook refers metaphorically to the quilter’s scrap-bag. The odds and ends of fabric in a quilter’s bag could be pieced into a whole quilt, just as a scrapbooker’s collection of textual odds and ends could be pieced together into a single volume. Both Liz Rohan and Elaine Hedges have noted the connection between nineteenth-century quilting and scrapbooking practices as feminine mnemonic arts.
within the confines of her domestic duties. In a similar passage, Butler again reinforces this gendered distinction by arguing that the more a man commonplaces, “the more you will incorporate with yourself of genuine memoranda – things that must be remembered till a maid forgets her ornaments, and a bride her attire” (484). The division is thus made clear; male scholars collect “genuine memoranda” in their scholarly pursuits, while women dally with their jewelry and attire.

The scrapbook can be seen as a later form of the commonplace book, and often “early commonplace books were literally transformed into scrapbooks, as news clippings and steel engravings overlaid and all but obliterated handwritten and extracted gems” (Gernes 40). However, although scrapbooks share many generic features with and may have developed out of commonplace books, these two generic forms acquired very different reputations in nineteenth and early twentieth century culture. While the commonplace book remained a valued and masculine gendered genre throughout the nineteenth century, the scrapbook did not receive the same reputation as its commonplace cousin. Instead of automatically being understood as a system of rhetorical training, as commonplacing was, “scrapbook keeping became associated with domesticity and femininity,” even though many scrapbooks assembled by men can be found in archival collections (Gernes 17). Despite the popularity and pragmatism of scrapbooks, scrapbooking was regarded by many with either suspicion or downright hostility, particularly when connected explicitly with women’s writing and women’s identities. Even more benign assessments of scrapbooking often represented the practice as a simple Sunday amusement suitable only for mothers and their children. Furthermore, although scrapbooks were extremely popular, as a genre these texts were often considered “mere”
trifles, and were characterized as gossipy, self-interested, and poorly organized volumes, the feminine opposite of the masculine commonplace book. The more scrapbooks became associated with women (and by extension of motherly duties, their children), the less “valuable” the genre seemed to be.

As the epigraph that opens this chapter demonstrates, scrapbooking often drew hostile commentary in magazines and newspaper articles, and that hostility was often directed at women. The anonymous author of the *New York Mirror* dislikes women’s scrapbooks so much that he labels them “abominations” and criticizes those who would “aid” and “abet” such practices, as one might aid and abet criminal activity. However, often the criticism of scrapbooks appeared in slightly more humorous ways. In a March 1888 article in *Harper’s Weekly*, titled “Aunt Priscilla’s Scrapbook,” author E.J. Corbett lampoons scrapbook makers. Corbett’s piece is a mock first person narrative narrated by the fictional Aunt Priscilla, who holds a one-sided conversation with a visitor to whom she shows her scrapbook. Corbett gives Priscilla a curious dialectical accent, making fun of her (perhaps uneducated?) speech. For example, the opening lines read,

> Yus, that’s my scrap-book, and I dew think it’s worth lookin’ at, tew. Yo’ see, most of the young folks in our town hez photygraph albums or otygraph books (which I thought wuz only a short way o’ sayin’ photygraph, till I see ‘Mandy Evans’s, an’ then I found out they wuzn’t nothin’ but kinder copy-books, with people’s names an’ specimens of their handwritin’ in ‘em)...Waal, seein’ all those albums wuz gittin’ more and more the fashion, I felt as of I’d like to hev one too, so I jest went up garrett an’ hunted out this big blank book o’ my father’s for *my* album, an’ then pasted *Scrap-book* on the kiver, for I meant to make mine a leetle different from the others, an’ I guess you’ll say I succeeded when you’ve looked it through. (167).

In these lines, Priscilla’s speech already marks her as somewhat ridiculous, but her confusion about the difference between a photograph album and an autograph album
further reinforces the reader’s assessment of her intelligence. She claims to want to make her scrapbook different from the rest, and perhaps in her perception, we are meant to believe that she means different from an autograph or photograph album, however, the nineteenth-century reader would have been aware of common scrapbook practices, and very likely would have seen Priscilla’s volume as similar to the many scrapbooks that women may have compiled at the time. Furthermore, Priscilla rather conventionally pastes the generic descriptor, “Scrap-book” on the cover, indicating that she in not nearly as original as she would have her visitor believe. Priscilla proceeds to show the unnamed visitor her album, paging through the volume and talking about the different pieces she has collected. As Priscilla speaks, it becomes clear that her collection of scraps is unguided by any organizing principle what so ever. She keeps pictures of the deacon’s wife, and another women who was known for having “presentiments,” a piece of her sister’s shell comb, a “pretty picture” on a Christmas card that she “never could see no meanin’ in,” an account of the wedding of her minister’s daughter, a blank page for her uncle, who she expects to die any day, and an account of a murder that happened in her home county. Each scrap prompts Priscilla to digress about some silly facts related to each artifact she has saved, and some of the stories have nothing really to do with the scrap and why she saved it. We hear gossip about her sister and the deacon’s wife, superstitious stories about the prescient women’s misfortunes, and her idle speculations about the imagery on the Christmas card. Even though the visitor never speaks, we can almost feel his impatience with Priscilla. She tries to get him to read some of the items and is rebuffed, prompting her to say, “You don’t want to read it? That’s a pity” (167). Throughout the piece, Corbett represents scrapbooking as the silly hobby of silly women.
Lest the reader simply accept scrapbooking as a harmless activity, Corbett pointedly makes sure we observe the way the volume is foisted on the unsuspecting visitor, and the ways it facilitates Priscilla’s penchant for gossip.

In a similar way, Ana Maria Porter makes fun of album makers in a short poem she ironically titles “Tribute to an Album” published in Godey’s Lady’s Book in 1830. The opening lines suggest a horror come to rouse an unsuspecting victim from bed: “The Nightmare came to my silent bed/ In the stillest hour of night…Oh, think of the horrible shape it wore!/ It was not a demon grim:/Nor a dragon with scales and tales a score;/Nor a head without a limb.” Porter rehearses more horrors for two more stanzas before finally revealing at last that the nightmare is her “sister pale, with a gray goose quill,/And an album –sight of sorrow!” (64). Porter reflects, as Corbett did, the “horror” of being accosted by a woman and her album, and the harm of album making accrues not only to the maker of the album, who is described as “pale,” but also to her sister, who is accosted in her bed in the middle of the night. Both Corbett’s narrative and Porter’s poem are meant to be funny, which would seem less negative or hostile than the direct attack on scrapbooks by the New York Mirror. However, the humor relies on an audience’s preconceived negative perceptions of scrapbooks. Both Corbett and Porter rely on the same assumptions about scrapbooking that underlies the New York Mirror’s critique. All three critiques, humorous or not, explicitly represent scrapbooking as a feminine activity that is silly, and more importantly, harmful both to the scrapbooker and those around her.

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21 The term album seems to be a catchall category describing the many different volumes compiled by women in the nineteenth century, a category which included scrapbooks, as well as autograph and photograph albums.
Responding to the extremely negative preconceptions, enthusiasts often tried to rehabilitate the reputation of scrapbooks by demonstrating the ways scrapbooking could complement women’s expected roles and duties. Articles emphasizing the ways that scrapping was consonant with accepted women’s roles of mother and housekeeper were common. Scrapping enthusiasts repeatedly connected scrapbooks with children’s edification, education and amusement; thus scrapbooking was positioned, not as an abomination, but as an effective child-rearing tool. In “Among the Scrapbooks” in The Ladies Repository in 1873, Julia Colman investigates the scrapbook practices of a family, talking at length with the mother, Mrs. May, who is the instigator of the scrapbook activity. After examining the scrapbooks made by Mrs. May and her children, Colman concludes that scrapbooks are an effective tool for forming the mental and moral character of children, remarking that “making scrap-books may seem a feeble instrumentality for controlling this great difficulty – the improper reading of children – but it certainly can be made to impart a very effective bias in the right direction” (92). Interestingly, although Colman is told that the father also participates in the scrapbook activities, he appears not to be present during the interview, and we hear nothing of his views on the scrapbook activity, reinforcing the presumption that scrapbooks were really only meant for women and children. Furthermore, while scrapbooks are represented as a valuable tool for the children’s education, the mother’s own education through her scrapbooks seems less clear. Mrs. May notes at one point that she has made her own album on the “Woman Question;” and such a medley! Was there ever another topic about which there have been such confused and conflicting opinions? We have many a laugh over it. O yes, and there is the ‘Laughter-book,’ par excellence” (91). While
Colman and Mrs. May take the scrapping very seriously when it comes to the children’s education, a much more adult book on an increasingly important political issue for women is treated as a joke. Similarly, an article published in the Mother’s Department of *Arthur’s Home Magazine* in 1884 lists the making of scrapbooks, along with making blackboards and rag-babies, as edifying and educational experiences a mother could give her children. The emphasis the author gives to sewing and dolls as training for “the useful callings” of life, highlights the ways that this particular kind of education, including scrapbook making, was intended primarily for girl children. Such rehabilitations of scrapbooks reaffirmed women’s place in the home, and thus their scrapbooking interests were meant to reflect that position.

Because the scrapbook was linked with children, and especially girls and young women, the advice on scrapbooking frequently included commentary and instruction on the selection of “appropriate” materials. An example of this view of scrapping appeared in the *Ladies’ Home Journal* in 1891, in which the author praises the “Sunday Scrapbook” as a “source of unlimited pleasure and profit to children who can read and write.” The author then goes on to caution against the inclusion of inappropriate material, such as “comic pictures” which she deems “manifestly unsuitable.” However, images that could be illustrated with bible verses meet her approval as they could aid the child “in finding scripture references, while the verses are unconsciously committed to memory” (16).

A more pointed critique of scrapbooks based on notions of appropriateness appeared in the form of a letter to the editor of the Christian Advocate in 1824. The letter-writer’s identity is not revealed, although interestingly, the male editor assumes the author to be female, perhaps because the subject of scrapbooks was associated with
women. The anonymous author explains that she is writing to the editor on a matter of great concern, the proliferation of albums and scrapbooks, which she calls “literary gossiping” and “trifling” and which she identifies as a “growing evil.” She links the production of scrapbooks exclusively with women, by saying that the kind of literary gossiping to be found in scrapbooks is “almost universal with our educated females.” (405). She argues that scrapbooks are frequently “miscellaneous,” have “equivocal tendencies,” and often contain “censurable” contents, which she specifically cites as licentiousness, impiety, folly and nonsense (405).

Even more importantly, the author reflects the growing concern about women’s identities, especially as represented in texts for public consumption. She argues that “although the literary and moral character” of the scrapbooker is “not always to be correctly ascertained by the pieces” which fill her album, “yet it were well is she would recollect, that it is in some measure implicated by them” (405). Clearly the author’s concern is that scrapbooks permitted women to step outside of the cultural prescription for women to avoid licentiousness and impiety, and to literally assemble new cultural roles that threatened to upset the “natural” gendered order. She writes to beseech the editor of the Christian Advocate to publish articles on appropriate methods of scrapbooking, thereby hoping to contain the radical threat scrapbooks posed to nineteenth-century society. The editor agrees, and further suggests that “impiety, impurity, and stupidity should be carefully and resolutely excluded from the pages of an Album; because the possessor’s character will be, in a measure, estimated by the contents of her book” (405). He further suggests that parents ought to supervise and control scrapbook production, again citing daughters specifically as the targets of such control.
He also emphasizes the youth of scrapbook makers, referring to daughters under parental control, and referring to female scrapbookers as young women, although archival evidence reveals that many adult women constructed scrapbooks. The editor’s advice undercuts the ways that women could, and did, use scrapbooking to comment on the social roles for women, as well as to fashion new ones.

The scrapbook, because of its association with women, also began to be perceived as a reflection of domesticity and much of the advice on how to make scrapbooks repeatedly emphasized their use in the home for domestic purposes. In a short piece, titled “The Kitchen Scrapbook,” Minnie Barney tells the story of two young housewives who trade advice on housekeeping, saying that they “were very fond of comparing notes on domestic economy” (360). Ella, the scrapbooking enthusiast, shows “young” Mrs. Martin her kitchen scrapbook, in which she keeps a number of articles and tips on housekeeping, including advice on how to polish tables, clean carved ivory, and how to treat burns on the fingertips (by sticking the finger in one’s ear). The way the scrapbook’s use is endorsed in the story is clearly meant to define woman’s appropriate sphere of activity. Ella notes in one instance that one of the clippings in her album gave her advice on how to find a new use for her “palette knife, which hadn’t been out of her sketch box since [she] painted those ridiculous panels before [she] was married” (360). Significantly, the new use to which she puts her palette knife is scraping dried food bits from the sides of bowls. The way Barney trivializes activities that are not related to housekeeping, such as painting, and then glorifies washing the dishes, makes it abundantly clear what a woman’s interests should be, and as a result, what interests should be reflected in her scrapbooks.
Those appropriate interests are made abundantly clear in an article in “Many Albums Kept by Women,” which appeared in Current Literature in 1903. At the outset, the article boldly declares, “This is an age of albums” and catalogues all the different kinds of albums made by women, most of which would have been acceptable reflections of appropriate gendered activities. Some of the activities reflect the social activities of women from the upper or middle class elite; the article notes that women kept albums to record their visits to fashionable restaurants, to record “society doings and gay events,” such as, “girls [who] keep dainty mementoes of the balls and parties they have attended” (741). Some of the albums reflect the appropriate life events of women, such as wedding albums or baby books. Women keep autograph albums, which the author links to the domestic practice of keeping a guest book in the home. The “serious” girl keeps an album devoted to her church and charity work, which by the turn of the century was a relatively accepted sphere of activity for women. It is important to note that in the long list of albums made by women, none were noted to have recorded women’s work as students, professionals, or political or reform activists. Unlike the characterization of commonplace books, there are no serious students in this scrapbook world.

It is likely that the negative gendered perception of scrapbooks contributed to the use of the term “scrapbook” as an insult in literary or scholarly reviews throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While not specifically about women authors, such literary insults often repeated the gendered constructions of scrapbooking present in the nineteenth century. Comparing a literary or historical work with a scrapbook often implied poor methods or organization. For example, an editorial published in Appleton’s Journal: A Magazine of General Literature in 1873, announced
that “the arrangement of Mr. Hudson’s work [Journalism in the United States] is somewhat confused, with a marked air of the scrapbook” (156). Similarly, Charles Haskins, in a review published in A Semi-Monthly Journal of Literary Criticism in 1901, criticizes a historical text written by W. Carew Hazlitt by comparing it with a scrapbook. He calls Hazlitt’s book “a gossipy compendium” and says the work is characterized by “easy and haphazard use of chroniclers [and] the same lack of critical discernment.” He concludes by saying that the material is “loose and ill digested” and most importantly that

These chapters evidently represent the result of years of note taking, but the mark of the scrapbook is still fresh upon them. After all, they are not history, nor – since the sources from which the information is derived are usually left unnoted – are they materials for history. (370)

The use of the word “gossipy” here reinforces the gendered connotation of scrapbooks, since gossip is often figured as feminine, and scrapbooks, when perceived negatively, also tend to be seen as a kind of literary gossiping. Haskins also clearly sees scrapbooks as unsuitable to scholarly pursuits since sources remain unnamed and the presumably well-ordered scholarly argument is seemingly displaced by disorder and lack of thought. It is also important to note that Haskins’ sense of what counts as “historical” would exclude scrapbooking, both as represented by the “life-review” of an individual author, or as a historical record of women’s organizations. In short, a scrapbook might be a feminine mode of telling history, but that is precisely why, for Haskins, scrapbooks cannot be a worthy genre for the (male) history scholar.

Through critical reviews, the term scrapbook becomes associated with poor rhetoric; because the term scrapbook was so highly gendered, critics came to equate scrapbooks and poor rhetoric with women. An example appears in an anonymous book
review published in 1917 in the same journal, in which the author uses the term “scrapbook” to disparage the book *Heart to Heart* by William Jennings Bryan.

“A Speech,” says, Mr. Bryan, “may be disputed, even a sermon may not convince.” I do not doubt that he speaks out of a wide and varied experience, and I hope that he will not be too much disappointed if opinion finds these heart-to-heart appeals of his a scrapbook of unconvincing sermons and disputable speeches. (445)

The author then goes on to review another book, and the precise meaning of the term scrapbook used in this particular way goes unexplained, presumably because the audience would have already understood the reference. From context, it seems that the term scrapbook implies a poor method of organization (information that is simply pieced together), as well as a related issue, the lack of an (convincing) argument. As well, it seems that the emphasis on the emotional nature of the volume, which communicates “heart to heart,” that is, by emotion rather than by reason, also calls to mind the binary constructions of natural characteristics of men and women common in the nineteenth century. Men were supposed to be more “naturally” rational, and women, more “naturally” emotional. The charge of emotionality and scrappiness, tinged as they are with gendered connotations, pretty well amounts to being accused of “writing like a girl.”

Two years later in the same journal, the term “scrapbook” is used yet again to disparage the work of an author, although, in this case a female author. Another set of connotations of the term scrapbook emerge in the anonymous author’s critique of two books, both authored by women, about World War I. The critique proceeds by comparison; Mrs. Humphrey’s *Fields of Victory*, which is described as “clear-visioned, scholarly, and concise” is measured against Miss Corelli’s *My “Little Bit, ”* which the
author clearly finds wanting. The author begins by saying that the great number of books written by non-combatants falls into two types; the first could be called “The War and the World,” and the second, “The War and I.” The author proceeds to explain why Mrs. Ward’s book is to be acclaimed and Miss Corelli’s is not. Mrs. Ward cites information “gleaned from sources of high command…weigh[s] the comparative value of …strategic move[s]”; she speaks with generals and meets president Wilson (384). By contrast, Miss Corelli “edd[ies] about in little gusts of controversy…lash[es] herself into sarcastic fury…regarding food restrictions and hoarding” and when accused of sugar hoarding, “writes saucy parodies ‘cordially inscribed’ to Sir Thomas Lipton, ‘the prince o’ pickles and o’ jam.” (384). The author’s final pronouncement on Miss Corelli’s work is that her “contribution is merely a scrapbook – possibly in more than one sense of the word. It became a book by the grace of the clipping bureau” (384). This last jab at Miss Corelli’s book indicates that not only does he see her contribution as too self-involved, that is, that she tells the story of “The War and I,” but that he also clearly sees that as a fault related to scrapbooks as well.

It is also important to note that the critic’s evaluation of Corelli’s work illustrates the ways that women were chastised when they were perceived as being unwomanly. His pointed remarks about her sauciness, and her apparently overly emotional response to food hoarding implies a critique of un-ladylike behavior. The fact that he links her unladylike qualities to scrapbooking testifies to the amount of anxiety many people had about women’s literacy practices. His critique also highlights the ways certain qualities that were perceived negatively became associated with “feminine” writing, and with the feminine genre of scrapbooking. For the critic, being too personal or emotional, or
insisting on a woman’s experiences as valuable evidence was simply “poor” writing. The other criticism of Corelli’s writing that the critic implies is a repetition of Haskins’ critique of loosely arranged and ill-digested material. By virtue of its seemingly random order and its nature as a collection of seemingly disconnected pieces, the scrapbook form allows writers to repeat such collected items (presumably gotten from the “clipping bureau”) without fully digesting the material or arranging it in a logical fashion.

The use of “scrapbook” as an insult is not confined to this one publication however. This convention arises in many different journals, even including *Political Science Quarterly*, in which reviewers of scholarly works made derogatory comparisons between a scholarly book and a scrapbook. Munroe Smith, in 1895, wrote that Maximus Lesser’s history of the jury system is a “very poor specimen of its class. It can hardly be termed a digest: it is more like a scrapbook.” He further expands his comparison by criticizing Lesser’s book for having “heterogeneous clippings” that are “bewildering to the student who knows something of their relative value” (335). Again, Smith raises the specter of the disorganized and unruly scrapbook. The criticism of a scholar’s use of organization appears again in the same journal in 1889, in a review by J. Lawrence Laughlin, who somewhat sarcastically declares that *An Investigation into the Causes of the Great Fall in Prices* was “made up on the scrapbook plan” (536).

Even well into the twentieth century, when modernist aesthetics had opened up form to a great deal of experimentation, the scrapbook was clearly still held in low regard in literary circles. In a review published in *A Review of Books and Life* in 1930, one critic notes that while “this book [John Dos Passos’ 42nd Parallel] is experimental in form” it is “arranged like a scrapbook with no apparent order” (210). Even though the author
generally approves of experimental forms in other novels, like *Manhattan Transfer*, he finds that *42nd Parallel* lacks unity and coherence and declares that its “total effect is disappointment” (210). Reviews of this type suggest that there existed common gendered perceptions about scrapbooks that reviewers could draw on to evaluate other works. The lack of explanation of these remarks suggests the dominance of this view, or at least, the assumed dominance of this view on the part of critics. They feel no need to explain, or even defend, their bleak assessment of scrapbooking practices. This commonality also results in a common set of tropes repeated across different reviews; for example, two reviewers referring to the “mark of the scrapbook.”

Despite the negative and gendered perceptions of scrapbooks in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many scrapbook advocates understood them to be a very useful and flexible genre. While commonplace volumes were often used to collect quotations from highly regarded published works, scrapbooks were often advocated for the preservation of fleeting “gems” of knowledge. In “One Way of Making a Scrapbook” published in the *Youth’s Companion* (1884), James Elderdice exclaims “How often we wish to read over again that sweet poem of that biographical sketch we saw a few weeks ago, but which now is lost, because at the time we either did not appreciate its worth, or having no scrap-book, never thought of clipping it out and putting it away for future

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22 The OED confirms the negative connotation of scrapbooks. The noun form, “scrapbook,” the earliest use of which is 1825, has a relatively neutral definition: “A blank book in which pictures, newspaper cuttings, and the like are pasted for preservation. Hence occas. as the title of a printed book of miscellaneous contents.” However, the adjectival and adverbial forms, “scrappy” and “scrappily” are illustrated with quotations that use the terms to describe incomplete, disorganized, or undigested knowledge or writing. In nineteenth-century literature the spelling was variously “scrap-book,” “scrap book,” or “scrapbook.” The term was predated by “scrapiana” (to describe collections of miscellany), the earliest use of which is 1792. Interestingly, Mark Twain was reportedly the first person to use scrap-book as a verb in 1879, despite modern scrapbook critics’ insistence that the (incorrect, in their view) verb form is a recent invention related to the modern scrapbooking boom.
reference” (234). Similarly, *Household Hints and Recipes* (1884) advocated the preservation of “choice thought[s], which [are] far more precious than a jewel set in gold; and if you will hoard these rare gems, year after year, you will garner up a treasure-book that will not only be of service to yourself, but also to your children and grandchildren, in decades of years yet to come” (133). These choice thoughts were to be found in the pages of newspapers and other popular publications and pasted into scrapbooks.

Many scrapbook proponents saw scrapbooks as works of reference, more valuable than even published works like encyclopedias, textbooks, or anthologies, because they contained more recent and timely information. Like other scrapbooking enthusiasts, E. W. Gurley begins a defense of scrapbooking by lamenting the ephemerality of communication: “many beautiful, interesting, and useful thoughts come to us through the newspapers, that are never seen in books, where they can be referred to when wanted. When they are gone, they are lost.” (9). For Gurley, the way to overcome such ephemerality is to read, clip, and paste down the most useful or beautiful pieces of writing from otherwise ephemeral publications to form the more permanent scrapbook. However, it is important to note that Gurley does not see scrapbooks as merely a record of such writings; scrapbooks are works of reference meant to be consulted and used. A description of Gurley’s own scrapbooks notes under the heading “Facts and Figures” that “in these books, which have already grown into three volumes, I have a source of information at hand which I could not obtain in any encyclopedia or dictionary” (23). Likewise, Gurley notes under “History” that, “I have a much fuller and more interesting collection of incidents regarding “The Old Ironsides,” than can be found in the common
books of history” (25). Gurley implies that more traditional works of reference, encyclopedias, dictionaries and history books fail to give a comprehensive view of every subject, and saw scrapbooks as a supplementary set of volumes, providing information on subjects not easily found elsewhere. Like works of reference, scrapbooks’ primary value was in their active use: “And now, when your book is finished, you may think that is the end of it. Not at all. It is not a grave in which you have buried all these good and beautiful thoughts, but a living treasure always open to your hand” (56).

Similarly, W.A. Bardwell argued in an 1888 article in the *Library Journal* that librarians ought to begin keeping scrapbooks expressly for purposes of reference by “taking important and interesting items, biographical, historical, or of any value, that would not ordinarily be found except in the newspapers; and preserving them in such manner that the information may be readily found when sought” (243). Bardwell sees scrapbooks as important supplements to other published works, providing information not to be found anywhere else. Responding to anticipated criticism, Bardwell goes on to say that, “it might be argued that information furnished on this plan would be of the scraps – scrappy and inaccurate; but perhaps it could be depended on as much as a great deal that is found in books; even history has been known to be prejudiced and to misstate facts” (243). Rather than succumbing to the view often expressed by reviewers that scrapbooks are neither history nor the material from which history can be made, Bardwell here equates scrapbooks with historical texts, both of which can be valuable, and at the same time, flawed.

These scrapbook collections of “rare gems” were meant to be shared with other people, and scrapbooking often, although not always, was constructed as a communal
activity. That is, scrapbooks were not understood as private documents but as artifacts meant to be shared with others, and as Julia Colman’s observation of the May family indicates, even the making of albums might be a communal project. Even negative assessments of scrapbooks indicated that scrapbookers made albums to share with others; Corbett’s Aunt Priscilla and Porter’s “pale” sister both share their albums. In similar ways, scrapbook advocates often cited the sharing of scrapbooks as one of its most appealing features. The anonymous author of “A System in Scrapbooks” finally states that scrapbooks are for “the improvement of self and the delight of others” (276.)

Elizabeth Porter Gould writes to the editors of Literary World in 1884 that she has shared her book with a friend of hers “who was really surprised at the valuable reading-matter which it now contains” and later notes that she has clipped “all the editorials which seemed to me would be of particular interest to the future reader” (309). Gould not only shares her book with friends, but she also anticipates a future audience for her volumes. These comments indicate that scrapbookers imagined an audience for their books, and understood that they needed to be intelligible to readers other than themselves. Despite scrapbook critics’ insistence that scrap albums were unruly, disorganized or incoherent, it seems clear from scrapbookers’ descriptions of their practices that they paid attention to the needs of the anticipated audiences and made volumes they thought would be readable by other people. In other words, they understood that scrapbooks were rhetorical productions.

Enthusiasts often noted a variety of uses for scrapbooks as tools of historical preservation and self-education. Reports from scrapbookers reveal the enormous flexibility of the scrapbook genre. In an 1884 Literary World article, “A System in
Scrapbooks,” an unnamed author recommended scrapbooking as an educational practice for a wide range of people: “young people, old people, women of fashion, and overtaxed officials or business men cannot give themselves as many pleasures as simple, as instructive, and as valuable as the collecting of a scrapbook confined to some special purpose.” (276). The author suggests a variety of topics for the educational scrapbook, including “short poems, fresh anecdotes, new biography, a political point, a question of trade, an epidemic, a fashion, book notes, concerts, base ball, local government, railroads, inventions, or any limited field of knowledge as taste may dictate.” (276). Similarly, in an 1891 issue of *The Writer*, Olive E. Dana tells us in “One Woman’s Way with Scrapbooks” that she uses her volumes to collect information on “authors and their work,” a task that directly supported her profession as a literary worker (238).

In response to negative critiques, advocates of scrapbooking would often highlight the uses of scrapbooks by important men, as E.W. Gurley did in *Scrapbooks and How to Make Them*.” To establish that scrapping is both useful and reputable, Gurley refers to a number of public figures who kept scraps, including Thomas Jefferson, who collected information “bearing on certain points in which he was interested” and President Hayes, who “is a practical believer in scrap-books, and has already a large collection.” (12). The most interesting story Gurley tells however, and one that bears directly on the relationship between scrapbooks and other rhetorical practices in the Progressive Era, concerns “another noted congressman” who “dreaded an opponent of much inferior powers because the latter was a careful compiler of scrapbooks, and thus had a fund of information which the more brilliant man did not possess” (11). Gurley describes how she attended a political meeting in Ohio where two politicians debated
political issues; the first politician spoke eloquently on his past record and when he finished “the enthusiastic cheers which greeted him told plainly that he had captured the heads and hearts of his audience” (30). However, when his opponent got up to speak, he carried with him to the podium several large volumes from which “he read extracts…which contained the true political record of the first speaker, showing time and place where he had spoken and voted in direct opposition to the principles he was professing to hold at present” (30). Here, Gurley emphasizes that scrapbooks are works that externalize and expand one’s memory and that this external memory provides material that makes one speaker more effective than another.

Gurley touches on another positive understanding of scrapbooks, that not only are they useful for self-education, but they are also specifically useful for rhetorical education. Gurley’s congressman uses his scrapbooks as a way to educate himself on his opponent’s past record and remarks, and is able to then incorporate these into to his own speeches. Thus, scrapbooks could act as inventional aids. Articles also noted that keeping scrapbooks could also help writers to reflect on their writing practices. As a contributor identified as P.S.R notes in an 1891 issue of The Writer, the comparison between a volume of his/her typed work “with the scrap-books in which I have pasted the articles they contain as they have appeared in print is very instructive. I have been writing long enough to learn that the intelligent editor is the writer’s best friend, and that judicious editing of copy should instruct the writer…almost invariably their alterations have improved the copy, and constant study of their work has given me many useful hints” (202). In this case, the scrapbooks allowed P.S.R. to compare the submitted
articles with the version that was edited and finally printed in order hone his/her rhetorical skills.

Despite the negative connotations that scrapbooking carried, and all of the advice and instruction meant to contain women within acceptable social roles, many women found ways to use scrapbooks to critically engage the social roles prescribed for them and to construct new possibilities for women’s work, and women’s identities. One scrapbooking enthusiast, in a letter to the Ladies’ Home Journal in 1891, writes that through her scrapbooking activities with a child who visited her frequently, she came to see how scrapbooking could be used for her own purposes. After making several scrapbooks for her young friend, including one on important people like “statesmen, authors of prose and poetry, scientific men, distinguished men in all learned professions, artists, generals, and royal personages,” she makes her own album about women and “the noble work she is doing in the world” (27). Her album, containing women’s history, is ample testament that scrapbooking allowed women to envision a world in which women do public works, and to imagine themselves as part of that world. As I will argue in Chapter Two, women in clubs and organizations often used their scrapbooks in a similar way; their scrapbooks envision a world where women’s work counts and convey that understanding to future audiences.

In a letter printed in the Ladies Home Journal in 1891, one female scrapbooker comments that she fills her book with Shakespeare clippings and bibliographies of important authors. She says that she “is pressed to silence every time [she] looks at them” but then comments sarcastically that “they have a counteracting effect which a cynic might say was a necessity to any woman” (S.E.D. 309). Interestingly, S.E.D.
invokes the cultural prescription of silence for women as a way to defend scrapbooking’s value, and yet ironically, she herself is not actually silent; she writes letters and is published by a national journal. Despite her claim that she is silenced by great authors, it is tempting to speculate that her album full of great authors provided her models that guided and shaped her own writing practices. The compiler even says that her scrapbook is “not so much ornamental as a useful appendage” which hints at the ways such albums may have contributed to women’s instruction in writing, especially given their restricted access to higher education and traditional writing instruction. As I will argue in Chapter Three, scrapbooks became a site for rhetorical education for women in clubs and other organizations.

Some of the negative and gendered assumptions about scrapbooks survive in modern scholarship about scrapbooks and commonplace books, affecting how scholars choose and interpret objects of study. For example, the scholarly debate over Thomas Jefferson’s scrapbooks, “discovered” in the Alderman Library by history professor Robert McDonald while working on his dissertation in 1988, illustrates how gendered perceptions affect what texts get studied and how. In an article on The History News Network, Jefferson scholar Jonathan Gross describes his first encounter with Jefferson’s literary scrapbook:

I began copying portions of the manuscript. As the copier whirred and sent off light in all directions, I wondered if these books might not contain another side to Thomas Jefferson: an admirer of women writers, perhaps? A fan of abolitionist verse? A closet Anglophile?

Anxiety soon followed exhilaration. What if Jefferson had nothing to do with these books? I pictured a small girl of 8 or 9, cutting out poems from the newspaper and gluing them on scrap paper. Her mother ambled to her side and

23 Gross’s edition of the literary scrapbook is scheduled for publication sometime in 2007.
helped her paste a poem in her scrapbook. Perhaps the little girl was Ellen Coolidge, Jefferson’s most literary granddaughter. Anne C. Bankhead, Cornelia Randolph, and Virginia J. Trist (Randolph 347) apparently had collections of their own as well. Try as I would, however, I could not picture the author of “The Declaration of Independence” with scissors and paste, gluing poems about owls and parrots on the back of his own correspondence. (Gross para. 2-3).

While Gross eventually accepts that the scrapbook was indeed made by the great man himself, based on handwriting and other evidence, it is important to note that his initial reluctance was based on the same gendered conceptions of scrapbook prevalent in the nineteenth century. Gross can more easily imagine women and children scrapbooking than he can a great statesman like Thomas Jefferson. Gross notes that the scrapbooks had been previously attributed to female members of Jefferson’s family and that “writers who have treated Jefferson’s literary interests have studiously avoided this collection” (footnote).

As a historical note, Jefferson appears to have been an enthusiastic compiler of albums of many types. His legal and literary commonplace books are housed in the Library of Congress, along with a number of other “miscellaneous and bound volumes of notes and extracts” (LOC). According to another Jefferson scholar, Douglas Wilson, editions of Jefferson’s literary and legal commonplace books were published in 1928 and 1926 and have subsequently been republished with more scholarly emendations.24 So while Jefferson’s commonplace books received attention throughout the last century, Jefferson’s scrapbooks became the object of study only recently, and according to Gross’s footnotes, under protest from other Jefferson scholars. This suggests that

scholars accepted and valued Jefferson’s commonplace books because they were associated with manly civic pursuits, and his scrapbooks were devalued or ignored because of their association with women, children, and domestic pursuits.

History, however, is not the only field to reject or devalue scrapbooks as objects of study based on gendered assumptions. The aesthetic dimensions, layout, design, imagery, and collage techniques of scrapbooks would seem to belong, at least partially, to the province of art, yet histories of collage from the discipline of art history tends to take one of two views of collaging practices in the nineteenth-century, to ignore it completely, or to reduce the significance of popular collage to “craft” rather than art.

In her introduction to Collage: Critical Views (1989), Hoffman refers once obliquely to a “folk tradition” of collage, but for the rest of the article contributes the development of collage techniques to twentieth-century male artists: “[t]he first experiments in collage as a legitimate art form may be seen in the works of Picasso, Braque, and other cubists such as Juan Gris” (6). Presumably, the folk tradition she mentions constitutes an “illegitimate” art form. Wolfram takes a more inclusive approach to a history of collage, connecting modernist practices with traditions of cutting and pasting from 1000 years ago to the present in places as diverse as Japan, Persia, Byzantium, Europe and America. He mentions a number of nineteenth-century home crafts using collage including pictures, memory chests, and decoupage screens. But like Hoffman, he largely attributes the “legitimate” origins to modernism when “collage began to be a significant means of expression,” obscuring the many nineteenth century women (and men) who found scrapbooking to be a valuable and significant means of expressing themselves (14).
Paralleling the feminist critique of the history of rhetoric, Miriam Schapiro questions the dominant history of art by coining the term “femmage” which denotes “work by women of history who sewed, pieced, hooked, cut, appliquéd, quilted, tatted, wrote, painted, and combined materials using women’s techniques to achieve their art-activities (also engaged in by men but assigned in history to women)” (296). Schapiro questions the validity of a history of art constructed by and about male artists that had obscured women artists and their art. Critiquing William Seitz’s construction of collage as the “quondam delight of school girl and housewife” Schapiro argues, “[i]t is in fact the “schoolgirl” and the “housewife” we must look at more carefully to understand the aesthetics of our ancestors and their processes” (297). Likewise, Gayle Davis notes, “[t]he mainstream has often associated women with craft, or applied, decorative, or folk art, using those labels pejoratively to signal art—by either gender—that it sees as technically and aesthetically inferior” (54). Views like Schapiro’s and Davis’s widen the possibility of investigating folk or craft objects as art, encouraging artists and art historians to take a wider view of artistic technique. Jessica Helfland, in her article, “What We Saved: Pictures and Ephemera in the Twentieth Century Scrapbook” appears to answer this call by investigating three early twentieth-century women’s scrapbooks which she characterizes as “a fascinating study in pictorial assemblage” (43). However, as much as Helfland wants to recognize the importance of scrapbooking practices, she still characterizes scrapbooks as “amateur,” a “craft phenomenon,” and “outsider art,” demonstrating the power that a gendered perception of scrapbooking has to determine what objects get studied, how they are classified and valued, and that ultimately has the power to limit the possible interpretation of their meaning and worth (40, 44, 45).
These gendered perceptions also affect modern scholarship in rhetoric, shaping what it is possible to perceive and study as a worthwhile rhetorical practice and the possible frames of interpretation that can be applied to objects of study. For example, although Earle Havens professes in his study of commonplace books that “scholars have generally recognized, and thereby considered privileged, one type of commonplace book…those most clearly based upon classical Greek and Roman theories of the commonplaces,” he reaffirms the same system of valuation when he distinguishes between commonplace books that are “rigidly organized in the best tradition of the ancients” and the commonplace books that are “loosely gathered scraps of everything and anything” that are “undisciplined and disorganized” (9). While it is admirable that Havens wants to rehabilitate and bring into focus these “other” commonplace books, it is significant that he creates a dichotomy between “traditional” organized books, and the non-traditional, “disorganized” books, rather than articulating the potential differences in organizing principles that may govern less traditional books. It is also worthwhile to note that he resorts to the language of scrapbook critics here, reaffirming the connection between scrapping and unruliness. Further strengthening that connection, Havens goes on to list the “other” names such disorderly books have gone by over the centuries, including, of course, scrapbooks. Furthermore, in the latter half of the book, where Havens begins to take up manuscript commonplace books (as opposed to printed and published books), he describes a nineteenth-century book about which he says, “at first glance this collection might be described as a “scrapbook,” as it contains scraps of printed matter, in addition to manuscript writing.” However, Havens goes on to say, “but it was clearly organized in the familiar manner of a commonplace book, with headings
given to each entry, followed by assorted text-extracts, anecdotes, and original observations” (90). For Havens, at least, the feature that distinguishes a commonplace book from a scrapbook, is not, as one might expect, the presence of pasted scraps; rather, it is the adherence to a particular, “traditional,” form of organization that distinguishes the two genres.

It is also significant that Havens rarely talks about commonplace books, albums, or scrapbooks prepared by women. In fact, in his history of the genre, which spans several thousand years of human history, Havens only mentions two albums prepared by women, both in the nineteenth century. Interestingly, both albums contain “scraps,” yet again Havens reads them as commonplace books, rehabilitating them for his own study, yet again connecting scrappiness and unruliness. In fact, although Havens at some points sees scrapbooks as a subset of the commonplace tradition, he declines to study anything he actually calls a scrapbook, even despite his insistence that “manuscript commonplace books were not generically distinguished from albums or scrapbooks in the nineteenth century” (93). If women did not have access to formal education, where they might learn the tradition of organizing commonplaces, or if they should not have access or leisure to procure and peruse commonplace instruction books (Like Locke’s), or even if they should choose, for their own purposes, some other method of organizing their scraps, they simply disappear from view as viable artifacts. Furthermore, while the line between a commonplace album and a scrapbook might be extremely fuzzy, I would argue that for both nineteenth century people and for modern scholars, there is definitely a gendered distinction between them, in perception, if not in reality.
The gendered distinction between commonplace books and scrapbooks explains why scholars have only recently begun to pay more attention to scrapbooks as rhetorical artifacts. Ephemera, a category that includes scrapbooks, has been most widely studied in the context of collecting practices and material culture and in the context of preservation and cataloguing techniques used by archivists and librarians. As well, history scholars recognize the importance of historical information that could have been lost had not some scrapbooker clipped and pasted newspaper articles, first hand accounts of events and letters and other communiqués into their albums. As Jennifer L. Brunig argues in “Pages of History: a Study of Newcomb Scrapbooks,” scrapbooks of Newcomb students often contained “information about student life provide much information about student life that cannot be found in official records” (3). Brunig suggests that this unofficial information adds new dimension to the history of women’s education (11). While these types of studies are important, they nonetheless fail to examine the form and genre of the scrapbook as a distinct and widespread rhetorical practice. Robert DeCandido notes in the introduction to “Scrapbooks the Smiling Villains”:

A number of years ago I was asked to introduce several speakers who were going to talk about the preservation of scrapbooks. I thought that in doing so, I would talk a little about the background of the topic. I assumed that there was a standard reference about scrapbooks that I could consult or, at worst, a little research would be required to extract the information I wanted. This turns out not to be true. As far as I could find out little or nothing has been written about scrapbooks as a format. (para. 1).

While DeCandido’s made this remark over ten years ago, I can share his frustration. Only a handful of studies have investigated scrapbooking as a historically significant rhetorical practice.
Recent scholars have noted the ways that women’s scrapbooks represent “a type of rhetoric that expresses social as well as individual personalities, enabling a new personality to achieve self-determination through manipulation of the world in which the self is grounded” (Buckler and Leeper 1). In their study of “An Antebellum Woman’s Scrapbook as Autobiographical Composition,” Buckler and Leeper examine the ways that a scrapbook allows one particular woman to discover and shape her identity. They examine the ways her book is a representation of her own “self-concept as a woman” that is shaped by her own choice of material, including pieces on “marriage, love, women’s rights, women’s influences, beauty, purity and spiritual qualities” (6). Their analysis of women’s scrapbooks as rhetorical artifacts is valuable because it demonstrates the ways that women could interact rhetorically with cultural prescriptions for gender appropriate behavior, and the ways that a scrapbook could allow its author to work out her own identity issues through the text and images placed in a scrapbook. Their analysis is primarily guided by the assumption that the scrapbook is a form of private rhetoric, rather than a set of public arguments “performed” for visitors and passed down to future generations. At one point in their essay, Buckler and Leeper argue that scrapbooks are directed to “both a ‘defined’ and ‘indeterminate’ audience,” but they still primarily focus on the rhetorical impact on the author herself, rather than considering how she might have imagined an audience and shaped her scrapbook in particular ways to communicate with that audience (2). Furthermore, they eventually argue that “like diaries and journals, the scrapbook is a ‘text written day by day’ with no evident statement of purpose, objective, audience, or conclusion” adding that scrapbooks represent an effort to “define and understand self” (2).
While many scrapbooks may have functioned in this private way for women who made them, it is important to realize that scrapbooks were often also meant to communicate with other audiences. In general, the how-to literature on scrapbook making throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries largely portrays scrapbooks as semi-public productions. While many scrapbooks were not necessarily meant to be published, they were meant to be shared with others. Scrapbook enthusiasts in the Progressive Era indicated that the importance of the scrapbook was its record of history, either of current events or the life-history of its author, that necessitated the careful selection of material that would be “interesting and intelligible after the lapse of years” for the “improvement of self and delight of others” (“A system…” 276). Buckler and Leeper examine scrapbooks to reveal the “the daily lives of women” which they claim is testimony to “anonymous lives, lived unnoticed” (1). This is partially due to their identification of scrapbooks as primarily expressive discourse, citing Kinneavy’s well-known *Theory of Discourse*. However, scrapbooks can also be examined as a form of rhetorical engagement with public life and an argument made not only to the author herself, but also to contemporary and future audiences about what was possible for women’s lives and rhetorical performances. This perspective is especially important when examining records of progressive era women’s clubs, whose archival records often contained scrapbooks that would be intentionally passed down to future members and historians. As well, this particular type of scrapbook, at least, is not evidence of silent or anonymous women. While not all of the women and organizations I study in this dissertation became famous or well known nationally, neither were they silent or anonymous within their own communities, as their own scrapbooks indicate. The
widespread use of scrapbooks to keep historical records for public audiences is evidence that they can be examined for the “means of persuasion” available to, and appropriated by, women.

More useful for my purpose is Tamar Katriel and Thomas Farrell’s “Scrapbooks as Cultural Texts: An American Art of Memory,” a study of contemporary scrapbooks in which they argue that the scrapbook is “a mode of life-review [that] is fundamentally rhetorical and performative in character” (2). Contrary to negative views of the scrapbook’s “loose” or non-existent organization, expressed by both nineteenth century critics and present day scholars, Katriel and Farrell emphasize the logic and order that dictates the construction of a scrapbook and explains its readability by general audiences. This readability is enabled by culturally situated knowledge about the genre, as well as by certain organizational conventions. Katriel and Farrell’s study of fifty-five contemporary women who kept scrapbooks revealed that scrapbooking was composed of three stages of activity, saving, organizing and sharing; they argue that a full account of “the practice of scrapbook keeping should…consider the interrelationship of all three activities” (5). They focus their study on the scrapbook as a type of self-expression but with the understanding that selectivity and organization is done with several audiences in mind. Katriel and Farrell’s study is significant because it provides a general framework for understanding arrangement strategies in progressive era scrapbooks, and a way of thinking about scrapbooks as audienced texts, a perspective that informs my entire study.

However, Katriel and Farrell note that “gender is a relevant cultural consideration for scrapbook practice” but decline to offer any explanation of this relevance except to say that it probably has something to do with “the traditional feminine role-assignation as
custodian of matters private and familial” (3). Katriel and Farrell’s assumption that
scrapbooks are only about domestic matters is a marker for just how much of the
nineteenth-century attitude about women’s writing we have inherited. In a similar way,
Todd S. Gernes argues that “scrapbook keeping became associated with domesticity and
femininity by the end of the nineteenth century, part of the material culture of girlhood”
(115) with little explanation of how such associations were created and with what
consequences, both for women who made scrapbooks and for current scholars studying
scrapbook practices. The legacy we have inherited from the turn of the century is a
widespread (female) popular interest in scrapbook making, coupled with negative
attitudes about a scrapbook’s worth, even despite the existence of abundant archival
materials of organizations for whom scrapbooks became the primary mode of history
keeping. While much of the advice given to women about scrapbooking defined
women’s sphere as domesticity, women, such as the ones in this study, sometimes used
scrapbooks to question that role. Scrapbooks were not only limited to girls being
educated into traditional and expected roles as mothers, housewives, shoppers, or interior
designers. As this study suggests, Progressive Era women participating in clubs and
other organizations, like temperance or suffrage, adopted scrapbooking for their own
purposes; their scrapbooks reveal the interplay between dominant cultural and rhetorical
ideologies and the new roles women carved out for themselves as rhetors and as central
actors in the pageant of history.

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CHAPTER 2

THE MAP AND THE COMPASS: COMPOSING HISTORIES OF THE NATION
AND WOMEN’S ACTIVISM

To the absent members of the dear “old guard” whose works do live after them
To the present members whose loyalty and zeal are a constant source of inspiration
To all Shakespearean club members and students who shall come after us—
This book is affectionately inscribed.
Dedication, Scrapbook of the Marion (Iowa) Shakespeare Club – 1931

Club news that is no longer news has become club history, and it is a pity that multitudes
of clubs have lost both the current and the recorded stories.
Alice Winter, The Business of Being a Clubwoman, 1925

So fixated on the surface, women have been seen as incapable of reaching the requisite
profundities of either history or self-knowledge. They occupy a lower rung on the ladder
of cognitive being - poor practitioners indeed, as the many women amateur historians are
often said to have been, even by women professionals themselves.
Bonnie Smith, The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice, 1998

In a speech at the 39th annual New York State Convention in 1907, Anne Fitzhugh
Miller, President of the Geneva Political Equity Club, made these remarks: “In
connection with the distribution of literature, I am delighted to mention that some real
literature has also been produced in, and published by our club…let me tell you of three
ponderous volumes which hold within their covers the history of our club life. They are
scrapsbooks and are most valuable for reference and their value increases as the years go

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by. Every club should have a scrapbook.” 25 Many clubs and other women’s organizations appear to have taken Miller’s advice. The archives of Progressive Era women’s organizations, scattered across historic preservation societies and various public libraries, frequently contain scrapbooks full of clippings, photos, and other ephemera that document the depth and richness of progressive women’s organizations. The scrapbooks come in a variety of forms, sizes and colors; some have beautifully bound and embossed covers, others are compiled in ledgers meant for business accounting, and some are even made from unwanted books, from which pages were removed to make room for the ephemera pasted onto the pages. 26 The scrapbooks contain an astonishing array of material, from news clippings and letters to photos and other ephemera. 27 Progressive Era women’s organizations collected both material written by their members as well as material culled from other sources.

There are two general types of scrapbooks found in archives of clubs and organizations. Scrapbooks documenting the work of women’s clubs and organizations found in various archives originate from two sources. First, social, literary and study clubs and various reform organizations often kept club records, including scrapbooks, to

25 Both a draft and final version of this speech are preserved in Miller’s own scrapbooks, which are housed in the Library of Congress.

26 Scrapbook how-to-articles often recommended inexpensive ways to make scrapbooks out of unwanted books or catalogues. Because pasting clippings, pamphlets and other ephemera into scrapbooks added sufficient bulk to a scrapbook to stress the spine of the book, how-to articles recommended removing every other page to make room for pasted items. This was a homemade version of the interleaved scrapbooks that were commercially available in the nineteenth century. The commercial version had perforated pages (usually tissue paper) inserted between the scrapbook pages that could be easily removed as items were added to the book.

27 Such as speeches, poems, song lyrics, prayers, lectures, letters, telegrams, genealogical histories, newspaper and magazine articles, convention or meeting programs, invitations, surveys, witty sayings, photographs, ribbons, menus, and editorial cartoons.
Club scrapbooks are often not attributed to a single author, but rather appear to be the collective work of many club members. Occasionally, books may be credited to one or a succession of club historians, although it seems to be the case that their collection of scraps was donated by many of the other members of the club. Such scrapbooks generally are housed within collections of records and materials pertaining to a specific organization. As well, archives often contain scrapbooks by individual women involved in various organizations that record their involvement in a variety of clubs and organizations or that reflect their own interest in a particular subject related to women’s social reforms. These scrapbooks are usually not housed within a particular organization’s holdings, but seem to have been held by the individual women who later donated their estates to other women and then to various public archives. However, it is important to note the collective nature of even the supposed single-authored books. For example, from notes Ida Husted Harper wrote in her suffrage scrapbook, we can discern that she occasionally let others maintain her scrapbook when she traveled to conventions or speaking engagements. As well, in the front of Matilda Gage’s scrapbook, appears the note: “This series of scrapbooks, begun by Matilda Joslyn Gage, and completed by her children, after her demise from material accumulated by her.”

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29 Individual scrapbooks include suffrage scrapbooks compiled by Ida Husted Harper, Matilda Joslyn Gage, Harriet Taylor Upton, May Wright Sewell, the scrapbook of Mary K. Sherman, during her tenure as President of the National Federation of Women’s Clubs, the temperance scrapbook of Mother Eliza Trimble Thomson, or the scrapbook of Ella P. Stewart, chronicling her participation in a variety of African American clubs and organizations.
While the scrapbooks are as diverse in materials, form, and authorship as the different organizations were in their memberships and agendas, these texts share a striking similarity in purpose. Scrapbooks were one of the primary ways women’s organizations in the progressive era could perpetuate and preserve a history of their own making. In *Intimate Practices*, Anne Ruggles Gere argues that that the power of the public imagination “left no space for an alternative, feminized, image of clubs” (258). However, I argue that scrapbooks represent a uniquely feminized space where women constructed their own histories of club activities and their involvement in a collective movement for the advancement of women in civic life. Given that public memory tended to be hostile to clubwomen and dismissive of their cultural work, many women felt the need to become their own historians in order to ensure that at least some self-representation survived the ravages of public hostility or indifference. Scrapbooks, then, are not simply places to look for evidence of clubwomen’s rhetorical contributions; they are powerful rhetorical constructions in which clubwomen publicly performed and preserved their literacy practices. Archiving historical documents is never a neutral process but one in which certain experiences or memories are valued over others. Scrapbooks containing photos, newspaper clippings, and other memorabilia provide a lens through which clubwomen viewed and understood themselves and their place in a historical narrative.

Scrapbooks represent a particular site of rhetorical education for clubwomen and demonstrate how these women preserved memories of club work that would give women access to a history and a rhetorical tradition of their own. The scrapbooks compiled and preserved by women’s clubs were spaces where women could actively record and
construct their club’s history and identity in order to preserve their accomplishments and
legacy for future members and historians. Women in literary, social and study clubs and
other reform organizations demonstrated in their scrapbooks their right and ability to
participate in the construction of local and national historical narratives; they consciously
wrote women into those narratives to correct the absence of women from previous
historical accounts; they recorded and preserved the club’s activities within that larger
local and/or national context; and they actively recorded and corrected misrepresentations
of their activities in the press. Even more importantly, the scrapbooks produced by
women’s clubs consistently record a tradition of female activism, consisting of women
who were famous speakers and writers in the Progressive Era but also less famous
women who used rhetorical means to further the everyday work of their clubs and
organizations. Such depictions were meant demonstrate that all women were capable of
activist work and that women’s activism and reform work was worthy of historical
documentation. The prevalence of scrapbooks in women’s archives points to a tradition
of history writing that developed within women’s organizations at the turn of the century,
a tradition that was far better suited to the membership and goals of women’s
organizations than academic modes of history writing.

While nineteenth-century pundits may have lampooned the scrapbook as the trifling
hobby of schoolgirls, women in clubs and organizations took their scrapbook histories
very seriously. Suffragist Matilda Joslyn Gage regarded her scrapbook as so important
that she needed to take special care to arrange for its preservation after her death. In her
last will and testament, Gage writes, “…to my youngest daughter, Maud Gage Baum, if
living at time of my decease, I give and bequeath all of my woman suffrage papers, books

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and documents of whatever character except my scrap books, which latter I desire that
she shall deposit in some permanent public library.” Gage left all of her suffrage papers
to her daughter Maud, but she specifically requested that her scrapbooks be publicly
preserved and displayed. Similarly, Ida Husted Harper, official reporter and historian for
the National American Woman Suffrage Association, donated all eighteen volumes of her
scrapbook to the Library of Congress, indicating that she felt that it should reside in a
national library of the United States where they would be available to all Americans and
 accorded the same importance as all the other documents held by the Library. Mary
King Sherman, president of the National Federation of Women’s Clubs from 1924-1928,
deposited her scrapbooks in the Federation archives in Washington D.C. where they
remain carefully preserved to this day. Some women donated their scrapbooks to other
women upon their deaths; suffrage activist Harriet Taylor Upton’s scrapbooks were left
in the care of Carrie Chapman Catt, from whose estate the scrapbooks were donated to
the Library of Congress in 1947. May Wright Sewall’s scrapbooks, also held in the
Library of Congress, bear the inscription: “Gift of Mrs. May Wright Sewell by Mrs. Ida
Harper Husted, Literary Executor.” As well, many women’s clubs continued to operate
after the Progressive Era, and they continued to use and archive scrapbooks until the
organizations disbanded or until they chose to donate the materials to local historical
preservation societies. The way that women carefully preserved and archived their
scrapbooks suggests that they regarded their materials as an important part of the
historical record.

However, for a number of reasons, the academic historical and rhetorical notions of
“good” history writing simply make women’s scrapbooking invisible as a genuine
historical practice. As historians of women in the discipline of history have argued, the nineteenth century marks an important shift in the development and professionalization of historical studies in academic institutions. Linking the study of history with scientific methodology, nineteenth-century professional academic historians re-shaped historical studies to distance their work both from their Romantic predecessors and from assorted “amateur” historians, including “biographers, historical novelists, political satirists, genealogists, writers of travelers’ tales, collectors of folklore and antiquarians” (Spongberg 2). These “amateurs,” of course, included the many women who were involved in the historical enterprise in America. As Michael Kammen notes in his book Mystic Chords of Memory (1991), women were a significant part of a widespread popular movement in America to participate in the construction of national historical narratives (267-269). Many women recognized that their exclusion from history also justified their exclusion form public and civic life. “At a time when white, domestic women still had no formal access to the political process, preserving national sites and planning historical parades had proven an effective means for them to claim rights to the American legacy and its associated privileges. Women discovered that there was power to be gained in placing an interpretive spin on the national past” (Des Jardins 4). Women recognized that memory could be a powerful ally in the struggle to redefine women’s social roles. Furthermore, popular history practices served their interests far better than the new historical methods advocated in the academy.

30 See, for example, Mary Spongberg, Writing Women’s History Since the Renaissance; Bonnie Smith, The Gender of History; Nicole Des Jardins, Women and the Historical Enterprise in America; and Nina Baym, American Women Writers and the Work of History.
In *Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (1998), Bonnie Smith explains that the new historical studies that emerged in institutions of higher learning in the latter half of the nineteenth century was characterized by a quasi-scientific practice “explicitly unconcerned with…gender, class, or politics” (52). Smith further elaborates that the new mode of historical study included, “a commitment to objectivity… the strict use of evidence, the taming of historical narrative to a less rhetorical style, the development of archives and professional libraries, [and] the organization of university training in seminars and tutorials” (52). Both the redefined sense of historical studies, and the various credentialing and gate keeping strategies that accompanied it, worked to exclude women both from the ranks of historians being produced in the academies and from the histories being produced by those historians. Access to a university education was limited for women during the nineteenth century by social expectations for women and by direct limitation of their access to certain institutions or programs of study. While the latter half of the nineteenth century saw some women successfully navigate the institutions of higher learning, the numbers of those women was still relatively small. Even more importantly for women historians, access to archives, the centerpiece of the new historical studies, was often limited or denied entirely. According to Smith, “at some universities, like Cambridge and Oxford, [women] could not obtain those coveted degrees; at professional meetings…they could not attend social functions; major libraries like Widener at Harvard and the Bibliotheque nationale in Paris restricted hours for women…; [and] some archives prohibited women from using their resources” (53). Furthermore, the assumption that women were not worthy subjects of historical enquiry, an assumption that predated but was shared by the new historians, had pretty well
ensured that women’s activities were not well represented in the supposedly neutral archive. The archive, the new “center” of historical studies, was the place for the historian to find the “facts” of history, and women’s absence from the archive probably helped confirm the “fact” that women simply were not actors in the historical drama. As Smith notes, “the insider/male history written by both men of letters and professionals was based on the activities of great men and set in political and military narrative about them” (59). While embracing the seemingly objective position represented by French historian Fustel de Coulanges’ oft quoted remark, “Gentlemen, it is not I who speak, but History that speaks through me,” historians simultaneously reproduced their gendered and raced assumptions. Thus, acclaimed American historians, like Frederick Jackson Turner or James Ford Rhodes peopled their accounts of American history with great (white) men, while giving the appearance of having told the “really American part of our history” (Turner 32). Frederick Jackson Turner, famous for his 1893 “Frontier Thesis” of the development of the “unique” American character, peopled his account with the hunter, trader, trapper, and woodsman, famous pioneers like Lewis and Clark or Daniel Boone, and the “men of capital and enterprise” who followed them (1). His history quietly overlooked the impact of women who went west as wives, teachers, or even, as Patricia Limerick has noted, prostitutes. Similarly, James Ford Rhodes, Pulitzer Prize winner for history in 1918, declared that “great man,” Abraham Lincoln, was “THE

31 Of course Turner also overlooked countless groups involved in the settlement of the west, including Chinese immigrants used as cheap railroad labor, African-Americans who participated in westward expansion, and of course, Native Americans, living on Turner’s so-called “free land.” Patricia Nelson Limerick critiques Turner’s Frontier Thesis in Legacy of Conquest (14-15).
GREAT factor in the destruction of slavery,” ignoring of course, the agitation of the abolitionist movement of which women were a part (1).

While the new historians wanted to distance themselves from what they saw as the rhetorical excesses of their Romantic forbears, they still shared many assumptions about the practice of history writing with nineteenth-century academic rhetoricians, who considered the writing of history to be a fundamentally rhetorical act. Alexander Bain, Adams Sherman Hill and John Franklin Genung all recognized history writing as one of the species of narration, one of the primary modes of discourse. However, what they tended to assume about what counted as good history writing ignored that history largely chronicled the accounts of men, under the guise of objectivity or “factuality.” The guise of scientific objectivity tended to justify women’s further exclusion from both history and participation in civic discourse.

In *English Composition and Rhetoric* (1871), Alexander Bain confirmed the new historian’s perspective by defining the end of history writing as “furnishing an array of facts” (174) and defining the allure of history as “man’s interest in man” (177). Although Bain is not explicitly excluding women in his use of the word “man,” he largely implies that the kind of history he will instruct people in is history of “institutions” (from which women had been barred), “the spectacle of great heroic men,” and the “important truths respecting Man’s physical and mental nature” (175-184).

In a similar way, John Franklin Genung also treats history as one type of narration and calls it, in fact, the most important type of narration since “being the recounting of actual events, it represents the primal and ideal use of narration (544). Genung too, reflects the rhetorician’s sense of the change in historical studies in the nineteenth
century, when he writes in a note, that “the extreme of accuracy and care in ascertaining facts is the prevailing characteristic of modern historical scholarship, a characteristic, indeed, which it has in common with the whole scientific method and spirit of our day” (545).

Furthermore, the emphasis placed on linearity and unity probably would have prevented rhetoricians and historians from seeing women’s historical productions, and especially scrapbooks, as genuine history writing. For example, in the 1888 edition of *The Principles of Rhetoric*, Adams Sherman Hill articulates the rules for composing narrative, while articulating the principles of linearity and unity shared by many of the nineteenth century rhetoricians. “A narrative is defective,” Hill proclaimed, “as a narrative, in so far as it does not go right on from the beginning to the end” (181). This view of linear and/or chronological progression assumes that the events being narrated are complete, with clear beginnings and endings. To ensure that such clear beginnings and endings were easy to see, rhetoricians tended to prefer histories of the distant past, the further away from the present moment, the better. In his chapter on historical composition, Alexander Bain cites from a number of histories that illustrate the laws of historical composition, most of which are histories of the distant past, especially histories of ancient Rome and Greece. The reason for Bain’s preference for historical narratives about the distant past becomes clear through a quotation which Bain takes from a historical text written by Sir Arthur Helps, a nineteenth-century British writer, who among other things, wrote several historical accounts of colonial America under the Spanish in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Bain quotes Helps as saying, “When great affairs are in their infancy, and are most tractable to human endeavor, they then
appear of the smallest importance; and all consideration of them is lost in attending to the full-blown events of the current day, which, however, are rapidly losing their significance” (qtd. in Bain 176). Through Helps, Bain articulates one of the principles of historical composition that coincides very neatly with the development of the new scientific historical method. In order to maintain an objective and neutral point-of-view, a historian needed to be at some remove from the events being narrated. As Helps argues, the events of the current moment are misapprehended by those in the midst of them. Thus, the farther the events occurred in the past, the more likely the historian’s account is to be neutral and objective. As well, anyone paying attention to the “full-blown events of the day” clearly makes a poor historian, since they are likely to be fooled by the immediacy of events into thinking that those events are significant in the narrative of historical progress. Similarly, the rhetoricians’ emphasis on unity of composition largely ruled out the scrapbook as a viable and acceptable means of recording history. Adams Sherman Hill argued that, the “leading thought gives Unity to that which otherwise would be a meaningless variety” (183). Hill’s invocation of “meaningless variety” seems to rationalize the sentiments of scrapbook critics, like W. Carew Hazlitt, who had characterized scrapbooks as “loose and ill-digested” (370).

The larger sense that emerges from nineteenth-century rhetorical theory is a history already made in the past, not a history in the making. However, for women’s clubs and organizations, history in the making is exactly what they wished to document in their scrapbooks. Many clubwomen understood that club news needed to be immediately preserved as part of the historical record to guard against the loss of important stories about club work. As Alice Winter noted in her 1925 book, *The Business of Being a*
Clubwoman, clubs had already “lost both current and recorded stories.” Furthermore, the members of clubs and other organizations were often aware that traditional record keeping practices did not preserve the complex history and identity of their clubs. Mrs. Ingalls, a member of a literary club in Columbia, Missouri, called "The Readers," described, in a letter to her club, her “disappointment over the fact that our only records for future reference are the minutes cut down to the bare bones…Having more no more color or distinction than the minutes of any organization…” (qtd. in Hindeman 2). The need to preserve stories before they were lost trumped any imperative for the historian to be at some objective remove from the events being narrated.

Furthermore, given their goals and aims, women in clubs and organizations simply could not maintain the seemingly objective and neutral approach. Their histories were explicitly self-interested, gendered, and oriented towards the dissemination of a particular message, not just a “neutral” review of historical facts. Mother Stewart noted this in her 1888 book, In Memories of the Crusade: A Thrilling Account of the Great Uprising of the Women of Ohio in 1873, Against the Liquor Crime:

The evolution of temperance ideas is in this order: The people are informed, convinced, convicted, pledged. With these facts in view, we urge…
1st. Frequent temperance mass-meetings.
2nd. The careful circulation of temperance literature in the people's homes and in saloons.
3rd. Teaching the children in Sabbath-schools and public schools the ethics, chemistry, physiology, and hygiene of total abstinence…
9th. Preserving facts connected with the general subject and with our work, in temperance scrap-books, to be placed in the hands of special officers appointed for this purpose. (425)

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32 By which she means stories that were recorded as news in the current newspapers but were not then archived as part of the historical record.
Stewart understands the purpose of the scrapbook as part of a general program of
disseminating temperance messages, not just as a historical record kept for its own sake.

In a similar way, Helen Josephine Harris cited scrapbooks as an invaluable part of
organizing club work in *Girls Clubs: Their Organization and Management, A Manual for
Workers* (1918). To illustrate the importance of keeping club records, Harris explains,
“The Club members often borrow this [scrap] book from the Leader to read again the
story of the big events of other years. ‘Once you have started a scrap book,’ this Leader
has said, ‘it takes little time to keep it up. And it is a chart and compass which you cannot
afford to be without, once you have used it’” (103). Harris sees scrapbooks as valuable,
not simply because they “chart” past events, but also because they act as a compass,
pointing the way for future action. Both Harris and Stewart understood the persuasive
effects scrapbooks could have on future audiences. Rather than maintaining the
neutrality of historical records, as traditional historians may have done, they see their
documents as explicitly, and even intentionally persuasive. Furthermore, the women in
clubs and organizations could not maintain the historian’s distance from the people and
events being historicized, largely because they regarded themselves as both chroniclers of
and actors in the historical drama.

Clubwomen had to develop their own rhetorical strategies for preserving and
conveying their own sense of history to future members of their clubs and to historians
that they imagined would consult their scrapbooks. Scrapbooks provided an ideal space
in which to convey that sense of memory because these texts were entirely under the
control of the clubwomen who compiled them. Without having, or even needing,
specialized academic training, clubwomen could choose what to include, how to arrange
materials, and where to deposit their scrapbooks for posterity. Furthermore, by selecting, arranging, and re-contextualizing items like newspaper and magazine articles, they were able to exert more control over what various clippings might mean.

One way they exerted control over public accounts of their work was by writing in the books, commenting on saved items, and correcting them. For example, Ida Harper, a journalist and suffrage activist, frequently corrected grammatical mistakes in clippings from the newspapers that she saved in fourteen scrapbook volumes covering the years from 1896 to 1920. As well, Harper often wrote comments about clipped items that reflected her own sense of clippings she had selected for preservation, giving us a glimpse of the struggle to make women’s arguments heard in the public sphere. In her scrapbook recording media coverage of women’s causes in 1912, Harper preserved one of her own articles, a response to an attack on suffrage made by Colonel Roosevelt in *Outlook* magazine, next to which she included handwritten commentary on the circumstances surrounding its publication. Harper pasted the entire newspaper page on which her article appears, including other articles that appeared on the same page. In the middle of her article, the editors of the paper had inserted a piece on “An Oklahoma Town Who Is in Need of Cats.” Harper drew several wavy lines through this article, noting at the bottom of the page:

“A sarcastic letter from me in regard to cutting down my important article to include one on cats probably led to a [unreadable] editor’s dropping my department – Resumed Oct. Sept. 1914.” (30-31).

Harper recorded both her frustration that newspaper editors ultimately made the decision about how to present her work to the public, and especially that her piece was regarded as unimportant enough to cut to make room for a “fluff” article on Guthrie, Oklahoma’s
need for cats as rodent control. It is also important to point out that Harper’s comment records for us the perils women faced when acting too aggressively on their own behalf. The editor dropped Harper’s column for nearly two years, effectively taking away her access to the public through that particular publication.

Other groups also recorded their response to misrepresentation in the press in scrapbooks. In their 1929 scrapbook, The Junior League of Columbus, Ohio preserved a newspaper account of their fundraiser and their own financial record for the year. One of the newspaper accounts reported that the League had raised $1,042. However, a conscientious League member crossed out that amount and wrote in $10,042, highlighting that the paper had misreported the amount by a factor of ten. Included on the next page is a balance sheet showing the accounts of the League for that year, including the $10,042 amount raised in their fundraiser (32-33). While the misreporting of the figure may have been a simple typographical error, the women in the Junior League made doubly sure that the error was corrected in their own accounts of their activities so that future members of the club or future historians would be sure to know the extent of their contributions.

In a similar fashion, May Whitney Emerson records the circumstances surrounding the publication of her own work in the Women’s National Press Association Scrapbook (ca. 1890s). The page cataloguing Emerson’s work contains several clippings from the Daily Democrat about California in general and about the city of Santa Rosa in particular. The first clipping introduces the work to follow and is likely written by the managing editor, Robert A. Thomson, whose name appears under the banner for the newspaper. Thompson writes, “We have received the following additional opinion of
Santa Rosa by the members of the Woman’s National Press Association which we print with pleasure. The sketch…[is] by one of the brightest members of the Press Club” (130). Under this statement, Emerson pasted in a short piece on Eastern and Native American mythologies of the rose, a short piece on the beauties of Northern and Southern California and two stanzas of poetry written about Santa Rosa. One stanza, credited to Harriet N. Ralston of the WNPA, begins, “Santa Rosa, matchless one/ Golden with the golden sun.” The other stanza, credited to Emerson, begins in a strikingly similar way: “Santa Rosa, matchless child/ At thy birth, great Buddha smiled” (130). To explain the similarity, Emerson includes a handwritten comment:

By Mr. Robert A. Thomson I was asked to ‘fill space’ on this topic among other things. I wrote a stanza – paraphrasing Mrs. H.N. Ralston’s beautiful lines. By a stupid and unfortunate mistake my bald and barren imitation was printed first, as stanza 1. As a deed of meek and joyful courtesy, I reverse and here place on record. M.W. E. (130)

The two stanzas of poetry, as originally printed, made it appear that Emerson’s version of the poem was the original one and that Ralston’s was derivative. Unsettled by that implication, Emerson cuts the clipping into two pieces and rearranges them so that her stanza appears second; this arrangement implies the true relationship between original and derivation.

Emerson’s handwritten comment reveals a number of things about the circumstances surrounding the publication of her piece, information not revealed by the newspaper itself. First, Emerson highlights that Thompson gives the appearance in the paper of having received her pieces, while in fact, needing to fill space, he actually solicited articles on this particular topic from Emerson. While it is not explicitly clear why Thompson does not reveal this information in the paper itself, it is reasonable to
assume that he might not want to make it common knowledge that he solicited women’s writing to fill space in his newspaper. Second, while Thompson appears to give Emerson some credit as “one of the brightest” members of the Press Club, Emerson’s annoyance at being asked to “fill space” (rather than writing feature articles, perhaps) is palpable in her tone. Finally, by reversing the stanzas of poetry in the scrapbook and correcting the misprint, Emerson sees the press book as a place to “correct” the historical record and to ensure that future readers of the Women’s Press Association scrapbook would know that the reversal of stanzas was not intentional (and perhaps to imply that the mistake was made by the paper and not her).

Beyond simply recording misprints, women in clubs and organizations record their personal reactions to articles printed in newspapers and magazines, preserving for us a point of view not expressed in the articles themselves. Harriet Taylor Upton, in her 1904-07 scrapbook, “Oklahoma Indian Territory,” chronicled the fight for inclusion of women’s suffrage in Oklahoma’s bill for statehood. Upton wrote her comments next to articles she had clipped from newspapers. One such example is a newspaper reprint of a July 1907 speech given by the territorial governor Frank Frantz to the Territory.

33 Upton, a resident of Warren, Ohio, was elected treasurer for NAWSA in 1892, a position she held for fifteen years. Among other accomplishments, she was the first woman elected Vice-Chair of the National Republican Executive Committee, the first woman to hold such a prominent position in any political party. She also expressed her interest in history and published several historical works, including The Early Presidents, Their Wives and Children.

34 Upton doesn’t actually preserve the name of the newspaper nor the year of its publication. Franz was territorial governor for two years (1906-1907), so theoretically he could have given the speech in the summer of 1906 or 1907. However, given Franz’s subject matter and the speech’s position next to the Oklahoma state Constitution in Gage’s scrapbook, it is likely that the speech was given relatively close to the granting of statehood in November of 1907. Frantz was the last governor of the Indian Territories. He lost a contentious race for Governor of the new state of Oklahoma to democrat C.N. Haskell. However, suffrage for women was not included in the state’s new constitution, and suffrage for women in Oklahoma was not granted until 1918.
Commercial Club on the subject of progress in Oklahoma Indian Territory and the quest for statehood. Upton includes the entire speech which fills three pages of her scrapbook. Franz covers a wide variety of topics in the speech; he spends some time complimenting the business men in their commercial endeavors, dwells at length on the progress made towards statehood, and near the end of the speech, dispenses cautionary advice about “certain dangers confronting us and always at hand,” including partisan politics and, of course, woman suffrage. He raises the question of suffrage by first complimenting the audience for “having the prettiest and most charming women” (71). Franz goes on to compliment the virtues of women so long as they remain in the sphere of womanly duty. Next to this long-winded speech, Upton writes in the margins, “Don’t this just make you tired?” (72). Upton’s comment helps contextualize the article’s purpose in her scrapbook; She saves the clipping, not because she wants to preserve or advocate the point of view it represents, but because she wants to preserve a record of the “tiring” attitudes that she faces in her own activist work.

Faced with indifferent or even hostile characterizations of women’s groups, women in clubs and organizations often used scrapbooks to record their opposition to public perception and to re-inscribe their own sense of their work. In the 1920s, public anxieties that women’s organizations were being infiltrated and manipulated by “radical” elements resulted in a much publicized red-hunt in many women’s organizations. In March of 1924, the Dearborn Independent published an article entitled “Are Women's Clubs 'Used' by Bolshevists?” signed “An American Citizen.” The article charged that the “[l]eadership of women's organizations has fallen into the hands of radicals to an alarming extent” and portrayed the “rank and file” members of women’s organizations as
the unwitting dupes of communist organizers. A week later, the *Independent* published the “Spider Web Chart,” a document leaked from the U.S. Department of Chemical Warfare, which purported to show “The Socialist-Pacifist Movement in America is an Absolutely Fundamental and Integral Part of International Socialism.” The chart denounced a number of women’s organizations, including The League of Women Voters, The Jewish Women’s Council, The Daughters of the American Republic, The General Federation of Women’s Clubs, The Young Women’s Christian Association, and The Women’s Christian Temperance Union. The link between suffrage, temperance, and women’s clubs and socialism, communism, and pacifism damaged the public image of many women’s organizations. As Gere argues, “tarring women’s clubs with the brush of socialism or accusing them of being under control of the Soviet Government significantly undercut their reform efforts” (264).

In her scrapbook, Mary K. Sherman, President of the General Federation of Women’s Clubs from 1924-1928, saved a number of items commenting on the larger public perception of women’s clubs. An example, taken from The Denver News on December 27, 1926, proclaims, “Women’s Clubs Hit by Wets, is charge: Annual Board Meeting Soon to Discuss Propaganda.” The news article goes on to summarize some of the many charges publicly leveled at clubwomen, including charges from other clubwomen that “wets,” women who did not support temperance reforms, were ruining club work35, and the charge that clubs had been infiltrated by communist organizers. The news item labels these charges as propaganda, implying that such accusations are false,

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35 The term “wets” also could imply foreigners (such as the Germans or the Irish), Catholics, and working class people, often associated with alcohol production and use by white protestant temperance reformers. See Carol Mattingly, *Well-Tempered Women*, 75.
and further announces the intentions of the GFWC to discuss the charges at the next annual board meeting. Other articles proclaim, “Women Prepared to Fight Reds’ Propaganda.” The communist charge obviously distressed Sherman, and to make sure that the charge is fully refuted in her historical account, she includes a number of articles and pictures that emphasized the patriotic nature of club work. Next to an article reporting the charge of communism, Sherman pastes in a photograph taken from a newspaper that shows her standing with a group of men. The caption reads, “Plan Anniversary Celebration: Commissioners for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of George Washington to be held here in 1932 met with President Coolidge yesterday. In the center of the group are President Coolidge, Mrs. Mary K. Sherman, and Vice President Dawes.” The caption goes on to list the names of the other eleven men, most of whom are congressmen. The contiguous placement of these pieces is probably not coincidental. In fact, the page on which the communist attack appears collects articles from 1926. The picture, however, was taken nearly one year later, indicating that Sherman places these items next to each other, not because of chronology, but because of thematic relation. The picture of her with prominent political figures, planning a celebration for George Washington, one of the most important American icons, asserts her commitment to patriotic ideals. As well, it supports the supposition that the communist charge was ludicrous since prominent politicians would be unlikely to associate with Sherman if they truly believed that she promoted communist ideals or permitted them to flourish in her organization.

In a similar vein, The Daughters of the American Revolution of Sandusky Ohio, recorded their resistance to the communist label in their scrapbook covering the years
1915-1930. One clipping, entitled “Danger Signs of the Times” records the DAR’s opposition to “Internationalists, Communists, and others who are seeking to undermine our free American Institutions” and aligns the DAR against “ungodly and unpatriotic” organizations. Given the DAR’s aims as a patriotic and educational organization, the charge of communism probably came as a surprise to the members of the DAR and they use their scrapbook to re-assert their image as patriotic citizens.\textsuperscript{36}

Beyond simply correcting misrepresentations of women’s organizations in the historical record, many organizations worked to correct the erasure of women from traditional historical accounts in their scrapbooks by writing women back into national narratives of progress and achievement. Indeed, there were many women’s organizations that were entirely devoted to the project of preserving and recording local and national histories, including the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Daughters of the Confederacy. Both organizations defined themselves as patriotic, educational, and historic preservation societies. Eligibility for membership in both organizations was determined by blood relationships to those who aided the revolutionary war or supported the confederacy in the civil war. In many ways, these two groups asserted their right as American citizens to participate in the struggle for control over national memory and identity.

One of the primary activities reflected in scrapbooks of both of these organizations was collecting and writing histories of local townships and histories of their

\textsuperscript{36} Interestingly, their avid embrace of the red hunt eventually backfired on the DAR, a fact, of course, not noted by the scrapbooks. As Peggy Anderson notes, the DAR was later accused of preparing lists of supposed communist sympathizers by Carrie Chapman Catt. The DAR publicly denied drawing up such lists, but it was later revealed by a DAR member, Helen Tufts Bailie, that DAR chapters were distributing lists of “unsuitable” speakers. Bailie was rewarded for her vigilance by being drummed out of the DAR (Anderson 9-10).
descendants, histories that were then preserved in the club scrapbooks. The DAR scrapbook for 1904 and 1905 preserves one such example written by Dora Chase Wright on the settling of Castalia, Ohio, a town just outside Sandusky. In her history, “Reminiscences of Pioneer Days of Castalia,” White recounts the history of the settlement of the region, citing early settlers, developments during the Revolutionary War, and economic development of the region. More importantly, she explicitly writes women into this history by noting that nearby township of Margaraetta was named after the mother, sister and nieces of Major Fredrick Falley who held the contract of purchase for the town. In a similar way, Marjorie Loomis Cherry recorded the historic activities of a variety of women in her account of the “Famous Indians of Erie County.” She begins her history, not in Erie County, as we might expect, but in Dresden, Germany, where she locates the roots of the Moravian Missionary movement, which she later shows to have a dramatic effect on the settlement of Erie County. However, the point of origin she locates is not the first group of Moravians that settled in America nor the man who founded the Moravian Church, Count Nicholas Zinzendorf, but Zinzendorf’s grandmother, “a very romantic and mystical lady.” Cherry, in fact, credits the grandmother with having a far-reaching influence on her grandson, an influence that subsequently affected people living in England, France, Persia and the West Indies. Furthermore, this woman’s influence “was destined to have a very large effect,” Cherry notes, “on people living in Ohio, and quite especially in Erie County” (42). Cherry credits the grandmother with the development of the Moravian church and the spread of its influence to multiple countries, rather than crediting the rather more famous son, as traditional historians might have done.
The DAR scrapbook for 1923-24 reflects a similar interest in writing women into historical accounts of the nation. In a section of their scrapbook devoted to the memorial day celebrations in 1924, the DAR members included ten pages of pictures of the president’s wives, beginning with Martha Washington and ending with the then current First Lady Grace Goodhue Coolidge. It is significant to note, that Memorial Day is traditionally understood to be a time to commemorate the service of soldiers during wartime. Interestingly, the DAR’s association between Memorial Day and the president’s wives re-defines service to the nation and commemorates the ways women had been allowed to serve their country in some official capacity.37

Histories preserved in scrapbooks went beyond simply adding women to local and national histories. These texts explicitly connected the women in the clubs to that history, in essence, making them a part of the history of the nation, claiming women’s place as patriotic citizens by implication. For example, the Daughters of the Confederacy Scrapbook for 1924 contains a number of histories of male descendants of the members. However, in each history, the club members always note that lineage from that male descendant to the related club member, establishing both their eligibility for membership in the club and their inherited right to patriotism and citizenship. In some cases too, the clubwomen carefully noted the achievements of the women in the familial line, as did E. Sydney, who noted that “No story of a man’s life attainments would be complete without something said of the Shekinah of his home—his better half—the inspiration of all his

37 Memorial Day’s roots in women’s commemorative practices has also been obscured in historical accounts of its origins. During the civil war, women’s societies organized to decorate the graves of fallen soldiers, both in the North and the South. The official establishment of a national memorial day was based on these practices, long in existence before the official proclamation of a national memorial day by General John Logan in 1868. See Des Jardin, Women and the Historical Enterprise in America, Michael Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory
achievements.” While we can see the influence of domestic ideology in Sydney’s statement, it is also important to notice that Sydney feels that women’s work as mothers and wives is just as worthy of historical exploration as the man’s public achievements.

Other groups recorded their relationship to historical events, emphasizing the important roles women could play in the civic sphere. The Daughters of the American Republic of Sandusky, Ohio, kept an entire scrapbook about their contributions during World War I. They include numerous reports of the numbers of comfort bags sent to soldiers overseas, numbers of stump socks and scrapbooks made for injured soldiers in military hospitals, and money collected for war orphans in France. The DAR of Sandusky recorded both contributions of their individual chapter, as well as collecting the periodic reports sent from the national headquarters. One such bulletin reports that in a five-month period in 1917, the DAR in 33 states had expended over two and a half million dollars in war relief, French orphan “adoptions,” and war bonds.\(^{38}\) The emphasis the DAR placed on figures and expenditures served to document the ways women served the country during wartime, and the fact that they were extremely effective in doing so. The women of the Sandusky DAR increase the strength of that depiction in their scrapbook by including a number of letters from commanders in the field earnestly thanking the women for donations of sweaters, gloves, socks, and jellies.\(^{39}\) In fact, the

\(^{38}\) The money the DAR raised in 1917 would equal roughly 38 million dollars in today’s currency, according to the U.S. Department of Labor’s Consumer Price Index (CPI) calculator. We would likely regard any contemporary group that raised 38 million dollars as extremely effective.

\(^{39}\) The DAR War Work Scrapbook contains more than 10 such letters from base hospitals in Ohio and from commanding officers in the Navy. One example, sent on January 10, 1919 to Mrs. Marshall of the DAR comes from a Commander of the Navy (whose signature is unreadable): “I received today on my ship two boxes of knitted articles from the Martha Pitkin Chapter DAR. The contents were checked and then issued to such officers and bluejackets of the ship’s company as were in need of them, and as we have only today returned from a very cold and wet voyage across the North Atlantic you may be sure that the kindness of
women of the DAR seemed to regard their wartime activities not simply as duties, but as privileges of citizenship, privileges they vehemently defended, when threatened. In one particularly interesting letter, Elizabeth Frazer writes to Mrs. A.S. Alcott of the DAR of Sandusky, to inform her that the secretary of the Navy had “refused arbitrarily to permit the Navy to accept the comforts knitted under the direction of your unit.” Frazer goes on to say that she does not believe that “the President and Congress will support a decision directed against women who have patriotically labored” and further labels the Secretary’s decision as an injustice. She urges the women of Sandusky to write letters of protest to the President, Congress and local newspapers.

The DAR of Sandusky also collected and preserved a number of documents about women’s patriotic duties and contributions during wartime, including informational pamphlets on war bonds and publications describing wartime economy. One such pamphlet, an advertisement for a course taught by the Women’s Section Navy League on National Economics, encourages women to “Learn How to Serve Your Country In This Hour of Need.” The pamphlet lists a number of ways women could contribute to the war effort, such as conservation and self-imposed rationing of food and other supplies, the patriotic education of children, nursing the convalescent, and “recruiting, substituting for men and releasing men from the care of dependants.” While there is nothing particularly radical about the ways patriotic roles were constructed for women in the DAR scrapbook, it is significant that women’s war contributions are consistently depicted as equally important, and as worthy of inclusion in the historical record, as the service men provided on the battlefield.
Scrapbooks were used not only to preserve a history of specific clubs and organizations but also to preserve the larger historical and social context surrounding women’s organizations. Clubwomen frequently kept clippings that recorded activities of other women’s organizations all over the country. For example, in their records for 1911, The Shakespeare Club of Clinton Missouri included a newspaper clipping titled, “The Clubwomen’s Hearse: Some Queer Activities and Odd Endeavors of Club Life.” Despite its title, what actually follows does not deride the efforts of women’s clubs but instead praises them for their community service. The article details the activities of a variety of different clubs from Las Cruces, New Mexico to Richmond Hill, New York. The clubs were noted to be performing a variety of functions for their home communities. One group raised money for a hearse for their town “to replace the rude wagon that had previously served at the head of funeral processions.” The article reports that other women’s clubs were engaged in beautification and reclamation projects in their towns, raising money for fences for schoolyards, improving the land adjoining major thoroughfares, reclaiming neglected cemeteries, purchasing land and developing it for parks and recreational areas, and securing funds to build libraries. These activities may seem to have little direct relevance to the work of the Shakespeare club that saved this newspaper clipping and yet, by keeping this clipping, they preserve some of the social and historical context surrounding their own work, emphasizing their place within a larger network of women’s organizations.

The Lebanon, Missouri Shakespeare Club preserved their own sense of the network of women’s clubs through announcements and descriptions of their annual reciprocity meetings, which are recorded as “an important factor in club life, promoting
friendly relations between the various organizations who both extend and receive club
hospitality through the year.” Reciprocity meetings were a common practice in women’s
clubs, and were designed to circulate ideas, organizing strategies and written documents
between different clubs. The Shakespeare Club records their embrace of the practice, and
shows how over several years, clubwomen found the practice so successful that they
invited more and more clubs to their annual meeting. In an account of the 1905
reciprocity meeting, the Shakespeare Club reports that they invited two other clubs to join
them, the Domestic Science and the Bachelor Girls clubs. They also note that at the first
meeting, members of the Domestic Science club extended a reciprocal invitation to those
present to attend one of their own meetings the following week, illustrating the way
women’s clubs maintained relationships through mutual exchange. Two years later, the
Shakespeare Club extended invitation to three additional clubs, issuing invitations to the
High School Culture Club, the Liberty Help Club, and the Women’s Christian
Temperance Union. By preserving these accounts of reciprocity, the Lebanon
Shakespeare Club also preserves the memory of the interlocking relationships women
strived to create between clubs with different constituencies and goals. Scraps collected
by the Lebanon Shakespeare Club serve not just to record their willingness to meet with
other clubs and exchange ideas, but also their commitment to work together for common
causes. For example, the Lebanon Shakespeare Club scrapbook contains an
announcement of a program of entertainment giving jointly by the Shakespeare Club,
Musical Club, Domestic Science Club, and the Bachelor Girls club to raise money for a
free library for Lebanon, Missouri and surrounding areas. Accounts like these serve to
show that women with different interests could work together to improve their
communities. Such accounts stressed the importance of a strong network of women’s organizations, and as noted previously, clubwomen often understood these representations of past events as a “compass” for future endeavors.

Many women in clubs and organizations extended their network to include women in other countries. Suffragists Ida Harper and May Wright Sewell both kept articles about women’s concerns in other nations, sometimes printed in different languages, including German and French. For example, Sewell’s scrapbook contains one clipping from a German newspaper entitled, “Die Frauen in Berlin.” The article reports on the work of an international parliament of women, who met in Berlin to discuss women’s social conditions worldwide. Ida Harper also clipped reports of progress made by women in other countries, indicating the relationship many women saw between women across the globe. One such clipping reports the political progress made by women in Spain, Siam, China, Mexico, and Honduras. The clipping remarks, “A bill to give suffrage to women in Persia was recently introduced in the Parliament, but was ruled out of order by the President because the Koran says that women have no souls!”

The interest in women in other countries was not limited to the somewhat more politicized suffrage activists. The Junior League of Columbus, Ohio recorded their interest in the social roles of women in Turkey, in their 1918 scrapbook, devoting several pages of their scrapbook to that theme, culminating in a public event in which a female expatriate from turkey was invited by the club to speak in a public forum. Similarly, in their 1923 scrapbook, The DAR included a newspaper clipping entitled “Japanese Women Voters and the Princess who worked for their Emancipation.” The clipping includes two pictures; one depicts Princess Nagako Kuni, dressed in a traditional kimono,
on her way down the palace steps to cast her first ballot, and the second picture shows
other Japanese women in Tokyo approaching the ballot box with voting papers in hand.
For the DAR, a self-proclaimed American historical organization, to include clippings
about women’s achievements in other countries indicates that they saw a connection
between their work and the struggle of women in other countries to gain access to the
political process. The scrapbooks of women’s organizations repeatedly emphasized both
the national and global nature of women’s concerns and reforms.

The scrapbooks of women’s clubs and organizations also preserve a record of
women’s activism and the mechanisms they used to promote their success. Many
women’s clubs collected news items about women who were successful speakers and
writers in the public sphere; their choice of women reflects the group’s constituency and
goals, thus providing club members with appropriate exemplars on which their own
activism could be modeled. In a 1923 scrapbook, the Jewish Women’s Council of St.
Louis collected articles about a number of successful women who made appropriate
models for members of their club. The JWC collected a number of articles about Carrie
Chapman Catt, who was not Jewish, but was seen as having goals and methods consonant
with the JWC. As Faith Rogow points out in *Gone to Another Meeting* (1993), a
historical study of the National Jewish Council of Women, the council’s most influential
leaders “considered leaders of the suffrage movement like Susan B. Anthony and Carrie
Chapman Catt friends” and believed that suffrage ideals were identifiable with Jewish
ideals (43). Catt also was a prime example of the JWC’s ability to work towards
common goals with women from other ethnic or religious backgrounds and as a non-
Jewish woman, she worked alongside Jewish women in a variety of causes. Catt worked
towards Jewish refugee relief between the World Wars and she later became the first woman to receive the American Hebrew Medal for promotion of understanding between Christians and Jews in America. She also had worked closely with NJWC council leader Fanny Fligelman Brin to found the National Committee on Cause and Cure of War in 1923, the same year recorded in the scrapbook of the St. Louis Women’s Council. It is not surprising then that the National Jewish Council of Women’s sense of identification with leaders of other causes was reflected in scrapbooks of local chapters.

The St. Louis chapter clipped a number of news articles reporting Catt’s appearance at the Triennial Convention for the NJWC, held in 1923 in St. Louis, and while a number of women attended and spoke at that year’s triennial, Catt receives a far larger share of the memory items than does any other woman in the scrapbook. For example, the St. Louis Chapter preserved a number of newspaper items recording Catt’s appearance at the triennial Convention; one such example is a clipping from the St. Louis Dispatch on October 31, 1923 which states in a bold headline “Jewish Women to Convene Here” complete with pictures of Jewish council leaders, and one very large, prominently displayed picture of Carrie Chapman Catt. In a similar way, a clipping from the October 30 issue of the St. Louis dispatch reports, “Council of Jewish Women to Meet Here November 11 to 16: Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt Among Speakers.” However, the St. Louis Jewish Women’s Council not only collected reports of Catt’s appearance at their triennial, they also preserved newspaper accounts of Catt’s speeches at other venues, showing sustained interest in Catt’s success as a public speaker and activist. The council recorded a St. Louis Post Dispatch report of Catt’s address to the League of Women Voters on the “World Woman Movement” on 13 of November, 1923. They collected
articles from the St. Louis Times, the Globe Democrat and the St. Louis Post Dispatch proclaiming “Mrs. Catt Calls Men Destroyers: World Wide Feminist Movement Will End Wars, She Declares,” and “Says Woman Movement is Enveloping World: Mrs. Catt, Addressing Voters League, Declares Status is Everywhere Enlarged.” The women of the St. Louis JWC carefully record Catt’s participation with their organization and preserved the memory of the ties between different women’s organizations at the turn of the century.

While the scrapbook of the St. Louis JWC seems to reflect a lot of interest in Catt, the women were careful not to neglect to preserve accounts of Jewish women’s activism. One such example, and one that was particularly relevant to the women of the St. Louis chapter, were reports on the activities of Cecilia Rasovasky, which one clipping notes was “reared in an immigrant quarter right here in St. Louis.” The scrapbook includes five different clippings about Rasovasky, including one reporting that the “Town Club Will Honor Miss Cecilia Rasovsky [sic].” The newspaper articles summarize Rasovasky’s report to the JWC on her immigrant aid work at Ellis Island and record that she lectured widely on topics like “work at ports for unprotected girls.” Such clippings recorded Rasovasky’s success as a public speaker and as a writer, by noting that, “Miss Rasovasky…is the author of a booklet, ‘What Every Emigrant Should Know,’ which is used as a text book wherever immigrant aid work is undertaken and which has been translated into several languages.” The St. Louis council carefully notes that Rosovasky was a former resident of St. Louis, thus indicating her fitness as a model for other women in the St. Louis Chapter. As well, it is tempting to speculate that Rasovasky’s visit
prompted the women of St. Louis JWC to start an immigration committee, which began offering English and Americanization classes for immigrants in 1926.

Likewise, Ella P. Stewart (one of the first African-American female pharmacists in the U.S.) in her scrapbook recording her involvement with a number of African-American women’s clubs in 1926 and 1927, collected news items and letters from prominent African-American women, including Mary McLeod Bethune, who was at the time President of the National Association of Colored Women (a position that Stewart would later fill herself in 1944). One such scrap collected by Stewart is a telegram announcing a lecture to be given by Bethune and specifically requesting Stewart’s attendance. Stewart also collected public responses to Bethune’s lectures, particularly those given in her home state. One such example reads: “Mrs. Bethune Honored during Toledo visit” and notes that the “audience sat under the spell of her voice…and went away thrilled by the words of this great woman.” The book also records Bethune’s appearance as a speaker at a “joint conference of Negro and white women leaders at the YWCA.” Given the number of clippings, letters and telegrams related to Bethune, it seems very likely that Stewart viewed Bethune as a model for activism.

Stewart, of course, also records her own activist work in a variety of genres and locations. Her scrapbook collects a number of programs listing Stewart as a speaker, including her addresses to the Young Women’s Club (1928), The Chicago Women’s Club (1932), and her participation as a discussion leader in an open forum meeting for the

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40 Like Bethune, Stewart spent most of her life addressing issues of equality for African-Americans and women, and was involved throughout her life with a number of organizations, including The Enterprise Charity Club, The National Association for Colored Women, The Toledo League of Women Voters, The League of City Mothers, the Toledo Council of Churches, and the Young Women's Christian Association.
Frederick Douglas Community Association (1927). Stewart also carefully recorded positive receptions of her performances. One unattributed news clipping, titled “Alumni Night,” notes that Stewart delivered a lecture called “Duty Calls, What is Your Answer?” The anonymous reporter concludes that Stewart’s speech “was a choice deliverance in compactness of thought, clarity of expression and in charm of expression.” Stewart also carefully preserved personal letters that congratulate her for well-delivered speeches. One such example is a letter from a Roger Williams, who writes to Stewart:

I could not refrain from offering my sincere congratulations for the splendid report of the National Federation of Colored Women’s Clubs you read in Third Baptist Auditorium last evening. I might add that my pleasure was largely attributed to the worthy contribution you made to the evening’s program.”

However, Stewart did not just record her success as a public speaker; she also preserves information about her ability to write to benefit her community and to merge her professional career as a pharmacist with her activist work. One newspaper clipping reports that Stewart used her pharmacy as a location from which to launch a self-published community newspaper. The article explains that Stewart solicited neighborhood news by placing a box in front of her store, in which her neighbors could deposit items of interest. At the end of the month, Stewart would “publish a little four page paper which is free…and contains besides things of interest to the neighbors, features of other nature.” By preserving newspaper reports of her activities, Stewart

41 The article does not actually specify where she delivered her lecture, but it is likely that Stewart spoke at her alma mater, the University of Pittsburgh, from which she received her pharmacist’s degree in 1916.
documents the multiple ways she identified and seized opportunities, no matter how small, to further her activist work.

Other women in clubs and organizations record a similar story of success by collecting speeches they may have given, favorable accounts published in local or national newspapers, and news reports of their activities and events. The Women’s Press Association of Washington DC kept a scrapbook that is almost entirely devoted to celebrating the success of its members. Their scrapbook consists of a collection of essays, articles, stories and poems published by Women’s Press Association members throughout the late 1890s. The scrapbook indexes over thirty different women who were publishing in popular magazines and newspapers of the time. Each woman had several continuous pages devoted to her work. The clippings show that women were able to write and publish about a variety of different topics, including topics that were traditionally considered feminine subjects, such as household hints or sentimental poetry. However, the book also contains articles written by women about social reform. One particular article chronicles women’s struggles to enter occupations traditionally dominated by men and focuses on women aspiring to be doctors. The article focuses on a Dr. Susan E. Edson, who, the article notes, “trod down the briars and smoothed the way for thousands of women to-day.” Like many of the scrapbooks of women’s organizations in the Progressive Era, the WPA scrapbook demonstrates and records women’s abilities to write about a range of subjects and in a range of genres. As well, it demonstrates women’s abilities to get their work published in various magazines and newspapers, even when the playing field was not exactly leveled in their favor.
Scrapbooks represent an important form of a “vernacular” practice of history writing of women's clubs and organizations that reveals how women understood and imagined their influence in the public sphere. In “Recasting the Culture of Ephemera,” Todd Gernes argues that “assembled books were products of collecting, reading, and memory, everyday practices in which users adapted and transformed the ordinary details of life within a dominant cultural economy for their own purposes and their own ends” (126). Women in Progressive Era organizations transformed the popular practice of scrapbooking, one that traditionally had been advocated for personal, private, and therefore unimportant, histories. Instead they were able to use it to articulate a history of their organizations and their effectiveness that was far better suited to their goals and agendas than methods dictated by rhetorical theory or historical studies.

As Nan Johnson notes in *Gender and Rhetorical Space in American Life, 1866-1910*, “The erasure of women’s speeches from the history of American public speaking is obvious as early as the 1870s in canonical treatments of American Literature,” and that although women writers fared somewhat better they “are not given the attention that male writers receive in these histories” (153, 155). The absence of women from a canon of public speaking or writing has also meant their erasure as effective activists and reformers. While recent scholarship has done much to construct an alternative canon of women speakers, writers, and activists in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is important to note that for the women who belonged to various clubs and organizations, such a canon already existed. Their scrapbooks record a history of public speaking and writing by women that furthered their activist work. Our contemporary understanding of women’s activism only now has to be reconstructed because scholars in various fields
took for granted the canonical constructions of certain ideologically dominant and powerful voices that served to erase women’s activism at the turn of the century. Because of scholarship on women’s history in the last twenty years, it has become remarkably clearer that women existed as historical agents. However, women in the Progressive Era already understood that they were historically significant, even if other ideologically powerful voices subsequently superseded their claims to history. As historian Nicole Des Jardin notes, “Perhaps by assuming that male scholars arbitrated all the ways Americans understood the past we give an inordinate amount of attention to the production of academic scholarship and not enough to its actual consumption among the wider populace outside of the academy, where women were prolific shapers of history (5).

Certainly, the dominant accounts of rhetoric and history that emerged in elite male institutions in the Progressive Era failed to recognize scrapbooking as a viable and effective historical practice, and given that scrapbooks were often trivialized in popular publications, it is no surprise that we only recently have begun to understand the importance of the genre. Nevertheless, investigating women’s historical practices in scrapbooks reveals the extent to which women constructed and claimed access to their own tradition of historical writing, designed not only to record events but to encourage and support future action.
In *Voice and Vote: Women’s Organizations and Political Literacy, 1915-1930*, Wendy Sharer describes finding scrapbooks and other materials related to her grandmother’s participation in a range of women’s groups. Sharer expresses surprise that the collected materials “included records of meetings and collaborative projects that were devoted to, among other things, reforming international affairs, studying political history, and advancing career opportunities for women” (2). Following her surprise, Sharer experienced a sense of disappointment that she “had missed the chance to talk with [her] grandmother about how she and so many other women used collective rhetorical practices to participate in active citizenship” (3). Sharer’s larger purpose in telling this story about her grandmother is to situate the importance of her study of women’s organizations following suffrage, not necessarily to examine her own grandmother’s organizational ties. However, it is significant to note that Sharer’s interest in women’s organizations stems from the discovery of documents (including scrapbooks), in which her grandmother carefully preserved a sense of “how she and other women used collective rhetorical practices to participate in active citizenship” (3). Gere recounts a
similar story in *Intimate Practices*: “My mother was a clubwoman, and I felt the presence of her club continually as I grew up in a small New Hampshire town. The force of this presence reemerged recently as my mother’s death left me the legacy of her club scrapbooks” (16). Interestingly, both scholars note that their interest in the rhetorical practices of women’s organizations is intimately tied to inheriting scrapbooks from members of their families. Their interest in women’s rhetorical education after viewing scrapbooks is not surprising, since the scrapbooks compiled by women in clubs were made for this very purpose.

Scrapbooks, when understood as works of self-education and reference, served as a means of rhetorical education for women who participated in literary clubs, social clubs and reform organizations like suffrage or temperance. For some women, such as those who were college-educated, scrapbooks functioned as a supplement to their own education, providing more specific and relevant rhetorical information about genres, speaking and writing occasions, and appropriate and effective rhetorical strategies in the context of women’s rights and civic engagement. For women with no formal rhetorical training, women’s organizations and the scrapbooks they compiled functioned as alternative sites of education, a space for women to practice, learn, and reflect on rhetorical practices specifically linked to the specific goals of individual groups. In the absence of a university-endorsed “how to be rhetorically effective as a woman” or “how to support women’s causes” rhetorical textbook, the scrapbook became a site of communal wisdom about effective organizing techniques and effective rhetorical practices that sustained the work of many women’s groups during the Progressive period. Such books were meant to be passed on to future members of clubs as works of history
and as works of reference. The clippings were saved in part to explain how, for example, a women’s patriotic organization compiled statistics for use in other documents through the use of surveys, or how other women might construct arguments in response to anti-suffrage supporters. Far from being universal or generic rhetorical advice, such “textbooks” were deeply rooted in specific causes and situations, designed precisely to carry on the work of women in clubs and organizations. Scrapbooks functioned as invention devices: women made scrapbooks to collect evidence, effective rhetorical strategies, and models of effective style. To deepen our understanding of rhetorical education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a period which some scholars have sweepingly characterized as entirely focused on issues of arrangement and style, we need to take such systems of extracurricular rhetorical education into account.

Alternative Sites of Rhetorical Education

As scholars have pointed out, rhetorical education occurs in a number of extracurricular spaces in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For women in particular, literary clubs, social clubs, and reform organizations became sites where

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42 See for example, Berlin’s description of 19th century university educational programs in Rhetoric and Reality. His description of early twentieth century programs acknowledges different programs of rhetorical education, for example his investigation of progressive education, which he calls a precursor to epistemic rhetoric. However, as Jacqueline Jones Royster, Jean C. Williams and Scott Zaluda have pointed out, Berlin tends to focus his attention mainly on elite white colleges, failing to enrich his account of rhetorical education with investigation into other educational sites, for example, HCBU’s. Sharon Crowley likewise makes a broad statement about all rhetoric, when her topic of study is particular rhetoricians (likewise, university elite men): “In modern rhetoric, however, attention to invention has been overshadowed by interest in arrangement and style” (1). In her defense, in the preface, Crowley states that she does not wish to “claim that the discursive practices she studies is the only one available during the modern period” (xv). However, as Nan Johnson argues in Nineteenth Century Rhetoric in North America, invention didn’t disappear in nineteenth century textbooks, rather “nineteenth century theorists upheld the view…that rhetorical principles address the invention and conduct of all forms of discourse…[they] define[d] the process of argumentation in terms of a standardized set of general principles intended as guidelines for the invention of the argumentative oration as well as the argumentative treatise” (119-121).
women developed their own rhetorical strategies and methods for teaching those strategies to other women. Since the goal of organizations was to enact particular changes (say, in the state of education for women or to increase women’s political access) such strategies were often grounded in the context of women’s lives and experiences and often encouraged the development of content directly related to the goals of particular groups. While rhetorical textbooks were designed to address general principles of invention, invention in alternative sites tended to focus on specific rhetorical situations.

As Carol Mattingly argues, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union became “the largest and most effective organization for teaching women rhetorical skills in the nineteenth-century” (58). While many of the temperance leaders had some formal rhetorical education, they recognized the limitations of formal rhetorical education for women because it failed to address double standards of public conduct for men and women. Mattingly points out that formal models of rhetorical education were often based on a “combative, ‘masculine’ model…textbooks assumed a male speaker, failing to address women’s particular needs” (59). Mattingly noted that temperance leaders enacted a comprehensive program of rhetorical education, providing a “wealth of instructional materials for its members,” multiple opportunities for women to practice public speaking and writing, and rhetorical instruction through modeling and one-on-one instruction (64). Considering women’s unique rhetorical circumstances, temperance

43 Mattingly cites a number of women influential in temperance who were college-educated. Some held careers that allowed women to hone public speaking and writing skills, such as attorney J. Ellen Foster, or licensed preacher Mary Torrans Lathrap. Other women influential in the WCTU were university educators in English and Rhetoric such as Jennie Fowler Willing, professor of English at Illinois Wesleyan, or Francis Willard herself, who “taught rhetoric, composition, and elocution [for] sixteen years, primarily in academies and colleges for women” (185).
leaders often focused on inventing a rhetorical ethos that licensed women to speak in the public sphere, teaching women how to modify the “classical ‘good’ speaker” by mining “patriotic and biblical allusions to establish credibility and create authority for their public roles” (65). Mattingly points out that various visual rhetorics of dress and the decoration of lecture halls and meeting places were used to develop an appropriately feminine ethos that served to justify women’s speaking while reassuring more conservative women and the general public (67). Furthermore, temperance leaders paid significant attention to invention, directly addressing how women could develop content for speeches. Mattingly records that Frances Willard provided women with general outlines of speeches, along with suggestions for material, such as “a history of the organization, reasons women should join the organization, and even answers for likely questions” (67). Likewise, Julia Colman prepared a Temperance Handbook for Speakers and Workers (1889) that outlined sample lectures and provided detailed instructions for performing scientific presentations and a list of sources women could cull to fill out lectures, such as temperance pamphlets and publications (69). Mattingly notes that the collection of material was also emphasized by Jennie F. Willing, who encouraged women to use commonplace books to record and actively develop material on temperance (71). Mattingly’s study reveals the extent to which organizations like the WCTU tailored rhetorical instruction specifically to the needs of female temperance workers. Perhaps recognizing the limited support that studying traditional rhetorical textbooks would provide temperance women, temperance leaders suggested that other sources of knowledge, such as women’s own experiences or temperance literature, were more relevant sources for invention.
Similarly, in *Intimate Practices*, Gere traces the ways that literary and social clubs functioned as alternative sites of education in reading and writing for women between 1880 and 1920. Gere explains that women’s clubs often “provided a substitute for college since relatively few women had access to higher education prior to 1890” (35). Even after women began attending college in increasing numbers, clubs provided “a place where women could continue the literacy practices begun in college classes’ (35). However, the purpose of reading and writing within clubs was not merely a tool of individual self-development; women in clubs read and wrote in order to support their other activities, such as reform or philanthropic activities. Clubwomen from “many social locations…saw reading and writing as the foundation on which other club activities could be built” (215). Gere argues that clubwomen enacted reading programs that collected from a variety of texts, including newspapers and other popular publications, as well as reading essays and other writing produced by clubwomen themselves. According to Gere, clubwomen also produced an array of writing. Many clubs encouraged, and even required, the production of essays by its members. Such essays often explicitly expressed women’s concerns about various social issues, such as suffrage, education reform, and women’s roles in society. Clubwomen also produced an array of other forms of writing, including plays, pageants, poems, publicity materials, yearbooks, lectures, and club programs, many of which can be found within the pages of their scrapbooks.

Gere notes that the circulation of texts within and between clubs was one of the primary ways women learned to write effectively; women learned to write in an atmosphere of support and exchange. As well, writing was often collaborative in nature;
women worked collectively on various projects, and worked together to learn how to write effectively: “club minutes contain frequent references to members helping one another, sharing books, and providing critical responses to papers” (25). Gere goes on to say that, “club papers, research-based explorations of topics that members spent as much as a year preparing, involved several kinds of collaboration. Members often shared their personal libraries as they gathered material for writing” (39). By circulating their own writing and their collections of materials, their “personal libraries,” clubwomen were engaged in invention. One kind of invention they enacted was simply gathering materials; they read, collected, and recycled materials into other rhetorical productions. In addition to mining printed texts, such as books, newspapers, or poems, women also were encouraged to draw on their own experiences as sources of material: “Drawing on the material of their experiences, these clubwomen composed texts that commented on their own circumstances” (236). Invention was critical to women’s success as rhetors.

Systems of rhetorical education in a range of extracurricular locations emphasized rhetorical invention: the development of content by saving, collecting, recycling, and circulating useful material related to specific groups of people or specific causes. Often, the emphasis was on saving and collecting materials that were not well represented in dominant literary texts. Women’s organizations, as alternative sites of rhetorical education, stressed the importance of preserving and using the experiences of people who were marginalized, silenced or erased in dominant texts: temperance women stressed the rhetorical effectiveness of personal experience in persuading other women to take up temperance causes, and clubwomen reflected on their own experiences in order to write
essays about important social issues of their day. Invention, as a way of gathering and selecting materials for use in rhetorical productions, was a central activity in women’s organizations at the turn of the century.

**Scrapbooks and Rhetoric: Invention, Reading, Rhetorical Education**

Like other alternative sites of rhetorical education, scrapbooks complied by women’s organizations operated as invention-texts that differed somewhat from theories of invention articulated by nineteenth-century rhetoricians. While rhetoricians never mentioned scrapbooks, women in clubs and organizations immediately saw the rhetorical value in collecting volumes of useful material. To some extent, scrapbooks in these contexts functioned very much like commonplace books as sources for invention. Furthermore, women’s scrapbooks appeared to value different sources of evidence, and often acted as repositories for such evidence to be later incorporated into other rhetorical performances. Additionally, because scrapbooks were meant to read and exchanged, scrapbooks acted as a means by which women’s texts and rhetorical strategies were circulated between women as sources of rhetorical education.

As I argued in Chapter Two, women in clubs and organizations understood their scrapbooks to be narratives about the past, but they also understood their volumes to be works of reference, as did many scrapbookers in the nineteenth century. Anne Fitzhugh Miller, a suffragist from Geneva, New York had declared her suffrage scrapbooks works of literature and works of reference. Volumes on organizing club activities argued that scrapbooks were both a “chart and compass,” suggesting that scrapbooks told the story of the past, but also acted as guide to future aims and actions (Ferris 103). Temperance
leader Frances Willard suggested making scrapbooks for a similar purpose in a speech given at the WCTU Convention in Boston in 1891:

We think the record of these days will be helpful in future great reforms, and so we urge each Union, local, state and national, to preserve its archives sacredly; to have scrapbooks of its history as written up by current journalists…Literature, badges, banners, mottoes, programs, photographs, should all be kept. In the Temple we are to have a collection of these from all over the world, and I wish once more to urge that every Union in foreign countries send us some souvenir of its work. My own private collection, including mother’s many scrapbooks (among which the "Abuse Scrapbook" has grown to a quarto this year!), will belong to this collection which I believe may become one of great value… (“Minutes” 25)

Willard imagines the value of her scrapbooks to be more than the record of history; it is also a work of reference for some future time or future cause. Willard specifically lists rhetorical means temperance workers used to persuade, such as literature, badges, banners and mottoes; she imagines that such rhetorical knowledge should be saved to educate future audiences in rhetorical tactics. Similarly, Mother Stewart’s book, *In Memories of the Crusade: A Thrilling Account of the Great Uprising of the Women of Ohio in 1873, Against the Liquor Crime* (1888), directly linked rhetoric and scrapbooking; her advice to collect temperance materials into scrapbooks was understood to be an effort to support the dissemination of temperance messages. As reference works, scrapbooks provided easy access to materials temperance workers could use to write speeches, letters, and articles.

While the historical function of scrapbooks was important to women in progressive era clubs and organizations, scrapbooks were ultimately meant to be actively used – items were collected, saved, and recycled for new purposes or audiences, a

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44 As discussed in Chapter 2, Stewart listed a number of ways temperance workers could persuade people to their cause; collecting items in scrapbooks was listed as one of those ways.
process that is inherently rhetorical. For example, in *Woman’s Work in America*,
suffragist May Wright Sewell, writes:

> No formal history of the movement in the West on behalf of the higher education of women has been published. The materials for this paper have been derived from the reports issued under the auspices of the Bureau of Education; from the catalogues of institutions open to women; from various monographs…others of which present the educational history of a State …from a miscellaneous collection of baccalaureate sermons and congratulatory addresses delivered before the graduating classes and the alumnae associations of many colleges; from old files of newspapers, and from *scrap books* which for a series of years have been collecting the records of contemporary effort along the lines of higher education. (54 my emphasis)

Sewell used her scrapbooks as inventionary texts; she collected, saved, and recycled material in scrapbooks for use in other rhetorical activities. In her four scrapbook volumes (1894-1904) currently housed in the Library of Congress, Sewell collected hundreds, if not thousands, of articles on suffrage and related women’s issues. To make materials easier to find, she also indexed each volume. The first few pages of each book lists topics or events, such as “Susan B. Anthony” or “International Council of Women - Meeting in Berlin” followed by page numbers on which relevant materials could be found.

Other examples of scrapbooks functioning as inventionary resources appear in Anne Fitzhugh Miller’s scrapbooks, compiled between 1897 and 1904. Miller, a suffrage activist in Geneva, New York, was a prolific writer and speaker who used her scrapbooks to support her rhetorical activities. Miller, who referred to her scrapbooks as both history and works of reference, apparently used her scrapbook much as one might a commonplace book; she collected articles, letters, and information that she could consult for material when composing articles or speeches. For example, in her earliest

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45 See quote, Chapter Two
scrapbook, covering materials from 1897-1904, Miller collected a number of materials on women taxpayers and information regarding laws that allowed women taxpayers limited voting rights in special elections. Interested in persuading local officials to enact similar laws for women taxpayers in her own community, Miller gathered and preserved materials she could use to make her case. Miller included a handwritten list of women taxpayers in her political equity club – a list of thirty women with financial contributions totaling $125,000 (undated 82). She also collected newspaper clippings circa 1901 titled “Women Own a Third of Geneva” and “Women as Taxpayers.”(81). By collecting such materials, Miller intended to gather evidence she could marshal to support her cause. In a clipping included later in her book, a newspaper article reports on a speech Miller gave sometime in March of 1902: “At a public meeting Tuesday evening-Miss Anne F. Miller, President of the Political Equality Club…strongly urged the 600 women taxpayers to exercise their privilege at the coming election, and incidentally cited instances of great reforms accomplished by public spirited women in other places” (92). Like May Wright Sewell, Miller likely consulted the materials she had saved in previous years to help her write this speech and others like it.

Similarly, a clipping entitled “Women Seek To Vote In Third Class Cities,” the partial text of a speech Miller gave before the state senate committee in 1903, also includes evidence of Miller’s inventional use for her scrapbook. In her speech, Miller cites from a number of items from her scrapbook to make her case:

The privilege, which we now ask, for all third class cities in our state, was granted in Geneva by a clause in a "revised village charter to resident taxpayers on March 3, 1871, and for 32 years has been in operation to the satisfaction of all concerned. Letters testifying to this fact have been written by Mr. S. D. Willard, postmaster; Mr. S. H. VerPlanck, President Geneva National bank; Mr. O. J. O. Rose, ex-
aldertnati and vice president of the chamber of commerce, and by attorneys Charles N. Hemiup and Mr. P. N. Nicholas. One of these gentlemen expresses the opinion “that not a single instance of opposition or objection to this obviously just law could be found in our city.” (125)

Miller preserved a number of letters from the gentlemen she cites in her speech, and she collected numerous articles containing information on various tax laws allowing women to vote under specific circumstances. As a result, her scrapbook was more than a historical record; it also was a work of reference, a scrapbooking practice that was commonly advocated by scrapbooking enthusiasts at the turn of the century. While contemporary perceptions align scrapbooks with autobiography, nineteenth-century advocates framed the value of scrapbooks in terms of self-education. Scrapbooking enthusiasts emphasized collecting and indexing educational materials for the “improvement of self.” Miller also indexed all of her volumes, a practice scrapbooking advocates suggested to make reference volumes easier to use. For example, in her 1904-1906 scrapbook, the first few pages list topical themes such as “Child Labor,” “Membership,” “School Matters,” and “Meetings,” followed by page numbers on which related items appear (3). Such indexing systems were designed to help Miller herself, or possibly other interested parties, to find reference materials when wanted. Miller’s indexing practice imposed a kind of order on her volume that made culling sources easier; by indexing her volumes, Miller could quickly locate materials on particular themes.

Scrapbooks acted as repositories for material women in historical organizations gleaned from newspapers, magazines and other publications that they could consult and

46 According to the anonymous author of “A System in Scrapbooks”
incorporate into their own rhetorical productions. Similar to the way scrapbook proponents suggested the collection of “many beautiful, interesting, and useful thoughts [that] come to us through the newspapers, that are never seen in books, where they can be referred to when wanted,” women in historical organizations collected articles on local and national historical events. While preserving the history of organizations and of the nation was an important function of scrapbooks, as I argued in Chapter Two, scrapbooks also often functioned as works of reference for historical organizations. One example of how this reference material was used appears in the 1929-1931 scrapbook of the United States Daughters of 1812 of Ohio, compiled by state historian, Mrs. Edward L. McClain. The scrapbook contains a June 1930 newsletter of an unidentified chapter that reported on the year’s activities. It notes that the special topic of the year was Ohio history:

> Our historical collection is growing and we shall take pride in our scrap-book which is being complied by Mrs. Bowlus, who is also our historian… At a delightful meeting held in the home of Mrs. J.W. Lyons in January, Miss Harris… gave a delightful paper on “Ohio-Its Origin and Progress.” Mrs. Julia Brockway followed out our program for the year, Ohio, by giving an enjoyable paper on “Outstanding Men and Women of Ohio.

The scrapbook mentioned here was designed to act not just as a history of the organization’s work or as a history of Ohio but as a work of reference, likely used by the club members as they prepared their talks on Ohio history. This use of the scrapbook was consistent with nineteenth century advocates of scrapbooking practices who urged the collection and active use of materials.

Scrapbooks would have enabled women to consult materials that may not have been published in books, particularly materials about local history and especially, the

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roles women played in those histories. For example, The United Daughters of the Confederacy of Columbia, Missouri collected a number of articles in their club scrapbook including accounts of local civil war battles, recollections of veterans or their wives, histories of various civil war figures, especially General Lee, and accounts of Missouri and national history during and after the civil war. Given that one of the UDC’s general missions was to “gather material for a truthful history of the [civil] war,” the avid collection of historical materials likely supported the women’s mission (“History”). Clippings saved in the club’s scrapbook indicates that the women of the UDC wrote and delivered a series of essays and lectures on topics related to the history of the civil war. In club meetings in 1925, members delivered talks on Generals Lee and Jackson, “Alabama Claims,” and “The Career of Joseph O. Shelby and his Men,” and they composed and delivered tributes to local veterans after their deaths. Among the many newspaper clippings on the civil war were a number of obituaries of local veterans. The materials the women of the UDC saved on famous civil war figures and local veterans of the civil war likely supported their speaking and writing activities.

Furthermore, the clippings clubwomen collected suggested that “valuable” sources for invention must also include material drawn from women’s experiences. Recognizing that traditional historical narratives often silenced women’s lives in favor of historical narratives about generals, politicians, battles and victories, the women of the UDC collected a number of women’s accounts of the civil war. For example, the UDC saved an article published in 1923, in which Mrs. Beasley narrates events she witnessed during the civil war, including the ransacking of her home by federal soldiers and the theft of her horse by bush-whackers, “who took advantage of the war to steal and
destroy.”48 (“Mrs. Beasley, 80 Years Old, Has Seen Styles Travel in a Circle”). The UDC also included an account of 83-year-old Mrs. Mary Dysart, in which she describes the arrest of her father and husband by federal troops and the seizure of land and provisions by confederate troops, which resulted in the death of former slaves who died from “lack of care and food.” Although both were self-proclaimed southern sympathizers, Beasley and Dysart condemn Union and Confederate supporters alike, suggesting that they believed that women’s experiences of the war better accounted for the atrocities committed on both sides of the conflict. Similarly, the women of the UDC recognized the extent to which “evidence” collected from traditional historical sources were partial at best. In a paper delivered to the UDC sometime in 1925 or 1926,49 Ann Hickam argues that, “history tells of the grand battles that were fought and the glory won, but does not tell of the local tragedies that were perpetrated here” (“Civil War Reminiscences: Mrs. Ann Hickam told UDC Some of the Experiences of the Wives and Mothers Who Stayed at Home”). The collection of women’s war experiences acts as a source of invention for the women of the UDC in composing the “true” history of the civil war. Members of the UDC used their store of historical knowledge complied in scrapbooks to compose talks prepared for other audiences. One scrap reports that the club dedicated a picture of General Lee to a local school and the gift was accompanied by a lecture on General Lee. The scrapbook contains a number of articles on Lee and other less well-known local veterans of the war, suggesting that the collection of material was

48 The term “bush whacker” can refer generally to any band of guerilla fighters operating outside union or confederate chains of command during the civil war. In the context of Missouri history, however, the term is more generally understood to refer to pro-confederate guerilla bands, who occasionally operated under orders from the confederate Army, and were involved in a number of violent skirmishes with the pro-union Jayhawks in Kansas.

49 The article is undated but is included with a number of other accounts dated 1925-26. It is likely that the clipping falls between these general dates.
used as a source for rhetorical invention in addition to being a documentation of the “true history” of the civil war.

Accounts of club activities were used for inventional purposes as well. In the history of the UDC accompanying the club scrapbook, the members of the UDC, writing in the collective “we,” recount the club activities for 1925, referring to a number of events and activities, accounts of which were preserved in the scrapbook itself. It is likely that in composing their history of the organization, the women consulted their collection of clippings as they prepared the more conventional, linear narrative of club activities. Other organizations also appear to have used scrapbooks as reference aids in composing historical narratives, in some cases, many years after the scrapbooks were made. For example, at the final meeting of the Lebanon, Missouri Shakespeare Club in 1982, an unnamed member indicates that the collection of club scrapbooks provided her with ample material to construct her speech about the history and effectiveness of her organization. She then notes, “among the ‘scrapbook findings’ is an account of the organization of the club written by Mrs. Henry Wright.” Mrs. Wright was one of the founding members of the Shakespeare club in 1881; the fact that her words survived for a hundred years was largely due to the importance clubwomen attached to their scrapbooks and their active use of the materials preserved therein. The materials compiled in scrapbooks were considered both a history of club activities and a source of materials to be used for writing histories to be delivered on important rhetorical occasions, such as anniversaries.

Similarly, the Chicago Woman’s Club used their scrapbooks to help them write a book about their organization’s history. Published in 1916, the *Annals of the Chicago*
Woman’s Club For the First Forty Years of Its Organization, 1876-1916, compiled by Henriette Greenebaum Frank and Amalie Hofer Jerome, mentions the use of scrapbook materials:

Among the treasures of the Club may be found Kate Edmonson Tuley's scrapbook in which she collected newspaper clippings on "subjects relating to women, education and crime," covering the years 1884 to 1887. On the title page is written the request, "To be presented to the Chicago Women's Club in case of my death." Among the topics which appear in the collection are the following: Betterment of girls and women; article by Mrs. Tuley to the "People's Pulpit" on dress reform protesting against women being "cribbed, cabined and confined"; women's rights, charities, women as paupers and insane; women in industrial pursuit; history of the Industrial Art Association; Board of Education for 1887; art and women's clubs; art matters in Chicago, 1888.

The account goes on to discuss various items and their relationship to the development of the Chicago Woman’s Club. Importantly, not only did Frank and Jerome use a scrapbook to gather material for their book, they used another woman’s scrapbook as well. Tuley had made sure to pass along her book to other women, which suggests one way inventive materials kept in scrapbooks circulated between women in organizations beyond initial use.

There are observable points of contact between inventive theories in rhetorical textbooks and scrapbooks. One inventive activity that both seemed to agree on was reading, which was understood by both nineteenth century rhetoricians and scrapbooking practitioners to be a valuable way of discovering rhetorical tactics one could imitate. For most of the nineteenth-century rhetoricians, proper reading was an important part of rhetorical education. Studying the works of successful writers provided models of effective arrangement and style. More importantly, careful and discriminate reading led to the development of taste, which was linked to the development of moral character. As
Quackenbos argues in *Practical Rhetoric* (1896), “an elegant taste may be acquired by attentive companionship with what is unexceptionable in literature and art, -acquaintance with the best things” (23). For most of the academic rhetoricians, the “best” things are judged by a standard defined by “the majority of cultured men” (Quackenbos 25). Genung concurred in *The Working Principles of Rhetoric* (1900) arguing that one ought to read “the works of great men; more especially the books that are recognized as the great masterpieces and vital springs of literature” (411). As Nan Johnson notes in *Nineteenth Century Rhetoric in North America* (1991), “Genung stresses that rhetorical study should take in all possible forms of “reading matter”: political essays, scientific and descriptive treatises, short stories, editorials, and reporter’s columns as well as the traditional forms of the sermon and the lyceum address” (12). Given that, as Johnson argues, the ideal rhetor represented by rhetorical textbooks was “unfailingly characterized…as male,” it is not too surprising that the imitable works chosen by rhetoricians were, as Genung said, “the works of great men.” (246).

Rhetoricians in the nineteenth century understood reading to be an important part of learning effective rhetorical practices. The study of good literature promoted critical thinking about style and taste, and provided models for imitation. However, while nineteenth-century rhetoricians were promoting reading programs consisting of the already established “great” works, a list populated almost entirely by male writers, women in literary clubs often used their scrapbooks to actively critique the gendered process of canon formation. Compiled in a beautiful pre-made album with the title “Choice Selections” emblazoned on the cover, the scrapbook of the Dubuque (Iowa) Ladies Literary Society (ca. 1890) collects a number of literary works, such as poems and
short stories, as well as articles about the club’s meetings and activities. Many of the literary clippings appear to have come from popular publications, such as newspapers and magazines. While the society appears to have ample reverence for some of the literary greats (Tennyson, Longfellow and Byron are frequently mentioned in reports of club activities), their collection of poems from popular publications contains more women writers than men.

For example, in a section of the album devoted to collecting poetry, one page consists of selections from male poets, including a comic poem on aging by Oliver Wendell Holmes, titled, “The Archbishop and Gils Blas” and selections from Longfellow’s “Rainy Day” and “The Day is Done” (92). The newspaper article accompanying Longfellow’s verses declares, “The New York Evening Post considers the following to be Longfellow’s finest.” While the women likely concurred with the New York Evening Post, they also then collect in the next two pages of the album what they might have considered some of the finest work by women poets published in the popular press. These two pages alone credit the work of six female poets versus the two men credited in the preceding page; the women collected, for example, “Water Cresses - an Idyll” by Emma A. Ayard, “The Unsought Treasure” by Helen Barron Bostwick, or “On Quiet Life” by Miss E.D. Rice. Such extensive collecting of women’s writing, and especially the placement of women’s texts alongside those of great literary men, indicates that the women of the Dubuque Ladies Literary Society selected from a wide range of

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women and men’s writing as exemplary models to study in points of style. Given that
many of the women were writers themselves (as many clippings in the volume attest to
the favorable reception of the women’s presentations of essays and lectures), a collection
of women’s writings provided models of successful women writers; the collection is, in
many ways, like the anthologies of “great” literature advocated by nineteenth-century
rhetoricians. However, the women clearly developed their own standard of literary value
leading them to choose many works by women to study. In an 1876 report on club
activities, the women of the DLLA record that their English literature department
continued to “show interest in the special study selected. We continue the study of
George Eliot. The rank and character of this noteworthy poetess and novelist were
considered and compared with such minds as Scott, Fielding, and Shakespeare, the
results being in favor of George Eliot” (98). The fact that the women of the DLLA
ranked Eliot higher than Shakespeare suggests that they developed their own standards of
selection of great, imitable works. Their standard seemed to favor women, in a reversal
of the more typical hierarchical valuing of men’s texts over women’s. As writers
themselves, the women of the DLLA chose rhetorical models that more closely matched
their own circumstances; the models they chose demonstrated how women successfully
navigated the male-dominated world of publishing and criticism.

In 1891, the scrapbook records that one member of the DLLA explicitly critiqued
the gendered bias in the process of literary criticism, noting that there was “a masculine
bias against female authors” (“An Interesting Essay Read Before the D.L.L.A. by Mrs.
Shroup: “The Critics and Mrs. Browning” 132). Mrs. Shroup remarks on her
examination of one hundred and sixty works of criticism:
…it is doubtful if there are a dozen really good genuinely interpretive, suggestive illuminative, or even just [works of criticism]…I have sometimes been audacious enough to fancy that one solution of the mystery may be that criticism so far has been almost entirely in masculine hands. The prejudice of millenniums cannot be eradicated in a single century. It is natural, it is inevitable at the present stage of civilization that where one is to be chosen to pronounce judgment ex cathedra on the great and wise, it should be considered a man’s place and not a woman’s. (132).

While acknowledging that reversing male bias is a task not easily accomplished, Shroup nevertheless makes explicit one of the goals of the DLLA, to work towards a more inclusive standard of literary value. Shoup critiques those men, who, like nineteenth-century rhetoricians, used their authority (as men, as professors, as professional critics) to enforce their own particular, gendered, sense of taste. Just as nineteenth-century rhetoricians understood the development of taste as an important rhetorical skill, so too did the women of the DLLA. However, for the women of the DLLA, developing a discriminating taste involved more than the development of one’s moral character. Questioning gendered standards of taste fundamentally addressed women’s access (or lack thereof) to publishing and criticism.

The clippings in the DLLA scrapbook reveal the connections the women saw between their reading and writing activities and larger social issues related to women’s sphere of activity. To read works by women or question the works of men was not simply a means of self-improvement; it is better understood as a larger collective effort to give women a place in the male-dominated industries of publishing and criticism. Other clippings in the scrapbook also suggest that the women connected the study of literature with other social reforms involving women. At a number of meetings, the women were noted to have discussed the temperance movement and other current events, as well as
hearing essays on literary works presented by club members. The women also frequently gave or heard lectures on women’s place in history and in literature. Furthermore, in the essays presented on literary works, the club members often connected women’s issues with their reading. One member justified her assessment of Tennyson as a “pre-eminent” philosopher partly because of his discussion of the “Sphere of Woman” (133). For women in literary clubs like the DLLA, reading was not simply a method of self-improvement but rather was meant to foster critical thinking and rhetorical skills that would support their reading and writing activities.

The Shakespeare Club of Marion, Iowa makes similar connections between their status as citizens and active participants in a democracy and their study of the works of Shakespeare in their scrapbook (1909-1931). In descriptions of club meetings, the women used meeting times to discuss Romeo and Juliet alongside questions of citizenship. In a section of the scrapbook devoted to WWI, they quote from Shakespeare’s work to frame the following pages devoted to memorializing their male family members’ participation in the war. The first page of this section consists of a beautiful hand-drawn scene of a lake with trees in the background. Pasted into the middle of the scene is an orange piece of card stock, on which is lettered in gold ink, “Be just and fear not. Let all the ends thou aims’t at be thy Country’s, thy God’s, and Truth’s. Act 3, Scene II.” The women actively connected their own reading and study of Shakespeare to their sense of citizenship during a time of war, characterizing both their son’s participation, and their own sacrifice of those sons, as civic duties. However, we could also read the quotation as characterizing all the work done by the club in general, since the quote itself suggests that “all” the aims one should have should serve Country,
God, and Truth. The women of the Shakespeare club re-contextualized Shakespeare to help them think through and write about women’s concerns. While they were reading and writing about one of the canonical authors most cited by nineteenth century rhetorical texts, they did so in a way that allowed them to speak specifically to their concerns as wives and mothers. Reading Shakespeare through a gendered lens, the Shakespeare Club women are able to invent arguments about their roles as citizens during wartime and the role their club plays in terms of civic importance.

Furthermore, The Shakespeare Club scrapbook also contains information about how such volumes were shared as reference texts. On the final page of their scrapbook, the women preserved several 1931 newspaper clippings describing a monthly meeting of the city’s federated clubs attended by delegates from the Marion Shakespeare club, along with local chapters of a garden club, a reading circle, a mother’s club, a musical society, and Sorosis. The articles note that several speakers addressed the women, including Mrs. F.D. Fillmore, chairman of the press and publicity committee of the Iowa State Federation of Women’s Clubs, who spoke on the State Federation sponsored scrapbook contest. One article preserves a portion of her speech:

Mrs. Fillmore stressed the importance of correspondents writing detailed reports of their meetings and activities and saving their clippings from the local paper, pointing out that they were not only making club history but civic history as well. She brought with her samples of prize-winning scrapbooks for inspection and read the rules governing the contest. They would be judged, she said, on legibility, neatness, arrangement, manner in which stories were written and the

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51 Scrapbook contests were regular features of both state and national branches of the Federation of Women’s Clubs. According to General Federation archivist, Morgan Davis, scrapbook contests remained extremely popular after the Progressive Era (and perhaps were more popular than in previous decades). The GFWC archive had far more scrapbooks made after 1930 than those made before 1930 in their archives. Of course, given the fragility of scrapbooks as they age, it is also possible that the survival of more materials after 1930 may be due to preservation issues rather than sheer numbers of volumes made.
volume of publicity; all clippings being dated and arranged to form a complete club history.” (“City Federation Mtg., Tuesday”)

Fillmore’s speech highlights one of the ways scrapbooks themselves were used as a teaching tool. She brings examples of effective scrapbooks with her as inventionial aids; the women are asked to examine them in terms of rhetorical principles of readability, arrangement, and especially, the development of content. Gere has noted the importance of text circulation and exchange within women’s clubs that acted as an informal method of exchanging both affiliations and literacy practices. In *Intimate Practices*, Gere describes the 1893 World’s Columbian exposition in Chicago, which “included a public exhibit of club yearbooks, study guides, outlines of methods, portraits of officers, and photographs of club houses,” noting that many women studied the volumes of material with pencil in hand. (8). Mrs. Fillmore facilitates a similar program of exchange; the display of club scrapbooks circulates knowledge about the organizing and study methods of other clubs and circulates rhetorical knowledge and models for imitation directly relevant to a club’s purpose.

Organizations like the Women’s Press Association used scrapbooks to circulate texts written by women among the organization members. As described in Chapter Two, the WPA scrapbook collected articles, poems and essays written and published by the organization’s members. Given the contextual understandings of scrapbooks during the Progressive Era as multipurpose texts, it is probable that such collections acted simultaneously as historical documents and as tools of rhetorical education. Providing examples of how women managed to write and publish poems and essays also provides contextualized examples of women’s rhetorical strategies, especially when addressing
issues relevant to women. The histories written by members of historical organizations like the DAR and The UDC also likely served similar purposes when placed between the covers of their scrapbooks. As Gere notes, women in clubs often selected and saved important or particularly effective essays written by members of clubs for preservation within club archives. Such texts would have simultaneously contributed to a history of club work and provided models for imitation for other members.

Scrapbooks also record the ways women used invention techniques of their own devising to discover evidence to be used to support their specific causes. While nineteenth-century rhetoricians had generally focused on procedures for arranging evidence that existed outside the process of rhetorical invention, women in clubs and organizations recognized the lack of such pre-existing evidence, relying instead on very practical and context-specific procedures for finding and developing evidence and arguments. Clubwomen, suffrage activists, and temperance workers frequently collected arguments and counterarguments they could use to advance their causes. In her suffrage scrapbook spanning the last four decades of the nineteenth century, Matilda Joslyn Gage collected a number of pamphlets and articles that listed arguments made against suffrage and suggested appropriate and effective counterarguments. One such pamphlet, “The Nonsense Of It: Short Answers To Common Objections To Woman Suffrage” compiles ten stock arguments against suffrage, questions the logic of each objection, and then lists effective counterarguments. For example, the first argument and counterargument reads:

1. *I have all the rights I want.*

   Have you the right, if you are a married woman, to control your own earnings? Have you the right to make a will? Have you the right to your own child, if left a widow, supposing that your deceased husband in some fit of ill-temper, bequeathed your child to the guardianship of someone else?
The pamphlet goes on to argue that women interested in even “traditional” duties of women ought to care whether or not they have the rights to care for themselves and their children, thus constructing a logically sound counter-argument designed specifically to dismantle anti-suffrage rhetoric. By saving pamphlets like these in her scrapbooks, Gage documents the ways suffrage organizations instructed women in effective argumentative strategies. While the advice given in the pamphlet is strikingly similar in methods to those advocated by academic rhetoricians, the pamphlet takes the advice one step further by providing examples of how those argumentative techniques could specifically be used in the context of suffrage arguments. For women with no formal rhetorical training, the counterarguments could simply be used and recycled into other texts and speeches.

Pamphlets like these also instructed women in a specific procedure for evaluating arguments against suffrage. First, women had to state the arguments against suffrage, often differentiating between the logical bases of different arguments. Second, women were instructed to question the logical soundness of the arguments being made, revealing the assumptions and biases inherent in the argument itself. Finally, women were instructed to use the material they discovered through this process to develop effective counterarguments to objections against suffrage.

In her scrapbook, well-known suffragette Ida Harper collected a number of newspaper articles that contained arguments made both for and against suffrage. As a journalist and as one of the historians of the suffrage movement (having been largely responsible for volumes five and six of the “History of Woman Suffrage”), Harper likely recognized the usefulness of a scrapbook for collecting arguments and evidence she could use in her own work. Harper collected a number of articles on anti-suffrage, collecting
the objections to suffrage that she continually contended with in her own publications.

Similar to Gage’s collection of counterarguments, Harper collected short clippings from publications that summarized particular arguments made against suffrage and then implied particular counterarguments. For example, Harper collected these short clipping from *Judge*:

Echo Answers, Why?
Sir Lomer Gouin has just introduced a bill in the parliament of Quebec which would enfranchise everybody but “women and vagabonds.” Why exclude the vagabonds?

The wife of congressman Taylor, of Colorado, says the women of that state have found that it does not take as long to vote as it does to match a piece of silk. It is to be hoped not, or the worst fears of the “antis” as to the neglect of the home and family would be more than realized. (10)

Each of these clippings contains a similar method for developing counterarguments as contained in Gage’s pamphlets. First, each states, or implies, common arguments that suffrage activists had to contend with (women were lesser people, suffrage endangered the woman’s responsibilities to home and family). Second, each clipping questions the logic of the argument (women clearly are more qualified to vote than the “vagabond,” voting takes so little time that it is ludicrous to suggest that it will keep women from home duties, especially such frivolous ones as matching pieces of silk). Finally, the development of the counterargument is not directly stated, as it was in Gage’s pamphlet, but nevertheless, the implications of the clippings are clear. Suffrage activists could invent their own arguments using evidence drawn from contemporary political events and women’s experiences within those events, as reported in various publications.

Harper also collected responses to her own publications, suggesting that she used her scrapbook as a way to reconsider her own rhetorical strategies. While many of these
responses are positive reactions from women who read Harper’s columns, Harper also collected unfavorable reviews, which implies that collecting responses in scrapbooks was not simply a way of commemorating her successes. Harper used the critiques to critically review her own writing. For example, one 1912 clipping included in her scrapbook, “Suffrage Accuracy Sharply Challenged,” a letter to the editor written by George Fox, criticizes Harper’s account of the political process in England, critiquing very specific statements made by Harper:

   One of the most absurd statements by Mrs. Harper is this: “Lewis Harcourt made a clashing speech against Lloyd-George and then the two men went arm in arm together to a music hall in search of still further amusement.” She should cite at once her authority for that statement. I question whether there is any truth in it at all. Mr. Harcourt and Mr. George are not at all intimate and have engrossing duties as ministers of important departments, outside of the House at Commons. (qtd. in Harper 23)

Although Harper often recorded her own comments and objections to various newspaper clippings, she merely writes “they didn’t go” next to this one, suggesting that in light of the criticism, Harper reconsidered her arguments, perhaps checked her facts, and conceded the weakness of her argument. This suggests that scrapbooks served a vital purpose in her own rhetorical education. Like P.S.R who wrote in 1891 that a scrapbook with editor’s comments assisted in the evaluation and revision of writing, Harper similarly utilizes her scrapbook to track public reactions to her work as one means of improving her rhetorical skill.

   Scrapbooks were often used to collect evidence of effectiveness, ability or responsibility; many women’s clubs collected statistical and financial reports, material that not only substantiated the effectiveness of an organization but that could be

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52 See Chapter 1
referenced and incorporated into other persuasive texts. For example, the St. Louis YWCA collected a number of items listing “Facts that Tell.” The facts for 1911 included the number of members (7851), the number of women who attended educational classes offered by the YWCA (11,550) and the number of meals served in their cafeterias (316,920). Many organizations also included information about their finances, including budgets, treasurer’s reports, money loaned or given as scholarships, or money raised and donated for various causes. Such detailed figures were saved and organized to be referenced and incorporated into other rhetorical productions.

For example, President of the GFWC, Mary K. Sherman, collected a number of detailed financial statements in her scrapbooks. In her 1927 volume, Sherman collected the financial report of the National organization, which listed the appropriations, expenditures and balances of various offices and committees. By the end of the year they had collected $130,045, spent $55,313 funding meetings, offices, and events, and had $74,000 left in reserve. They also recorded the balances of various funds aimed at civic improvement. In 1927, the GFWC was reported to have collected and managed an additional $20,000 earmarked for endowment funds, money for securing a permanent national headquarters, and various educational initiatives, the most important being their campaign against illiteracy, which was the special project of the GFWC that year. As the President of a national women’s organization, Sherman was continually called on to represent her organization in writing and at speaking events. Sherman’s scrapbook ensured that useful facts and figures were close at hand and easy to find.

The collection of facts and figures in scrapbooks was not limited to large or national organizations. Even smaller clubs included financial reports in their scrapbooks.
The College Women’s Club of Sandusky Ohio scrapbook for 1915-1935 collects lists of loans given to young college-bound women. In one early report, the Club had loaned $670 to four separate women. Their final report in the volume, for the year 1935, records that they had loaned a total of $5180 to fifteen women. Such reports became valuable material for proving that women were not financially incompetent as they were so often represented.

Scrapbooks of organizations included the mechanisms by which they obtained data and evidence, including blank survey forms. For example, suffragist Matilda Gage kept several copies of blank suffrage surveys, asking respondents to answer questions such as these:

- What proportion of school board members are women?
- How many superintendents are women?
- What colleges...in your state are open to women?
- How many physicians, lawyers and ministers in your state are women?
- What proportion of taxes in your state are paid by women?

Similarly, The Daughters of the American Republic of Sandusky, Ohio included blank survey forms used to inquire about members’ purchase of war stamps and bonds and their efforts to conserve materials and produce goods needed by the military during World War I. Surveys like these, and the data they produced, were then incorporated into speeches and articles to persuade the community that women’s social work was both valuable and effective. For example, the statistics obtained from surveys used by the DAR eventually ended up in reports produced by the state and national levels of the DAR, reports that are also included in the scrapbook itself. One example, an October 24, 1917 bulletin written by National Publicity Director of the DAR, Mrs. William Henry

53 The report is undated, but is included near other items dating from 1917.
Wait, summarizes the results of a survey filled out by chapters in thirty-three states. The bulletin reports that in three months, women of the DAR had contributed money, goods, and services that equaled an expenditure of more than two million dollars. The bulletin reports that DAR women made a total of 37,300 knitted garments, 9,721 comfort kits bags, and 1,973 sewing kits. Mrs. Wait concludes her bulletin by asking chapter regents to urge local newspapers to report the figures “in order that the public may be made conversant with our patriotic work” (28). Likewise, the results of suffrage surveys were sent to national headquarters of suffrage organizations to be used to advocate for women’s right to vote. By preserving surveys like these, the women in clubs and organizations preserved a record of the ways they used collective knowledge and experience as rhetorical evidence. Furthermore, saving materials like these also illustrates one way “women used collective rhetorical practices to participate in active citizenship” (Sharer 3).

Scrapbooks continually reinforce the impression that women were rhetorically astute; they seized every likely opportunity for persuasion and developed some very clever methods to get their message out to wider publics, methods that were not really central to an academic rhetorical education. One example appears in the scrapbook of the Professional Woman’s League of Des Moines, Iowa (1916-1926). A two-page spread near the end of their volume reports on a burlesque the women held at their annual dinner in 1926. The subject of the burlesque, according to journalist Priscilla Wayne, was “a senate in the happy year of 1935 when votes for women and women in politics seemed to have won complete control over affairs of State” (“A Woman’s Views of the News”). The Professional Woman’s League collected a number of articles about their successful
performance, which as Wayne wrote, “was the most hilariously witty evening it has been our pleasure to attend.” Wayne’s article goes on to describe the performance:

Margaret D. Cummings brought a bill for an act to provide longer working hours for men. Sara B. Nollen made a ringing speech on pre and free education…and even the establishment of pre and free prenatal and prenuptial training centers. Mae Habenicht, M.D., convulsed the audience with her stirring lecture on “Health, Hygiene, and Hysterics.”

The women used humor and parody to convey their very serious message about the poor representation women received at the hands of a male-dominated senate. The articles are accompanied by photos of two of the women in men’s clothing, thus preserving not only the textual elements of their witty and persuasive farce but also the visual rhetorics of costume they used to help enforce their messages. Given that scrapbooks were saved and circulated by members, preserving materials about the burlesque also preserves knowledge of effective rhetorical tactics.

In her 1876 scrapbook, Matilda Gage preserved a number of examples of rhetorical ingenuity; she saved a number of pre-printed letterheads and envelopes used by the National American Woman Suffrage Organization to transact their everyday business. However, not losing an opportunity to spread the message, the blank stationary and envelopes were printed with suffrage messages so that anyone handling or receiving the correspondence would be exposed to their message. Gage collects five different envelopes used by NAWSA, each printed with a different message. One example reads:

1776. Centennial questions. 1876.
What is the difference between a monarchy and a republic? A monarchy is a government of force; a republic is a government of consent. In what way is consent given? By and through the ballot alone; that says yes and no. What part of this nation live in a republic? The men; they have consented to the government.
What part of this nation live under a monarchy? The women; they have never consented to the government; they are ruled by force.

If we take into account the general understanding of scrapbooks in Progressive Era culture as works of reference, we can see more clearly how Gage might have saved these envelopes as a way of preserving the knowledge of an effective rhetorical activity that would not necessarily have been “taught” in any other venue. As well, Gage’s preservation of these materials indicates the importance she attached to these materials; She did not save just one example of this strategy, she saved multiple examples for future reference. The inclusion of items such as envelopes, surveys, statistical reports, and pamphlets in scrapbooks demonstrate that women in clubs and other reform organizations were adept in recognizing and seizing opportunities for persuasion. Their meticulous preservation and circulation of these texts also suggests one way women in clubs and organizations used scrapbooks to develop their rhetorical education within specific causes.

Theories of Invention in the Nineteenth Century

In *Invention in Rhetoric and Composition*, Janice Lauer argues that “invention has always been central in rhetorical theory and practice,” but as her historical review of invention from classical through modern rhetoric demonstrates, what counts as invention shifts in different historical contexts (1). In general, Lauer argues, invention has typically “encompassed strategic acts that provide the discoursers with direction, multiple ideas, subject matter, arguments, insights or probable judgments, and understanding of the rhetorical situation” (2). Women in clubs and organizations used the popular genre of
scrapbooks as inventional aids; their scrapbooking practice provided them direction as they composed other texts. First, invention is represented in scrapbooks as the process of accumulating subject matter; women collected materials on a variety of topics that were saved to be recycled into other rhetorical productions. Second, women saved materials about rhetorical strategies; examples of effective arguments, counterarguments, genres, and style served to educate women on rhetorical practice within the context of women’s organizations. Clubwomen’s adaptation of invention was designed to meet their particular rhetorical needs as women arguing for and creating social change at the turn of the century.

Nineteenth-century textbooks on rhetoric do not mention scrapbooks and for good reason. It is unlikely that academic rhetoricians would have recognized scrapbooks as inventional texts; their theory of invention, and the context in which invention was meant to be applied, was simply different from the inventional uses implicit in scrapbook production. As Nan Johnson argues in *Nineteenth Century Rhetoric in North America* (1991), rhetorical handbooks widely adopted for use in colleges and universities defined invention as a process for determining rhetorical aim, the proper mode of expression, and the arrangement strategies appropriate to each mode. Johnson explains that nineteenth-century rhetoricians treated invention “as a relatively straightforward matter of applying fundamental principles” (122). The purpose of invention was to choose the mode and arrangement that suited the rhetorical task that would stimulate the desired mental operations of the audience. As Henry Day argued in *The Art of Discourse* (1868), invention consisted of the “selection of the theme and the determination of the particular form in which it is to be discussed” (45). Having chosen the theme, the rhetor was to
determine rhetorical purpose, whether to explain, confirm, excite or persuade (48). Once a rhetorical purpose was selected, the rhetor was to choose arrangement strategies appropriate to each aim. Johnson notes that Day follows eighteenth-century rhetorical theorists Campbell and Whately’s “theoretical conflation of invention with arrangement” (175). Johnson explains that Day’s treatment of invention “reiterates standard principles of invention in North American treatises between 1850 and 1920” (176). Rhetorical textbooks by John Genung, Adams Sherman Hill, Alexander Bain, and John Quackenbos, who penned some of the most widely adopted textbooks on rhetoric in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, all expressed the same general understanding of invention.54 It is not necessarily true that invention disappeared in nineteenth-century textbooks, as some scholars have suggested,55 rather different definitions of invention appeared in differing social and educational contexts. For nineteenth-century rhetoricians, invention was a procedure for deciding on the proper aim, mode, and arrangement of a text. For women making scrapbooks in the context of women’s organizations, invention was about finding, collecting, and using information about women’s history, women’s rhetorical prowess, women’s efforts to reform their society. For women, invention was not necessarily a “straightforward” endeavor, as it might have been for academic rhetoricians. Given a long history of subordination, women could not just check the library for a wealth of information on women’s abilities nor was such information necessarily a part of their formal education. Instead women had to make their own

54 See Johnson’s list of the most widely adopted rhetoric texts in Appendix B of Nineteenth-Century Rhetoric in North America.

55 Such as James Berlin or Sharon Crowley. Janice Lauer has a more complex view of nineteenth-century invention, but does still fundamentally agree with Berlin’s analysis of the links between nineteenth-century and “current-traditional” rhetoric textbooks and the impoverishment of the canon of invention.
reference books, which they filled with evidence of women’s ability to be active citizens, effective writers and speakers, and capable reformers.

The focus of nineteenth-century academic rhetoricians on aims, modes, and arrangement meant that they did not focus on methods for collecting subject matter, such as commonplace books (which, as I have suggested, are similar in purpose to scrapbooks). Several theorists defined the process of finding subject matter to be outside of rhetorical practice, as did Adams Sherman Hill in The Principles of Rhetoric (1878). In the preface to his rhetorical treatise, Hill argued that rhetoric “does not undertake to furnish a person with something to say; but it does undertake to tell him how best to say it” (vi). Hill strengthens this position later in the volume in the section on argumentation when he argues that “the process of investigation, by which a man arrives at certain conclusions, should be completed before the argumentative process” (329). Alexander Bain concurred in English Composition and Rhetoric (1871) arguing in his preface that finding subject matter is a “burden [that] belongs to classes in scientific or other departments” (6).56 Most of the nineteenth-century rhetoricians do not mention commonplace in their textbooks, except for Genung who seems to wonder about the usefulness of a commonplace album: “on account of the labor of transcribing passages, [commonplace books] are much more liable than any other undertaking to be discontinued” (The Working Principles of Rhetoric 419). While he admits that some individuals may find commonplace volumes useful, Genung largely sees their value in

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56 Not all rhetoric textbooks took this view however. Both James DeMille and Henry Day acknowledged that finding subject matter was inventional, though the inventional method they provided was similar to other rhetoricians’ emphasis on aim, mode, and arrangement, and not a system for discovering and accumulating subject matter.
the act of making them, rather than from “the their contents once they are made. For this reason no one can make a commonplace book for another” (419). Although Genung does not recognize the reference value such volumes might have had for people who made them, women in clubs and organizations explicitly valued the reference functions of their scrapbooks. Furthermore, since women understood the collective purpose of their scrapbooks, they did believe books could be made for others and could be circulated to other women to use.

Quackenbos’ *Practical Rhetoric* (1896) comes closest to validating an inventional practice similar to commonplacing or scrapbooking. While the majority of his chapter on invention emphasizes aims, modes and arrangement, Quackenbos does include several pages on finding materials by means of meditation, reading, observation, or conversation. Quackenbos provides an interesting illustration “of the process of gathering thoughts.” He asks the reader to imagine a hypothetical student, assigned a composition on “The Incentives to Study.” The student keeps a notebook, in which he jots down his thoughts on the topic as they evolve in response to his own experience and thinking about the topic, his reading assigned in class, and his conversations with teachers and other students. Quackenbos produces the fictional journal of the student, and the reader is meant to see the gradual accumulation and formation of ideas, which, as Quackenbos argues is “a tangle of desultory thoughts and observations [that] is the germ of an essay” (70). However, it is important to note that this journal is not described as either a commonplace book or a scrapbook; it is used for one particular composition, not as a resource for many compositions as commonplace books and scrapbooks would have been.
Scrapbook compilers appear to be less concerned with modes and arrangement and more concerned with collecting and quickly locating needed information and ideas. The indexing and arrangement strategies in scrapbooks were designed to meet those needs. Women could quickly locate materials on topics like women and taxes, or materials on specific events or people. Rhetorical textbooks were designed to address general principles, assumed to be useful for every rhetorical act. However, as women realized, general methods did not necessarily meet their needs or goals when arguing in particular contexts. Many of the women in the organizations represented in this study were college educated; some of them may have taken rhetoric courses and would have encountered rhetorical handbooks at some point during their education. The fact that such textbooks were not enough, that women felt they needed scrapbooks to supplement arguments within a specific context, suggests the extent to which systems of formal rhetorical education, and the theoretical understandings of rhetorical terms like invention, are not necessarily generalizable beyond the contexts they were developed in and for. As both Anne Ruggles Gere and Carol Mattingly, and a host of other scholars interested in the history of women’s rhetoric have suggested, women chose and also generated rhetorical strategies that best met their particular needs.

Modern audiences might be tempted to see scrapbooks as generically similar to photo albums, that is, as primarily autobiographical volumes. However, as I illustrated in Chapter One, in the nineteenth century, scrapbooks were more closely aligned with commonplace albums; both genres were considered by advocates to be vehicles for invention and self-education. The scrapbooks compiled by women in clubs and organizations, while clearly having an important autobiographical function, also have an
equally important invention function. They illustrate a history of rhetorical education, developed specifically for women participating in various reform causes; scrapbooks served as a repository of evidence, arguments, and strategies contextually situated in women’s activism. In the absence of a wealth of evidence to be drawn from the “great works,” women went about developing their own sources of truth and wisdom, which were then circulated to other women and other groups. In that sense, scrapbooks acted as a kind of informal textbook on “collective rhetorical practices” developed within alternative educational spaces provided by women’s clubs and organizations (Sharer 3). It is perhaps a testament to these women’s visions that their scrapbooks continue to act as invention aids for scholars like Anne Ruggles Gere, Wendy Sharer or myself, even after so many years have elapsed since their creation.
CHAPTER 4

SCRAPBOOKS, FAITHBOOKS, CRAPBOOKS, AND OTHER SUNDRY ALBUMS:
SCRAPBOOKING AND CONTEMPORARY CULTURE

As anyone who has known me more than a few days realizes, I hate scrapbooking, or more accurately, I hate scrapbookers. They offend me to the deepest depths of my being.

Jillian Quinn, blog post, January 16, 2007

I have to vent about scrapbooking. I hate it. Pictures should not be chopped up. Each photo tells a story-deliberately or not. I love looking at old photos of me...seeing the rabbit ears on the TV and the shag green carpet. How can you tell a story when its just head chopped off, pasted onto a paper canoe...with a thought balloon over it?
I wish my wife would see my side of things.

Bobavader, photography forum posting, October 7, 2003

S...crapbooking
I do not scrapbook. I am not a scrapbooker. I lack the patience, the money and the fancy scissors. Don’t get me wrong – I do not frown upon others of the scrapbooking inclination (my fabulous sister-in-law Jen being one of them). In fact, I admire them and covet their fancy scissors. But after years of self-banishment to the desert of Motherhood Inadequacy for producing nothing cute and texturally significant with my piles of photos, I have reached the oasis of Whatever. My new daily affirmation: “I am still a good mother even if I have never pasted a photo of my son playing soccer onto an artfully edged oval of paper adorned with little soccer balls and the word SOCCER! stamped across it diagonally.” Also I sometimes use: “My life can be complete without owning hundreds of dollars worth of stickers.”

Julie Q. blog post, December 27, 2006

Looking at historical scrapbooking practices inevitably raises questions about the current scrapbooking trend. In many ways, the last twenty years has seen a commercial boom in scrapbooking practices that rivals the turn-of-the-century interest in this
everyday rhetorical activity. Modern consumers, like their nineteenth-century counterparts, find much commercial support for their hobby. Scrapbooking enthusiasts can shop in special stores dedicated to their chosen hobby, purchase supplies by mail, online, or from scrap magazines or catalogues; even mainstream hobby and craft stores typically have dedicated sections for scrapbooking tools and supplies. People wanting to learn about scrapbooking can attend classes at their local scrapbook stores, go to scrapbook industry conventions, or purchase the many how-to magazines and books. Scrapbookers often meet for “crops,” a social scrapbooking activity that is often compared to quilting bees. According to the Scrapbooking in America survey, conducted by Creating Keepsakes Magazine in 2004, the scrapbooking industry generated an estimated revenue of 2.551 billion dollars, a figure that had increased by 27.8 percent since 2001. Of course, like the nineteenth century, stereotypes and negative perceptions about scrapbooks and their makers accompany the contemporary scrapbooking boom; similar gendered conceptions, coupled with the visible commercial industry, still serve to color our perceptions of scrapbooking, making certain practices and practitioners more visible than others. In particular, contemporary stereotypes of scrapbooking obscure the continued use of scrapbooks for educational and inventional purposes.

Similar to nineteenth-century perceptions, scrapbooks continue to be associated with women and motherly duty. The stereotypical picture of the scrapbooker is a middle-aged, white, middle-class woman, or as one commenter remarked online, the “richy” housewife with nothing better to do with her time. The image also connotes conservatism, particularly when linked with various religious missions or conservative

\[57\] “Manda K” post on scrapbook.com forum
views of women and their “natural” roles in society. Such positions are typically built on one particular genre of scrapbook, the autobiography of family. To some extent, this image is largely a result of the commercial interest in scrapbooking; the image that gets produced as a result of various marketing tactics and industry surveys concentrates on a very narrow range of practitioners and practices. This dominant image of scrapbooking serves to fuel various negative and even hostile assessments of scrapbooking, such as those that open this chapter. Similar to negative perceptions of scrapbooks in the nineteenth century, modern critics depict scrapbooking as trivial, worthless, a waste of both time and money. More hostile pronouncements imply that scrapbooking is either metaphorically or literally harmful to the scrapbooker herself, using tropes of obsession or addiction. Negative assessments also depict scrapbooking as harmful to the family; the scrapbooker drains familial resources by spending exorbitant amounts of money on papers, stickers, and fancy scissors, and in extreme cases, the construction of a scrapbook room within the family home, which forces men and other family members to “sacrifice” a cherished media room, for example.

However, if we account for the actual descriptions everyday users give of their scrapping practices, we can see the richness of the rhetorical education scrapbooks provide. Scrapbookers have worked to develop what I would call a rhetoric of the scrapbook, a description of the strategies, mediums, and methods scrapbookers use to convey particular messages through their albums. Often this rhetorical advice is exchanged through commercial venues, such as magazines, scrapbooking classes and meetings, but people also exchange their advice though other means such as forum exchanges and blogs. Furthermore, the range of descriptions of actual scrapbooks makes
it clear that scrapbooks are still commonly used for purposes other than recording family history. Online commenters indicate a number of uses for albums: keeping ideas to further one’s work; for example, designers might keep a scrap album full of ideas, clippings, and images that they would return to generate ideas for various projects. Artists report keeping a scrap album full of sketches, ideas, inspirations, or articles about art to keep track of their career and to serve as inventionals. Even more importantly, teachers online mention various ways they have used scrapbooks in the classroom as inventionals or as ways to help students understand and think critically about course materials and secondary sources.

The Commercial “Emergence” of Scrapbooking

Recent interest in and visibility of scrapbooking makes it appear as if a dead or antiquated craft had been revived; to some extent, that is a fiction created by the sudden visibility of the commercial industry that grew up around scrapbooking in the last two decades. According to Suzanne Nikolaisen, Marketing Coordinator of Primedia Scrapbooking, “it’s commonly thought that the popularity of scrapbooking emerged in the 1980’s” (1). In actuality, people have made scrapbooks throughout the twentieth century. Women’s organizations, for example, continued to use scrapbooks to document their work. According to Morgan Davis, an archivist for the General Federation of Women’s Clubs, women’s clubs frequently held scrapbook contests; women made books to document a year’s work and entered them in yearly competitions at national conventions or meetings.58 Such contests remain popular. The GFWC continues to hold

58 The Marion, IA Shakespeare Club scrapbook I discuss in chapter 2 appears to be a contest scrapbook.
scrapbook contests each year; scrapbooks are made and judged at the state level and winners are displayed at the national convention each year. Many other organizations, such as the California Cattlewomen, the Michigan FFA, or the Virginia Nursing Students’ organization, post their scrapbook contests and judging criteria online. Many contest albums can be found in archives, and in fact, there appear to be even more scrapbooks of many types after 1930, in part because the earlier scrapbooks, compiled on and with cheap paper have already begun to disintegrate; newer books are in better shape, and still survive in archives. In fact, historical archives tend to have large collections of a variety of scrapbooks made throughout the twentieth century, suggesting that scrapbooking continued to be a popular everyday activity.

People in the scrapbooking industry credit the “new wave” of scrapbooking as a commercial enterprise to several different causes. The most cited “origin” of the “new wave” is traced to Mormon communities in Utah in the early 1980s. The Church of the Latter Day Saints advocated studying family history and genealogy, putting its 400 million family records online 1999. Seen as consistent with spiritual values, scrapbooking reportedly “emerged” in Utah under the auspices of Marielen Christensen, a Mormon woman, who in 1976 began organizing her family photos in three ring binders using the (then) new technology of sheet protectors, which had been developed to protect photos. In 1980, Christensen was invited to share 50 of her albums at the World Conference on Records in Salt Lake City, Utah. Her albums were well received, and capitalizing on that interest, she and her husband opened the first scrapbooking supply

59 According to Rachel Woods, scrapbooking and genealogy serve a spiritual function to “baptize” ancestors post-mortem, thus granting them access to heaven.
store called the “Annex” in Spanish Fork, Utah.\textsuperscript{60} Christensen traveled and gave lectures and workshops on scrapbooking, drawing audiences and enthusiasts. According to Sue Di Franco in \textit{Inside the $3+ Billion Scrapbook Industry}, the Christiansens published the “first” how-to book on scrapbooking called \textit{Keeping Memories Alive} in 1995 (though such volumes had been published in the nineteenth century\textsuperscript{61}); the interest in scrapbooking spread throughout Utah, resulting in the proliferation of scrapbook stores and supply companies throughout the state, which Di Franco points out, is still regarded as “scrapbook country” (DiFranco 6). A special type of scrapbook, called a “faithbook” emerged from the marriage of the Mormon faith and scrapbook practices and spread to scrapbookers of other faiths who were interested in cataloguing the workings of God in their lives. Religionlink.org reported in 2003 that faithbooking has become common in many religious groups: “There are now scrapbooking circles and clubs for Jews, Catholics, Mormons and other Christians all over the country. Many use pages and albums to commemorate religious holidays, such as Easter and Passover, and life-cycle events, such as first communions and bar and bat mitzvahs.”

Scrapbooking forums and publications often give directions for faithbooking. One example appears on the Creative Memories website:

\begin{center}
How to Faithbook
The key to benefiting from our pictures and stories is to first uncover our faith-building memories. Remember, Faithbooking is finding the deeper spiritual meaning in the events in our past and learning to see the Lord’s activity in our present and future.
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{60} The store was later renamed “Keeping Memories Alive” after Christensen’s book of the same title became popular.

\textsuperscript{61} Such as Gurley’s “Scrapbooks and How to Make Them” and numerous articles in popular periodicals mentioned in Chapter One.
Typically, faithbooking uses the materials one typically includes in a scrapbook, such as images, stories, and memorabilia, which are incorporated into a narrative of spiritual journey, progress, and accomplishment. Like nineteenth century clubwomen’s books, faithbooks act simultaneously as a history and as a projection of future action, a way to record and project the “lord’s activity in our present and in the future.” Faithbookers often issue scrapbooking challenges to one another via online forums, such as the following example, a faithbook challenge issued by a member of the digital scrapbook place forum to other members on the site:

Faithbook Challenge #13
Ready for another challenge? This one may be easy -- or not
What is a question you have for God?
(Or maybe you have 100 like I do! ) They may be the questions that philosophers and theologians have pondered for millennia, or they could be personal questions that only you can ask. I can't wait to see your pages! 62

Site members responded to the challenge by constructing digital faithbook pages and placing them online for others to read. Faithbooks are used to critically examine one’s religious beliefs, much in the way that progressive-era women used scrapbooks to think through issues of suffrage, temperance, or literary values.

In secular realms, scrapbooking has also flourished. In the 1980s, the scrapbooking industry spread wildly throughout the West and the Midwest, eventually reaching the east coast with the establishment of direct mail-order companies, such as Creative Memories, which continues to dominate the market despite fierce competition. While the development of scrapbooking within Mormon communities has been well-

62 Faithbookers are not alone in this practice; scrapbook challenges are features of most online scrapbooking forums. See, for example, the various scrapbook challenges at Digital Scrapbook Place, <http://www.digitalscrapbookplace.com/forum/forumdisplay.php?f=222>.
documented and explained in terms of its relationship to traditional Mormon values, the popularity of scrapbooking at large is harder to pin down. Among other cultural factors to which scrapbooking is ascribed, Sue Di Franco traces its popularity to recent events like 9-11, which she argues rejuvenated interest in memory making and the importance of family. Furthermore, Di Franco argues that one important facet in the popular reception of scrapbooking (at least among women) is that it fulfills the need to be creative, while still allowing women to fulfill traditional familial obligations and values. In this view of scrapbooking, women serve their families by becoming the narrators of the family’s history. In addition, the social activities that accompany scrapbooking, like “crops,” online forums, scrapbooking clubs and classes, give women a space to be social and make connections to other women with similar interests. Scrapbooking allows women to fulfill certain needs (creativity, socialization) while also alleviating guilt for spending time on their favorite activity, since books are made (presumably) about and for the family.

Furthermore, photographic technologies, such as digital camera, scanners, digital scrapbooking websites, and imaging software, have become increasingly popular, available, and inexpensive. Such advances in technology have likely increased interest in scrapbooking, while also creating changes in scrapbook composition. Nineteenth and early twentieth century scrapbooks relied much more heavily on textual items. As photography supplies became more common and inexpensive, the emphasis appears to

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63 Even in the early scrapbooks studied in this project, it is apparent that the changes in imaging technology affected what items were included. The earliest scrapbooks, compiled in the 1870s and 80s tend to have fewer images, though they still do include a few images cut from magazines or newspapers. Later volumes, compiled in the 1920s and 30s, very often have more actual photographs, as cameras and printing technologies became cheaper and more widely available.
have shifted, in commercial materials at least, from textual materials to visual materials. As Di Franco notes, the abundance of archival-safe products on the market also has contributed to the growth of the scrapbooking industry: “The importance of using archival products was arguably what fueled much of the growth of the industry – the knowledge of proper photo preservation assured everyone that their memories, stories, and photos would last through the generations” (14). Ultimately, there are a number of reasons why scrapbooking appears to have to become so popular in the last twenty years; Given the wide popularity of scrapbooking and the success of the commercial industry, it is perhaps surprising that some perceptions of scrapbooking, such as the ones that open this chapter, are so vehemently negative.

“Crapbooks:” I hate scrapbook(s) (ing) (ers)

One indicator that negative perceptions of scrapbooks are still alive and healthy is the emergence of the term “crapbook” to describe the negative view of the popular hobby. One example appears on thisisbroken.com, a website that allows people to post comments on their experience with various businesses. A popular practice on the site is posting broken signs; the unintended messages resulting from burned out or missing letters are often humorous. In 2006, Aaron Vincent posted a picture of a scrapbooking store whose sign had a burned out “S” rendering the store’s name as “CRAPBOOKS.”

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64 The extent of this shift from textual to visual materials is unclear. The commercial industry certainly relies on visual material – the more stickers, papers, die cuts and embellishments they sell, the better the companies do. Typically, scrapbook magazines are designed to market these new products, and so tend to have a visual, rather than textual, emphasis. Scrapbook supply companies naturally would prefer for consumers to use purchased supplies, rather than cutting up materials like newspapers or magazines. However, as I argue in the rest of the chapter, the visibility of the commercial scrapbook obscures the actual practices of a variety of scrapbookers some of whom choose to use “found” materials.

65 Not to be confused with the same term used online to pejoratively describe Apple Macbooks.
Aaron accompanied the picture with a comment: “It's unfortunate that the "S" on this Scrapbook store sign had to be the unlit letter.” Other posters responded with witty retorts: “NOT BROKEN. Why? The sign is now accurate.” Another poster commented, “What? It's just truth in advertising.” Such jokes reveal a deeply embedded set of attitudes towards scrapbooking (scrapbooks are understood to be worthless); the way the joke needs no explanation indicates that the joke makers and their presumed audience are assumed to share these attitudes. The commenters do not have to explain why scrapbooks are “crap,” any more than certain literary reviewers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had to explain to readers why comparing a literary text to a scrapbook was automatically bad.

Similarly, in March of 2006, a blogger identified only as Hippie posted a picture of a sign in her local scrapbook store that was advertising “crapbook totes.” Seeing the sign led Hippie to try to imagine what a crapbook might be: “A crapbook is a compilation of pictures that need no caption and tell a story...just not the kind of story you want to tell in your sentimental, show the relatives after Sunday dinner scrapbook. The pictures highlighted will be interesting and definitely worthy of viewing, and imagining the story behind the image.” Hippie’s remarks reveal some interesting assumptions about scrapbooks. First, scrapbooks are only meant for “sentimental” Sunday dinner displays. Second, Hippie’s remarks reveal that she understands the typical scrapbook to be uninteresting to anyone other than the scrapbooker. Finally, scrapbooks require a narrative that explains items. By comparison, Hippie assumes that a “crapbook” would need no explanation – her definition relies on an assumption of transparent reality of photographs; her photos “need no caption” yet still “tell a story. It seems that what
Hippie might object to is that items within a scrapbook get woven into a narrative, presumably altering the photographic reality of images placed within the covers. Thus, in Hippie’s view, scrapbooks are sanitized for positive self-display, a position which she assumes her audience will identify with.

Blogger “Air” expresses a similar view of the scrapbook/crapbook dichotomy in her entry on March 31, 2007:

Crapbook
Tomorrow I will begin a Crapbook. Not a Scrapbook. Let me be clear: I am NOT a "scrapbooker." The crapbook will be all about the shit that 2007 contains. More specifically, it will chronicle Derek's illness. A sort of art therapy, if you will. I will include photos of him getting chemotherapy, ultra-sound photo's [sic] of his rectum (taken from the inside), lab tests results, and hospital bracelets (he is getting quite a few).

Air accompanies her description of the “crapbook” with an image of yet another scrapbook store missing the initial “s.” The play on words allow Air to consider also a play on genre. By turning the typical understanding of scrapbooks as genres of self-display on its head, she proposes instead doing a scrapbook on all the negative things that have happened in a given year.

Joking about scrapbooking practices extends beyond the web to other forms of popular media, such a television shows. One episode of the critically-acclaimed show Dead Like Me invokes viewers’ presumptions about scrapbooking for humorous effects. In an episode called “Reaping Havoc, aired in 2003, the main protagonist, a young woman named George, is invited to a scrapbooking club led by her boss, who is repeatedly depicted throughout the show as silly and, perhaps, a little insane. George, who mainly attends the scrapbook club meeting for the free food, sits though a frivolous meeting in which her co-workers exchange workplace gossip while displaying their
scrapbooks and exchanging advice on acid-free stickers and border paper. Meanwhile, George (who in “reality” works as a grim reaper) fantasizes about displaying her “workplace scrapbook:”

GEORGE: This is my work-related scrapbook. (opens the book) These are bone fragments I found in a telephone pole next to an exploded, high voltage transformer (everyone is still smiling) and this is from that nuclear reactor incident; I think it's a testicle.

In her fantasy, her co-workers burst out laughing, but the sound of a record scratching brings George back to reality. Her boss asks if she would like to make a scrapbook, but George declines, thinking to herself, “I could have tried to see the thrill in cataloguing artifacts and laminating memories. But that wouldn’t be me.”

By the end of the episode, George has, through a series of events, come to understand the importance of remembering, and so she creates an album that she calls “Mysterious and Reassuring,” filled with photos of close-ups of people’s faces. George explains her album to the scrapbooking group:

GEORGE: All these people, they all have it. Around their eyes, in their smiles. The reassuring part is what lures you into the sense that everything is going to be fine. And then, boom. They’ll pull the rug out from underneath you. That’s the mystery part.

Believing that she has finally figured out how “cataloguing artifacts and laminating memories” relates to her life, the so-called rug is yanked from beneath her feet yet again, as her boss impatiently explains: “I’m going to stop you right here. Common rookie move in scrapbooking, turning them into photo albums. And the first thing they teach you about scrapbooks: rule number one is that they are not photo albums.”

The depiction of scrapbookers in Dead Like Me repeats some fairly common stereotypes. First, the activity engenders gossip, a theme that similarly emerged in
criticism of scrapbooking in the nineteenth century. Second, scrapbooking is presented as silly through its alignment with the boss figure who served the role of comic fool throughout the entire series. Third, scrapbooking clubs are represented as enforcers of conformity; George’s book is criticized for not following the “rules” of composition. She has apparently violated the generic expectations of the scrapbook; because George’s album consists of uncaptioned photos of other people, she has violated the supposed generic boundaries of scrapbooks. Because George’s scrapbook does not appear to be about herself, she has violated the generic expectation that scrapbooks are explicitly autobiographical. As well, since she does not take any special care in arranging or framing her images, nor does she add any text or captions, George presumably fails to use the fancy acid-free products, cute stickers, and fancy scissors that apparently separate photo albums from scrapbooks. The scrapbooking club appears to be more concerned with stickers and paper than they do about the message George is trying to convey in her album.

*Dead Like Me* relies on knowledge of these stereotypes to elicit laughs. As one fan of the show remarked in his online forum: “[George’s co-workers] have invited her to scrapbook with them. That seems more like they hate her. If you’re packing heat, feel free to shoot anyone who invites you to scrapbook. They have nothing but evil intentions for you and your kin.” Given this fan’s comments, it appears that the writers of the show are correct in assuming that their lampoon of scrapbookers would resonate with

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66 Interestingly, while the book has no photos about George herself, we come to understand throughout the show how the book and the ideas it represents are in fact about George and her struggle to understand her own life. The fact that the actual scrapbookers in the show fail to recognize this implies their narrow, conformist view of scrapbooking.

67 Aric McKeowen, *Make Me Watch TV*
audiences, even to the extent that a fan would jokingly suggest shooting scrapbookers for “evil intentions.”

Of course, negative assessments of scrapbooks go beyond simple jokes, a fact that will be quickly revealed by googling phrases like “I hate scrapbook(s) (ing) (ers).” That so many people will claim, sometimes vehemently, to “hate” scrapbooking indicates that there is something deeper than simple preference for other hobbies. Examining the scrapbook criticism reveals several interesting rhetorical patterns. First the presumed connection between scrapbooking and traditional gender roles or conservative family values is criticized; in many cases the anti-feminist label is deliberately invoked or lurks in the background. Second, scrapbooking is often criticized for being too egocentric; they are represented as a forum for self-aggrandizement. A related criticism is that scrapbooks warp reality. Scrapbookers are charged with the manipulation of the truth in order to tell a coherent, sanitized, and positive story of their lives. Scrapbooks are also represented as harmful, both to the maker, who may be characterized as “addicted” or “obsessed,” and to her family, who may suffer financial deprivation due her enormous investment in scrapbooking supplies.

**Scrapbooks and Conservativism: Gender, Family, Religion**

One of the more common charges laid against scrapbooking is that it perpetuates patriarchal culture and conservative values. On the *Rage Diaries* blog, Lisa Schmeiser argues that scrapbooking popularity has more to do with “the offputting cult of motherhood business that’s risen up in the last few years.” A respondent to Schmeiser’s blog post comments, “It creeps me out too. And the whole weird connection with the cult
of motherhood and conservative, evangelical Christianity doesn’t help matters.” One of the posters on the blog agreed: “Ever try to get scrapbooking supplies that don’t revolve around babies, children, and the Traditional American Family? Yeesh.”

Such comments are motivated by the over-identification of scrapbooking with the conservative, family values oriented roots of its “emergence” as a commercial industry. Because scrapbooking’s “origins” have been located in Mormon country, and because the scrapbooking market has largely focused on a narrow range of consumers, scrapbooking has a tendency to be associated with traditional roles for women within the family. Thus, criticism about scrapbooks is often based, either implicitly or explicitly, on the argument that the entire genre is anti-feminist. One example appears on the Feminist Mormon Housewives blog, maintained by Artemis, whose lengthy entry in 2005 called “Confessions of a Non-Scrapbooker,” provoked a lengthy debate on the relationship between feminism and women’s crafts. In her initial post, Artemis describes a visit to her in-laws house, where, to her dismay, she gets sucked into a Martha Stewart magazine. Artemis ends her post by saying:

And the next thing you know, I’ll be finding some crafty, scallopy scissors in my stationary drawer, then (somehow) cutting cute little crafty shapes, and suddenly…I’ll be living my worst nightmare. Sucked into that scrapbooking, Martha Stewart black hole, never knowing how I slipped into such a foreign dimension. I think I need a good dose of feminist absolution.

Interestingly, Artemis equates scrapbooking with the Martha Stewart phenomenon, though, in fact, Martha Stewart magazines are rarely about scrapbooking (though they do often feature a number of paper crafts). Likely, Artemis related the two because of her perception of the gendered stereotypes perpetuated by scrapbooking and the women’s crafts movement at large.
Artemis’s post provoked a variety of reactions. Some posters chimed in, agreeing with Artemis’s perception that scrapbooking is linked with oppression, citing the “faddy nature of crafts and the way people get assimilated.” Another expressed her frustration that “trends (scrapbooking, quilting, making paper mache’ grapes) become too symbolic of ‘good Mormon women’ in a culture that is already riddled with stuff that has nothing to do with the gospel of Jesus Christ.” Although concerned that popular activities like scrapbooking prescribe certain religious or traditional social roles for women, these commenters fail to see that their assessment of scrapbooking relies primarily on one version of a particular cultural/commercial image of scrapbooking. Furthermore, as respondents pointed out, the negative assessment of scrapbooks relies on a gendered hierarchy of value – women’s crafts have historically been undervalued. One commenter, "Dangermom," who jokingly confesses her interest in certain women’s crafts (scrapbooking, quilting, cross-stitch) defends the value of women’s craft by arguing, “Quilting is an art form, so there. And it’s useful. And historic. And feminist!” Picking up on her comment, Sonnet questions, “Is it ok to label a “domestic” activity as “feminist” only if it’s historical?…Why are those who call themselves feminist hesitant to display interest in the domestic arts?” Such comments draw on recent conversations about the status of women’s art, in which various women’s crafts, quilting foremost among them, have been recuperated as “feminist” activities.\(^{68}\) Interestingly, though the commenters who question the negative perception of scrapbooking are aware of such scholarly conversations, they themselves still rely on conservative narratives of the

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\(^{68}\) For example, see Marion Schapiro, “Femmage.”
The "emergence" of scrapbooking in the 1980s, which has almost all but obliterated the "historical" nature of scrapbooking.

Related to the negative gender stereotype is that perception that the scrapbooking industry only markets and perpetuates "cutesy" products.69

"I love the idea of preserving memories, of having pictures the family can handle and feel, not just stuck on the computer. I hate/detest the idea of buying bows and dye-cuts (I finally figured out what those were), bells and miniature baby shoes, papers for every occasion, hole-punches the shape of my uterus for when I'm pregnant, small bits of carpet, and teeny-tiny disco balls for the pages about when Laylee and I go clubbing."70

More pointed versions of this criticism often complain that the scrapbook industry has a tendency to only produce products that champion traditional family and gendered values. Critics argue that the vast majority of scrapbooking supplies reinforces gendered stereotypes by assigning colors to specific genders (pink for girls, blue for boys) or by associating specific activities with specific genders (the "princess" theme is suggested for girls; boys get the "baseball" theme). A scrapbook.com forum poster, "Flakygreen" expresses her frustration that the "industry drives that perception, [with] pink and lime-green tools, flowers, and all the other kiddy cutesy supplies...it is hard to take a hobby or art seriously when it is marketed like toys for little girls." Another online commenter, "Phantom Scribbler," posting a response to a blog entry on scrapbooking in February of 2006 remarks on the "use of the color pink in Creative Memories products and the reinforcement of gendered assumptions about childraising." These critics reject

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69 To some extent, this appears to be true, at least on the surface. Visiting any scrapbook store or perusing scapping publications does reveal that a significant portion of scrapping supplies is oriented towards the "cutesy" image. However, a number of companies have begun to capitalize on widening interests in scrapbooking by providing "more adult" products. Additionally, looking only at commercial products overlooks the inventiveness of many scrappers who choose not to buy commercial products at all, but like their nineteenth-century counterparts, use found objects and other ephemera.

70 Kathryn, Daring Young Mom blog.
scrapbooking, not because of the activity itself, but because of their perceptions of the ideological positions represented by the products sold by major scrapbook supply manufacturers.

The Perils of Mommy Guilt:

The alignment of scrapbooking and traditional family values also affects women in other ways. For those who may accept certain ideals about family or motherhood, the dominant image of scrapbooking appears to be guilt-inducing for mothers who choose not to scrapbook. A number of women report in online forums and blogs a sense of guilt for not scrapping or failing to keep up their albums. Marilyn Olson, who writes for the modernmom.com website, recently touted a new service that provides custom made scrapbooks for moms who don’t have time to do it themselves. Olson writes,” That ought to put a dent in the bucket of mommy-guilt!” A number of other women write angry diatribes, defending their choice to not scrapbook by arguing that it does not in fact make them bad mothers and wives, as does the blogger Julie Q., whose quote opens this chapter. Another woman remarks on her blog, Redhead Ramblings:

I had a breakthrough the other day. I realized and acknowledged that I hate scrapbooking…I have been surrounded by a bevy of overachieving scrapbookers who chronicle every single event of their lives and the lives of their children. I always feel vaguely uncomfortable reading the “journal entries” on those perfectly executed pages, as though I caught little miss scrapbooker in her underpants and saw something I never desired to see. With my epiphany came a lifting of a great burden. In the past, I felt guilty for being a bad parent…I’m sure the scrapbookers with their memories intact, their pristinely organized shelves of paper and supplies, and their endless zeal can lay claim to being better parents and better human beings than I, but I’m hoping that my kids will give me credit for living life with them instead of spending all my time chronicling it. Maybe they’ll forgive me like I forgave my parents, eventually, for not being all I thought they should have been.
Redhead’s post reveals a deep sense of conflict – while she refuses to accept that she must scrapbook to be a good mother, she nevertheless hopes her children will forgive her for not being the good parent they might expect. She appears to simultaneously reject and accept the prescribed roles of the “good mommy.” Angry, and sometimes conflicted, denials like Redhead’s don’t come out of nowhere; they indicate a reaction to deeply embedded assumptions about women’s social roles as wives, mothers, and keepers of the family history. The “guilt” women describe appears to stem from not fulfilling prescribed gendered roles, with which scrapbooking has been inextricably tied. Clearly the connection between scrapbooks and traditional gender roles within the family are fairly firmly entrenched, in perception, if not in reality.

**Obsession and Addiction:**

In *Inside the $3+ Billion Scrapbook Industry*, Sue Di Franco notes yet another stereotype of the scrapbooker: “An unexplained phenomenon is that a majority of scrapbook consumers report feeling “addicted to” or “obsessed with” scrapbooking, usually shortly after being introduced to it…reading website message boards or simply talking to consumers will inevitably keep leading back to those two words: *addicted* or *obsessed*” (Di Franco 10). Indeed, if one does as Di Franco suggests, that is, search message boards, forums, and blogs, it quickly becomes apparent that many scrapbookers and their critics frequently use these terms to describe their hobby. Tales of obsession and addiction typically include “confessions” of neglecting other duties around the home (such as failing to keep up with the housework) and are also often accompanied by financial disclosures (you spent *what* on scrapbooking supplies this year?). As the
blogger “Scrapbook Widow” remarks, “with all this building and stuff of the scraproom, the money has run out rapidly, so it will probably be just peanutbutter sandwiches at home this year.” Scrapbook Widow, a husband of a scrapbooker, spends a great deal of time writing on his blog about the amount of money his wife spends on scrapbooking supplies. He also complains about the construction of his wife’s scrap-room, which forced him to abandon the idea of creating a media room. It seems clear that, for Widow at least, devoting an entire room to a scrapbooking hobby is “obsessive,” but devoting an entire room to media is completely normal.

Sacrifice or loss due to a wife’s addiction also figures prominently in the “Confessions of a Scrapbooker’s Husband,” written by Joel Doherty, and published in Chicken Soup for the Scrapbooker’s Soul. Doherty describes coming home from work one day, expecting to “be greeted by my lovely bride and out three children – clean, well mannered and ready for bed, awake only because they had begged to stay up long enough to say good-night to Daddy” (13). Doherty remarks, “it was a pleasant, wholesome image” but then goes on to discover the actuality: his house is in shambles, his kids are covered in paste and embellishments, and his wife has been obsessively scrapbooking all day. Doherty’s domestic fantasy, reminiscent of nostalgic 1950s images of the idealized family, is heavily gendered: Husband works, wife stays home and takes care of the house and children, husband is greeted at the door of his immaculately cleaned house by his clean and orderly children, and presumably, dinner is already prepared for his arrival.

However, it is not just scrapbooking widows who describe loss or sacrifice; in Chicken Soup, women also use the language of addiction and obsession to describe their hobby. In a chapter titled “Scrapbook Addicts” a number of women describe the various
mishaps that occur when their addiction takes over. Ginger McSwain, in “An Egg-Splosive Hobby,” describes an incident in which her scrapbooking obsession leads her to neglect a pot of eggs on the stove, resulting in a “kitchen covered with exploded eggs” (3). She loses time cleaning up the kitchen and money, represented by the eggs which are now spoiled. Similarly, In “Only Five Dollars,” Jennifer Gallacher describes a trip to the scrapbook store; with a budget of only five dollars, she nevertheless spends fifty, and thinks to herself, “I won’t drive so much this month. We won’t eat out so much. I can return that new shirt I just bought” (20). Gallcher herself has to sacrifice other material goods, like shirts and gasoline, and her family also has to sacrifice eating out to support her scrapbooking habit. Paula Gunter-Best describes the sacrifice of health and looks in a poem called “Rest and Relax on a Three Day Retreat.”

You’re crazed from being deprived of slumber
You pound out the pages, increasing your numbers
The pain in your back is hard to mistake
Ignore it – keep going-you’re creating keepsakes.
Then it’s your eyes, the dark circles and bags
Never mind that, I made five new tags! (29)

Popular parodies also play on the trope of obsession or addiction, as does “Inside Scrapbooking” a series of web films created by Los Angeles’ Russ Jones (Actor) and Kevin Williams (Executive Producer). “Inside Scrapbooking” is a mockumentary about scrapbooking addict Molly McGann and her “scrubby” (the scrapbooker’s husband). The episodes follow Molly as she attends scrapbooking meetings and conventions, develops scrapbook friendships and rivalries (ending in a “scrap-ument,” i.e. an argument about scrapbooking) and details her all-night scrapbooking marathons. Molly’s life (and house) is literally overtaken by her scrapbooking mania. As Molly’s “scrubby” says, “being a
scrubby… isn’t very easy. Instead of dinner, our dining room table is usually filled with
die cuts, or pictures, or paper doodles.” The series of episodes is accompanied by
“Molly’s Blog,” which describes Molly’s encounters with the scrapbook world, including
an entire blog entry about the “intervention” her friends and neighbors stage for her.
Molly had apparently failed to keep up her duties with the neighborhood watch and had
allowed a child under her care fall ill after inhaling fumes from her scrapbooking
adhesive. Her neighbors insist that Molly get help for her addiction. Molly agrees, then
reflects that

Unfortunately there aren’t any support groups for problem scrappers. But I plan to
go to a twelve step program for Heroin and just replace the word Heroin with
Scrapbooking. It should probably work. I’m not sure about the methadone
treatments, though. I don’t think I’ll need that, but then again, I don’t know what
the withdrawals will be like.

Of course, Molly’s story ends in financial ruin, despair, and divorce. While Molly’s story
is meant to be funny, it plays on the common trope of obsession and addiction that
accompanies actual descriptions of women’s scrapping practices.

While Di Franco says this “obsession and addiction” phenomenon is unexplained,
I argue that this trope is tied up in idealized gender roles within the family. When
scrapping is represented as a healthy and appropriate activity, it is usually depicted as a
woman’s service to her family. However, when women begin to scrap for themselves
alone (because they enjoy it), they are in danger of being “out of control.” Very often,
when the scrapbooker is described as obsessed, the negative outcomes have something to
do with women’s duties in the home or to her family. The obsessed scrapbooker fails to
keep up with her housekeeping, cooking, or child-rearing, and her health, marriage and
financial stability are endangered. Her family has to sacrifice something for her hobby,
whether it be dinners out, new clothing, media rooms, or the nostalgic fantasy of the
perfect domestic scene.

The trope of addiction and obsession is reminiscent of nineteenth-century fears
that novel reading was harmful to women and their homes. As Ana-Isabel Aliaga-
Buchenau argues in *The "Dangerous" Potential of Reading*, “The woman’s reading is the
cause for the downfall and disintegration of a potentially perfect home paradise” (46). It
is reminiscent too of the negative depictions of scrapbooks in the nineteenth century. As
described in Chapter 1, Anna Maria Porter’s “Tribute to an Album” depicts the “pale”
scrapbooker who risks injuring her health and the health of her sister by staying up all
night and rousing others from their beds. While scrapbooking is often portrayed as a way
of fulfilling a woman’s responsibility to her family, the trope of addiction and obsession
cautions scrapper against becoming too involved with their hobby. Women who take
scraping too far run the risk of neglecting their responsibilities to their family and
draining their financial reserves. To some extent, the trope works to regulate women’s
scraping, much as the trope of “dangerous” reading attempted to regulate women’s
reading practices in the nineteenth-century. Women are encouraged to scrap
“appropriately,” just as they were in the nineteenth century, and in both centuries,
“inappropriate” scraping inevitably results in violations of expected gendered behavior.

*Scrapbooks and “Mere” Rhetoric:*

Beyond criticizing gendered distinctions, scrapbook critics often object to the
rhetorical dimension of scrapbooking. On one end of the spectrum, people question the
validity of scrapbooking because of its apparent emphasis on what Katriel and Farrell
referred to as the “life as perfected, as well-lived” in their study of contemporary scrapbooking practices (5). The scrapbook is criticized, as rhetoric often has been, for its ability to lie or distort the truth. On the other hand, people characterize scrapbooking as too concerned with aesthetics and materials, elaborate layouts, fancy scissors, die cuts and stickers, than with the actual messages being conveyed, in essence deploying the negative sense of rhetoric as style over substance. The *Rage Diaries* blogger, who equated scrapbooking and the cult of motherhood, falls into the first category. (S)he characterizes scrapbooks as “a way of controlling the narrative of the past” and concludes that the “scrapbooking trend is as insanely self-regarding and sentimental as anything the Victorians dreamed up.”\(^7\)

Another commenter on the *Rage Diaries* blog, describing scrapbookers exclaims,

> They would spend thousands of dollars to “scrap” a trip. If you looked at the scrapbook, you’d think they had the greatest time ever. If you asked them? They were miserable the whole time, little Conner wouldn’t behave and they got lost and the hotel smelled bad, etc. But that’s not on the official record. They are often recording a false record, and it’s really very concerning.”\(^7\)

Yet another commenter laments, “It's excess -- why can't the pictures speak for themselves? Why must I cut up a picture of me and my husband into little heart shapes? Why isn't a simple album with archival quality plastic sleeves enough?”

The last comment also encodes one of the other criticisms that people do not let pictures “speak for themselves” but instead cut them up, arrange them, and thus control or alter their meanings. Comments like these may rely too much on a naïve assumption

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\(^7\) Of course, his/her comment reveals that the modern “origin” story of scrapbooking applies here as well, since the blogger is apparently unaware that scrapbooking developed in the age of the Victorians. He/She is also unaware that we inherited the very presumptions the blogger espouses about scrapbooks from the Victorians as well.
about the reliability of photographic reality; nevertheless, this is a very powerful perception of scrapbooking. Interestingly, though such critics see the constructed nature of the scrap album, they fail to recognize the constructed nature of the family photo album and photography, even though hosts of scholars have repeatedly argued that such genres and mediums are inherently constructed.73

Interestingly, many of the people who claim to hate scrapbooking practices are engaged in some arguably “scrappy” online behavior. Many post their scrapbook loathing on blog sites, a web utility that allows very similar practices of collecting, appropriation, juxtaposition and collage, as well as the collision of text and image. However, the heavily gendered stereotype of scrapbooks encourages many makers to redefine their practices, such as “Bernie” who commented in an online discussion about scrapbook making that, “I’ve been ‘scrapbooking’ for years. Only we call them memory books.”74

Perhaps less charitably, Christine Zilka remarks:

I pondered my recent addiction to flickr, a photo organization and sharing website. I realized in horror that it’s a sort of…DIGITAL SCRAPBOOK. But I feel better about it, because it’s sans little baubles and cutesy clip art and borders and such. But I do know I’m walking a fine line, perhaps even a millimeter away from a digital scrapbook. Don’t get started on the ‘blog…it’s a JOURNAL, not a scrapbook.75

Christine recognizes the generic similarities between photo sharing, blogging and scrapbooks, but vehemently avoids the scrapbooking label, reasoning that she avoids the

73 See, for example, Marianne Hirsch, The Familial Gaze.

74 Post to Getcrafty.com forum

“cutesy” trappings of the scrapbook. She aligns her blog with the journal, which has a much less negative generic image. Interestingly, her blog is perhaps closer in technique to a scrapbook than a journal, relying as it does on digital cutting and pasting of material, the combination of word and image, the appropriation of materials, and the collage-like nature of the narrative being told.

So why are blogs desirable and scrapbooks “evil?” I suggest that it is largely because of the negative gendered assessments of scrapbooking that we inherited from the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the dominant stereotype and the negative criticism of scrapbooks appear to be directed at only one type of scrapbook, the autobiography of family.76 If we take such reductive depictions of scrapbooking at face value, we lose sight of the diversity and importance of modern scrapbooking practices. Just as dominant stereotypes of nineteenth-century scrapbooks as frivolous, disorganized trifles obscures the inventional practices clubwomen employed, so too do reductive perceptions of contemporary scrapbooks obscure the continued use of scrapbooks for educational and inventional purposes.

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76 Perhaps proving how pervasive these stereotypes are, the popular parody newspaper, The Onion, recently ran a story called “Local Woman’s Life Looks Bearable in Scrapbook.” The article plays on all the different stereotypes. The photograph of the woman presented with the article is of a middle-aged, and apparently middle-class white woman perusing her album. The Onion describes her scrapbook as “a neatly organized digest of Hemmer’s 35 years as a wife and mother [that] contains photos and keepsakes that project an image of a functional family bound by unconditional love and total fulfillment. By layering carefully chosen photos with brightly colored paper, elaborately patterned borders, and whimsical stickers, Hemmer has successfully concealed a lifetime of anguish, scorn, and contempt.” The article humorously juxtaposes the items in the scrapbooks, graduation pictures, family photos, and vacation memorabilia, with the reality of the woman’s life, family quarrels over abortion, gambling debts, “homosexual dalliances,” divorce, and death. The article plays on the audiences’ submerged knowledge about scrapbooks. Scrapbooks lie; they force even the grimmest of family stories into the perfect image of “The American Family.” Scrapbooks are made by silly middle-aged white mothers with too much time on their hands. Scrapbooks are too “cutesy;” they are overdone with borders, glitter, stickers, and fluffy sentimentality.
Modern Scrapbooks and Self-Education:

Similar to turn-of-the-century practices, scrapbooks still do function as tools of self-education. Given that the contemporary stereotype of scrapbooking is so negative, it is unlikely that these practitioners would identify themselves as scrapbookers. Scrapbooks as educational tools appear to be used several different ways. Similar to the nineteenth century, people today do still keep scrapbooks related to their professional careers. Often, these books are autobiographical (an accounting of one’s development over time) that breaks the boundaries of the stereotypical family autobiography scrapbook. For example, Angela Booth, on her blog about freelance writing, suggests that writers should scrapbook their writing career by saving copies of articles, notes about circumstances of publication, and even rejection slips from publishers. A couple of commenters responded to Booth’s post and described their own career scrapbook projects. For example, Angie Peterson describes her “Journey to Becoming a Published Author” scrapbook, in which she saves copies of e-mails she has written to and received from publishers, notes about her book ideas, and information about people who helped her along the way. Furthermore, a number of people, especially in creative fields like writing, art, or design, mention starting scrapbooks, or scrap-type albums, into which they paste information for current projects, such as design ideas, images or sketches. For example, the Event Fashion blog, written by a blogger interested in fashion and design, has an entire page called “The Inspiration Scrapbook.” The blogger describes using scrapbooks both online and on paper to keep track of inspiring ideas:

I am inspired by my neighborhood, the East Village, and just walking the streets in New York City. I notice that not just shop windows but the people themselves are walking canvases. I have a real scrapbook in my room where I clip pictures
from fashion magazines... Here [in the online scrapbook] I will just keep adding pretty pictures I find that inspire me. Maybe they will inspire you too and I think everybody should keep a scrapbook online or for real (or both)...Maybe even one day [it could] be the foundation for inspiring your own fashion line.

These types of albums act, as many nineteenth century sources said they might, as sources for invention. Writers or designers can turn to their design scrapbooks for ideas and inspiration, track their progress over time, and keep track of works in progress.

Scrapbooks are also used in formal educational settings both at the secondary and collegiate levels. Typical activities include having students study historical scrapbooks, compiled by various literary or historical figures or scrapbooks prepared about important historical events or periods. Teachers at different educational levels also ask students to compose scrapbooks, often as a “write to learn” activity. Scrapbooks are composed to help students gain a deeply contextualized knowledge of course content, while also developing textual, visual, and technological literacies.

*Scrapbooks and Writing to Learn:*

Perhaps the most interesting use of scrapbooks for educational purposes is the “write to learn” scrapbook. Writing to learn is drawn from writing across the curriculum theory, which was developed to help instructors in all disciplines harness the critical thinking power of composing. Researchers and scholars had argued that writing was more than a simple display of thinking or knowledge. As Janet Emig argued in her famous 1977 essay “Writing as a Mode of Thinking,” writing is itself a powerful mode of thinking that is operates differently from other modes of communication (such as speaking). Citing Vygotsky and others, Emig argued that certain processes, such as
analysis and synthesis, are harnessed best in writing; therefore teachers could use writing to help students engage with, analyze and synthesize course materials resulting in deeper and more contextualized learning.\footnote{Writing Across the Curriculum is an educational movement begun in the mid 1970s to respond to a perceived deficiency in students’ literacy skills. Believing, as Emig does, that writing is a far more complex process than learning correct punctuation and grammar, WAC advocates argue that writing and writing instruction should be part of every academic discipline. WAC practice typically addresses two areas of learning, learning to write (also called writing in the disciplines), which focuses on teaching students writing conventions particular to different disciplines and discourses, and writing to learn, which involves harnessing the power of writing to help students better learn and think about course content. Over the last twenty-five years, WAC programs in colleges and universities have continued to grow, and there is a wealth of scholarship on WAC theory and practice. For more information on WAC and its history, see Charles Bazerman et. al., \textit{Reference Guide to Writing Across the Curriculum}, and David Russell, \textit{Writing in the Academic Disciplines: A Curricular History}}

As John Bean argues in \textit{Engaging Ideas} (1996), "writing as thinking" better models how successful writers work – they learn, discover, and revise as they write (43). Thus, writing to learn activities help students recognize that writing is a process of discovery and intellectual development, not simply a way to communicate one’s thinking to others. Writing as thinking also better models for students the process of knowledge making that is valued in academic writing, dialogue, problem solving, analysis and argument, rather than simply displaying information and correct answers. Write-to-learn activities motivate students to stay engaged with course materials and encourage students to actively learn course content rather than passively receive it.

While early WAC theory had largely concentrated on the written word, recent developments in literacy studies, composition, and digital media fields have also led WAC researchers to articulate a wider definition of writing. As Joan Mullins argued in a 2005 special issue of \textit{Across the Disciplines}, “Today, "writing" has come to represent for us the more realistic variety of communications across the curriculum: the oral, spatial, electronic—the visual and multimodal (1). Recognizing that communication in the
modern world in increasingly image saturated, researchers argue that visual, technological, and multimodal literacy education is critical for students’ success after college. Students need to be able to think critically about visual culture, but also have the visual composing skills to actively participate in it.

In “Critical Visual Literacy: Multimodal Communication Across the Curriculum,” Barb Blakely Duffelmeyer and Anthony Ellertson describe the benefits of multimodal composition:

multimodal composing reinforces and further develops at least three essential characteristics of a critically literate person, thus helping to lift what W.J.T. Mitchell (2002) so aptly called the "ideological veil": 1) understanding that a text is not a transparent window on reality, but is constructed; 2) developing and demonstrating rhetorical awareness both as a composer of text and as a reader of text; and 3) developing agency as a communicator and as a reader, rather than opting for the passivity that our popular media environment makes so easy.

Having students analyze and compose scrapbooks helps achieve these goals. Making a scrapbook can help students more aware of the rhetorical nature of texts; by selecting, cutting, pasting, and arranging materials, students literally see the process of construction in ways that might be less obvious in a purely verbal text. More importantly, when students make scrapbooks, they take an active role in the construction of their own knowledge; rather than being passive consumers of the ”popular media environment” and, I would add, the educational content we want students to learn, students learn how take an active role in visual communication and in their own education.

Thus, teachers have begun to articulate how scrapbooks might be used as a write to learn activity in various disciplines. On NCTE’s Read.Write.Think website Judy Annan provides a rationale and lesson plan for a digital literary scrapbook project suitable for high school students. Citing research about multiple intelligences and
technical literacy, Annan’s project is designed to teach students a variety of important skills including reading literature critically, developing one’s own interpretation of a text, finding, evaluating, and choosing secondary sources and citing sources properly. Annan provides an example of a literary scrapbook on Mark Twain that includes historical photographs of Twain and the era in which he lived, quotes from Twain’s works, and snippets of publications and advertisements from the nineteenth century. While short, the scrapbook places Twain within a historical context that helps to explain the connection between his works and the time in which he lived. A scrapbook project like this helps students to develop skills they need, while also gaining a deeper and more nuanced interpretation of literary works and the contexts in which they were written. Students learn valuable skills like conducting research, working with historical primary material, and interpreting literary works in relation to those materials.

Lauren Kane describes a similar literature scrapbook project she uses to help her fourth graders at the Columbus School for Girls grasp the “characters and their motivation” in Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*. Kane discovered that the students followed the plot fine but had trouble understanding why the characters in the play chose certain actions. Kane describes searching through her binders for an activity that would help her students: “I came upon an old “character book” that I made for a play that I was part of in college. The book was a scrapbook for the life of my character, filled with photos and mementoes the character would have kept.” Asking her students to make a character scrapbook, Kane discovered that “by the end of the exercise, we had a class teeming with Ophelias, Hamlets, and Horatios who presented their scrapbooks with pride. Not only did they learn about the character they had selected, they discovered every role though
each other’s eyes.” It is remarkable enough that fourth grade students are reading Shakespeare, but what is more remarkable is the way that making and sharing scrapbooks helped students to see how different readers interpret literary works. Students also practiced explaining their choices and their interpretations of their chosen character by “capping off their scrapbook with a two-paragraph explanation of why they believed their character would possess these items.”

While educational materials on scrapbooking are often target younger students, evidence also suggests that scrapbooking is becoming a part of the college and university landscape, as well as other adult education sites. On the Edwired blog, Mills Kelly describes a final scrapbook project he assigned to students in his western civilizations course at George Mason University. Similar to Duffelmeyer and Ellerston’s argument that multimodal composition allows students to become aware of and take charge of their own literacy practices, Kelly says his interest was in “the ways various media (not just digital) can be used to allow students to exercise more control over the work product they turn in for assessment.” Mills also notes that he is harnessing genres students are already familiar with in their everyday lives: “I’m assuming that most students have seen something called a scrapbook and so have some idea of what one may look like and feel like. I’m hoping this will mean the assignment will be a bit easier for them.” Kelly reported on the success of his experiment six months later:

As a teaching and learning tool, my approach worked very well. As a group my students produced much better work and, based on my end of semester survey,

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78 The fact that scrapbooking appears to be more common in k-12 education probably has a lot to do with perceptions about scrapbooking that we inherited from the nineteenth century. As I argued in Chapter One, scrapbooks were commonly advocated as educational tools for children, and scrapbooking appears to be part of the background of childhood throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.
they enjoyed the scrapbook approach more than others they had experienced in prior history classes. A number of them talked about how the format of the scrapbook really helped them to tie together everything they’d learned during the semester—a result that pleased me very much.

However, Kelly says that he is not planning on using the assignment again because of logistical problems (carrying twenty-three bulky scrapbooks across campus, more intensive grading) that make scrapbooking unfeasible for classes with fifty or more students. Interestingly, his comment reveals more about teaching conditions than it does about the pedagogical approach, which he acknowledged was more successful than traditional end-of-term projects.

In a similar way, Jane Greer uses a scrapbooking assignment in her “American Literature after 1865” course at the University of Missouri – Kansas City (2003). Greer describes for her students the practice of scrapbooking during the time period that they study in class, connecting the study of historical literature with reading and writing practices of the era and of today. She asks her students to compile a scrapbook that represents their version of “American literature just as the editors of the Norton Anthology [of Literature] have done” (1). Greer helps students see the constructed nature of texts, especially those that students tend to regard as the universal voice of Truth, such as textbooks like the Norton Anthology. Greer gives her students license to take control over their own learning by creating and owning their own version of American Literature. In the assignment prompt, she encourages students to focus their scrapbooks around themes or subjects that relates to their own lives and learning, explaining:

In the past, students have done excellent work when they have connected their study of literature to their own lives and interests. For example, a student majoring in psychology focused on questions of mental health and depictions of insanity in many of the works she studied in English 321. In her scrapbook, she
paired excerpts from texts and materials about specific authors (Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Ernest Hemingway, Sylvia Plath, Toni Morrison, etc.) with materials about the history of psychology since 1865, pioneers in the field, and changing attitudes toward mental illness (1).

Not only does Greer’s assignment license students to interpret course materials in light of their own interests, she also creates a space where students can integrate their knowledge from different disciplines. The project Greer describes illustrates how students can use scrapbooks to see how various courses or disciplines are not discrete entities but are continually in dialogue with one another.

Increased access to technology has also encouraged college professors to consider digital scrapping as viable course assignments. On “Blogging Pedagogy,” part of the online site for Computer Writing and Research Lab at the University of Texas at Austin, A poster identified as Russell describes a Firefox extension called ScrapBook and considers its pedagogical applications. ScrapBook is an add-on feature to Mozilla’s Firefox web browser that allows people to compile a collection of web pages or “snippets” of web pages, collect and arrange them within a folder, and comment on and highlight the pages, thus creating a kind of digital scrapbook of the web. 79 If asking students to do rhetorical analysis of web documents, Russell says, “You could have students download [materials] into ScrapBook, and then comment on it directly on its rhetorical appeals. When they hand in a rough draft of their analysis, have them hand in the ScrapBook page too.” Russell imagines using ScrapBooks as an invention tool to help students develop materials for a more formal writing assignment. Russell also points out how such a practice would discourage plagiarism as well since the instructor

79For more information see https://addons.mozilla.org/en-US/firefox/addon/427
would have a window into the thinking process that led to the final rhetorical analysis essay. I would also add that such a tool might also be valuable in assessing how individual students learn and make sense of course materials and texts. By looking at the visual representation of their analysis and interpretation, teachers would have the opportunity to observe what students notice, what they focused on, and how.

Educators and researchers have also begun to take notice of and use forms that are generically similar to the scrapbook. One example is the Altered Book, which is described by the International Altered Book Artists Society as “any book, old or new that has been recycled by creative means into a work of art. They can be ... rebound, painted, cut, burned, folded, added to, collaged in, gold-leafed, rubber stamped, drilled or otherwise adorned ...and yes! it is legal!” In fact, the way the altered book is described here is almost exactly what we would call a scrapbook, the only major difference being that altered book artists use printed books rather than blank volumes. It is important to point out though that scrapbookers in the nineteenth century advocated recycling books into scrapbooks in precisely this way.\footnote{Such economical practices were commonly advocated in nineteenth-century articles on scrapbooking. The anonymous author of “Scrap-Books and Scrap-Screens” recommended in 1875 that compilers use “an old copy-book, or a couple of newspapers folded, stitched together, cut even at the edges, and pasted over with brown paper outside” (3). S.E.D writes in a letter to the *Ladies Home Journal* in 1891 that she “happened to own two or three bound volumes of Agricultural Reports and finding these leaves just wide enough for two columns of newspaper scraps, [she] utilized one” (27). Harriet Tyalor Upton’s scrapbook, described in Chapter Two, was also a recycled book. She pasted her articles into a book about the swine flu.} It is largely because the commercial image of scrapbooking relies heavily on the sale of products like blank volumes that we may be unaware of the “recycled” scrapbook.

A number of teachers mention using altered books on educational websites. As we would expect, altered books are great projects for art classes, but they also are used in
literature or other content courses. One particularly interesting example appeared in a news story in 2004 on the Altered Book Artists news forum, in which an altered book artist, Corinne Stubson describes visiting an adult ESL course, where students created altered books as their final project. The scrapbooks, many of which are pictured on the site, appear to be an amalgam of the students’ home cultures and languages and their newly adopted language and country. As an altered book artist, Stubson does not necessarily comment on the educational pedagogies at work in this ESL course. However, it would seem that making a scrapbook or an altered book would allow students who are struggling to master not only a new language but also new cultures and customs to select from a variety of literate skills, thus highlighting their masteries rather than their deficiencies. Stubson does, however, mention the amount of “exuberance and pride” students exhibited when displaying their projects to others, which is in stark contrast to what is probably the more typical scenario: ESL speakers may be ashamed to speak/write in front of native speakers because they are afraid to be judged by their “broken” English.

Digital scrapbooking has also encouraged various public educational institutions, such as historical archives, to provide patrons access to digital versions of primary sources. Using a web utility, users can create a scrapbook of artifacts chosen to illustrate particular interests or themes. One example is the Ohio Memory Online Scrapbook project, created in 2000 and maintained by the Ohio Society. More than three hundred and thirty libraries and historical archives have scanned historical artifacts and placed them online for viewing. The collection consists of more than twenty-six thousand images that users can browse by subject, author, date, type or place. Using the “My
Scrapbook” feature, users can select artifacts from the collection, add them to their scrapbooks, add annotations and comments, and share with other users. The site frequently features scrapbooks made by users and those made by famous Ohioans, such as Jack Hanna or Ohio First Lady, Hope Taft. Users choose materials and append annotations based on their own interests and observations, thus creating a customized version of Ohio history. Users have made a variety of themed books, ranging from women’s suffrage and the civil rights movement, to local disasters, sports, and entertainment. An interesting facet of the online scrapbook is that allows users to simulate the work of the archival historian; users select a frame of interpretation, select relevant materials, and explain the significance and relevance of selected artifacts to others.

If one chooses to search beyond the dominant commercial image of modern scrapbooking, one finds that scrapbooks do still tend to have functions other than the purely autobiographical. Bloggers mention writer’s scrapbooks, similar to those described by scrapbooking proponents at the turn of the century. Educators, from a variety of disciplines, use scrapbooks as pedagogical tools. What is perhaps most interesting with regards to educational uses is the extent to which such pedagogical practices appear to be common yet still only appear in informal spaces, such as blogs, forums, and conversations between instructors rather than in scholarship in peer-reviewed journals. By contrast, other “multimodal” forms of communication (blogs, websites, flash movies, wikis) appear regularly in peer-reviewed journals. I suggest that the gendered stigma attached to scrapbooking partially accounts for this absence.
As well, a comparison between the dominant stereotype of scrapbooking (the autobiography of family) and the educational scrapbook reveals more gendered distinctions. When the goal of the scrapbook is to record a “personal” history, the scrapbook more likely to be criticized, and more likely to be configured as feminine, than when the goal is educational. While educational scrapbooks do not receive a great deal of attention today, the attention they do receive is fairly positive. Educators who use scrapbooks represent them as viable and effective vehicles for learning, writing, and understanding complex material. By contrast, women’s accounts of their family history still tend not to count as “real” historical knowledge; constructed as narcissistic, anti-feminist, and untruthful, autobiographical scrapbooks typically are not understood as everyday historical writing, just as clubwomen’s scrapbooks were not recognized in their own time as viable historical writing.

A Rhetoric of Scrapbooks

Studying a rhetoric of scrapbooks reminds us that the medium is really not the message. Scrapbooks will reflect the stories, values and goals of the narrator, as does any journal, photo album, or life history. Set within particular contexts, scrapbooks can be products of oppression or instruments of liberation or both at the same time. However, from a rhetorical point of view, this is true of any text. Even scrapbooks that conform to the stereotypical image are still rhetorical, although it is clear that the dominant image is not a complete description of scrapbooking practices of yesterday or today. Women in clubs and organizations at the turn-of the century understood the rhetorical nature of scrapbooks; they acknowledged, sometimes explicitly, that scrapbooks functioned
simultaneously to convey messages to future audiences and that they acted as an informal site of rhetorical education. Similar to the nineteenth century, actual scrapbook makers today have similar understandings, even despite a culture that devalues their work. Even though there has been little study of scrapbooking as a rhetorical activity, scrapbookers have done much to create a rhetoric of scrapbooks. Despite pronouncements that scrapbookers are far too obsessive about cutesy craft, many scrapbookers have thoughtfully considered the ways that selecting, framing, arranging, and composing contribute to messages they want to convey through their albums.

One example appears in Scrap-City: Scrapbooking for Urban Divas (2006), a book that displays the work of scrapbook artists along with artistic statements explaining why certain themes were chosen, how layouts were made technically and stylistically, and how intended messages are conveyed through the placement of items. Tonya Doughty’s explanation of her layout titled “This is You at 13” explicitly links the message she wants to convey and the selection and arrangement of materials. Doughty explains that her goal was to “document her daughter’s look as she was transitioning out of childhood.” Her layout consists of a picture of her daughter composed from several different images, accompanied by handwritten text, layered on a beautiful blue background paper. Doughty explains how her message is conveyed through placement: “3 separate photos [are] layered to form one photo unit help to show the disjointed feeling that one often goes through in puberty” (15). Doughty’s message about the “disjointedness” of puberty is heightened by the textual descriptions she adds to the page such as “surf shirt, but you don’t surf” and “these jeans are brand new, [but] they came ripped (14). Doughty is fully aware of the connection between the story she tells about
her daughter and the visual and textual choices she makes to tell that story. Such
descriptions of rhetorical aim and method are common in most scrapbooking
publications.

Another example of the display of rhetorical knowledge in scrapbooking
publications is revealed when scrapbookers comment on or respond to dominant
arguments about scrapbooks or women. Quite a few scrapbookers actively resist the
dominant image of scrapbooking, eschewing the traditional American family images in
favor of what they feel are more representative stories of their lives and values. Despite
reductive perceptions of the scrapbooking world, such “counter” narratives do frequently
appear in published books on scrapbooking. Responding to consumers’ desires for a
more diverse materials and subjects, large commercial scrapbooking companies have
begun to produce a wider range of supplies and publications. *Scrap-City* provides one
example of the trend to appeal to women who “are turned off by scrapbooking’s good girl
reputation” (9). Filled with layouts that address unconventional subjects such as tattoos
and punk-rock lifestyles, *Scrap-City* implicitly acknowledges the rhetorical construction
of life narratives. Another example is Memory Makers’ *Imperfect Lives: Scrapbooking
for Your Everyday* (2006), which includes layouts on adolescent acne, narratives about
parents serving jail time, or pictures and stories about major surgeries. Many of the
contributors play with or respond to the “good mommy” image that is perceived to be the
dominant narrative in scrapbooks. The volume contains a number of reflections on
Motherhood including layouts titled, “Confessions of a Slacker Mom,” “The Single
Mother’s Many Hats,” or “Mommy Gets Cranky” (Governo 55, 61, 63). Such layouts
question the perceived “good mother” image conveyed in other scrapbooking materials
(and in our culture more generally) by suggesting the normalcy of single mothers, cranky moms, or moms who “slack.” Furthermore, these materials also question the dominant perception of scrapbooking as the sanitized positive depiction of family life. By scrapping about bad days, tasks left undone, or the challenges of single motherhood, these women choose to make different arguments about the reality of women’s lives.

Modern scrapbooking practices also rely on some very traditional rhetorical strategies, for example, the principle of observation and imitation. Scrapbook store owner, Debbie Winnovich, describes the practice of “scraplifting”: “Beginners can copy other people’s layout and make exactly the same page. As you do more and more, you say, ‘This is cute but I will do it differently.’ That’s how you learn” (qtd. in Che 2). Scrapbooking magazines are entirely designed to be instructive through observation and imitation. Magazines display sample layouts that show women what is possible with different types of themes or materials, but also encourage women to experiment and put their own unique spin on the samples provided. For example, the “Make it Yours” segment of the May/June 2007 issue of Scrapbooks Etc. shows how various scrapbook designers “lift” ideas from sample scrapbook pages but alter those ideas to fit their own visions. For each example, the designer explains what they liked about the original page, how they used those ideas in their own layout, and what alterations were made to fit their own photos and theme. The goal is to provide readers of the magazine a visual and textual illustration of how to “adapt any design [and] create pages based on what inspires” them (62). Readers are given an education in visual and textual rhetoric, how to choose a theme, how to select, frame, and arrange materials, and how to make a cohesive and visually pleasing whole. Even more importantly, such materials are designed to aid
in invention. Just as nineteenth-century scrapbooks provided clubwomen direction as they composed other texts, scrapbooking manuals provide contemporary compilers direction as they compose their scrapbooks. The extensive network of scrapbooking stores, classes, conventions, clubs and forums serve this same purpose. Scrapbookers can meet in physical or digital spaces to display their work and to learn from the work of others. Such forums have become an informal site of rhetorical education for many women, a place where knowledge about how meaning is created through the use of image and text is developed and exchanged with others. Just as nineteenth and early twentieth century clubwomen’s scrapbooks are fruitful sites for exploring rhetorical education in extracurricular spaces, today’s scrapbooking clubs, forums, and “crops” would be a fruitful site for further exploration of rhetorical education in extracurricular sites in the twenty-first century.

The importance of scrapbooking as a cultural practice is perhaps best illustrated by its staying power – scrapbooking has remained a popular and viable rhetorical form for nearly two hundred years, surviving both harsh criticism and indifference. In the preface to *Reclaiming Rhetorica*, Andrea Lunsford argues that “the realm of rhetoric has been almost exclusively male not because women were not practicing rhetoric—the arts of language are after all at the source of human communication—but because the tradition has never recognized the forms, strategies, and goals used by many women as ‘rhetorical’” (6). For the scrapbookers of yesterday and today, many of whom are women, scrapbooks clearly are rhetorical. I suggest that we take their observations seriously if we are to come to a fuller understanding of rhetoric and rhetorical education in the past and the present.
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