UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO

Cutting and Pasting: The Rhetorical Promise of Scrapbooking as Feminist Inventiveness and Agency from the Margins

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy

in

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by

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The dissertation of Catherine Hayter is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically.

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DEDICATION

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"Introduction to Mentoria: or, The Young Lady's Friend, by Susanna Rowson: Epistolary and Commerce in Early America," Term Paper Submitted to Professor Nicole Tonkovich, University of California, San Diego: 2010.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Cutting and Pasting: The Rhetorical Promise of Scrapbooking as Feminist Inventiveness and Agency from the Margins

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Literature

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In this dissertation, I analyze an early twentieth century scrapbook called *The Ideal Scrap Book* to show how scrapbooking might help makers negotiate text that is overwhelming, exclusive, or oppressive, and offer scrapbooking as a form of juxtaposing that can foster a feminist method of disrupting and remaking dominant narratives and a practice which can lead to more formal discourse production that enacts needed social change. I organize the dissertation into three chapters: "Chapter 1: Cutting and Pasting: The Rhetorical Promise of Scrapbooking as Feminist Inventiveness and Agency from the Margins," "Chapter 2: Mixed Race Struggle and Influence in the Late-Nineteenth/Early Twentieth Centuries: The Non-Discursive Rhetoric of Scrapbooking as Inventive and Empowering," and "Chapter 3: Scrapbooking as Material Agency: The Promise of Juxtaposition as Meaningful Invention in the Community College Composition Classroom." *The Ideal Scrap Book* is an assembling of clippings from newspapers

circulating circa 1905. Because it was likely made by an African American woman in a period marked by tense and heated debate about the role of African Americans in the United States, I analyze it as discourse from the margins, applying its rhetorical and inventive efficacy to students struggling in community college composition courses and academic discourse more generally. Scrapbooking offers makers meaning-making that is embodied, engaging a full range of sensory, emotional, and cognitive processing that may generate more civically-oriented rhetorical work later. Multimodal genres that emphasize crafting and juxtaposition, such as scrapbooking, not conventionally employed in the inventive stages of writing and reading in first-year composition courses, might empower students to explore and forge relationships between seemingly disparate texts and position themselves more meaningfully in relation to them, the world, and other people, spurring a better understanding of positionality within various systems of oppression, while also fostering a will-to-create and fuller sense of agency.

Chapter 1: Cutting and Pasting: The Rhetorical Promise of Scrapbooking as Feminist Inventiveness from the Margins

Situatedness: My Mother's Scrapbook

While sifting through the books in my childhood room, trying to clear out space for my parents, I came across a scrapbook assembled by my mother. I opened the book and found myself drawn into the world of my early childhood as conveyed by my mother through her choice of materials and thoughtful and sometimes rushed annotations. I was touched by her cherishing of the drawings, the little poems I had written as assignments for school, the doctors' reports of my health and growth. While the book comprises mostly materials I made, my mother did write notes in the margins or corners of pages, indicating why she had included a picture here or a story there, what I did one day to make her laugh, how proud she was of me. My mother is a literate woman. I mean this in the sense that she generally performed literacy in the ways expected by those who have defined literacy. She writes well. She can understand and follow directions. She can "be professional" at work. She can also whip up a mean antipasto and a crowd-pleasing baked ziti. As a young Italian-American woman in Brooklyn, NY in the sixties who grew up in a 1-bedroom apartment with her five sisters and single-parent father, she gave up an academic scholarship to college in favor of a steady government job. As she describes it, she was the envy of many of her friends who were making less in similar jobs in the private sphere. However, while she has worked in spheres of power and complex discourse, she was not often recognized as being in control of or having influence within that discourse. She was a secretary and, eventually, a mother and wife. She was provided enough education to work within the dominant discourse but because of her gender and economic exigencies, denied the education or authority necessary to having power to directly shape that discourse. I have come to see her

scrapbook, and her many other collections of scribbling, clippings, notes, appointments, coupons, photographs, as a product of her place in a sort of middle space, a space that facilitates literacy but limits the promises of that literacy, necessitating space for alternate sites of meaning-making that demonstrate and allow for a deeper sense of agency. Her assembling of the scrapbook has rhetorical import: the book now creates a familial discourse that portrays our family as attentive and loving, and spurs in me an identity that relies on notions that I am creative and valued. When I give this scrapbook to my daughter, I hope she and her children will foster similar relationships, even as I realize that my childhood family's dynamic and my relationship with my mother was more complex than conveyed. As Robert Connors argues in his article, "Dreams and Play: Historical Method and Methodology," "perceptions of the present [are] central data because they stimulate questioning, excitement, and curiosity, without which history of any sort is a dead compiling of facts without affect" (16). Certainly, my own connection to scrapbooking, as fostered by my mother and her practice of scrapbooking, has spurred in my heart and mind a commitment to honoring other women who have engaged in similar practices by analyzing them as rhetorical and important and sharing them with others.

I situate myself here as someone personally invested in the rhetorical potentials of scrapbooking as a potential product of acquired literacy but with limited influence over dominant discourse, providing an alternate site for expressions of agency and will. As Patricia Bizzell suggests in her article "Feminist Research Methods in the History of Rhetoric: What Difference Do They Make?," the importance of considering emotion and emotional attachment of the researcher to the people with whom she or he is engaging is critical. Drawing on Jaqueline Jones Royster, she argues that "[i]t follows from this acknowledgment of personal connection in Royster's theory that the scholar will care for the subjects being researched" (13). Because I

associate this practice with my own familial narrative of literacy and related accomplishments and struggles, I feel connected to women and others who engage in scrapbooking as a means to assert agency when the circulation of print and electronic textual materials is overwhelming or dominated by a system that largely privileges a patriarchal or otherwise oppressive framework. I am not implying that my or my family's experience with literacy and rhetorical practices are the same as those of the women with whom I engage in this project; we have important racial, cultural, and economic differences: "A conscientious historian must keep in mind [...] her own prejudices" as they relate to the "affinities" and "positions" through which we inevitably see (Connors 21); but, I am invested here personally. Scrapbooking is a practice that enabled and exhibited the rhetorical agency of my mother, which has in turn inspired my academic work; and, scrapbooking spans generations of women, revealing intersectionalities and overlapping material realities in the plight of women and others marginalized similarly.

Even so, I have considered whether Jessie Parkhurst Guzman, an African American woman, scholar, and activist at Tuskegee University who bequeathed *The Ideal Scrap Book* to the Tuskegee University archives, would support my project focusing on it. (She did not author *The Ideal Scrap Book*; however, it was at some point left in her care.) Guzman is "an example of black women in the United States who were pioneer researchers and writers of history and culture" ("Notable Black Women" 266). According to the entry on her in *Notable Black American Women, Book II*, written while she was still alive, Guzman earned degrees from Howard University (1919), Columbia University (1929), and then also studied at the University of Chicago and the American University. She served at The Tuskegee Institute from 1923-1929 and again from 1930-38 as a research assistant and teacher of sociology. She was the Dean of Women from 1938-44 and the Director of Research and Records from 1944-1965, when she

retired. The Department of Research and Records became "the medium through which [founder Monroe Nathan Work] and the institute could influence black life and race relations." She writes in her article "The Social Contributions of the Negro Woman Since 1940," that the "larger group of unsung women who are carrying their share of the weight of the world's work, whose accomplishments as individuals will never be known, should not be forgotten" (94). Clearly, Guzman valued people who were not ordinarily celebrated publicly, hoping they might someday be commemorated. Since Guzman chose to institutionalize *The Ideal Scrap Book* by donating it to the university, performing an act of remembering and preserving, I feel I have responded to a tacit invitation. In addition, as evidenced through her civic-minded scholarship and community activism, she valued networking and mentorship and sought meaningful relationships with other women in order to spur support of women's efforts and necessary social change; Royster describes this imperative as the tendency for African American women to "have internalized a keen sense of social responsibility" (*Traces*, Royster 107). Even with her support, however, because of my position as a white researcher and because the maker of *The Ideal Scrap Book* is deceased and anonymous, I move forward tentatively and attentively, and with care.

A Methodology: Textual Analysis Rooted in Care

I hope to show in my work a methodology of care that values both tentativeness and attentiveness. Tentativeness, to me, is moving through my analysis knowing that it is always provisional; as Royster explains about engaging with work in a differing time period or in regard to people whose lives intersect with yours, but are different: "when we are away from home, we need to know that what we think we see in places that we do not really know very well may not actually be what is there at all" (32). And Robert Connors asserts that historiographic work is

"provisional, partial—fragments we shore against our ruin. We try to make sense of things. It is always a construction. It is always tottering" (21). Cheryl Glenn and Jessica Enoch write, in "Invigorating Historiographic Practices in Rhetoric and Composition Studies that, "[m]ost of the scholars in our field now readily admit the impossibility of getting the story exactly right, let alone recovering an objective truth. Most of us realize that our historiographies will be subjective [...]" (11). Realizing my interpretations of materials are clouded by my own terministic screen and limited set of experiences, I try to be attentive to the issues and ideas valued by the scrapbook-maker, forcing me to acknowledge that any claims I make about scrapbooking in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are tentative, grounded by textual analysis as well as the help of other sources I've researched in relation to the time period and issues conveyed: "To understand and accept any claim internal to a document, it must be compared to claims in other documents" (Connors 27); even contradiction in mainstream, dominant, or other discourse helps clarify tension and any potential talking-back occurring. After gathering evidence, then, Royster and Gesa Kirsch in their book *Feminist Rhetorical Practices: New Horizons for Rhetoric, Composition, and Literacy Studies* suggest that the next step in feminist rhetorical inquiry "is to think between, above, around, and beyond this evidence to speculate methodically about probabilities [...] in historical work [...], this process involves interrogating contexts, conditions, lives, and practices of women who are no longer alive to speak directly on their own behalf," imagining critically "what is likely or possible, given the facts in hand" (71). This process is especially important when analyzing scrapbooks since "[o]ne of the biggest obstacles to using ephemera and scrapbooks as primary source material is that they usually arrive devoid of context, with no attribution, provenance, history, or biographical information" (Ott 19). Eileen Schell in her introduction to *Rhetorica in Motion: Feminist Rhetorical Methods and*

Methodologies asks, "What might constitute a productive attitude and practice toward questioning and being self-critical about one's own methods and methodologies?" and I think moving forward with the intention and purpose of being attentive and tentative is important to a process grounded in feminist critiques of positivist, totalitarian truth-claims.

Attentiveness and tentativeness are the set of attitudes that guided my choice of texts and how I analyze them. I conduct textual analysis of *The Ideal Scrap Book*, taking into account, as best I can, historical, social, and political contexts by reading other texts produced at the time, as well as recent work analyzing the issues presented. I first read *The Ideal Scrap* Book in the archive, flipping pages carefully, taking photos of them so I could refer back to them later, as they had not been digitized: "[s]crapbooks are the bane of archival processes, conservation practices, and of librarians in general, as the books bulge grossly with acidic tape, material objects, and loose pages" (Sheumaker 172). After I created a spiral-bound copy of the scrapbook, I was able to return to the scrapbook to re-read or re-consider my impressions and analysis. After reading, organizing, and reflecting on its pages, I imagined and recorded what I thought were patterns and repeated themes. I used these themes to generate theories about why the scrapbook-maker included those clippings and how the arrangement of the materials produced new, different, contradictory, and critical narratives. I, then, turned to context to try to place the presented clippings and their stories historically, imagining why certain clippings might be meaningful to the maker, who remained anonymous, and might be poignant to Guzman, who sensed *The Ideal Scrap Book* was important enough to institutionalize. I read about the turn of the nineteenth century, about race discourse, local and national literacy initiatives, sites of alternative rhetorical education, the production and circulation of print, Guzman's life, and did my best to situate the narratives of the scrapbook in these various contexts appropriately.

Bernadette Marie Calafell describes this as moving beyond just "looking at a text and its rhetorical properties, but understanding the communities in which these texts are situated as a way to move beyond the false divide between text and context" (117).

My process of textual analysis is similar to the one Kathleen J. Ryan describes in "Making Pathways: Inventing Textual Research Methods in Feminist Rhetorical Studies," published in the collection *Rhetorica in Motion: Feminist Rhetorical Methodologies*, as a feminist methodology of textual analysis. She shows how "[c]ompiling texts, reading and rereading, researching new texts, and note taking became significant strategies for entering this conversation as an observer and listener" (93), and argues that feminist textual research is a process that includes "shaping—a recursive blending of invention and arrangement" (94). Much like the scrapbook-maker of *The Ideal Scrap Book* must have done, and I do here, Ryan, "cut[s] out quotations from [her] notes on recurrent topics [...], and move[s] them around in different piles [...] to help observe different patterns, construct [her] argument, and choose a way to represent [her] understanding of these framing texts to others" (94). She characterizes this method as a form of feminist methodology, explaining that while the method might not seem unique to feminist research that it "emerged from feminist and revisionist readings of classical canons, feminist reading practices, and [her] subjectivity as a feminist rhetorician." Additionally, she explains that these are "tools for reading and interpreting feminist texts, catching the drift of conversations, and becoming an agent in [her] discipline" (94). I move through these steps recursively, not always in this order, moving back and forth and between. I understand that my own readings are limited and that in five years, if I have read more about the time period or grown in other ways, I might change my mind, see something new or different, or relate in other ways to the material: as Ryan argues, "[t]heorizing, then, is an ongoing experiential, contingent,

reform-minded activity of creating new understanding and actions" (96). Further, an understanding of theory as dynamic, "is one that I welcome for its inventive potential [...] [and] privileging of experiential knowledge" (97).

My methodologies vary from Chapter 2 to Chapter 3 because the aims of each chapter are different, as are the contexts and subjects. Chapter 2 adopts the textual/contextual analysis I have described above while Chapter 3 joins together existing scholarship in composition and rhetoric with my analysis about *The Ideal Scrap Book* to show how invention strategies might be invigorated in first-year composition, especially in the community college. Viewing scrapbooking through the lens of research in composition and feminist pedagogies shows how various versions of it might be a critical inventive practice in the community college composition classroom. Both chapters are guided by values articulated by scholars in feminist composition and rhetoric, which often overlap with methodology carved out in composition and rhetoric more generally.

Existing Scholarship on Scrapbooking

I am grateful to others who have completed work on scrapbooking. The two most compelling books on scrapbooking are *The Scrapbook in American Life*, edited by Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, and Patricia Buckler and published in 2006 and *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance*, by Ellen Gruber Garvey and published in 2012. *The Scrapbook in American Life* is a collection of essays by various authors who share the diverse history and practice of keeping scrapbooks in the United States: "this book examines scrapbooks and their makers, the artifacts saved within their covers, their readers, and U.S. culture" and focuses on scrapbooks as examples of material and visual culture with

"enduring appeal" (2). The editors divide the book into two sections: "Manuscripts of Learning and Knowing" and "Books of the Self" and include articles on scrapbooks made from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries by a range of makers, including both whites and African Americans, and doctors, children, mothers, and notable authors, such as Willa Cather and Ernest Hemingway. Each of the authors provides physical descriptions of their scrapbook(s) and analyzes them within the era's social context. The editors focus their introduction on providing a brief history of scrapbooks, tracing their origins to Classical Greek "koinoi topoi," which refer to places in the mind to retain data so that rhetors might "revisit them to retrieve information, comfort, or facts for debate;" scrapbooks functioning similarly to retain information, but on the page instead (5). After printing became possible in the fifteenth century, artists and collectors began to keep art in albums. The commonplace book emerged in the seventeenth century as a place for elites and aspiring elites to gather words for speeches, writing, and conversation and display evidence of their learning. The commonplace book "was both a memory aid and a notebook for personal growth, the progeny of the early Greeks' places in the mind" and soon the practice of "gathering and framing" became prevalent in school curricula. The editors explain that as "printed matter became more accessible, personal commonplace books came to resemble scrapbooks, with clippings and facts tipped in and overlaid on one another" (6-7). Beginning in about the mid-nineteenth century, memory-keeping began to become an industry, with pocket diaries and albums easier to mass produce, and a perceived "memory crisis" was concerning to people, thus: "[m]emory had to be housed outside the mind—elsewhere, in things" (Rohan 370). While *The Scrapbook in American Life* shows the prevalence, breadth, and persistence of scrapbooking by Americans, *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to*

the Harlem Renaissance focuses on a more specific rhetorical function of scrapbooking as a form of storytelling.

Writing with Scissors "illustrates how people used scrapbooks to manage printed matter and tell their own stories with it" (22). I follow Garvey, who claims that scrapbook makers, including African Americans and feminist activists, used scrapbooks to manage the plethora of printed information surrounding them, often articulating resistance to authority and critiquing the press by placing items from varying sources together on the page. She describes how widespread the practice of scrapbooking became by the 1850s: "Men and women from all classes and backgrounds, and with surprisingly diverse educations, did so for professional, domestic, educational, and political use and for many more reasons" (10). Scrapbooks were made by "tens of thousands, and possibly hundreds of thousands" of Americans for different reasons and with different impetuses in nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (10). She explains that many people were invested in shaping their own narratives out of those pre-established in the newspapers and other media circulating at the time. Patricia Buckler, in her review of the book, agrees that it shows the power of makers to use scrapbooks to resist authoritative discourse and effect change: "[b]y amassing and placing related items from diverse sources in single volumes, scrapbook makers articulated resistance to received authority and urged more powerful individuals, such as publishers and politicians, to support [causes related to the Civil War, African American (alternative) history and the crusade against lynching, and women's history and the temperance and suffrage movements]" (856).

I add to this work by sharing *The Ideal Scrap Book* and agreeing that scrapbooking can provide makers with space to share and memorialize important narratives or forge new ones, while also adding to the larger, feminist project of broadening what counts as rhetorical and

demonstrating agency in contexts of varying degrees of oppression and power: in 2009, Carol Mattingly writes that "[w]e have barely begun to explore the broad range of texts that can contribute to a vibrant understanding and appreciation of women's role in rhetoric" (100) — or even rhetoric gendered as feminine. In Chapter 2, I analyze *The Ideal Scrap Book* to show that scrapbooking might help makers negotiate text that is overwhelming, exclusive, or oppressive, and offer it as a potential method of disruption to and remaking of dominant narratives. Scrapbooking is also a form of crafting, offering makers a mode of expression that is embodied, engaging a full range of sensory, emotional, and cognitive processing that encourages discovery and/or the forging of intertextual relationships in ways that allow makers to experience and enact agency.

The Ideal Scrap Book

It was 2011. My husband got into the veterinary school at Auburn University in Alabama and I was offered a teaching position there. So, we moved from San Diego to Auburn, calling it an adventure. I had just qualified and knew I wanted to explore archives, looking for scrapbooks. My own situation limited my work; I had a small child at home with me so couldn't travel far and often had to rely on the good will and flexibility of others to get things done. But even the limitations were productive. The area where we lived in east Alabama housed a number of universities begun out of an economic imperative to improve agricultural industry in the South, namely what are now called Auburn University, Tuskegee University, Alabama State University, and Huntingdon College. I emailed the archival contacts there and found out that scrapbooks existed in the Auburn University and Tuskegee University archives. I visited those archives, both in basements, sometimes with my one-year-old son, Harrison, in tow, who sat next to me playing

with blocks or looking at books. The archivists were generous, kind, and helpful. At Tuskegee University, I and the director of the archives were the only white people there, and I felt uncomfortable and self-conscious about the work I was doing and how others might feel about it. Instead, the African American scholars in the reading room took me out to lunch, expressed that they were grateful for my work, and shared stories about Jessie Parkhurst Guzman, the woman who left the collection of scrapbooks to Tuskegee. They recounted how she walked to work every day and even told me the address of the home where she lived. They acted rhetorically in ways Royster outlines in her book: they were "mother[ing], nurtur[ing], and teach[ing]" and "working in groups" to meet "community needs" (107). Unfortunately, I was not yet a strong archival researcher, and I did not even informally record those stories—which I would make sure to do in any future archival work—and I think of feminist pragmatism here and "the importance of subjectivity, experiential knowledge, and ongoing reflection on experience and action in order to better act in the future" (90). Instead, I focused on the special opportunity given to me to bond with these women who had so much to teach me about Tuskegee, but also about grace and kindness. I remember feeling overwhelmed by being there and experiencing the rush of excitement and nervousness when worldview expands and deepens. When I think of myself there, I think of Royster's description of how ideological perspectives come to be: "effective transformation is possible in the good and loving hands of others who assist in whatever ways the transforming subject needs the help" (*Traces* 278). I arrived at the archives thinking I was helping myself and helping others, but instead quickly came to see myself as dependent on others' desire and willingness to help me learn and grow. In part, I think, this is the reason I feel compelled to work more closely with *The Ideal Scrap Book*, found at Tuskegee, and this experience contributed to my own inventiveness: I was "making a path," "gathering and shaping

material to compose the content of effective discourse" and, eventually, engaging in "a productive, dialogic, re-vision of texts and activities that stresses knowledge construction," according to Cheryl Glenn, Gerda Lerner, and Royster's various and similar definitions of invention (Ryan 92).

At Auburn and Tuskegee, I found five scrapbooks that interested me because they seemed like they all were created by women and because the makers all were located at the margins of higher educational institutions and the important discourses occurring around them in the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries. These scrapbooks were the collections of Eliza "Lidie" and Kate Meade Lane, daughters of James Henry Lane, who was an engineering professor and confederate general during the Civil War at Auburn University, and those left by Jessie P. Guzman, to Tuskegee University, which I will describe in more detail later. These women were at the margins of and implicated by and in the discourses surrounding education in the South, as well as larger questions about the role of the South in the post-Reconstruction era economy, and so were situated in positions of relative access to information and materials that might not be readily available to others. However, their positions as women and, in particular, Guzman's position as an African American woman, still left them at the margins, with their influence limited in relation to wealthy white men in leadership positions.

While a cross-institutional analysis of all of the scrapbooks could be an interesting development of this project, I chose *The Ideal Scrap Book*, left by Jessie P. Guzman, as the focus of my dissertation. *The Ideal Scrap Book* seemed to have the most promise to show how scrapbooking, as a form of invention leading to other kinds of discourse, could be an example of rhetorical prowess and provide space for people to practice skills necessary for civic discourse that prompts positive change. I will briefly describe all five scrapbooks because in the future they

would help comprise a cross-institutional analysis of the differences occurring in meaning-making by women of different races and with differing social and economic exigencies. (Tuskegee is a historically black college and Auburn was founded as an all-white institution.) The descriptions here show that scrapbooking was not an event isolated in certain communities, but was widespread. Makers used them to fulfill their desire to make personal meaning out of received discourse, record history, and forge personal and group identity, which, rhetorically, looked different for different people. These five scrapbooks have been housed in their respective educational institutions because someone identified that they are institutionally important, yet very little to nothing has been done both institutionally and in scholarship to reflect on and speculate about the importance of them to their makers, to the worlds around them at the time they were made, and to our current understanding of the importance of material practices in the past and now. They are even difficult to find at times, as archivists seem uncertain of how to categorize them and where to situate them in relation to other material.

So, now, I share a description of the "materials"—and I include, for now, all of the scrapbooks I found:

Auburn University Scrapbooks:

Scrapbook of Kate Meade Lane (circa 1900-1906):

Kate's scrapbook was once bound in a single book and full of evidence of her life as a southern debutante and daughter of an important confederate general. The scrapbook includes writing produced for what seem like lessons or tutoring and reflect on the importance of literature, reading, and writing. It also includes a meditation on kissing, a love letter from someone, newspaper clippings of her debutante coming-out, and

newspaper clippings of any of her family's involvement with the Confederate army or Civil War. In addition, Kate saved social invitations and tickets for events. Kate was a sister to Lidie, whose scrapbook is described next.

Scrapbook of Lidie Lane (1890): Lidie's scrapbook is still bound and appears to be the former gradebook of a teacher–perhaps her father's, an engineering professor at Auburn (although, she was a schoolteacher herself, so they could have been her old gradebooks, repurposed.) The scrapbook is full of newspaper clippings of news stories, poetry, fables and tales, wise words, and paintings, as well as some Victorian valentines. Lidie's scrapbook is not full of artifacts from everyday living, as was Kate's, but instead includes material reflecting on the roles of women, including mothers, daughters, wives, children, sisters, and more.

Tuskegee University Scrapbooks:

Scrapbook of the Tuskegee University Branch of the American Association of University Women (1972-1973): This book, with a wooden cover and binding, is an assembling of membership rosters, photos, newspaper clippings, event brochures, programs, and flyers, and also commemorates the welcoming of new members, community efforts in educational reform, attempts to bridge people across diverse groups, and advocacy for better practices related to the environment.

Scrapbook of mourning, commemorating death of Jessie Parkhurst Guzman's adoptive father, John P. Wragg (1936): This scrapbook is a collection of letters and cards written

to Wragg when he was sick and later to his wife and adopted daughter, Guzman, when he passed away, commemorating him and expressing condolences. During his lifetime, he established the American Bible Society's Agency Among the Colored People of the South and distributed over 1.7 million bibles to African Americans.

Scrapbook labeled *The Ideal Scrap Book* on the front (circa 1905), part of Guzman's bequeathed collection: *The Ideal Scrap Book* is an assemblage of newspaper clippings circa 1905 about then-current race relations, the accomplishments of African Americans, lynchings, domestic affairs and the court proceedings of prominent white families, mixed race marriages, and the Phillipine-American War. The book is full and ends with a piece of paper from a prescription pad prescribing an herbal remedy for syphilis.

All of these scrapbooks, while each unique, demonstrate the ephemeral and beautiful qualities of having been handmade by a person who was engaged in a process of making sense of their worlds as conveyed or captured in print and invested in preserving memory and building identity in some form. In the next section, I attempt to theorize some of the qualities of scrapbooks from a feminist perspective, focusing on the qualities that make them powerful rhetorical artifacts that document a desire to make meaning and exercise agency, challenging racialized and gendered structures of power.

Scrapbooking as Feminist Material Rhetoric: Embodied, Gendered, Resistant, Agential

Embodied Knowing

Scrapbooking is a situated, rhetorical practice that provides space for makers to disassemble and reposition narratives documented by the press, often revealing submerged

narratives and forging new discourse that works towards increasing complexity and more inclusive representation of those oppressed, excluded, or at the margins. The material and embodied qualities of scrapbooks make them powerful rhetorically because they invite both makers and readers to use impression, intuition, and inference, embracing processes of making and reading that resist quick conclusions or monolithic narrative and encourage sensory and tactile engagement with discourse production and reception. Thus, scrapbooking as a deeply embodied practice is an example of discursive making that can contribute to feminist invention and agency. As Royster implores: "[t]he problem is that in order to construct new histories and theories such stories must be perceived not just as 'simple stories' to delight and entertain, but as vital layers of a transformative process [...] apparent simplicity has the capacity to unmask truths in ways that are remarkably accessible— through metaphor, analogy, parable, and symbol" ("When," Royster 35). Story-telling is an essential function of personal and community identity-building and scrapbooking and scrapbooks are forms of story-telling, long dismissed as a simple, banal kind of expression, but they are also evidence of the ways their makers and readers might be transformed and transform discursive processes that are embodied and material.

Marguerite Helmers in "Object, Memory, and Narrative: New Notes Toward Materialist Rhetoric," published in *Teaching Rhetorica: Theory, Pedagogy, and Practice,* explains that all rhetoric is material: "written expression and oral speech acts are material, deriving from human activity and lived experience. Therefore, rhetoric is material; each speaker (or creator) and each respondent (or audience member) is contextualized by discourses" (16). However, Helmers focuses on how a rhetoric of things can be more oriented towards feminist material rhetoric. Like me, she is:

> curious about how objects participate in human interactions that involve language, image, emotion, and gesture. Each of these rhetorical practices is embedded in

> historical processes. Certain discourses are available to speakers at particular points in history; these discourses are embodied in networks of power that authorize speakers to have voice and disenfranchise others. Similarly, what can be examined or studied at any particular point in history is also the result of a discourse of power. (17)

For example, something as seemingly matter-of-fact as a book, when theorized by feminist materialism as rhetorical, "symbolizes our mobility and the economies of advanced capitalism. It also represents the shift in literate practices away from the privilege of the few to the right of the many" (17). Helmers differentiates between rhetoric that is only material and rhetoric that is both material *and* tangible, able to be touched, held, moved, broken, sometimes even heaved, cut, glued, mushed, moulded, inviting makers and readers to use their bodies and senses when engaging with it.

Embodied Reading

I opened this chapter with a description of myself leafing through the scrapbook compiled by my mother, describing the way I was "touched" metaphorically by her clear love of me, and in part because of her love, her valuing of materials not many other people would care about. There are times, when looking over the book, touching its pages, opening cards, tracing my fingers lightly over the glitter of one of my art projects, peering in more closely when her writing was more rushed and difficult to read, that my heart beat more quickly than usual. I had this same experience leafing through the scrapbooks I found in the university archives. At times, in the archives, I felt as if someone's story, told through many modes, was being conveyed to me in some special language. That, if I paid close enough attention, I could decipher meaning and messages not readily apparent to those who hadn't or wouldn't stop to recognize the value laden in the materials, materials somehow gifted to me in the basement and corners of the archives in

which I unexpectedly found myself. As Helmers describes, redeployment from the home into the archive "allows readers to describe the object's significance" (Helmers 17), empowering the reader while also forging connections across time and generations and between people. I often marveled while handling the pages of *The Ideal Scrap Book* that I and the maker both touched the pages, feeling brought together across space and time by a thing that had been saved and shared.

The tangibility of scrapbooks has been described by many scholars who have engaged with them with language that conveys sensory stimulation and an awareness of touching, feeling, imagining, and connecting. Tucker et al. describe how "[t]he excess of fragments that burst the bindings and bulge the pages make scrapbooks a pleasurable feast for makers and consumers" (1). She describes:

> how the experience of reading a scrapbook is intensely physical and sensual. The pages must be touched to be turned, and the turning creates movement between objects and amasses visual stimulation. Caring for, handling, and playing with scrapbooks activate the same emotions enjoyed in experiencing art. (12-13)

The ephemeral quality of scrapbooks makes engaging with them feel special, fleeting, privileged, potentially causing those engaging with them to think, *Someday, this book won't exist. But I touched it and verified that it once was,* inviting them into the preservation process, and into a mutual process of witness and testimony. Scrapbooks "disintegrate and crumble. The leaves fall out. The enclosures drop off the page" (18). The efficacy of rhetoric is intertwined with bodily reaction and response, and materials not traditionally considered rhetorical might be re-evaluated as rhetorical in part because of the visceral reactions that they can spur in those engaging with them. In her chapter from *Measuring Psychological Responses to Media*, "What Can the Heart Tell Us about Thinking," Annie Lang explains that "[h]eart activity can provide a window into real-time cognitive and emotional change elicited by the media" (110). She further explains that

"[t]he beating of the heart can tell us something about attention, arousal, effort, and emotion. It can tell us details about a person's physiological and cognitive state before that person is aware of them. It can provide a window into the early stages of thinking" (Lang 99). In other words, when someone reacts viscerally to something made, a physical change has manifested in that person, and that change is a product of something that has moved them, which is related to how and what they think. For example, before experiencing the reading of various scrapbooks, I had sensed that they were important, but had not yet understood their rhetorical power. After experiencing the feelings of wonder and awe as I touched pages and mused on meaning, I began to learn how rhetoric that embraces affect has power to move and shape thinking. And, it is through the experience of reading *The Ideal Scrap Book* that I began to understand more fully the tensions and traumas working in early twentieth century discourse by and about African Americans. However, both "[t]he respondent and creator are material beings, bodies," and they both draw "on their personal history and lived experience to make meaning, meeting at the site of the object, and allowing for diachronic readings and new meanings" (Helmers 16).

Embodied Making

While the visceral and bodily responses of readers engaging with scrapbooks is powerful testimony to the rhetorical efficacy of scrapbooking, so is the gesture of making these materials with functions of the hands. Scrapbooks have rhetorical intent and purpose, however ambiguous, and this intent is manifested in the use of makers' hands: "the embodied practices or gestures of cutting, arranging, and pasting materials, and displaying the resulting books to others […] performing archivalness, acts and gestures of preservation, they express the will to save, organize, and transmit knowledge through a homemade archive" (Garvey 20). Scrapbooks

materialize from an embodied desire to document and create history out of that which had already been documented and created, pointing to scrapbooking as a form of invention. Making things with hands is also deeply intertwined with learning and knowing. In his book, *The Hand: How Its Use Shapes the Brain, Language, and Human Culture*, Frank R. Wilson shows how learning is shaped by a continuous dynamic between brain and hand: "The desire to learn is reshaped continuously as brain and hand vitalize one another, and the capacity to learn grows continuously as we fashion our own personal laboratory for making things" (295). He further describes learning as involving "the brain and eye and ear and skin and heart; it is self alone and self-in-community, it is general and specific, large and small" and heralds learning as the result of a "collaborative relationship" between brain and hand (295). The importance of the hand in learning has been explored in early childhood learning—for example, in Vygotsky's treatment of manipulating objects—and is important when considering handmade artifacts. Scrapbooks can be important evidence of makers, especially women or those oppressed by racial, economic, or social hierarchy, reacting physically, intuitively, emotionally, and cognitively with felt sense, responding to the world around them as conveyed through print as they were allowed or encouraged over time.

Gendered

While I cannot be sure that *The Ideal Scrap Book* was made by a woman, I do know it was created by someone invested in the narratives of rape, marriage, and abuse, all issues important to women over time and, often, gendered as female. In addition, scrapbooking as a genre has become increasingly gendered, along with other kinds of material practices. Tucker, Ott and Buckler explain in their introduction to *The Scrapbook in American Life* that,

> much album making fell to the female gender. From the early nineteenth century to the present, girls and women were seen as the most frequent compilers [...] in general, scrapbook and album making was considered a female activity, linked to traditional female concerns of holding families together and preserving nostalgic items.

Some men did make scrapbooks, but largely they documented their professional achievements instead (Tucker et al. 9). Scrapbooking is part of a larger tradition of feminist material rhetorical practices like quilting and diary-writing, practices that demonstrate the memory-making taking place in nineteenth century domestic spheres. In "The Nineteenth-Century Diarist and Her Quilts," Elaine Hedges explains, that, "[m]aking scrapbooks—a salvage art not unlike making quilts—was typical of many nineteenth-century women" (293); she describes how "quilts became a vehicle through which women could express themselves; utilitarian objects elevated through enterprise, imagination and love to the status of an original art form" (295). Ken Autrey explains that "diaries are a marginal genre," and the "feminist implications of this marginalization" help frame inquiry as to why: "While the majority of published journals are those of men, women have historically been more inclined to keep journals than men, perhaps because other avenues of expression have until recently been closed to them" (83). These "salvage arts" were often relegated to domestic spheres, long-overlooked as sites of rhetorical discourse and discourse-making. As Maureen Daly Goggin and many other feminist scholars working to recover and value the rhetorical discourses of women implore, we must "push the boundaries of what counts as rhetorical practice and who counts in its production" (310).

Scrapbooking, thus, is informed by but exists on the periphery of more public discourse, "which white elite males have dominated historically," and exists as a product of meaning-making in "counterpublic arenas that draw from social and political networks that have not been shaped or controlled by power elites" ("Feminist," Royster and Kirsch 641). These

"counterpublics" have often been forged by "pioneering women [...] who have insisted on being heard, being valued, and being understood as rhetorical agents" (643), but have used modes available in the spheres relegated to them. Scrapbooking is evidence of the varying ways women write, given "the ways that men's and women's differential relationships to various cultural institutions, including the academy, influence their discursive practices" (Sullivan 39). "Women have inherited modes of discourse that they had little voice in shaping" from spheres where men have long-decided what constitutes knowledge and how that knowledge is expressed (39-40); thus, the enterprise of scrapbooking could be an act of claiming voice, asserting control where little existed, and exercising agency.

Resistant and Agential

Scrapbooks also can be evidence of feminist work because they allow for the disassembling and disruption of dominant narratives, as well as the space to reimagine and rebuild personal and community history and identity. The act of cutting itself is destructive, allowing makers to destroy the mode of production, keep what is important to them, and then, in an act of assembling and gluing, remake that mode of production into something that is now more representative, evidence of a "self that guides the scissors and assembles the scraps" (Tucker et al. 2), engaging willfully and agentially with a tension or contradiction that may have resonated with them. As Joy Ritchie and Kathleen Boardman state, "a fundamental feminist goal was to disrupt rather than extend patriarchal discourses and their assumptions about knowledge" (595). Scrapbooks such as the *The Ideal Scrap Book* are material practices feminists might theorize as "interven[ing] significantly in power structures that keep women subordinate," "investigat[ing] and uncover[ing] the contradictions in these dominant structures" (596).

> In particular, scrapbooks afford their makers freedom from authorship and audience, licensing makers to take apart, assemble, and re-make the discourses surrounding them: Ephemera look the way they do partly because there are few editorial or administrative constraints on them. Producers have no jury or peer review to pass judgment on their taste or truthfulness [...] Consequently, ephemera often display more drama and hyperbole than do other kinds of primary sources. (Tucker et al. 19)

Without editorial or administrative constraints, scrapbook makers can juxtapose, re-frame, and show intertextuality without the risk of censoring or correction. In fact, "[s]crapbooks can be a method of resolving the conflicting claims between the real and imaginary or the remembered [...] For example, the maker may incorporate contradictions that cannot be expressed otherwise, substitutes for expressions of the self not allowed elsewhere" (Tucker et al. 3). Tucker, Ott, and Buckler explain that:

> The mundane nature of scrapbooks can also be read in a more subversive way. In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Michel de Certeau wrote at length about the manipulation and use of popular culture by those who consume it but do not control or make it [...] creative tactics that people use to maintain control over their lives in face of the power of the state and society [...] They circumvent publishing, bypass copyrights, and freely cannibalize printed sources. Scrapbook makers avoid the external editing process that would squeeze their creations into narrative and prose forms acceptable to mass audiences. Instead, each album is a rogue and a renegade that both parries with and parallels popular forms." (20)

While the materials chosen for inclusion in scrapbooks often in their original arrangement are linear, sequential, based in printed textual language, once decontextualized and arranged next to other printed materials, their sequence, linearity and reliance on the original rhetorical contexts in which they appeared diminishes. Snippets of articles, entire articles, poems, photographs, ticket stubs, and other ephemera come together to form a new discourse or form of thinking, a discourse that has the potential to undermine the very apparatus that allowed it to come into production. And, in this reconstruction, new meaning is made. This meaning is powerful because of its complexity and ambiguity. As Joddy Murray suggests in his book *Non-Discursive*

Rhetoric: Image and Affect in Multimodal Composition, arrangements that defy the constraints of sequence and linearity get closer to the "inutterable, affective, ephemeral," but the "inutterable, affective, ephemeral" (5) is often what is disallowed from dominant discourse. These arrangements work to get at experiences and perspectives barred from, overlooked by, or misrepresented by dominant discourse.

Experiences or perceptions that are "inutterable" can result from trauma. While all of slavery could be viewed as a comprehensive collective trauma imposed by one group onto another, Royster describes the trauma forced on African American women in particular:

> Sexual abuse and harassment were a primary mechanism, not only for capital enrichment, that is, for increasing the number of slaves through compulsory 'breeding,' but also for the punishment and terrorism of a whole community by means of the free and indiscriminate use and abuse of its women and girls without accountability or retribution for terrorists. (*Traces*, 111-12)

Ongoing institutionalized violence against African American women is a reality that was and is difficult to bear, and difficult to contemplate. These traumas resist linear narrative and are a reality that is broken and fractured, yet hopeful and yearning. The rhetoric of assemblage found in scrapbooking "most often becomes employed to symbolize what cannot be said or written directly by the word" (Murray 4). I agree with Tucker et al. who write, "if scrapbooks can be distilled to one overarching interpretive theme, it is that of rupture. Scrapbooks shuffle and recombine the coordinates of time, space, location, voice, and memory [...]; they are 'fractured narratives' that manipulate meaning through rupture and the reconstruction that follows" (16-17). The embodiment of a reality that is violent and fractured in scrapbooking as a gendered mode of discourse reminds me of Virginia Woolf's efforts to represent ways of knowing and being through language based in a kind of experiential epistemology: Woolf employs a "[c]ircular form of narration, repetitions and silence" in her writing, which to her, in that time period,

"constitute[d] the best forms of expression for women" (Bakay 142). And, Patricia Sullivan explains that:

> feminists are concerned [...] with uncovering the gendered nature of the written discourses and the writing processes we teach; and with learning what women deem important to know, how women organize and express knowledge, and how women making meaning in a world in which they are differentially situated as subjects [...] feminism [...] seeks to change the dominant, patriarchal structures and categories of experience that have rendered women's activities and social relations analytically invisible. (40)

One way of conveying a history that is ruptured is through discourse or meaning-making that is also ruptured—perhaps, fragmented in form, message, or symbol. While clearly an artifact of rupture, the scrapbook maintains also an "aura of authenticity" not easily reproducible: it is a "one-of-a-kind creation with pages read as compound pictures. The meaning of every selected image or object has an implied relationship to everything else in the volume [...]" (Tucker et al. 12-13), demonstrating their ability to rebuild and recreate out of disruption and drawing readers into complex historical discourses rooted in ideologies, structures of belief, and lived experiences that generated and informed their production.

In Chapter 2, I develop the idea that *The Ideal Scrap Book* deals with and recreates discourses surrounding the mixing of races and explores meaning-making in the aftermath of generations of rape and violence perpetuated against women. *The Ideal Scrap Book* is evidence of a generation of African Americans who had more access to literacy education after the Civil War, as the maker was literate and able to read, and also able to conduct the kind of textual analysis described by Ryan above, finding patterns and synthesizing materials to form new and resistant narrative threads.

Occupying Middle Spaces: African Americans and Literacy after the Reconstruction Era

Catherine Hobbs explains in the introduction to her book *Nineteenth Century Women Learn to Write* that definitions of literacy that focus on skills can work against more full and complex definitions emphasizing rhetorical know-how: "Literacy [...] often connotes rudimentary skill in reading or in the basic consumption of texts. This meaning can, however, obscure more complex practices such as the production of texts, whether spoken or written" (1). She further explains that:

> [l]iteracy in its broadest sense denotes not only the technical skills of reading and writing but the tactical – or rhetorical – knowledge of how to employ those skills in the context of one or more communities. What is entailed by this literate know-how always varies according to its situation of use. The one helpful concept implied in some definitions might be called "effective literacy," meaning a level of literacy that enables the user to effect change, in her own life, and in society. (1)

Thus, in order to have literacy that is "effective," a person must not only know how to read and write, but also to understand rhetorically how to use reading and writing to advocate for themselves and their communities and effect change that is beneficial to them. Shirley Wilson Logan describes literacy as "the ground upon which rhetorical education develops. Some manifestation of literacy, then, is implicated in one's rhetorical abilities" (4). While this definition conceives of literacy as something that engenders agency for those who have acquired it, it is not one that has been or is widely adopted by various educational imperatives, including those beginning in the nineteenth century.

Widespread literacy efforts began in the mid-nineteenth century with various social, economic, and political imperatives driving them. In her book *Literacy in American Lives*, Deborah Brandt describes universal literacy initiatives in the United States as at first driven by the Christian mission and, by the middle of the nineteenth century, driven by "secular interests of

nation building, social conformity, and civic responsibility." She explains that "women's literacy grew more slowly than men's; blacks' more slowly than whites" (27-29). *The Ideal Scrap Book*, created circa 1905, emerges just outside of an era marked by a nation-wide increase of literacy rates across populations. Robert Connors characterizes 1885 as the beginning of "the great literacy crisis [...] followed by 15 years of frantic attempts to solve it" (31). Literacy rates for African Americans did increase dramatically during this period: "[t]heir 95 percent illiteracy rate in 1860 had dropped to 70 percent in 1880 and would drop to 30 percent by 1910" (Anderson 31). However, even with such a tremendous increase reported in literacy rates, the notion that only "The Talented Tenth" of African Americans were adequately prepared or qualified to lead because only they had gone to college, written books, and/or were engaged politically, socially, or civically disenfranchised many, suggesting that the majority of African Americans were either not equipped or not perceived as equipped to lead (Anderson 104).

The kinds of literate practices engendered in various groups in the United States vary according to local, political, and social imperative; literacy, unless homegrown and self-led, and, if sponsored, is extended to people through educational efforts in forms that support the sponsoring institution's beliefs about roles in society. Thus, literacy is embodied and material, the outcomes and practice of it mediated by what is and is not allowed or encouraged. This process is especially evident in literacy efforts post-Civil War and as they shift into the post-Reconstruction Era.

In his book, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, James D. Anderson provides a comprehensive overview of and details the various incarnations of education for African Americans. After the Civil War, ex-slaves, now freedmen, led efforts across the South to provide literacy education to their communities; having "established their own educational

collectives and associations [and] staffed schools entirely with black teachers," they "were unwilling to allow their educational movement to be controlled" (6). In these schools, they did not reinforce existing social strata; instead their literacy efforts often took the form of a rhetorical education, adopting a classical liberal curriculum and maintaining that "education could help raise the freed people to an appreciation of their historic responsibility to develop a better society." They maintained that they needed to learn the "principles of a democratic social order and prepare leaders to organize their communities effectively by focusing on developing trained intellectuals—teachers, ministers, politicians, managers, administrators, and businessmen" (28). African Americans led literacy efforts in other ways, too. In her book, *Liberating Language: Sites of Rhetorical Education in Nineteenth-Century Black America,* Logan describes how African Americans achieved literacy in unconventional spaces, such as "free-floating" literacy sites, self-teaching, literary societies and clubs, and through the African American press. But even in more conventional educational spaces, rhetorical education was occurring: Jessica Enoch, in *Refiguring Rhetorical Education: Women Teaching African American, Native American, and Chicano/a Students:1865-1911*, shows how post-Civil War rhetorical education did not only empower "already enfranchised members of a community" (6). She shows how teachers (especially women teachers) in various educational sites understood the importance of "pedagogical practices for students that would prepare them to participate in public discussions," conceding that "dominant educational practices worked to incapacitate their already marginalized students as civic participants" (7). Enoch defines "rhetorical education" as "any educational program that develops in students a communal and civic identity and articulates for them the rhetorical strategies, language practices, and bodily and social behavior that make possible their participation in communal and civic affairs" (7-8). However, even though these

teachers understood of the value of teaching marginalized students how to participate civically, they only encouraged their students to "participate in their communities in a limited way" (8). Many other scholars have worked to show the "various and inventive ways that African Americans have worked outside traditional academic settings to claim and create a rhetorical education for themselves" (10). Classical education in rhetoric at some HBCUs generated "a sense of rhetorical enfranchisement for several generations of young writers and new citizens, who, despite the flourishing of a black rhetorical culture in national and religious spheres, were after reconstruction barred from decision making in southern legislatures and courts, and from white public discourse more generally" (Jarratt 140). Although some formalized industrial education began occurring in the 1880s, "they never allowed it to displace classical liberal academic education" (Anderson 66).

However, African American-led, classically-oriented education for their communities and sites of education soon encountered formidable obstacles. Northern and southern philanthropists came together officially in 1898 to attempt ideological consensus about the purpose of education for now-freed African Americans, and agreed that southern educational reform should lay "the groundwork for a racially qualified form of dominance and subordination" (Anderson 84) and that "white industrialists and landowners were to be the main beneficiaries of black industrial training" (91). Thus, educational efforts were co-opted by white philanthropists in order to keep African Americans away from the urban centers to which they were fleeing and instead tied them to the working of the lands on which these industries depended so fully: "Many white landowners opposed black schooling on economic grounds because they believed that reading, writing, and arithmetic would make black workers discontented with unskilled and semiskilled farm labor" (96). In fact, academic leaders like Charles W. Dabney, then president of the

University of Tennessee, declared in "The Public School Problem in the South," that "'[n]othing is more ridiculous than the programme of the good religious people from the North who insist upon teaching Latin, Green, and philosophy to the negro boys who come to their schools [...] General Armstrong, of Hampton, and Principal Washington, of Tuskegee, have worked out a sensible plan for the education of the negro'" (Anderson 85). Two visions of education for African Americans emerged, one dedicated to improving the social, economic, and political status of African Americans and led by leaders such as W. E. B. DuBois, and the other to reinforcing the social and economic order on which so many whites depended, both vying for monopoly over the training of African American intellectual leaders who could propagate their respective values. The Hampton Model, endorsed by Booker T. Washington, was a model of education initially rejected by Southern leaders who feared any education would produce a literate class of African Americans able to vote, potentially outnumbering and wielding political power over Southern white voters. African American leaders also criticized the model, viewing it "with suspicion and resentment" (Anderson 58), claiming it was "an educational experience that sought to affirm the legitimacy of black subordination" (Anderson 63). Even some of the black press was subsidized and controlled by the alliance of educators, philanthropists, and political leaders endorsing industrial education for African Americans: "Washington also controlled the black press and used it shrewdly to project a positive image of his campaign to commit blacks to the Hampton-Tuskegee educational and social ideology." Using philanthropic funds, he heavily subsidized the *Boston Colored Citizen* and, later, *Alexander's Magazine* against "the influence of periodicals such as *The Guardian*," Ida B. Wells' *Conservator*, *The Broad Ax* (106) and *The Washington Bee* (65). Thus, at the time *The Ideal Scrap Book* was made, the future of effective and rhetorical literacies being taught to the majority of African Americans was uncertain, even

threatened. And, with that threat, came the threat of decreased access to the activities, discourses, and arenas that comprise meaningful civic engagement.

The Ideal Scrap Book, then, can be evidence of the creative agencies of people who have been marginalized, who have been taught how to read and/or write in the languages of the dominant discourse and have been given access to the dominant discourse, but have not yet been granted full ability to shape that discourse. The scrapbook emerges as a space that animates literacy more meaningfully than other sites or genres might permit by allowing makers to engage rhetorically with reading and writing. In *Writing with Scissors,* Garvey probes

> how people in positions of relative powerlessness used their scrapbooks to make a place for themselves and their communities by finding, sifting, analyzing, and recirculating writing that mattered to them. Such scrapbooks open a window into the lives and thoughts of people who did not respond to their world with their own writing. (4)

Thus, as a rhetorical practice, scrapbooking could be an inventive tool, preparing makers to engage more directly in dominant discourses by giving them a space to practice meaning-making that requires complex rhetorical skills, such as reading a wide of range of sources, finding patterns, documenting and synthesizing information, and forging new knowledge. These skills form a powerful foundation for anyone wanting or needing to engage more actively with the world around them by offering a way to make sense of and understand their relationship to discourses and begin to define, shape, and frame societal problems themselves. *The Ideal Scrap Book* emerges as rhetorical activity born in part of these increased efforts at more widespread literacy and in the midst of significant pushback against the civic education of African Americans that would push them towards increasing social, economic, and political autonomy. Garvey argues that scrapbooks differed from their predecessors, commonplace books, because they were industrialized and democratized:

> With [the scrapbook], saving passages was no longer fused to the ability to transcribe them. Nineteenth century literacy was widespread among American-born whites, and restricted among blacks. But literacy was often still characterized by a split between knowledge of reading and of writing. One could be an avid and extensive reader but not a skilled writer, either in the sense of composing or facility in handling a pen." (27)

She explains here that scrapbook-making predicated a certain degree of literacy; those making scrapbooks could at least read and they also had been allowed access to the media they were re-inventing. But for those who couldn't write easily, scrapbooks "allowed all types of readers 'to write' a book with scissors" (27).

But even if the makers were skilled in *both* reading and writing, educated women and African Americans might have another reason for conveying their stories through scrapbooking. The messages conveyed in scrapbooks are not always clear; they are indirect and demand physical, emotional, and cognitive attention. These qualities of the scrapbook give it the potential to convey messages more subtly, primarily through the suggestion of meaning that is a product of juxtaposition. Some makers might not want to risk stating their ideas, concerns, and observations explicitly given how contested and controversial discourse about race was at the time. And women might avoid these risks, in their scrapbooks, by practicing a sort of "sidelong feminism–in which a woman expresses agency, claims her voice, and declares the complexity of her full humanity, all by using modes that, on the surface, appear compliant with and respectful of patriarchy" (Wills 94). Here, we might add "racist patriarchy" as an oppressive force to which women might want to "appear compliant." In articles on scrapbooks as well as the scrapbooks themselves, there are many examples of this sort of "sidelong feminism." Wills' example of nineteenth century women's construction of memory albums focusing on mourning demonstrates the sidelong feminism she theorizes. While evaluating these albums as part of the dominant nineteenth-century American value of Common Sense Realism that assumes that "meaning can

be laid out seamlessly," Wills finds many gaps, suggesting a "'submerged narrative,' which belies both Common Sense affirmations of truth's unfettered accessibility and the comforting solidity of traditional gender roles" (96). Wills explains that "Albums, too, have the potential to subvert not only the patriarchal domestic visions they picture and embellish but also the Common Sense claim to smooth, clear access to the future through stories of the past" (104). Submerged narratives are evident, too, in scrapbooks created by African Americans after the Civil War, and many assembled articles from both the white and African American press. Just a few of the prominent African American newspapers and journals circulating at the time include The NAACP's journal, *The Crisis*, *The Chicago Defender*, and *The Christian Recorder*, which often republished material from the white press. While newspapers and journals published by African Americans were circulating, most African Americans did not have easy opportunities to create and directly influence them.

However, they did have opportunities to read and fashion those materials in ways that forged meaningful and often contradictory relationships within and against dominant discourses. Scrapbooking afforded makers the ability to both take apart dominant discourse and rebuild new narratives through strands and pieces, resisting and defying some of the problems of master narratives. As Thompson explains, "The pastime was, in a word, democratic. The only requirement was access to paper and pencil, scissors, and paste. Nevertheless, the albums reveal that their makers were well-acquainted with, if not part of, the dominant culture in the United States" (301-302).

Literacy in Context: Democracy in Macon County Circa 1881-1965

Guzman left the scrapbook to Tuskegee University and by doing so created a historical intersection between herself, Tuskegee, and *The Ideal Scrap Book*. I gather that while the scrapbook was personally meaningful to her, she also thought the scrapbook had institutional and local relevance, so I focus on the context of Tuskegee and her experiences there as they relate to literacy as a tool for identity formation and social change.

Literacy initiatives in Macon County after the Civil War were varied and dynamic for decades, with significant challenges to moving literacy from basic skills to civic engagement and advocacy. Founder Booker T. Washington led Tuskegee Institute and its students from 1881 until his death in 1915, positioning Tuskegee in the middle of the debate about the appropriate education for African Americans post-emancipation. Washington advocated nationally for racial segregation and a focus on training African Americans for industrial labor. In his famous speech, "The Atlanta Compromise," he argues that African Americans should "dignify and glorify common labor," and "learn that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem." Additionally, he argues that a mutual interdependence between African Americans and whites could be forged with Washington promising white Americans that they and their families will be "surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen." Washington's influence in the area was significant, as he was responsible for purchasing the first land for the school—with $500, he purchased an old farm called "The Old Burnt Place" and used students build the school's first buildings ("Tuskegee Institute's Founding")—and for securing significant financial support from very wealthy and powerful donors for its efforts over many decades: "Southern leaders were aided in this quest by many industrial philanthropists, who sought to maintain the status quo, to push industrial models of education, and to discourage

liberal arts education" (*Traces*, Royster 155). The county's significant rural population was always a challenge for Tuskegee, and Washington even sent a "Movable School" out to farmers who were tied to their land to teach them basic agricultural principles and help them improve the yield and productivity of their farms.

Decades later, during the Civil Rights Era, young political groups in Tuskegee worked hard to improve literacy rates in nearby rural, agricultural populations in order to increase civic participation and facilitate voting, as even though Macon and Tuskegee were reportedly 83% African American, all elected officials were white. In "Radical, Restless, Vigilant and Determined: The Tuskegee Institute Advancement League (TIAL) 1964-67," Clyde Robertson, Associate Professor of History at Tuskegee, explains that TIAL demanded that since "[b]lack people were in the majority [...] African Americans [should have] a greater voice and presence in Tuskegee and Macon County leadership" (18). TIAL also insisted that "education had to be relevant and, thus, mitigate the problems facing African Americans" (16). Guzman herself ran for office in Macon County and in her typed speeches, included in her collection, she cited a lack of African American representation in leadership as a primary reason for voting for her. However, many of the African American voters lived outside of town, where there were fewer "opportunities for literacy development" (*Traces,* Royster 160) and middle class African American voters were characterized as being too complacent and reticent to upset the white power structure in place, harkening back to Washington's call in his speech "The Atlanta Compromise" for African Americans to be "the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen." Tuskegee was called the "Model City" for race relations in the 1960s and because of this social pressure, many middle-class African Americans were reluctant to upset the prevailing social order (Robertson 18).

In general, the obstacles for African American women to "go beyond basic literacy" have been many, and "poor people, regardless of racial groups were often denied access or unable to take advantage of opportunities because of the constancy of the struggle simply to provide themselves and their families with food, clothing, and shelter, especially in a context such as the South, which did not particularly value literacy for non-elites" (*Traces*, Royster 106). However, African American women, as Royster shows in *Traces of a Stream: Literacy and Social Change Among African American Women*, consistently have used "literacy in the interests of social change": "[t]heir writing indicates a propensity to work energetically to achieve political, social, and cultural goals. These writers are dedicated to an active life—in this case, a life of productivity and creativity in writing" (105). On page 106, she continues, "[w]e can find ways to document their practices as writers who envision both problems and solutions and who use their rhetorical abilities to participate in setting and implementing a sociopolitical agenda." While Royster is focusing on nineteenth century African American women essayists, her call to document their writing practices as they relate to envisioning sociopolitical problems and solutions can extend to any literate practice, including scrapbooking, speechwriting, and archival research.

For example, Guzman according to her own curricula vitae provided to voters when she was running for the *Macon County Board of Education* eventually became the Director of the Department of Records and Research, and then, the Dean of Women at Tuskegee University. She advocated strongly for the equity of funding to schools for African American children, arguing that funding should be allocated the same as it was for white children. In her speech delivered in 1954 at Mt. Olivet Baptist Church in Tuskegee, she writes that "86.0 percent of Macon County's school children is of the Negro race and 14.0 percent is white." But, "proportionately more is

expended for the three white schools than is expended for the fifty-two Negro schools." Further admonishing the then-current educational structure in Macon County, she explains that because out of 30,561 people, 25,771 were African American, and only 4,777 white, that it is the African American population that is providing the majority of funding through taxation of goods and services to schools: "[c]itizens who pay for the support of the schools should certainly want to have some voice in their administration." She continues by appealing to American values of democracy, joining whites and African Americans together as "American": "This is not the American way of life. No child's education, regardless of race, is more important than that of any other."

Clearly, while Guzman was able to achieve status and accomplishment in her academic and civic life, advocacy for basic literacy instruction in Tuskegee was still a necessity well into the 1960s and, even now, as achievement gaps are widespread across racial groups in higher education. Generally, "hearing the voices of women, ethnic groups, lower socioeconomic classes, and others who have in one way or several been systematically discounted in this culture" has taken a great deal of sociopolitical effort, and "the dismantling of barriers to educational opportunity for such groups has been tedious" (*Traces*, Royster 109). Because students in community colleges generally are less privileged than those attending expensive private colleges and universities, I argue their struggles reside within Royster's grouping here. Community colleges are charged with being democratic and equitable, committing overtly and intentionally in their mission to support students from all backgrounds; our mission defined by the Chancellor's Office is: "making sure students from all backgrounds succeed in reaching their goals and improving their families and communities, eliminating achievement gaps once and for

all" (Vision for Success). However, despite similarities, the contexts of *The Ideal Scrap Book* and the contexts of my community college require their own, separate situating.

Pedagogical Implications

I devote Chapter 3 to exploring the pedagogical implications of scrapbooking as a tool for invention in the composition classroom and make the broader argument that a more diverse range and process of using inventive tools should be explored with students, echoing values expressed in feminist and multimodal composition theories. If students are able to engage with assigned readings in ways that allow them to cut out, rearrange, and in some sense, remake those readings, they might be able to better discover and articulate contradictions or tensions that resonate or are important to them. A kind of reading that asks readers to be inventors makes them agents in discourse analysis and production and grants them the license afforded inventors to take risks, explore, make, and remake in order to articulate and solve complex problems. In addition, using already-written materials might help students gain a better understanding of their own thinking, allowing them greater engagement of their hands and felt sense, which is intertwined with cognitive learning.

I rely on Kathleen J. Ryan's definition of invention "as rhetorical strategies – heuristic, imaginative, interpretative, epistemic – for gathering and shaping material to compose the content of effective discourse" (92). And I draw on multimodal theories arguing that "giving students a wide range of options for developing and publishing their compositions enhances their engagement with the subject matter and empowers them to make creative and rhetorical decisions" (Reiss and Young 165). When scrapbooking is understood as a multimodal endeavor, a form of crafting and making that is embodied, an "understanding of rhetorical activity as a

linear process, beginning with invention and memory and ending with the delivery of a static body of knowledge" is challenged: thus, "technologies employed in the nineteenth-century domestic sphere might also reshape our conception of mnemonic activity and a perceived separation among the rhetorical canons" (Rohan 371).

My Project, in Chapters

In Chapter 2: "Mixed-Race Struggle and Influence in the Late Nineteenth/Early Twentieth Centuries: *The Ideal Scrap Book* as Inventive and Empowering," I describe and analyze pages of *The Ideal Scrap Book* to show how stories when juxtaposed with other stories make new meaning that contradicts, deepens, or complicates dominant narratives. I choose pages that best exemplify the hypocrisy exhibited by whites, especially advocates of racial segregation and persecution, through juxtaposition and focus on themes related to discourse about the lives of interracial and mixed-race individuals at the turn of the nineteenth century. I situate my analysis and strengthen my claims by grounding them in larger socio-political contexts and conversations circulating at the time. I then draw from feminist theories connecting literacy to social and political action, invoking a feminist politics of hope for agency and change.

As mentioned above, in Chapter 3: "Scrapbooking as a Feminist Practice in the Community College Composition Classroom: The Promise of Juxtaposition as Meaningful Invention," I show how my analysis of *The Ideal Scrap Book* is relevant to teaching and learning in the community college composition classroom drawing from and situating my analysis in feminist, reader-response, and multimodal theories of rhetoric and composition. Ultimately, I argue that scrapbooking is an important inventive tool and point to the importance more broadly

of considering alternative inventive strategies in the classroom in order to move students towards composing that is driven by a sense of will and agency.

I end this chapter with an insightful reflection on the role reading can play in invention, written by Kate Meade Lane at the turn of the nineteenth century, as a young woman being taught to engage rhetorically with the world around her, which she included in one of the scrapbooks held by neighboring *Auburn University*:

> To be an aid to invention, reading must be conducted [...] in the attitude of invention. Mr. Emerson says: One must be an inventor to read well [...] There is then creative reading as well as creative writing. When the mind is braced by labor and invention, the page of whatever book we read becomes luminous with manifold illusions. Every sentence is doubly significant, and the sense of our author is as broad as the world. The habit of reading creatively is what distinguishes the scholar from the book-worm and the thinker from the listless absorber of print.

Lane's ideas resonate well with the aims of this dissertation and underscore the potentials of scrapbooking as a feminist rhetorical method of reading, and thus, invention, an argument which I develop over the next two chapters.

Chapter 2: Mixed-Race Struggle and Influence in the Late-Nineteenth/Early Twentieth Centuries: The Non-Discursive Rhetoric of *The Ideal Scrap Book* as Inventive and Empowering

The importance of scrapbooking in demonstrating the emerging literacies of African Americans and their resulting rhetorical prowess and agency in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has already been established, thanks, in part, to Garvey's work. While this book isn't the only work that makes a case for the importance of scrapbooking to the writing and rewriting of the popular identities and histories of Americans of that period, it is the only sustained and comprehensive one. Most other attention has come from articles published in journals over time, and no published work has attended solely to the scrapbook practices of African Americans in particular. While Garvey's book isn't only focused on the scrapbooks of African Americans (it analyzes the scrapbooks of many Americans, from various populations and communities), it does include one chapter that focuses on the particular ways and reasons African Americans of this period created and used them.

Chapter 4, "Alternative Histories in African American Scrapbooks," focuses specifically on the historiographical work accomplished through scrapbooks by African Americans. Garvey argues that

> African American scrapbook makers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century deliberately created alternative records […] by recontextualizing clippings scissored from both the black and the white press in their scrapbooks. As they did so, they critiqued the white press, sometimes with pen and pencil notes, and sometimes entirely through the subtle language of juxtaposition.

She continues by organizing the rhetorical work scrapbooks do to invigorate four important historiographical projects, all by working with and against the white press of the period. First:

> They amassed and preserved evidence that black people had not simply witnessed all parts of American history but had been active agents of it and were capable,

> patriotic citizens. Second, the scrapbooks asserted race pride, showing the struggles and advancements of blacks as a group, documenting the achievements of black individuals, and highlighting black people's racial affiliation, if that wasn't evident in the article. They thus presented what later came to be called strong black role models. Third, they compiled evidence of oppression and mistreatment of black people, often using the testimony of an antagonistic white press to strengthen their case. They thereby read against the grain of the white press and used the white press against itself, like an attorney questioning a hostile witness. Finally, as documents shared within black communities, scrapbooks offered those communities a historical record. The path they built allowed access to records that were blockaded in segregated libraries and newspaper files. (132)

She continues that "[f]or African American clippers, however, it was vital to follow what the white press was saying about black people, both for its news value, straightforwardly preserving information, and to critique the white press's casual assumptions" (133). In this chapter, Garvey chooses to focus primarily on the work of three unrelated African American men: Joseph W. H. Cathcart, William H. Dorsey, and L. S. Alexander Gumby. The oldest of these, Joseph W. H. Cathcart, began creating scrapbooks in the 1850s. William H. Dorsey collected clippings from the mid-to-late 1800s and compiled them into a scrapbook devoted to "Colored Centenarians," responding to Gertrude Mossell's call to document the stories of elderly African American people, who were passing away. These centenarians were remarkable in that they often carried with them long memories of even their African-born parents and their traditions. Some were present "in the founding of the country," demonstrated "substantial African American military involvement in the country's formation," and, were, thus, "loyal, capable citizens (137-143). Lastly, and most recently, L. S. Alexander Gumby, "a gay black collector and salon host of the Harlem Renaissance," created more than one hundred scrapbooks, mainly in the 1920s (131-132). Garvey focuses primarily on these three scrapbook-makers because they exemplify all four of the projects she identifies in her book and, of the scrapbooks available to her, show most clearly what scrapbooks "allowed the black community to do" (132).

In this chapter, I will add a scrapbook from the Tuskegee University Archives to the collection of scrapbooks of African Americans already analyzed by Garvey and show how it is concerned with and works towards all of these aims. Often, one page of the scrapbook will accomplish all four at once, but I will focus primarily on three of the four projects: highlighting achievements, compiling evidence of the mistreatment of African American people, and creating important historical records. Like Garvey, I found that "[s]imilar questions occur in examining each scrapbook. Who are these recurring names? What topics do the columns treat most often? Was it the scrapbook maker's intention to collect that topic, or is it an accident that the article is in this group?" (13). And I use these questions to focus my analysis and help me understand the significance of the clippings collected. I find that these questions are more than reflexive or intuitive; they are grounded in rhetorical theories about the work and literacy efforts of African American women that value speculation as a critical effort. In her book, *Traces of a Stream*, introduced in chapter one, Royster justifies speculative analysis by explaining that in relation to African American women's practices, "where so much is unknown and undocumented, a […] responsibility is to hypothesize about what remains missing in a way that is reasonable and useful for further research" (12). Because the rhetorical practices of African American women, and many African American men, of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were not and have not been foregrounded, Royster uses the metaphor of a "stream" to describe the visible ways these individuals have moved through the world, making meaning, and arriving at "rhetorical prowess" (5). This chapter will help show that it is not only a stream of work that has moved through time, but that that stream is part of a larger "sea" of rhetorical discourse in scrapbooks created by populations that have been suppressed, unacknowledged, and devalued historically.

In addition to showing how *The Ideal Scrap Book* adds to the historiographic work done by other African American scrapbook makers, both women and men, I will also show that the important practice of scrapbooking, popularized in the late nineteenth century, 1) has rhetorical import of its own, apart from any other formal collections or publications, in undoing and exposing the hypocrisies of dominant white discourse about race and identity at the time, especially as it relates to discourse about those of mixed-race and 2) acts as a sort of prototype for the subsequent creation of more formal collections of knowledge about African Americans, such as the *Negro Year Books,* also housed at Tuskegee University. Both of these functions of scrapbook-making – rewriting dominant narratives to correct and complicate them in order to assert racial integrity and acting as a sort of "prewriting" or "inventive" practice – become empowering platforms from which African Americans gain a social identity that encourages them to participate more fully in burgeoning political and social spheres.

Tuskegee University's Scrapbooks

In this chapter, I share and analyze one of the three scrapbooks found in Tuskegee University's archival collection; the three scrapbooks there, which I described in Chapter 1, include one scrapbook from the Tuskegee Branch of the American Association of University Women compiled from 1973-1974 and two scrapbooks, left by Jessie Parkhurst Wragg Guzman, who was born December 1, 1898 and passed away on October 25, 1996. Jessie Guzman, as she came to be known later in her life and at Tuskegee, was the archivist at the Tuskegee Institute from 1930-1965 and co-authored the last few of the *Negro Year Books*–a series of almanac-like records of the experiences, treatment, and accomplishments of Africans in the United States, Africa, and Latin America. The *Negro Year Books* were founded by Guzman's predecessor,

Monroe Nathan Work, with whom Guzman worked and who received most of the acknowledgement and credit for the social and political import of historical documentation occurring in the archival department at Tuskegee.

The scrapbooks left by Guzman were pre-made albums specifically designed to accommodate the cutting and pasting of clippings and photographs. One scrapbook is a commemoration of Guzman's mentor and adoptive father, Reverend John P. Wragg, and includes letters and cards written to him as his health declined and, eventually, sympathy cards written to his wife and honoring him after he passed. The identity of the author of this scrapbook is unclear (it is unlikely to be Guzman herself because she would have been an infant at the time most of the clippings were first published), but it does seem clear that Guzman or Reverend Wragg's wife, Guzman's adoptive mother, a potential role model for Guzman, assembled it in honor of him. The other scrapbook, with the title *The Ideal Scrap Book* printed in cursive typeface on the front, predominantly contains newspaper clippings dating from about 1898-1906 (most clippings have no dates and I could not identify or locate their original sources so placed them historically based on events they were describing) on an array of issues including the forays and successes of African American intellectuals, leaders and preachers; lynching; a specific domestic affair of the Taggart family; articles on intermarriage and extramarital affairs between American men and Filipina women; women's fashion and other domestic concerns; and, news on politics related to the Philippine-American and Spanish-American Wars. In this chapter, I will focus on this particular scrapbook, *The Ideal Scrap Book,* to show how it achieved the projects detailed by Garvey in her book, as well as potentially acted as prototypes for later *Negro Year Books*.

Before inventorying and analyzing the contents of *The Ideal Scrap Book*, I had operated under the premise that both scrapbooks had been compiled by Guzman. The lead archivist at Tuskegee seemed to have assumed that, since it had come to the archive with the rest of Guzman's collection, she had made the scrapbook herself. But after looking closely at the dates and span of the articles included in *The Ideal Scrap Book*, while it could be possible that Guzman pasted the clippings into the album, she would have been a young child during this span of events, so she would have done so in retrospect, not at the original time of circulation. Either Guzman herself was doing historical research on various topics that interested her, or Guzman found a collection of loose articles somewhere and compiled them into the book to preserve them retroactively. A third alternative is that Guzman was gifted the scrapbook by someone else close to her and she, in turn, gifted it to the University. Or, the scrapbook was mistakenly included in her collection but relates in many ways to Tuskegee University and the impressive historiographical work occurring in its archival department.

At this point in my research, I was faced with a dilemma. Did not knowing who assembled the first scrapbook mean that I shouldn't consider it? How was I to explain its significance if I couldn't locate it personally and authorially? How would I connect it to the webbings of relationships among African Americans and show it has significance? Eventually, I did realize that the scrapbook already was "located"; someone, at some time, associated the scrapbook with Guzman (possibly Guzman herself) and thought it appropriate to include in her collection – someone who probably is situated much more deeply than I am, sitting in a small office at a southern California community college speculating and worrying about relationships that will never be entirely clear to me. While I am not negating my own responsibility in thoughtful speculation, I do now realize that, for some reason, the scrapbook had been kept and

preserved and is somehow related to Guzman and/or her work. Guzman, then in charge of the archives, had not given it away, nor had she thrown it away during a bout of spring cleaning. Instead, it had been given to her or had fallen in her hands, and she kept it, eventually and presumably willed it to the university – the university where she ultimately became responsible for recognizing and documenting the accomplishments and trials of African Americans locally and worldwide. To dismiss it might be equivalent to dismissing Guzman's wishes, her will. If she or someone working in the same context deemed it important by their decisions and actions, then who was I to question its importance? So, the more pressing questions became not whether the book was created by her, but: why was it important? To her? To African Americans at the time and those in contact with it? To us, now? What I've come to understand by working on this project is the importance of relational thinking evidenced in the pages, as well as the relations represented in Guzman's preservation of *The Ideal Scrap Book*.

Guzman passed away on October 29, 1997, at almost one hundred years old. In her long and remarkable life, and the evidence left of it, it is apparent that Guzman invested in documenting the accomplishments of African Americans and participated civically in the social efforts that benefited their communities, especially in Tuskegee. Guzman's scholarly work focused on invigorating, reimagining, and correcting perceptions about African American and mixed-race historical figures. Her published articles, "The Role of the Black Mammy in the Plantation Household" (1938), "Contributions to Negro Life: Establishing and Directing the Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee Institute" (1949), "The Social Contributions of the Negro Woman Since 1940," "Monroe Nathan Work and His Contributions" (1949), and *Crusade for Civic Democracy: The Story of the Tuskegee Civic Association*, all demonstrate an ideological strategy that uses historical research and data to make new claims showing that

African Americans contributed significantly and in various roles. These roles were often imagined by whites in ways that glossed over racial injustice or undermined the agency of those fulfilling them. For example, in an article she wrote as Jessie Parkhurst, before taking on her married name, "The Role of the Black Mammy in the Plantation Household," she describes the controversy over reifying the "black mammy" by the Daughters of the Confederacy through the erection of a local monument. She explains, "[t]o the majority of Negroes anything that savored of the period of slavery was objectionable. […] To whites the period of slavery has been sentimentalized and glorified" (Parkhurst 349). African Americans fought memorializing the figure because it ignored the inequality and injustice that was slavery, as well as ignored persisting post-emancipation inequality and injustice. They, instead, demanded an end to "lynching, the inequality in educational facilities, all practices of discrimination, the humiliation of Negroes in public conveyances, and the denial to them of the rights of suffrage" (349-350). While Guzman discredits the idea that praising or memorializing the mammy is an adequate recognition of African American lives and accomplishments, she still credits the women who fulfilled those roles. In her article, she establishes a narrative of the "black mammy" as influential: "There was hardly a person of importance or one who belonged to the old aristocracy of the South who did not come under the influence of one of these slave women, and they were proud of the fact" (369). She tells how the mammy's "sphere of influence widened with the years of her service. She was next to the mistress in authority and 'bossed' everyone and everything in the household" (351). Guzman, as an African American woman, is able to give perspective that is not politicized and dominated by white women, in effect taking control of the narrative through the avenues available to her as an academic. Her other scholarship focuses on the

contributions of African Americans, as well, and her later work details civil rights work carried out in Tuskegee.

Clearly, Guzman was concerned with the remembering of African Americans in ways that fostered "race pride" and committed to the documenting of grievances committed against African Americans because of the prevalent racist ideologies: she led the editorial efforts of *The Negro Year Books* and was the managing of the *Department of Records and Research* at *Tuskegee Institute* after Monroe Nathan Work passed away. In summary, Guzman was dedicated to documenting the accomplishments and trials of African Americans. She valued democracy and civic engagement. She valued academic research and using that research to reshape and invigorate the memory of African American women in slavery and post-emancipation. She valued education and recognized the legislative work that needed to be done in service of equal education for all races. In other words, Guzman might support a dissertation project taking up some of the very same projects that constituted her life's work and identity, spurring relationships across women, time, and place.

One facet of Guzman's identity that becomes clear through an examination of census records is that she was at times and with other African American scholars and leaders in census records as "mulatto." The scrapbooks she left to the University feature prominent leaders who were also mixed-race. I use the term "mulatto" only when paraphrasing or quoting from historical documents that use the term and will instead use "interracial" and "mixed-race" when this status is relevant to my analysis. A currently-growing body of scholarship, as evidenced by the launching in 2011 of the *Journal of Critical Mixed Race Studies*, supports the usage of this term and identifies uniquely the social, historical, and political exigencies of those who are of mixed-race. Generally, however, I refer to mixed-race individuals from that time period as

African Americans and note that they were considered "mulatto" or descendants of interracial relationships when it is relevant. I do this because the situations of mixed-race individuals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries resonate well with those described by Royster in her work on African Americans and their lineage of literacy and social change. And, with many whites eventually "insisting that 'one drop' of black blood was enough to make an individual a Negro" (Mencke 28), a move I describe more fully later, there were no acknowledged affordances given to those of mixed-race, even if there were unacknowledged ones; so those of mixed-race suffered from the same miscegenation and segregation laws later enacted. Noliwe M. Rooks explores the unique positionality of women with lighter skin who were descendants of plantation-era white masters and enslaved, African American mothers. In *Ladies' Pages: African American Women's Magazines and the Culture That Made Them,* she writes that, "[w]hile for many nineteenth-century African Americans, light skin and white features would come to be highly prized markers of class privilege and status, until late into the nineteenth century, light skin and white features on an African American body signified interracial rape," a subject "often written about in slave narratives authored by men," but "rarely written about by the African American women who experienced it" (45). Instead, they dealt with rape silently or quietly, adopting this silent response as a rhetorical act aimed at self-preservation. In the chapter called "Refashioning Rape: Ringwood's Afro-American Journal of Fashion," Rooks describes the ways African American women, including in this category women of mixed-race, "re[wrote] the silence surrounding the rape of African American women in order to forge a historical link between silence, rape, and generational memory" (343), and Guzman seems to join this effort through the preservation and sharing of *The Ideal Scrap Book*, which deals with the particular challenges of sexual violence, interracial marriages, and mixed-race leaders. In her article on the

"Black Mammy," she explains that this figure "ranged all the way from black to an indistinguishable white, for household servants were selected for their personal appearance," with lighter-skinned women often chosen over darker-skinned women (352). Discourse around women who were descendants of interracial and mostly violent relationships between African American women and white men, existed, as evidenced in Ringwood' journal, published for four years beginning in 1891: "Sexual abuse, emotional deprivation, and physical and mental torture were a reality for untold numbers of African American women who were enslaved" (481). While I do not know if Guzman was aware of this discourse or explicitly invested in it, she adds to it. As far as I know, in the remaining artifacts of her life's work, Guzman's identity as mixed-race remains tacit and is never acknowledged explicitly, perhaps because when her later work was completed, the census bureau, and surrounding social norms, categorized her simply as part of a broad group of African Americans, with no differentiation. But her identity as mixed-race, in addition to the identities of her parents and adoptive parents, were all, at one time labeled as "mulatto" in census records and they all were established leaders in their African American communities. Reading about Ringwood's efforts at recasting mixed-race features as "prerequisites for intelligence, leadership ability, and femininity," at the very least helped me contextualize and understand better the choices made in the creating and/or donating her scrapbooks to Tuskegee as materials of historical and cultural worth. Like the scrapbook, "the magazine was connected with and informed by the ideology of [a] political movement," with its efforts associated with the generation of women before Guzman, who "argued that their own moral standing was an example the entire race could follow and learn from." In writing about her history, Ringwood "is able to begin the process of separating herself from the horror of enslavement" and begin "crafting an alternative narrative about the place and relationship of

biracial African American women to that institution" (445). On one hand, "nineteenth-century African American women" were cast as "slaves, servants, and sexual victims," and on the other, "as middle-class clubwomen and proponents of domesticity and uplift strategies," (417) confounding a simple or monolithic sense of self or identity and demonstrating the necessity for spaces that allow for exploration and documentation of these complexities. One such space seems to be *The Ideal Scrap Book*, created about ten years later, which also pushes against oppressive narratives based in racial assignments and groupings.

Mixed-Race Identity from 1865-1918

While the scrapbook contains no explicit reference to "mulattoes" or ever uses that term to my knowledge (some pages were difficult to read), many of the people referenced were categorized as "mulatto" in census records when the racial category existed and was used by the U.S. Census Bureau. (The category was permanently dropped by the Census Bureau in 1930; the Bureau's stated reasoning for their decision was that the category had been "imperfect" and "inaccurate" scientifically. For example, according to census records, Jessie Guzman, her biological parents, and her adoptive parents all were identified as "mulatto" by census officials in any official U.S. censuses that included that category.) While it is true that African Americans with lighter skin held more prominent social and political positions in the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries, much of the discourse around those of mixed-race by the white press and various academics and politicians worked to undermine their positions by constructing mixed-race identity as "physically, mentally, and morally degenerate," according to Jennifer Hochschild in "Racial Reorganization and the United States Census 1850-1930: Mulattoes, Half-Breeds, Mixed Parentage, Hindoos, and the Mexican Race," published in 2008. *The Ideal Scrap Book*,

preserved by Guzman, works against these racialized constructions by documenting and legitimizing perspectives and events of importance to those who found themselves categorized accordingly. It also exposes and quietly voices the deep hypocrisies, ironies, and webbing caused by the rapes of African American women held in slavery by white slave-owners, the identities of subsequent generations of children born out of these forced sexual relationships, and the rampant occurrence of lynching of African Americans often accused of rape. As explained by Rooks, in reference to women held in slavery in the antebellum period, "silence as a response to the trauma of the rape of African American women during slavery and beyond evolved from an individual choice to a collective strategy believed to facilitate survival and reform" (474), leading to a general "cult of secrecy, a culture of dissemblance, to protect the sanctity of inner aspects of their lives." Rooks describes the aftermath of violence, torture, and abuse as "soul murder," in which identity is compromised and "those affected cannot always register what they want and what they feel" (484). While I am not certain that *The Ideal Scrap Book* was created by a woman who was enslaved and experienced the kinds of trauma that many women experienced, we can nonetheless experience, in its pages, a rhetoric of dissemblance and protectiveness, a way of knowing that allows that which is unutterable to be expressed. Before moving onto the scrapbook's rhetorical significance, I will describe more fully the contexts in which these racialized constructions of identity emerged, as they are important to understanding the significance of *The Ideal Scrap Book*.

Census categorizations were important because how people were categorized affected their social standing and corresponding opportunities. Hochschild describes how, "over the course of almost a century, the U.S. government groped its way through extensive experimentation – reorganizing and reimagining the racial order, with corresponding impact on

individuals' and groups' life chances" (3). For example, according to census records, Guzman's racial categorization shifted along with each of the shifts in census categories: In the 1898 census, when Guzman was born, she was "black," in the 1910 census, she was "mulatto," and, in the 1930 census, she was "negro." Guzman's identity, at least on paper, shifted along with political shifts, and these shifts at once reveal and erase historical contexts that influenced Guzman's relationship to the educational and social institutions in which she worked and lived. While the categories suggest a sort of scientific precision in identifying race, of course these categories were a result of shifting politics and discourse about race and race relations, and were only precise in that they gave insight into the values, agendas, and norms of those producing them, creating lives for African Americans that were subject to the consequences of whatever categories assigned to them.

In 1890, less than a decade before Guzman was born, the U.S. government gave careful instructions to census enumerators:

> Be particularly careful to distinguish between blacks, mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons. The word 'black' should be used to describe those persons who have three-fourths or more black blood; 'mulatto,' those persons who have from three-eighths to five-eighths black blood; 'quadroon,' those persons who have one-fourth black blood; and 'octoroon,' those persons who have one-eighth or any trace of black blood

but did not give instructions about how to determine these ratios. No blood tests were given or existed to determine ratios of "white" versus "black" blood. The Census Office took direction from Congressional mandates, and government documents show that this data was desired by scientists. While not articulated by the government explicitly, at that time, "race scientists continued their perennial interest in showing that mixed-race individuals were physically, mentally, and morally degenerate" (Hochschild np), despite, or perhaps because of, their widespread accomplishments.

After the Civil War and leading up to World War I, the U.S. government worked hard to organize and manage groups using categories of race that fluctuated and remained unstable until 1930. The debate about who belonged to which racial category was of national importance. In 1918, when Guzman was twenty years old, Edward Byron Reuter wrote his sociology dissertation for the University of Chicago, where Guzman briefly attended, on this subject. In his dissertation, *The Mulatto in the United States: Including the Study of the Role of Mixed Blood Races throughout the World*, he characterizes the national debate, which was popularly referred to as "the race problem," as being a debate about whether the "amalgamation of the races in contact [should be] regarded as an ideal" or whether "the infusion of ten per cent Negro blood so materially lower the ideals and the intellectual and cultural capacity of the population as to cause the country to drop out of the group of culture nations?" (5). Reuter attempts to change the discourse of race in the U.S. by arguing that the issue is not a race problem but a sociological one:

> The book is an attempt to state one sociological problem arising when two races, divergent as to culture and distinct as to physical appearance, are brought into contact under the conditions of modern life and produce a hybrid offspring whose characteristic physical appearance prevents them from passing as either the one or the other. Under such conditions physical appearance becomes the basis for class and caste distinctions; a biological phenomenon gives rise to a sociological problem. It is with the sociological consequences of race intermixture, not with the biological problems of the intermixture itself, that the present study has to do. (6)

With such class and caste distinctions favoring those with lighter skin, it is no wonder that many of Guzman's clippings showcased the plight of those who were at one time labeled "mulatto," as it was clear that they had increased access to spheres of influence and were, thus, more likely to be highlighted by any press. As John G. Mencke explains in his *book Mulattoes and Race Mixture: American Attitudes and Images, 1865-1915*: "mulattoes had an overwhelming majority

of the wealth and education in the Negro community. For the most part, this resulted from their elevated status during the ante-bellum period, including the patronage and aid of white fathers" (26).

The history of race classification can be better understood when viewed alongside the history of rape and enslavement of African American women by white men for generations before they were emancipated, or what Reuter euphemistically calls "the conditions of modern life." Mencke explains that by the end of the ante-bellum period, because there was "considerable miscegenation between white masters and slave women" (10), "[g]rowing numbers of persons with predominantly white blood were being held as slaves" (20). In order to keep their racial schema intact – the one that predicated freedom or enslavement on binary racial assignments – there could be no in between. Mencke further explains that, "[t]he only way for white Southerners to resolve this paradox was through a redefinition of whiteness and blackness […] By classifying as black all who had any degree of black blood – by insisting that 'one drop' of black blood was enough to make an individual a Negro – whites conveniently did away with the mulatto as an anomaly in their racial schema" (20). By the first decades of the twentieth century, categorical distinctions were officially dropped:

> Whatever distinctions and divisions characterized the Negro population [...] white Americans were more inclined to than ever to view the entire group as a single, dark, anonymous mass. After 1920, the Census Bureau ceased to distinguish mulattoes from blacks, as if it were saying in reality there was no difference. (28)

Erasing the category of the "mulatto," while in some ways advantageous to African Americans as they began to fight for civic and economic equality, was also convenient to white Americans. In effect, erasing their identities as "mulattoes" also erased, at least politically and socially, the sad history behind their existence, freeing white men of the ironies created by their discourse on racial purity and making difficult any moral reproach towards them or culpability that might

result from that reproach. As Mencke explains: "Mulattoes had been a visible reproach to the white man that he was failing to live up to his basic social and moral precepts, that he could not master his own inner urges" (7). They were also:

> visible evidence of the mixing which had long gone on in the shadows of black/white relations. As such, they were a powerful source of guilt, for they physically contradicted notions about the crucial importance of maintaining racial purity. In a sense white attitudes about the mulatto reveal an uneasiness that haunted white self-perceptions. Perhaps, after all, the white man was not really that different from the Negro he so disdained. (Mencke xi)

By erasing the existence of the "mulatto," whites were erasing relationships and behaviors that would call into question their own expressed moral and social codes, which they used to claim moral superiority over African Americans; conveniently, they were also erasing legal, social, and financial responsibility for the welfare of their children and not forced to confront directly the grievances committed against them. In turn, many African American women raped and/or born as a result of rape were not confrontational and remained silent about their experiences and resulting racial status and identity.

Their responses to their identity as a physical incarnation and manifestation of rape have largely been marked by strategic, deliberate, and collective silence. In Chapter 2, "Refashioning Rape: Ringwood's Afro-American Journal of Fashion," specifically the section entitled "Situating Silence: Race, Rape, and Memory," Rooks describes how African American women responded to past and present sexual violation with silence, at first individually, and then as a collective response aimed at survival and reform. But, because of this silence, very little "from their own pens" is known about the "psychological and emotional costs" they incurred, even though we know that "acts of sexual violation against enslaved women were legion." Rooks argues that "the uses of silence evoke images of African American women who are mute in the face of rapes, beatings, and a multitude of daily humiliations – the ephemera of life for so many

born African American, female, or both, on either side of the Mason-Dixon Line" (464-465). The scrapbook considered here, which compiles material from late nineteenth/early twentieth century, offers writers/speakers who have no pen/voice a way to write/speak without breaking silence and puts into relief the hypocrisies of discourse on race, racial purity, and schematics of racial hierarchy and subordination into new post-emancipation, post-Civil War contexts.

The Ideal Scrap Book and Disruption of Early Twentieth Century Racial Theories

The juxtaposition of newspaper clippings from various African American and white publications in *The Ideal Scrap Book* reveals many hypocrisies, but those related to individuals considered mixed-race seem to run through the scrapbook most pervasively. Consistently, the scrapbook-maker juxtaposes various narrative threads including: tabloid-like stories describing the sexual and moral improprieties of whites, stories demonstrating the occurrence of rape and other forms of "miscegenation," reports and editorials on lynching in the United States, and proof of the many and varied accomplishments of African Americans. Because many of the lynchings were justified by accusations of rape committed by African American men against white women, juxtaposing and intertwining these three narrative threads shows, very brazenly, that white men were committing the same acts that they were accusing African American men of committing as they convicted and punished them without trial. Claiming that a person with both white and African American ancestors was always and only African American, and that interracial relationships, rape, and concubinage also never existed, allows whites to continue to take the high moral ground when accusing African Americans of sexual improprieties and the raping of white women. The stories chosen and highlighted in *The Ideal Scrap Book* put this hypocrisy into relief, using juxtaposition to invite attention to an ongoing historical problem and

critiquing discourses about racialized identity, rape, and morality. I've organized my analysis into three "streams" that seem, to me, to surface consistently and repeatedly throughout the book in the various clippings, paralleling in many ways the projects outlined by Garvey : 1) Proof of Rape, Extramarital Affairs, and Interracial Marriage in the Late-Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries, 2) Proof of Hypocrisy Relating to Moral Platitudes and Behaviors of Whites: Lynching and Cruel Punishment, and 3) Proof of the Existence and Accomplishments of African Americans.

I. Proof of Rape, Extramarital Affairs, and Interracial Marriage in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

In a majority of the included clippings, the scrapbook-maker chose articles that point to the existence and prevalence of rape in general, as well as the sexual and marital relationships occurring outside of established and socially-accepted paradigms. This narrative stream is built in many ways including by intertwining clippings throughout the scrapbook related to the marriages that occurred between white American soldiers and Filipina women during the Philippine-American War from 1899-1902. The articles show that soldiers while abroad in the Philippines had relationships with Filipina women, some resulting in marriage and children. However, after returning to the United States, without their Filipina wives, soldiers were confronted with the lives that they had left to go to war, or the lives that they wished to lead after war. In particular, soldiers were confronted with the implications and consequences of their extramarital affairs and/or their marriages to Filipina women as legal and binding in the United States. While these marital transactions are not evidence of the rape of or affairs with black women by white men, the scrapbook-maker draws parallels between these relationships by

placing these stories in the same book and even on the same pages within the book next to stories about lynching and other discourse about racial purity and the "race problem."

In particular, the scrapbook-maker includes many clippings highlighting the extramarital affairs and divorce of a white couple: Major E.F. Taggart and his wife, referred to in the article as "Mrs. Taggart." The judge in this case reminds the hearers that the "Taggarts' unhappy life was the result of outside intimacies." While Major E. F. Taggart was away at war, he "cohabitated with a tobacco-chewing, filthya" and plaintive letters were sent to Mr. Taggart from his wife while he was abroad. Upon returning home, Mrs. Taggart's welcoming was less than warm, with Mrs. Taggart accused of improper flirting and courting men invited to parties hosted by the couple. The judge blamed Major Taggart's drunkenness on his experiences in the war, and, ultimately, the couple was a granted a divorce. The couple's children were awarded to Mr. Taggart and forcefully taken from Mrs. Taggart as she "clung to her sons for hours […] and was induced to part with them with the greatest difficulty" (43). While as a woman with young children, I find this narrative particularly heart-breaking and am moved to anger at the injustices against women of divorce in that era, I am not sure that the scrapbook-maker was particularly concerned with Mrs. Taggart. Instead, because of the positioning of this story (in multiple pages throughout the scrapbook) next to articles on lynching, the accomplishments of African Americans, and other issues related to the plight of African Americans in that time period, I argue that this affair is important because it demonstrates the improprieties and moral hypocrisies of whites, even men heralded as military leaders, as they on one hand decry "miscegenation" and denounce "mulattoes" as inferior, and on the other perpetuate parallel and similar interracial relationships in different settings. The articles also highlight the improprieties of both Major and Mrs. Taggart, describing their drunkenness, affairs, and the physical abuse of

Mrs. Taggart by her husband. This narrative thread puts the other clippings focusing on the lynching of African American men into relief, juxtaposing on the page the accusations against these men with the improprieties of their accusers, at least symbolically. In addition, while articles about white slave-owners raping African American slaves were not circulating in the press, articles showing that white men had sexual relationships with those outside their race were circulating, proving that "miscegenation" occurred and occurred against the narratives of racial purity and the "one-drop rule."

In addition, some soldiers, upon return to the United States, wished to marry American women. The marriages many of them had entered while in the Philippines, and the Filipiana women's claims to those marriages, interfered with the soldiers' abilities to re-marry. Some of the representative clippings document marriage to non-American, non-white women, and also document the voices and perspectives of the Filipina women whose status and reputations were in question. The clipping, "Repudiate Filipino Wives: Efforts of Some Army Officers to Shed Matrimonial Burdens Assumed in the Philippines," demonstrates the tensions and conflict inherent in these relational and legal conundrums:

> The suit of First Lieutenant Sidney S. Burbank, Sixth Infantry, against Mrs. Concepcion Vasquez, a Filipino woman, to set aside an alleged marriage, will come up for hearing in the Leavenworth district court next week. The suit was filed September 24 and the fifty days time allowed under Kansas statutes to answer has expired. So far the woman has not been heard from. It would require another month for the Filipino woman to make defense, as all the papers in this case have to cross the Pacific Ocean twice. The suit will be watched [with] great interest in army circles, for dozens of prospective weddings hinge on the outcome in this suit, having been held up on account of the order issued in the Burbank case that marriages of officers who had native wives in the Phillipines […]." (14)

Unfortunately, the rest of this clipping was cut off. However, Ms. Vasquez, had she so wished, hardly had a chance to prove her worth and assert the validity of her marriage: "[s]o far the woman has not been heard from." The word "repudiate" suggests that not only was the legality

of the marriages in question, but the worth, respectability, and status of the Filipina women were on trial. And, their worthiness, as if it were something that could be assessed, was not easily defendable, with papers needing to cross the Pacific Ocean twice. I imagine that language differences, basic literacy, and the complexity of the American court system would deter response. If these women did want to assert their marital rights and defend their reputation, they were faced with logistical obstacles that were almost impossible to overcome. In some respects, the plight of Filipina wives, while quasi-legitimized by marriage in the Philippines, suffered similar injustices as enslaved African American women who had been left without voice and without recompense after bearing emotional and physical violence, as well as, literally, the children, resulting from rape. Filipina women had very little access to the legal system and discourse surrounding their marriages and children and were practically invisible to the United States court system. They were abandoned by these soldiers, and, while their relationships may have been sanctioned while in the Philippines, many of the soldiers did not intend to honor those commitments, or were unwilling to honor them, post-war.

However, and surprisingly, one Filipina woman did manage to write an editorial defending her moral integrity and social worth and get it published in *The Manila Times*, which the scrapbook-maker clipped and included in this scrapbook. (The difference, here, which is significant, is that this woman's American husband apparently chose to stay in the Philippines and remain married to her; so, instead of defending her worth in respect to an impending divorce, she is defending her worth in relation to the value and legitimacy of existing marriages between American soldiers and Filipina women.) According to Nicholas Trajano Molnar, in his book *American Mestizos, The Philippines, and the Malleability of Race: 1898-1961*, the editorial section of the *Manila Times* was the "major battleground" for viewpoints on racial intermarriage

expressed through letters. One woman, a "Mrs. Lingo Lyon" co-opted language and ideas from the prevalent discourse on race and the theory of the "one-drop rule" to implicate the racial impurity of "American mestizos." She writes "about the horror and shame of American mothers across the Pacific when their sons first introduced them to their Filipina wives with little children in tow" (Trajano Molnar 33). The scrapbook-maker does not include the editorial of Mrs. Lyon, but she does include a response, dated July 12, 1907, written in Manila, P.I., and entitled "A Happy Woman":

> Since the writing of Mrs. Lingo Lyon in your paper of mix marriages I read every night something about it.
>
> I am a Philippine girl and married to an American and I am proud of it and think every woman should be proud of her husband, no difference what color he or she is.
>
> A person who signs himself 'A White Man' tells his story about this 'God forsaken country and his 'Dear little brown brother.'
>
> Now, when this particular gentleman (?) does think this is a 'God forsaken country' why does he not go home to his own country? And not tell names to any country or person.
>
> But, I think, I know the reason why. Now at the close I think every person who is of age can do as he pleases, and let us 'Cut it out,' the talk about mix marriages. I think we have enough of this.

This Filipina woman's response shows that not all soldiers disavowed their first Filipina wives and their children, and it also shows that interracial marriages existed and some were presented as thriving.

Other clippings throughout the scrapbook expose rape by men empowered by law and circumstance, even African American men over women native to Africa. The clipping, "Calls Consuls Immoral: Missionary Says Foreigners in Liberia Prey on Native Women," shares how Miss A.A. Klein, a missionary from Florence Crittenton, an agency devoted to helping unwed mothers, charges consular officials of "gross immorality," describing how "native women in Liberia are regarded by Consuls as legitimate prey" and reminds readers of "the duty of the

community to illegitimate children" (3). In this clipping, Klein describes African American missionaries from the African Methodist Episcopalian Church raping Africans in Liberia and calling these acts "criminal assault […] in many instances unconcealed" (5). Clearly, rape and illegitimacy of children are not an issue limited to white slaveowners against their slaves, but an issue that can happen in any situation where power is uneven and social and political status is differentiated by law or circumstance. This story also works against the calls of some in this era to return African American slaves to Africa, as, clearly, this story shows a social and political divide between native Africans and those returning to Africa from the United States as representatives.

While these clippings do not discuss rape between white slaveowners and African American slaves or explicitly show the achievements of African Americans, they do show a clear interest on the part of the scrapbook maker in the plight of those born of rape or relationships illegitimated by existing social or moral code. The clippings are evidence of the existence of these children, and when placed next to clippings demonstrating their accomplishments, they expose the moral hypocrisy of those lynching and the subordination of those of mixed-race as intellectually, morally, and physically inferior. They also show that those in power, when asserting moral superiority over those with less power, are hypocritical, guilty of often heinous abuses of those presumed to be in their care or under their authority. In another clipping, President Roosevelt, in calling for swift judiciary punishment of those guilty of lynching, describes this hypocrisy well: those who lynch "show their contempt for the law when killing a man for alleged violation of the law" (6). Unfortunately, while his wife worked arduously in support of anti-lynching bills, Roosevelt did not support them, fearing he would lose Southern white voters (Little n.p.).

II. Proof of White Hypocrisy: Lynching and Cruel Punishment

The Ideal Scrap Book adds to the work of Ida B. Wells who published the pamphlet *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in all its Phases* through the 1890s documenting lynching in the United States and revealing the hypocrisy of lynching as it relates to rape, desire, and interracial union. She writes that:

> there are many white women in the South who would marry colored men if such an act would not place them at once beyond the pale of society and within the clutches of the law. The miscegenation laws of the South only operate against the legitimate union of the races; they leave the white man free to seduce all the colored girls he can, but it is death to the colored man who yields to the force and advances of a similar attraction in white women. White men lynch the offending Afro-American, not because he is a despoiler of virtue, but because he succumbs to the smiles of white women.

In addition, she writes about how "a large majority of the 'superior' white men" involved with lynching African American men were "the reputed fathers of mulatto children" (8). These interracial unions revealed the hypocrisy of white men and women claiming moral superiority and also contradicted and undermined prevailing racial theories advocating segregation in all areas of life and living.

Many pages of clippings cover discourse on "The Race Problem," tackling the various arguments about how racial categories might be used to organize political, economic, and social structures/practices moving into the twentieth century. Arguments for complete racial division, such as that of John Temple Graves – "Separation of the races is the way – the only way" (13) were often rooted in claims about the moral and intellectual inferiority of African Americans, and that inferiority was used to justify the argument for exile from the United States to Africa

and for their collective and institutional oppression and mistreatment. Included in this scrapbook is Graves' speech to the University of Chicago class of the 48th convocation:

> I appeal for Caucasian unity. I appeal for the imperial destiny of our might [place?]. This is our country. We made it. We molded it. We control it and we always will […] The Negro is an accident – an unwilling, blameless, helpless, unassimilable element in our civilization.

In another address covered by the *New York Times* on August 12th, 1903, not included in this scrapbook, Graves justifies lynching, claiming that existing law was not enough to deter the raping of white women by African American men:

> The problem of the hour is not how to prevent lynching in the South, but the larger question: How shall we destroy the crime which always has and always will provoke lynching? The answer which the mob returns to this vital question is already known. The mob answers it with the rope, the bullet, and sometimes, God save us! with the torch. And the mob is practical; its theory is effective to a large degree. The mob is today the sternest, the strongest, and the most effective restraint that the age holds for the control of rape.

In another clipping, a Reverend J.M Waldron discusses the "Race Problem." In a speech to the First Congregational Church, he claims that "[t]he masses of colored people in the South are morally only a little better off than they were at the close of the war" [13]. However, the maker of the *Ideal Scrap Book* juxtaposes claims of moral inferiority with the behaviors of whites against African Americans and even amongst themselves. For example, in one clipping, called "Worse than Dark Africa: Ours Is the Only Country that Roasts Men at the Stake, Says Pastor," Reverend Dr Robert MacArthur of Calvary Baptist Church is recorded as saying that, "There is not a spot today in the darkest Africa or in any other pagan land where such atrocities are committed […] Ours is the only country on the globe that roasts at the stake men uncondemned and untried" (11), referring to widespread lynching occurring in the United States. Another clipping details lynching statistics by state, showing how widespread it was at the time (15).

Another clipping, titled “Protest Against the Law: Booker T. Washington Denounces the Burning of Negroes at the Stake” (16) is a letter published by Washington revealing the widespread hypocrisy, lawlessness, and depravity occurring:

> Within the last fortnight three members of my race have been burned at the stake, of these one was a woman. Not one of the three was charged with any crime even remotely connected with the abuse of a white woman. In every case murder was the sole acclamation. All of these burnings took place in broad daylight and two of them occurred on Sunday afternoon in sight of a Christian church.

He goes on to point out the degradation not of blacks but of the whites perpetuating these awful acts of violence:

> These burnings without trial are in the deepest sense unjust to my race, but it is not this injustice alone which stirs my heart. These barbarous scenes, by the publication of the shocking details are more disgraceful and degrading to the people who inflict the punishment than to those who receive it […] Worse of all, these […] take place in communities where there are Christian churches; in the midst of people who have their Sunday schools, their Christian Endeavor societies and Young Men’s Christian associations; where collections are taken up for the sending of missionaries to African and China and the rest of the so-called heathen world.

Washington, here, is especially disturbed by how lynching contradicts the Christian worldview espoused by whites, one in which all humans would be equally loved and that requires justice and peace towards others. Washington bravely calls out the hypocrisy of those committing lynching, calling them “barbarous,” “disgraceful,” and “degrading,” not to African Americans, but to those committing the violence.

III. Proof of Existence and Accomplishments of African Americans

While *The Ideal Scrap Book* contains no explicit reference to "mulattoes," many of the people referenced were categorized as "mulatto" in census records when the racial category existed and was used by the U.S. Census Bureau. Since the scrapbook documents the accomplishments of African Americans as printed in various newspapers, it inevitably documents the accomplishments of those of mixed racial descent: as Mencke reports in his treatment of the subject in *Mulattoes and Race Mixture: American Attitudes and Images 1865-1918*, "A survey of prominent Negro leaders in Reconstruction, both at the state and national level, indicates that most were of mixed blood. Indeed, this fact was not only characteristic of politics, but of religion, education, business, and the professions, as well" (22). Mencke continues by explaining that, "mulattoes had an overwhelming majority of the wealth and education in the Negro community. For the most part, this resulted from their elevated status during the ante-bellum period, including the patronage and aid of white fathers" (26).

The *Ideal Scrap Book* documents the many accomplishments of African American leaders, including those of mixed ancestry, working against much of the racial discourse occurring at the time by showing that those of mixed-race not only existed, but in many ways, were thriving. For example, Tuskegee archive director Monroe N. Work's own educational accomplishments are documented in a clipping called, "Monroe N. Work Who Receives Degree Next Tuesday" which shares that he will be receiving a master of arts from the University of Chicago – and is "the first negro to be honored by that institution" (31). Another clipping highlights the ability of African Americans to vote: "One of the Few Colored Men Who Vote" – and another clipping, aptly titled, "New Struggle for Negro: Fannie B. Williams Says He Will Have to Overcome Prejudice Against His Growing Intelligence" describes how a postmistress warns that the accomplishments of African Americans will be diminished, as she, who has

served her Mississippi community well over many years, is "ruthlessly ignored" by the "dominant race"–all of her virtues were "counted as nothing." She is an example of how "[the Negro's] intelligence and his achievements are things to be dreaded" (34).

The scrapbook includes examples of not only mixed-race individuals thriving, but also of organizations and communities thriving when races are integrated within them. For example, one clipping describes how H. L. Taylor, who was labeled as "colored," became Head of the Building Laborers' International Protective Association and presided over "large numbers of members of the opposite race" and is a "very popular man" (15). Other clippings show more humble accomplishments, but notable nonetheless. One clipping highlights the interracial marriage between an African American man and white woman and describes the couple's positive contributions to the community: "Clarion's Only Colored Resident" M. C. Lester – is "married to a white woman who is spoken of as the leading milliner of the town" (16). As a barber, he practices his trade next to a white barber and the two barbers hold each other in "highest esteem" and do not have any "jealousy or rivalry" between them (16). White and African American building laborers also worked together: the clipping, "Is Made President" – describes how H. L. Taylor is made president of the local union of building laborers, overseeing a larger number of white laborers, and some African Americans (15). On another page is a clipping titled, "Colored Student Who Has Received Two High Degrees" (59), which describes the early accomplishments of Richard Robert Wright, Jr., who eventually earned his PhD in Sociology from the University of Pennsylvania and was the editor for *The Christian Recorder*, the oldest existing periodical published by African Americans from 1909-1936. Another clipping establishes that there is a "colored" Helen Keller: "Bright Boy is Blind and Deaf: John Porter Riley, Colored Lad, Attracts Attention: He May Become as Famous as Hellen Keller" (17), and

another clipping shows the nomination of R. C. Ransom "For Editor" of *The Christian Recorder* (5), placed on the same page as a column on lynching–a clear juxtaposing of the contributions of African Americans with their persecution, which is thematically repeated throughout the scrapbook.

These thriving African Americans were perceived as threats to the power and standing of white Americans and some discourse, as shown in many of the included clippings, sought to disenfranchise these leaders. For example, in Memphis, Tennessee, Senator Edward Carmack's efforts to repeal the 15th Amendment of the Constitution were presented as a "permanent solution of the negro question," inasmuch as the repeal promised to eliminate "the enfranchised negro as a political factor" (61). Others attempted to annihilate those Africans seen as threats by lynching. Directly juxtaposed with some of these articles are clippings describing the abuse of African American men and women, including lynchings. For example, next to the clipping about the man appointed to union leadership is a "List for the Year" of lynchings occurring so far each month, including the counties and states where the lynchings occurred. According to this clipping, lynchings of African American men and women were widespread, occurring in Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Caroline, Texas, Alabama, and more.

However, the scrapbook does not merely document atrocities and celebrate achievements: by juxtaposing these clippings, it shows that while the accomplishments of those of mixed racial descent existed and were widespread, many advocates for the separation of the races insisted that racial mixing resulted in moral and intellectual inferiority. It also shows that the discourse surrounding race is perplexing, contradictory, and reveals hypocrisy, and the realities of those of mixed-race are subjugated in favor of competing ideologies and theories about the future of African Americans' role and status in the United States. In one of the

clippings, an article called "The Problem of the Races: Able Address Given By John Temple Graves: Way to Settle Perplexing Question" at the University of Chicago, the author argues that "[s]eparation of the races is the way – the only way […] [God] did not intend for opposite and antagonistic races should live together" (9); he fails to acknowledge that the "opposite" and "antagonistic" races were not clearly distinguishable, as many leaders either embodied both races or were already integrated in various successful ways into arenas dominated by whites, and pushed forward into positions of social, educational, and political leadership.

The *Negro Year Books*: What Are They?

Scrapbooks were a prototype of sorts for other, more formalized collections produced by African American intellectuals and historians later, such as *The Negro Year Books*, which are some of the most important records of African American experiences occurring in the early twentieth century and held by Department of Records and Research, founded in 1908. According to *BlackPast.org: Remembered and Reclaimed*, the *Negro Year Books* constituted "a permanent record of current events, an encyclopedia of facts, and a directory of persons and organizations. Published by Tuskegee, this series became the most well-known and accepted source of facts about black life in the United States" (np). According to the entry on Guzman published in the anthology *Notable Black American Women, Book II*:

> [t]he department kept a daily record of events in black life from every possible source, both private and governmental. In time, the materials collected consisted of thousands of books related to race, race relations, and social problems; countless bulletins, pamphlets, brochures, official documents, letters, and manuscripts; and thousands of clippings from newspapers and magazines arranged by topic and event. The department's major published works were a *Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America* and nine editions of the *Negro Year Book*, both essential sources for early information on blacks throughout the world. First published in 1912, the yearbook brought together for the first time in

> a condensed form pertinent information on blacks and was a new and valuable attempt to register the progress of a race. (267)

The Negro Year Books and *Bibliography* joined the stream of other important studies on the lives of African Americans at the turn of the century, such as *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study*, by W.E. DuBois and published in 1899, which detailed the lives of African Americans by class and argues that social conditions affected the success and behaviors of African Americans rather than any theorized inherent or biological deficiency. These aims were shared by the work of *The Negro Year Books*, as they catalogued accomplishments across the continents of African Americans and juxtaposed them with the abuses they suffered, revealing the injustices resulting from prevailing racial theories at the time. Yet, very little scholarly attention has been given to *The Negro Year Books*, and no attention has been given to the likely significance of the role scrapbooking may have had in their eventual inception and publication.

The complexities of the power of the *Negro Year Books* are hard to ignore, and it is difficult to imagine that their original creator, Monroe Nathan Work, was unaware of their multi-faceted rhetorical function. In fact, Work may have, like women makers of scrapbooks, practiced a sort of sidelong feminism (discussed in chapter one); as a man whose self and family had been subjected to systematic oppression, he was also interested in expressing agency, claiming his voice and declaring "the complexity of [his] full humanity, all by using modes that, on the surface, appeared compliant with and respectful" to his benefactor and his benefactor's own rhetorical goals (Wills 94).

Work has been described as having "straddled the line" on the debates between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois, having worked closely with both leaders. Scholars still have yet to identify with certainty Work's views on the best possible future of African Americans in the United States and how those views related to the prominent leaders with whom

he interacted over the course of his life. While most of his working years were spent as an employee of and advisor to Booker T. Washington at the Tuskegee Institute, prior to being employed by Washington, he briefly joined the Niagara Movement with DuBois and others organizing against Washington and Washington's advocacy of advancing African Americans by preparing them for industrial labor, delaying their civic and political rights until they were "ready."

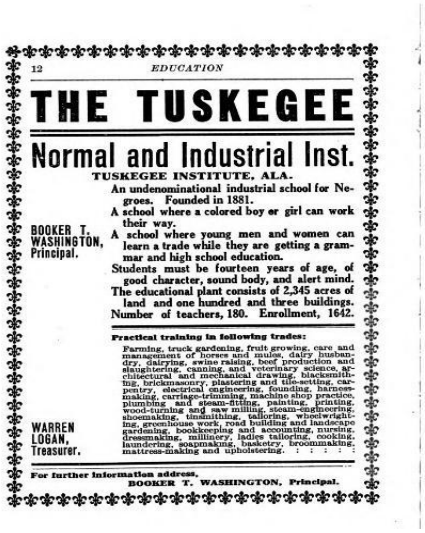
Work initiated the *Negro Year Books* project in 1912, four years after he began his tenure at Tuskegee University, then called the *Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute*, and a few years after, he left the Niagara Movement against Washington. He founded and directed the Records and Research Department, a division set up in part to support fact-checking for Washington, Tuskegee's president, who was often delivering speeches and doing writing that required accurate data. Jessie P. Guzman, Work's eventual successor, one of the first female African American academics who published in scholarly journals, and the woman who bequeathed scrapbooks to Tuskegee's archival department, describes how Work came to be hired at Tuskegee in her article, "Monroe Nathan Work and his Contributions: Background and Preparation for Life's Career," published in 1949 in *The Journal of Negro History*. I quote this article at-length here because of the event's significance in light of the then current social and political debates occurring between Washington and W.E. DuBois, which I will describe more fully later:

> The demands upon the Principal of Tuskegee Institute for public appearances and statements were so great that it was impossible for him to check carefully every statement he made, and his speeches and writings sometimes contained errors with reference to dates, names, places and figures. It seemed important to his friends that he correct these deficiencies. A discussion with several members of the Board of Trustees of Tuskegee Institute led to the suggestion that Thomas Jesse Jones, then Director of the Department of Research at Hampton Institute was the person to approach Booker T. Washington

> on the subject of employing a competent person, a part of whose job would be to furnish needed data. Booker T. Washington was impressed with the suggestion and Monroe N. Work was recommended for the position. Data previously furnished by him to Dr. Jones on the Negro population and education in the United States showed that he was not only the most resourceful in seeking and finding facts, but that he was also thorough and accurate in compiling them. (436)

Work was hired at the recommendation of Tuskegee's Board of Trustees, but Washington's decision to comply with the Board's desire could have been fueled also by his "Racial Uplift" approach to improving conditions for African Americans in the South.

Before working at Tuskegee, Work attended the University of Chicago, and after he earned his master's degree in 1903, he was hired as faculty at Georgia State Industrial College in Savannah. While in Savannah, he was a part of the anti-Washington Niagara Movement alongside W.E. DuBois, which spanned from 1905-1910, overlapping with his departure and decision to work for Washington at Tuskegee (blackpast.org). Clearly, Work straddled the line between both leaders at least temporally and spatially and to the degree that both leaders trusted him, recruited him, and used him in their efforts. Work's views and allegiances, left largely unexpressed, at least overtly, were quieted in favor of his project of documenting the facts and atrocities surrounding the experiences and accomplishments of African Americans, a project that, on its surface, invites little scrutiny and avoids controversy, while amassing evidence that nevertheless commands attention, complicates, and subverts mainstream and prominent narratives and ideologies – even, and, most notably, those espoused by Washington himself.



12 EDUCATION

THE TUSKEGEE

Normal and Industrial Inst.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALA.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, Principal.

An undenominational industrial school for Negroes. Founded in 1881.

A school where a colored boy or girl can work their way.

A school where young men and women can learn a trade while they are getting a grammar and high school education.

Students must be fourteen years of age, of good character, sound body, and alert mind.

The educational plant consists of 2,345 acres of land and one hundred and three buildings.

Number of teachers, 180. Enrollment, 1642.

WARREN LOGAN, Treasurer.

Practical training in following trades:

Farming, truck gardening, fruit growing, care and management of horses and mules, dairy husbandry, dairying, swine raising, beef production and slaughtering, canning, and veterinary science, architectural and mechanical drawing, blacksmithing, brickmasonry, plastering and tile-setting, carpentry, electrical engineering, founding, harness-making, carriage-trimming, machine shop practice, plumbing and steam-fitting, painting, printing, wood-turning and saw milling, steam-engineering, shoemaking, tinsmithing, tailoring, wheelwrighting, greenhouse work, road building and landscape gardening, bookkeeping and accounting, nursing, dressmaking, millinery, ladies' tailoring, cooking, laundering, soapmaking, basketry, broommaking, mattress-making and upholstering. . . . . .

For further information address,
BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, Principal.

Figure 2.1 Advertisement just before cover page of the first Negro Year Book published in 1912

CONTENTS.

Figure 2.2 Table of Contents of the first Negro Year Book published in 1912

The first Negro Year Book, with pages shown above, was published in 1912 and funded in part by Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. In the included advertisement, Washington promotes Tuskegee as a place for African Americans to learn "trades," such as "farming, truck gardening, fruit growing, […] painting, […] road-building" along with "good character." However, what Work actually documents in the body of the Year Book is that African Americans were already achieving in realms that required much higher levels of literacy, political acumen, and moral fortitude as he organizes his material in sections such as "In the Economic Field," "The Religious World," "Education," "Politics," and "The Race Problem." Clearly, Work pushes against the limitations of Washington's advocacy at the time for African Americans to focus on industrial education by mastering vocational skills and building their own infrastructure in order to advance themselves. The advertisement above shows Washington's educational focus: "Farming, truck gardening, fruit growing […]," ending in "upholstering"; but, the *Negro Year Book* of 1912 highlights accomplishments in intellectual, spiritual, political educational, and social pursuits, obviously surpassing any roles and spheres Washington was openly endorsing for African Americans at the time. Later sections in this *Negro Year Book* are organized by sections and titles such as, "Where Black Men Govern," "Music and the Fine Arts," "Negro Soldiers and Heroes," "Civil and Political Status of the Negro," "Some Negro Business Men," "Negro Physicians," "Some Singers of Prominence," "Some Composers of Music," "Professional Schools: Theology, Law, Medicine, Dentistry and Pharmacy," "College Graduates," "National Women's Christian Temperance Work Among Colored Women," "Colored Members of Congress," and more. The juxtaposition of Washington's position on the prospects for African Americans in the United States and the capacity for achievement evidenced by the *Negro Year Book* is hard to ignore – the *Negro Year*

Book literally opens with a call to African Americans to become educated in various kinds of labor and trade, but what follows in the body of the *Negro Year Book* itself shows that the potential for and evidence of achievement by African Americans far surpasses Washington's limiting vision, showing the already important contributions of African Americans to all aspects of American social, political, and intellectual life.

Although Washington died in 1915, the *Negro Year Books* continued to be published through Work's retirement in 1938 and by his successor, Jessie P. Guzman, at least until 1947. Also in 1912, Work began publishing biannually the "lynching report," joining efforts by those such as Ida B. Wells, to chronicle and document all lynching, thus bringing national and ongoing attention to one form of mistreatment and violence occurring against African Americans during that period.

Commonalities between Scrapbooks and the Negro Year Books

Scrapbooking is the informal, unsponsored collecting and amassing of evidence, and in many ways, the precursor or prototype to more formal, commissioned collections of evidence. Scrapbooks were a safe space to make meaning of disparate events and commentary, bringing them together to expose and forge identities that were contradicted or outright rejected in mainstream, dominant discourse. Scrapbooks allowed African Americans to build these rhetorical skills and accumulate and store data safely – skills and data that would be useful in other future, more public-facing attempts at achieving equality. Garvey, likewise, argues that "[s]crapbook compilations on lynching became way stations for information to be turned into other publications […] The scrapbook was a stop along the way to gather and concentrate information that could be used 'at a proper time'" (152). The rhetorical skills engendered and

emerging in scrapbook-making – reading rhetorically, analyzing the significance of print material, rearranging meaning to create new narratives – easily transferred once leaders like Work and Guzman were in positions of influence over data collection and narrative-building. The enterprise of scrapbook-making surely helped to engender the rhetorical skills necessary to Work and Guzman's critical efforts to document and compile African American experiences and accomplishments in *The Negro Year Books* at the Tuskegee Institute. According to Garvey, and as the scrapbook included in this dissertation shows, scrapbook makers amassed and preserved evidence, showing the struggles and advancements of African Americans, and documenting their achievements. They presented strong role models, compiled evidence, used testimony for their case, and created a record of hypocrisy, injustices, half-truths, hatred, and, overall, of incidents that would help correct dominant narratives seeking to establish that African Americans were not thriving in the United States and that they were not thriving because they were innately and genetically inferior.

Like scrapbook-makers, Work and Guzman amassed, collected, and organized evidence gleaned from newspapers from around the world, all in *The Negro Year Book*, but for decidedly public and academic audiences. And scrapbooks, in many ways, were a precursor to *The Negro Year Books*, inasmuch as they also presented empirical evidence, arranging it in such a way as to contest and respond to contemporary discourse about race. At Tuskegee, it was understood by members of Booker T. Washington's team that assembling data to support arguments and histories was a public, official, and mainstream act and had the capacity to influence a wide range of socio-political forces; fields such as sociology and anthropology were demanding it. And if African Americans were going to shape and/or contribute to these conversations in any meaningful way, and in ways that advanced their civil, social, economic, and legal status, they

needed to be able to enter this discourse forcefully, with ethos and authority. Indeed, the *Negro Year Books*, as the scrapbooks that preceded them, responded to this disciplinary demand, contributing to all four areas identified by Garvey (and discussed earlier in this chapter). The research they contained 1) showed that African Americans were active agents in American history and were capable and patriotic; 2) asserted "race pride" by highlighting and claiming the accomplishments of black people, and, thus, creating role models, 3) compiled evidence of the mistreatment of African American people, and 4) created a historical record for black communities.

Effects of Monroe Nathan Work's Data on Booker T. Washington

In fact, Work, who founded the *The Negro Year Book* and the Research and Records Department that housed them at Tuskegee, influenced Washington's views by reinforcing his idea that African Americans could progress. Work achieved this by becoming familiar with the work of anthropologist Franz Boas just before taking his position at Tuskegee in 1908. In his article "Monroe N. Work's Contribution to Booker T. Washington's Nationalist Legacy," Vernon Williams describes how "Boas responded to the dominate racist discourse in anthropology-first, by utilizing the tools of anthropometry to generate new facts on which anti-racist claims could be based. Second, he used scientific reasoning to question racist explanations of facts" (87). Adopting Boas' strategy, Work: "insist[ed]" that: "attempting to write scientific sociology and history was a necessary attack on those of most White scholars and commentators who approached the study of blacks as if the issues were clear-cut." According to Williams, Work "would, in a few years completely alter the way in which Book T. Washington conceived of African Americans' despised ancestors. In so doing, Work would reinforce Washington's

belief in the ability of African Americans to progress, thereby further distancing Washington's position from that of the partisan purveyors of White supremacy" (88). In another article analyzing Work's life work, the author finds Work "presenting his case again and again, each time without hostility, in hope of changing conditions by changing the attitudes behind them" (342).

Guzman's Scholarly and Civic Accomplishments

As I argue in my introduction to this dissertation, the making of *The Ideal Scrap Book* and scrapbooks in general entails a certain degree of risk-taking in that the narratives forged push up against and defy already-established and powerful narratives of African American inferiority. *The Ideal Scrap Book*'s author is anonymous; in no place is the author's name etched or scribbled. Anonymity diminishes risk; it carries with it little of the potential consequences of authorship. I argue that the revised narratives help forge a positive identity for African Americans, and a new, empowering historical platform from which to rise. Instead of descending from immoral, inferior ancestors, Guzman establishes, through her life's research and work, that African Americans descend from brave intellectuals and social and political agents, achieving against all odds. Also included in Guzman's archival collection are her speeches, curriculum vitae, and campaign ads for her run for Macon County's Board of Education. Guzman clearly bridges her historical research and scholarly work with her eventual civic participation and leadership. In a draft of what appears to be a speech delivered during her campaign for office called "Democracy and Education in Macon County, Alabama," she declares that:

> practically all of [my] life has been spent in educational institutions, either as a student or as a worker. I have had teaching experience, from the graded schools through college. My thirty-three years in educational work has been divided between teaching, administration and research. I have become acquainted with the

> problems of students, with the problems of teachers, of administrators and of parents. (n.p.)

Later in the speech, she calls for more studies to be done to reveal the conditions of classrooms, including their relative provision of adequate space, supplies, and equipment, to see if they are "adequate to the present and future needs of the schools in the county." Clearly, she understands the process and power of providing empirical evidence to justify social change within educational institutions, and she is ready and prepared to begin data collection and analysis. Additionally, Guzman appears in a newspaper section called "Your History," featuring Tuskegee faculty and staff. She is described as

> One of America's most competent research scholars… Director, Dept. of Research and Records, Tuskegee Institute…specializes in negro history and race relations, assisted the late Doctor Monroe Work with Negro Year Book from 1912 to 1938 and the monumental and invaluable "Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America"…Editor, 1947 Negro Year Book… Graduate, Howard Univ., Master of Arts, Columbia Univ… Taught history at New Orleans College and Alabama State Teachers College …former Dean of Women Tuskegee, Member American Teachers' Assn […]. (n.p.)

Another biographical clipping portrays Guzman as she works on her study entitled "The Role of the Negro Woman in American Life," which emphasizes "the Negro woman as a stabilizer of group life, as a potent factor in home-making, in education, in property accumulation and in community building." Other scholarship by Guzman includes: "Monroe Nathan Work and His Contributions," "Crusade for Civic Democracy: The Story of the Tuskegee Civic Association, 1941-1970," "Twenty Years of Court Decisions Affecting Higher Education in the South 1938-1958," "The Social Contributions of the Negro Woman Since 1940," and "George Washington Carver: A Classified Bibliography." Clearly, Guzman's cultural and historical foundation is not one rooted in failure; rather, Guzman's identity as an African American woman is rooted in well-documented personal and generational accomplishment and achievement. In fact, she co-authored one article, "Lynching—Crime: Negro Year Book: A Review of Events Affecting

Negro Life, 1944-1946," that commends the work of the white and African American presses, law enforcement, and tireless documentation of The Negro Year Books for the downward trend in lynchings.

I highlight Guzman's academic and civic accomplishments in order to show how some rhetorical efforts at making meaning which are at the onset fragmented and seemingly personal can move individuals and groups towards rhetoric that is more overtly situated in spheres that have defined audiences and are institutionalized as being part of civic discourse. Rhetorical acts such as scrapbooking can help makers communicate that which is forbidden, unable to be spoken, or is unutterable because of the confusion of identity and loss of self that can occur after individual and collective traumas such as slavery and rape. The scrapbook, in particular, allows makers to forge associations between that which has become disassociated, broken, or fragmented by oppressive situations and their narratives. These oppressive narratives could be pushed out by dominant media or could be a result of communities willfully denying truths as inaccurate or lies. *The Ideal Scrap Book* forged new narratives, using the press against itself to rewrite the stories that were being told about African Americans at the time, and helped to reconstitute African American identity and virtue. They also invited makers to physically process information and arrange disparate views in a way that more fully engages the body (the hands), which spurs the cognitive process of forging relationships and making connections, discovering junctures that resonate and are meaningful. Fostering critical consciousness and ways of relating to self and others helps us move towards a world that is more equitable; these kinds of practices have relevance in educational institutions today, particularly at the community colleges in California, which have equity at the forefront of their mission.

Currently, I teach at a community college in Orange County, California and have been a part of equity efforts on campus. Our English Department focuses largely on improving achievement gaps across racial categories by looking at curriculum and programming. We hope our efforts contribute to a college culture and institutional framework that are ready for students and committed to their success. While we have focused in the English Department on pedagogy, we have not yet looked at the writing process we teach and considered whether or not it engages students in reading and writing in ways that are relational and inspiring. I hope that *The Ideal Scrap Book* might be an example of how incorporating a wider range of modalities and genres in the inventive process of reading and writing might help students uncover connections that are meaningful to them. Juxtaposing articles (or snippets of them) physically with hands might foster discoveries of tensions, resistance, contradictions, resonances that otherwise may not have been discovered. Giving students the opportunity to work with juxtaposition (through scrapbooking) might lead to their uncovering of historical connections and support their sense of empowerment in intervening in and/or writing history. The physical practice of juxtaposing texts that students perceive as related (or that need to be related) provides a cognitive invitation to them to do the work of forging relationships. Inventive activities that embrace a process of crafting and making might honor multimodal, feminist values of reading and writing by moving students towards feeling and thinking that is invested, relational, and empowering. I hope this kind of invention might support students who are marginalized by discourse in the composition classroom and engender persistent and lifelong rhetorical literacy.

Chapter 3 — Scrapbooking as Material Agency: The Promise of Juxtaposition as Meaningful Invention in the Community College Composition Classroom

"A composition is an expression of relationships – between parts and parts, between parts and whole, between the visual and the verbal, between text and context, between reader and composer, between what is intended and what is unpacked, between hope and realization. And, ultimately, between human beings" -- Kathleen Yancey (100)

A Need for Inventive Practices that Encourage Meaning-Making and the Forging of Counter-Narratives

bell hooks writes in her book *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black* that college-level students "suffer [...] from a crisis of meaning, unsure about what has value in life [and] long for a context where their subjective needs can be integrated with study" (51). hooks wrote this over thirty years ago, and I think that what she observed then is still observable in many of today's composition classrooms. Students in first-year composition courses, especially first-generation students, and especially first-generation students in community colleges, often enter the classroom thinking their subjective needs and the content and aims of the classroom are unrelated, disparate, even conflicting. They do not see assigned texts as something with which to interact or to interrogate, but something taught, something authoritative, something outside of them. Something to be believed or, at least, learned. Texts are not one of many possible narratives, but are often *the* narrative, even when subjugating or ignoring their own, often conflicting narratives, and, even when presented by the instructor with multiple viewpoints. I've found that when confronted with evidence of narratives or arguments that contradict their own lived experience, students often stay silent rather than openly engaging — and, I have no evidence to suggest that these silences are rhetorical or purposeful; rather, they seem like

expressions of timidness or discomfort. In one case study, recently published in the article "Does My Story Belong? An Intersectional Critical Race Feminist Analysis of Student Silence in a Diverse Classroom," the researchers found that, "students remained silent because they felt their complicated intersectional realities did not fit with the acceptable classroom counter-narrative" (Vacarro 27). And, in general, students seem to resist complexity in writing, as Ann E. Berthoff writes in *The Making of Meaning: Metaphors, Models, and Maxims*:

> the most difficult aspect of teaching writing as process and of considering it the result of something that is nurtured and brought along, not mechanically produced, is that our students do not like uncertainty (who does?); they find it hard to tolerate ambiguity and are tempted to what psychologists call 'premature closure.' They want the writing to be over and done with." (22)

Intolerance of ambiguity might be explained as a response to emotions, feelings, or ideas that are too difficult to understand, confusing, or overwhelming: Shari J. Stenberg explains that "we may seek to avoid the ambiguity and discomfort that accompany genuine inquiry into emotional investments" (46), which might prevent us from experiencing or moving towards an understanding of self that is relational or critical. Rejecting ambiguity and emotion could be a form of internalized patriarchy, as historically, ambiguity and emotion have been gendered as feminine, and thus, inferior. If students already "find it hard to tolerate ambiguity" and spaces aren't carved out to allow for ambiguity to be productive, notions of literacy might be limited to only conventional "reading and writing skills." Literacy, according to Royster's definition in *Traces of a Stream: Literacy and Social Change Among African Americans*, is "the ability to gain access to information and to use this information variously to articulate lives and experiences and also to identify, think through, refine, and solve problems, sometimes complex problems, over time" (Royster 45). However, articulating lives and experiences, especially in relation to information that contradicts or minimizes those lives and experiences, can be a form

of breaking silences, which is daring: in her preface to her book, hooks rightly characterizes the feminist enterprise as one that is committed to "breaking silences" and, further, that "[d]aring women to speak out, to tell our stories has been one of the central life transforming aspects of the feminist movement" (preface). Here, and throughout my dissertation, I have employed feminist theories and values and applied them broadly to women and others who have been marginalized socially, historically, or institutionally, especially (in this chapter) in the classroom, thus, appreciating how feminist values of egalitarianism and empowerment are intersectional and relevant across subjectivities. I claim that the knowledge of those with less power is important, needs to be heard, and benefits those who identify with it and those who initially might not.

But the ways we teach students to engage with texts and the often rigid writing process we expect them to adopt can limit their ability to respond rhetorically in meaningful ways by discouraging them from articulating the problems that matter to them. I argue in this chapter that *The Ideal Scrap Book* models well the opportunities students might have to engage with reading as inventors, considering assigned texts as made, malleable, unstable, intertextual, and material, which could increase in them a will to create and a sense of relationship to and agency in the worlds around them. A more robust and diverse range of inventive practices, especially those that are more multimodal and embodied, can help students (and instructors) identify what is meaningful to them, what is important, what resonates, and, most importantly, here, what contradicts and even works to oppress or ignore their own experiences and perceptions; and to situate those tensions, moving them towards civic or social engagement that articulates and solves problems. Before reconsidering the ways we teach invention in first-year composition programs, especially at the community college level, I first offer an overview of current practices

where I teach at Saddleback College, contextualize them, and then engage feminist and multimodal ideas about rhetoric to support new inventive practices in the classroom.

Composition Instruction in the Community College Setting

My analysis of the *Ideal Scrap Book* might have import for scrapbooking as a viable practice and powerful rhetorical tool rooted in feminist pedagogy in first-year composition courses, especially at the community college. As Royster suggests, any conclusions drawn about the literate practices of African American women might "overlap with experiences of others, so too it is likely that any conclusions" drawn "might well apply to the literate practices of others" (*Traces* 8). Like many women and African Americans at the turn of the twentieth century, many community college learners are first-generation students who are often developing their writing skills in relation to discourses that marginalize, diminish, intimidate, and represent only a handful of viewpoints. In addition, achievement gaps still persist between Black students and those of other demographics: according to its "Campaign for College Opportunity's 2019 report on the State of Higher Education for Black Californians," 63% of Black community college students do not earn a degree or certificate, or transfer within six years. Moreover [...] California community colleges transfer only 3% of Black students within two years, and only 35% within six years." Given these figures, marginalized students today might benefit from the same practices that allowed African Americans to practice the rhetorical literacy needed for social change and advocacy over a century ago. Before moving on to an overview of the institutional factors at play in teaching and learning composition in the community college classroom, I share my own investedness and situatedness here. I also hope to establish early in this chapter that

occasionally "using personal anecdotes to contextualize [my] own experiential knowledge and agency" is an appropriate feminist method of knowledge-making (Glenn 145).

I write from a privileged place. I am in my seventh year at Saddleback College, full-time, tenured, and on sabbatical. (Yet during this unusual year of COVID-19, I steal hours of writing at hotels, route my young children to different people who are willing to help, and long for a sense of accomplishment.) My college has been generous in supporting my dissertation project and, therefore, my project needs to show a clear relationship to my work there. So I will refer to my college and our department's general practices and philosophies throughout this chapter. My own teaching background is similar to that of most other composition teachers at Saddleback and other community colleges, except that I am one of the few to be hired in a tenure-track position. Before attending the University of California, San Diego and taking rhetoric and composition courses, and before being hired in a permanent position, I taught as an associate at a community college for about five years before receiving any formal disciplinary training. With an MFA in poetry, I had already been teaching composition at Grossmont College and business writing at San Diego State University and California State University, Fullerton. Most faculty teaching at community colleges are contingent and many do not have in-depth training in composition and rhetoric. In those early years, I led classes, drafting lesson plans directly from the suggested textbook and using my intuition, love of my students, and love of writing to inspire my practice; while "love" and "intuition" are not inherently deficient (I argue later making a space for intuition in the composing process is important), I did not understand my own pedagogical choices (or that I had any). I mention my lack of training and subsequent initiation into our field only to show that I respect all instructors, especially associate faculty, and appreciate the hard work they do, often with minimal reciprocation or reward, and I offer my analysis of the

institutional conditions of the community college and the effects they have on teaching and learning in the composition classroom not as a critique of instructors, but as a form of investment in them. In acknowledging the challenges present for teaching and learning in the community college composition classroom, I hope to convey my desire to support and strengthen the important work we all do. The promise of better-trained instructors is high for teaching and learning at the community or two-year college:

> Writing studies professionals are perhaps in the best position to stage an intervention to increase the academic success and retention of students whose only pathway to a college degree is through an open access institution. Writing studies is a "high-contact" discipline because college composition is a near-universal requirement for a college degree and because two of the defining characteristics of writing classes are individual conferencing and ongoing feedback on student texts. (Hassel and Giordano 90)

Unfortunately, however, I suspect my patchworked pedagogy may not have had the positive, life-changing results for my students as I imagined: "Recent research has linked the use of contingent faculty to decreased student retention and reductions in transfer rates" (Hassel and Giordano 89). Well-meaning instructors, even full-time instructors, are mostly trained in English, Creative Writing, or Literature, and not Rhetoric or Composition, and need support. While my focus here will not be on training faculty, the institutional context is important to understand because it prefaces the often poorly-informed, haphazard pedagogy and practices sometimes implemented in the classroom, and underscores problems with teacher-learner power dynamics our discipline has worked so hard to clarify and correct. Having an understanding of the rich history and values of our discipline as they relate to the institutional and social dynamics of power working in composition classrooms informs the kinds and quality of teaching and learning occurring.

While it is true that students in all first-year composition courses, even at the university level, occupy spaces with varying degrees of uneven power dynamics, the power dynamics can be confounded at the community college, since these colleges are open-enrollment and the range of academic literacy is great. The community college in its current iteration is much like the many open-admissions institutions in the 1960s and 70s which precipitated composition programs across the country: "The emergence of composition was coincident not only with a nationally-perceived literacy crisis but with open admission policies that drew a broad and diverse cross section of American culture into college classrooms" (Sullivan 125). As recently as 2013, Hassel and Giordano explain that most two-year college students "arrive at college with potential to become proficient college-level readers and writers, but they aren't yet ready for postsecondary academic reading and writing in their first semester" and that, "[f]or most instructors, working with underprepared college students is the daily reality of teaching composition" (85). Material and institutional conditions precipitate a learning environment that employs and exploits part-time, under-prepared instructors facing significant pressure to move under-prepared students to college-readiness. This pressure can prompt instructors to design courses so that they are efficient, moving students decisively from thesis to final paper, a contemporary situation that is not new.

Historically, the democratic turn of open admissions institutions often has resulted in adopting and reducing the teaching of rhetoric and composition to something formulaic and teachable. Drawing from Connors' historical account of the teaching of composition, Crowley explains that at the turn of the nineteenth century, outcries of the "low levels of literacy manifested by entering college students" prompted the creation of the composition course, intended to teach students how to "write." But since the instructors recruited to teach writing

had little to no training in doing that, the instructors "had to be taught a subject matter as quickly and efficiently as possible. Given this historical situation, the textbooks that survived were not the most innovative or subtle or exploratory; they were those that were the most teachable" (Crowley 141). Theresa Enos further admonishes us that we not "continue to ignore historical circumstances, such as open admissions, in our criticism of early teachers and writers" and Crowley insists that "[w]hat is wrong with current-traditional rhetoric is that it has very little to do with learning to write. Just as its initial success was stimulated by institutional needs, its continued maintenance by the academy has a good more to do with institutional circumstances than it does with the appropriateness of its theory of discourse for writing instruction" (147). Since the historical context of the current-traditional approach to teaching composition is similar to the contexts of community colleges today, some of the same problems exist. When colleges are open access and hire extra-disciplinary, minimally-trained professors to lead composition courses, the pedagogies can become haphazard, stilted, or superficial, even when those teachers demonstrate good will in other ways towards students.

Hassel and Giordano make the wider claim in their article, "Occupy Writing Studies: Rethinking College Composition for the Needs of the Majority," that in order to better prepare community college instructors, more scholarly attention should be given to writing instruction and student needs in that particular context: "studying the needs of students who are served by open admissions institutions and who hope to access the opportunity that higher education presents — can only be done at two-year institutions. Students with poor academic preparation, low test scores, or poor grades are overrepresented" (95). In their initial foray into assessing students' instructional needs at the community college level, they found that many students "had difficulty with critical and analytical reading" and that the "most challenging areas of college

writing for these students was lack of familiarity with academic conventions and rhetorical knowledge" (93-94). Students' struggle to read critically and analytically usually occurs in what is referred to as the "pre-writing" stage of writing by those who think of writing as a linear process, and in this early stage of entering new discourses, students are expected to not only comprehend what they are reading, but to be able to think critically and analytically about the ideas and evidence presented. In response, students are expected to enter these conversations with something novel to say. This framework for entering the "academic conversation" is grounded in David Bartholomae's important work, "Inventing the University," in which he explains that students entering college have "to speak our language, to speak as we do, to try on the peculiar ways of knowing, selecting, evaluating, reporting, concluding, and arguing that define the discourse of our community (623)" and exemplified in one of the most widely-adopted textbooks, *They Say, I Say: The Moves that Matter in Academic Writing*, edited by Gerald Graff. It is this entering of the conversation—finding out what to say and how, called "invention" in rhetoric and composition—that is the rhetorical stage with which my argument is primarily concerned.

Expectations and Constraints: No Place for Inventiveness

Our department generally conceives of writing as process-based and refers to early, inventive stages of writing in our composition courses as "pre-writing." We encourage faculty to adopt this approach to teaching writing, which includes peer-driven, collaborative learning and assignment sequences that are mostly discursive and linear, moving students efficiently from thesis, to outline, to draft, to final paper. For example, our sample syllabus, distributed to all faculty and shared when instructors are newly-hired, includes a space for instructors to insert due

dates for each of these specific assignments: outline, draft, revision, in that order, for each major paper assignment — not necessarily precluding other kinds of writing assignments, but certainly communicating that a clear process, including those particular assignments, should be adopted. Our assignments are designed to move students quickly from thesis to final research paper, utilizing very dependable and predictable kinds of planning along the way. My observations of my own and my peers' assignments here are just that–observational. As department co-chair, my responsibilities include reviewing course syllabi, schedules, and sample assignments. And as a department, we use online platforms voluntarily to share materials, including essay prompts and pre-writing assignments, a practice which exposes me to many of our faculty's teaching materials.

All in all, I have not seen many assignments that move beyond the linear, product-focused orientation that has dominated much of composition practice since the 1960s. These practices were and are informed by early theories of process suggesting that assignments should "separate the writing process into discrete stages," as exemplified in Gordon Rohman's "suggestion that the composing process moves from prewriting to writing to rewriting" and James Britton's model that uses the metaphor of "linear growth" to describe the writing process as a "series of stages" (Sommers 378). While these steps can certainly be helpful to writers, they are often rigid and inflexible; so even in departments, like mine, that embrace process-pedagogy, "the actual pedagogical practices sometimes resemble the lockstep rigidity of traditional pedagogy" (Matsuda 69). In particular, scholars have argued that our current conception of invention has been diminished from a classical tool—a mode of inquiry and discovery—to something formulaic and uninspiring. In Sharon Crowley's historical account of invention as it devolves from its classical formulation to its twentieth-century iteration, she describes how

> the inventional procedures advocated by the early writers came to be treated more and more as required structural features for any discourse rather than as a means of inquiry. While I was completing the research for this paper I was continually struck by the disparity between the formulaic composing process recommended by current-traditional textbooks and the messy procedure that writing is for most people. The paradigm of discourse recommended by current-traditional textbooks, with its neat formula for roping off a topic, stating a thesis, listing and developing ideas (usually three) supporting ideas and repeating a thesis can only be described as a bizarre parody of serious discourse and the process by which it is produced. (344)

In particular, strategies for invention—or "inventive practices"—for finding meaningful questions and problems with which to engage, are scarce, and rarely multimodal, and ask often-unprepared students very early to think, imagine, and analyze and in a certain order without time given to explore relationships with what is being read or discussed. So, while our department privileges process-centered writing assignments and works hard to scaffold those assignments, according to the various inventive potentials explored by social and post-process theories of composition, many of us have limited the kinds of prewriting and writing assignments we design, relying heavily on those that are move students decisively to agonistic, academic argument in a linear, predetermined order.

Unfortunately, this kind of approach to teaching writing can have consequences for those who are developing their writing skills in relation to a discourse that hasn't yet included them fully. If employed without spaces for other kinds of meaningful exploration and discovery, it can discourage, prevent, and even penalize the risk-taking and messiness that has the potential to unearth nuance, contradiction, or conflict within that discourse. In addition, this "sequential reasoning" is anachronous, not reflective of the ways information is ordered and presented in today's information-saturated, networked world, where "conflicting information is delivered rapidly" and "inference and argument are not easily, if at all, obtainable" (86). Jeff Rice articulates well the problems with presenting to students a purely linear, alphabetic process of

writing in his book, published in 2007, *The Rhetoric of Cool: Composition Studies and New Media*. He argues in his chapter "Juxtaposition," that "[w]hen conflict is kept at bay, students—and what they have to say–are controlled […] a student would not find conflict as a central tenet of the discovery process" (85). Further, he claims that, "[i]n an ordered system, everything has its place; that which cannot be classified or categorized does not belong in the writing" (83). He uses the traditional outline as an example of a writing assignment that might stifle rather than complicate and enrich:

> Further associations (i.e. juxtapositions) may arise as the outline is realized, but the outline is not meant to encourage such work. Once purpose is established, writing proceeds based on that initial vision or goal. Anything not initially conceived as relevant to one's purpose should be discarded." (83)

The stifling of information and discovery is not merely a product of poorly-designed assignment sequencing. The assignment sequencing itself, with its drive for efficiency and push towards a clean, final product, is the outcome of certain social and institutional values. In this particular context, the community college system values what is called "completion"—fulfilling transfer goals or earning degrees or certificates and these values press into our division, department, and course design, deliberately and not, by defining "success" as a final product rather than as a process. Invention, as Karen Burke Lefevre explains, is a social act, located not solely in the writer's mind, but situated in "social collectives, such as institutions, bureaucracies, and governments" that establish "expectations and prohibitions, encouraging certain ideas and discouraging others" (2). And these "tacit and explicit rules within a bureaucratic organization or an entire society about what is and is not allowed to be thought or said are relevant to invention considered from this perspective" (82). Lefevre argues that it is essential to consider the ways in which invention can be discouraged or prevented because of these "tacit and explicit rules" and then wrongly blamed on a writer's "apparent lack of inventive power"—his or her lack of ability.

Moreover, these "tacit and explicit rules" represent a perpetuation of masculinist ideals of knowing and writing and an encroachment of neoliberal values into the college composition classroom. In her book *Manly Writing: Gender, Rhetoric, and the Rise of Composition*, Miriam Brody opens her first chapter with a familiar definition of "good" writing:

> [t]o write well in Western culture is to write like a man. Advising boys, and more recently girls too, how to write, men have for centuries imposed images of their best selves on descriptions of good writing: selves that are productive, coherent, virtuous, and heroic; writing that is plain, forceful, and true.

Writing that is weak is a "feminine subversion that undermines a manly enterprise" and is "beset by uncertainty, vagueness, and timidity" (3). Student learning outcomes measured in the composition classroom typically include those related to being concise, being clear, having a strong thesis. Instructors generally still teach against using "I" in academic writing, and encourage students to be "objective," "evidence-based," and "logical," without engaging in important conversations about the gendered nature of knowledge production that legitimizes some knowledge and discounts other knowledge: discourse characterized as too subjective, irrational, or emotional has been gendered as feminine and historically rejected as invalid ways of knowing and conveying knowledge. Our current framework for teaching composition does not take into account how "emotions inform our every moment of existence in the world" and how they are "inseparable [...] elements of the process of the world and its relational becoming" (Nunn 359). Devoting spaces and activities that move students towards a more relational understanding of positionality and a clearer sense of how to identify meaningful problems within and in relation to discourse that can be gendered and/or racialized is time-consuming and difficult, which is at odds with the increasing importance placed on efficiency in the community college composition classroom. As Stenberg explains in *Repurposing Composition: Feminist*

Interventions for a Neoliberal Age, a heightened focus on efficiency and competency-based instruction devoted to preparing students for the workforce "encroach upon writing instruction":

> In a view of education as job training, writing becomes masterable, commodified skills whose purpose is deployment in the workplace. Other purposes for writing —civic engagement, personally inquiry, exploration of unfamiliar perspectives— become ancillary to more "profitable" ends. And since neoliberal logics value a streamlined approach to predetermined outcomes or competencies, there is little tolerance for learning processes that entail engagement of (an often recursive) process, collaboration and dialogue among learner, and reflection [...]. Indeed, neoliberal logic carves education into a narrow path, with a singular purpose: to prepare the future workforce and bolster the economy. (171)

Before COVID-19 hit and all classes were moved online, Saddleback College, in fact, most of the community colleges in California, were responding to the state-sponsored Guided Pathways initiative, working hard on developing pathways as educational routes for students to move efficiently towards their educational and career goals. Our college's fine arts program was at-risk, and our department wondered about the viability of our courses in literature and creative writing. While Guided Pathways is likely to increase success rates and help some students achieve the social mobility they desire, certainly it is important to move forward intentionally, without sacrificing the kinds of inquiry we know is essential to undermining oppressive structures and engaging civically in relevant ways.

Clearly, the stakes here are high: if writers in first-year composition courses aren't provided ample space and a framework within which to engage ideas in ways that encourage discovery and a better understanding of positionality, writing continues for them to be an act that reifies already-existing power structures and their narratives. Rice claims that "[c]ontrolled writing produces controlled beings. Interconnected writing produces interconnected beings (85). And, Jason Palmeri, in his case for integrating multimodal mean-making activities into composition pedagogy suggests in Chapter 1 "Creative Translations: Reimagining the Process

Movement (1971-1984)" from his book, *Remixing Composition: A History of Multimodal Writing Pedagogy*, published in 2012, that "[i]f we restrict students to word-based planning activities (for generating ideas, for defining rhetorical purpose, for analyzing audience), we may be unduly limiting their ability to think deeply about their rhetorical tasks" (34). While it is possible for students to think deeply about their rhetorical tasks without a pedagogy grounded in multimodal theory, some students may benefit from opportunities to explore their thinking relationally and in ways that either resonate with them more fully or are easier for them. If some writers in first-year composition courses struggle to "think deeply about their rhetorical tasks," the chance for them to carve out conflict or nuance and position themselves meaningfully in relation to a given discourse is minimized or nonexistent. Bartholomae describes the effects of "what happens to the writer as his motives are located within our language, a language with its own requirements and agendas, a language that limits what we might say and that makes us write and sound, finally, also like someone else [...]" in even more harrowing terms: "These accounts place the writer in a history that is not of the writer's own invention; and they are chronicles of loss, violence, and compromise" (611). Certainly, the enterprise of composition and rhetoric is one that strives to empower students by broadening and complicating narratives and rhetorical streams, especially in theories and practices carved out by feminist scholars in our field. Before moving onto my call for new, more empowering and meaningful kinds of inventive practices, specifically in the form of a kind of scrapbooking, I work to provide a definition of invention that is more situated.

Definition of Invention: Where is Knowledge Located?

The definition of invention varies, including those as colloquial as Merriam-Webster's "the product of the imagination"—which some composition scholars find useful—to the more classically-oriented "the division of rhetoric that supplies speakers and writers with instructions for finding the specific arguments that are appropriate to a given rhetorical situation" (Crowley 2). Both definitions are useful to my argument about scrapbooking as a potential tool for invention in the composition classroom; but, Crowley also explains that invention is something that is deeply contextual; in other words, finding arguments that are appropriate depends on what theories of knowledge are prevalent or privileged in the respective discourse: "theories of rhetorical invention must also be articulated with current thinking about how people change their minds or make discoveries—that is, with some currently accepted theory of knowledge" (2). I argue that feminist and multimodal theories of knowing can better inform first-year composition programs in the community college setting.

Most community college composition programs do not have a well-articulated theory of knowledge — or, their understanding of knowledge is often eclipsed by the institution's definition of "success." Our vision articulated by the Chancellor's Office is to-the-point: "making sure students from all backgrounds succeed in reaching their goals and improving their families and communities, eliminating achievement gaps once and for all." In eliminating achievement gaps, California has passed legislation that eliminates onerous remedial writing courses, pushing all degree-seeking students into college-level composition courses by their first year of enrollment. This measure has already been commended and produced remarkable improvement in success rates, measured by completion of degree and transfer goals, for students in all demographic categories. But, currently, at the forefront of our college system's most

pressing issues is still the problem of student completion of degree and transfer goals — rates across the state (and country) are too low to meet economic and workforce demand and initiatives meant to speed up degree completion and offer students clear paths to their career goals are emerging, such as Guided Pathways. (This tension resembles the tension between Booker T. Washington's push to train African Americans in industrial skills and trade so that they become "useful" and self-reliant and W.E.B. DuBois' insistence that a comprehensive liberal arts education was essential to preserving the freedoms of African Americans, a tension discussed more fully in Chapters 1 and 2.) Our system's focus on completion, while valuable in many ways to addressing troublesome material inequities in our historical success rates, could also create an ethos in the classroom that discourages inventive work that may seem too time-consuming, not move students to final learning outcomes in a decisive way, and may seem to be too exploratory. The kinds of inventive work that encourage students to explore more fully and meaningfully their relationship to assigned readings is important to equity in the broader sense; in addition to finding gainful employment and improving material wealth, students should be given opportunities to learn and practice being agents of the stories that are told in powerful and dominant discourses.

A quick look at the reading requirements for a traditional first-year, college-level composition course shows most clearly what constitutes valid and reliable forms of knowledge in that context. Most first-year composition courses in community colleges, and at Saddleback College where I teach, in particular, privilege and sometimes require the exclusive use of non-fiction texts to students as assigned reading — usually this translates to published essays, newspapers, and magazine articles. For example, our department describes our transfer-level composition course in our college's course catalogue as a place where students will be required

to "read, interpret, and synthesize non-fiction sources." And, according to English 1A's published Student Learning Outcomes and course catalogue description knowledge-making should be derived from "non-fiction sources" and expressed by students in "academic-style expository and argumentative essays." Thus, the texts given to first-year composition students are primarily non-fiction and culled from published, mainstream newspapers and magazines. Like African Americans and women at the turn of the twentieth century, students can, then, be inundated with authoritative stories from newspapers and periodicals purporting to report and analyze events and issues objectively and truthfully. While diverse points of view might be represented, they also might not, as instructors usually select the assigned reading material.

In addition, all of our formal Student Learning Outcomes focus on measuring final, written products, further reinforcing notions that any inventive work done in the classroom should explicitly and decisively service these goals and move students towards them over a very short period of time; here, referring back to Crowley's classical definition of "invention," "finding the specific arguments that are appropriate to a given rhetorical situation" would mean *not* finding arguments that are too complex, too hard to work out on the page, or too controversial and potentially problematic. In our Course Outline of Record, our description of prewriting is limited, referring to it implicitly in its section called "Lecture Topics": "I. How to select and narrow an essay topic," "III. How to select an appropriate pattern of organization," "IX. Prewriting strategies to generate content and pattern of development," and "XIV. Summary, analysis and interpretation of outside sources." And our Student Learning Objective for prewriting is: "Use a variety of prewriting activities to generate ideas, focus a topic, and formulate a method of developing an essay." All four measurable Student Learning Outcomes relate to students being "able to write an essay" correctly and cogently, as each of them include

that particular phrase. (For reference, our current Student Learning Outcomes are: "1. Students who complete this course will be able to write an essay that contains an arguable thesis," "2. Students who complete this course will be able to write an essay that contains at least 900 words and develops the thesis through summary, analysis and evaluation, 3. Students who complete this course will be able to write an essay that contains a variety of sentences that have no fragments, comma splices, and run on sentences," "4. Students who complete this course will be able to write an essay that integrates MLA standards to the following (8) items: heading, running header, works cited page, in-text citations and use of with minor errors.") Clearly, the learning outcomes here, which we use to measure our and our students' efficacy in the classroom, are product-driven, focusing not on inquiry or invention, but on whether or not the student was able to complete a paper meeting barebones expectations of academia, as defined by our department—which, of course, is in part a result of the contextual and institutional pressures placed on first-year composition courses and the teaching and learning occurring in them.

While it is important for students to learn how to write an academic paper, this should not be the only or primary outcome in a first-year composition course because it limits the incentive and ability for instructors to provide critical space for students to become meaningfully engaged and empowered. In *Rhetoric at the Margins: Revising the History of Writing Instruction in American Colleges, 1873-1947,* David Gold argues that: "The recovery of argument and invention and renewed attention to the composing process are among the most important achievements of contemporary rhetoric and composition pedagogy," but that, "we can go further. We can do a better job of acknowledging and exploring other rhetorical traditions and strategies." And Lefevre reveals that composition studies has too often "treat[ed] rhetorical

invention as an isolated phenomenon occurring in the composition class, while overlooking the import of invention in its broader sense" (4).

Breaking Silences/Daring to Speak/Creating Discourse

Here, and throughout this dissertation, I have employed feminist theories of knowledge and within that theoretical framework, I am choosing to work with claims that the knowledge of those with less power is important, needs to heard, and benefits those who identify with it and those who initially might not. These projects, projects of recovery and empowerment, resonate in both feminist and composition studies, overlapping in ways that can be complementary: our work "is formed by the same purpose: [we] are consciously seeking to create the conditions and circumstances whereby voices, stories, and discourses too long silent in the academy can be heard" (Sullivan 137). Recovering knowledge that has been ignored or marginalized works to undermine structures that are oppressive and it is the threat of knowledge that has been perceived as dangerous or disruptive that likely caused it to be suppressed, hidden, or overwhelmed in the first place. Scholars in composition studies have long argued that the composition classroom in colleges is fraught with uneven relations of power and authority and that this context should be considered when taking up any problem in our field; in fact, these tensions are what has spurred much of the discourse around what happens (or should happen) in the classroom in relation to the teaching of writing or composing:

> In composition studies, feminists are concerned with identifying the androcentrism of the academy at large and of our own discipline as it affects research and teaching practices; with uncovering the gendered nature of the written discourses and the writing processes we teach, and with learning what women deem important to know, how women organize and express knowledge,

> and how women make meaning in a world in which they are differentially situated as subjects. (126)

While Sullivan's analysis is limited to analyzing the influence of power in shaping and expressing knowledge as it relates to women, her analysis applies to any person finding themselves in a subjugated position: knowledge-making, and the various processes accompanying it, will vary depending on subject position and those varied ways of creating discourse should be reflective and representative in the composition classroom, even or especially in first-year composition. Since the inception of composition studies in the 1960s and 70s, scholars in this field have been concerned with "shift[ing] the center of the class from teacher to student, to let students write about their experiences, to realign power in the classroom" (Jarratt 265). Similarly, hooks credits the feminist movement with "[d]aring women to speak out," "tell[ing] our stories has been one of the central life transforming aspects of the feminist movement" (preface). However, articulating "lives and experiences" can often be a form of breaking silences, which is daring (and scary); encouraging students to speak can be difficult, especially when our inventive practices do not carve out space for ambiguity, uncertainty, and/or contradiction.

Concerns have been raised alleging that process theory had been applied unilaterally and monolithically, without enough attention given by process theorists to empowering students: "[i]nstead of underscoring for students multiple ways of knowing and writing, it 'inculcated a particular method of composing,'—the idea being that the process taught depended largely on the product teachers expected to receive from students" (Shipka 33). Thus, the "knowledge" communicated and accepted needed to be derived in a specific way, regardless of the situatedness of the student—potentially further undermining their ability to consider the ways their lived experience might empower their work and rhetorical goals. "Appropriate" knowledge

for those who are in subjugated positions, with sometimes less rhetorical literacy and restricted access to or marginalized by dominant discourse, is knowledge that will work to raise critical consciousness and help writers engage in reading and writing in ways that are meaningful to them. Hopefully, this critical consciousness will motivate and prepare students to correct or add to mainstream narratives however possible so that they are more inclusive and representative. The processes through which these corrections and additions come into being, however, need also to be varied and situated.

When the knowledge that is presented as authoritative is the knowledge of those with power, speaking contrary to that knowledge can be intimidating, potentially threatening a person's status and well-being. Lefevre explains in her work on invention as a social act, "social collectives, such as institutions, bureaucracies, and governments" influence invention by establishing "expectations and prohibitions, encouraging certain ideas and discouraging others" (2). So invention, the process of finding appropriate knowledge, is constrained by the rhetorical context at-hand and finding and sharing knowledge that goes against social collectives can be intimidating, and dangerous; and, bell hooks, as I discuss earlier, rightly characterizes this kind of "speaking out" as a form of "dare." As a result, knowledge is located sometimes in private spaces, sometimes in archives, sometimes in guarded community exchanges, and this knowledge can be conveyed in alternative, recovered rhetorical forms, such as marginalia, diaries, letters, quilts, scrapbooks, perpetuated by women, people of color, or others who have been oppressed similarly. To "find arguments" that are "appropriate," many of these writers create spaces for themselves that are safer than those that are at the onset reader-oriented and, instead, used forms that were in part shielded from immediate criticism or censoring by those with authority.

Re-Imagining Invention in First-Year Composition: Making Sense and Making "Felt Sense"

Linda Brodkey, my first advisor at UCSD in composition and rhetoric, who focused primarily on social class and writing, explains in her article, "Modernism and the Scenes of Writing," that

> To experience, and imagine, writing as a social as well as cognitive act is in itself a form of resistance, in that it allows an individual to learn that the world is not only read, but written, and that the worlds written from the rooms occupied by, say, feminists, women, minorities, students, teachers, or progressive researchers, who do not literally have a purchase on writing, require different ways of reading. (414-415)

Because students are assigned so many texts to read, it is critical to give them ways to read and engage with that reading that don't further reinforce structures and patterns of authority and passivity in teaching and learning. For students to understand that the "world is not only read, but written," they need opportunities to see that the world as presented to them in written words is constructed, and, thus, can be deconstructed. Reading, and responding to presented texts, can be a form of invention if the practices associated with it encourage inventiveness by encouraging students to acknowledge the instability and malleability of what is being read:

> Reading […] is a vital component of rhetorical invention [...] Yet few of us in the academic world embarrassingly, rhetoricians perhaps least of all really understand how to help students make the incredibly difficult choice of what to believe from the masses of contradictory information they read. (Brent xiv)

A more expansive view of invention might be a way to help rhetoricians guide students in their reading practices, moving them from reading practices emphasizing understanding information to reading that is relational, helping students contextualize their experiences and thinking about those experiences. Many scholars already have called for a more expansive view of invention: In Chapter 1, "Rethinking Composition/Rethinking Process" of her book *Towards A Composition Made Whole*, Jody Shipka argues that views of literacy should be rich and situated, and one way

to hedge against narrow views is to focus more on examining composing processes and practices, urging a more "expansive account of composing practices" (34). And, more specifically, Nedra Reynolds argues that "theories of writing, communication, and literacy need to reflect a deeper understanding of place; they need to attend more closely to the 'where of writing — not just to the places where writing occurs, but the sense of place and space that readers and writers bring with them to the intellectual work of writing, to navigating, arranging, remembering, and composing (176)" (Shipka 36). As discussed, the classroom is a place that almost inevitably houses cross-sections of uneven power relations, from the authority of the teacher and their institution, to race, class, and gender differences, to the authority of texts—and the places students move to and from and between differ, as well.

Inventive practices should account better for these differences and offer students the space to engage in literacy practices that are more varied and representative of the ways meaning is and can be made. They should clearly move students towards literacy, so that students might be motivated agents, living out Royster's conceptualization of literacy: they would "gain access to information"—through, perhaps, reading—and "use this information variously to articulate lives and experiences and also to identify, think through, refine, and solve problems, sometimes complex problems, over time"—through meaningful inventive practices— "so that students might be agents of needed social change"—with critical consciousness and practiced rhetorical skills (*Traces*, Royster 45). Many scholars have imagined well how inventive practices can be more inclusive, empowering, and representative of the messy ways we derive meaning from and work within and against various discourses—and I am drawn most to two kinds of framing of invention: invention as a form of inquiry and invention as inherently embodied, and, thus, multimodal. These two approaches, together, represent a kind of feminist approach to invention;

Philippa Spoel argues that, "a feminist approach to embodied rhetorics opens up possibilities for re-integrating bodily emotional ways of knowing into the process of invention" (Lauer 112). Inquiry is inherently multimodal because asking writers to "inquire" elicits bodily responses, sense impressions, and emotions to internalize and gauge presented arguments; so, the two approaches are not inherently separate; they are interrelated and co-occurring.

If invention, and associated inventive practices, are conceived as a form of inquiry, rather than as a method of moving decisively and quickly towards a "final product," space might be better carved out for more meaningful and critical work. Lefevre writes, "The act of inventing—which may involve remembering or finding or actively creating something—relates to the process of inquiry, to creativity, to poetic and aesthetic invention" (Lefevre 3). While all writing and composing is inherently multimodal, writing and composing that is decisively "creative," "poetic," and "aesthetic" is writing and composing that gives permission for writers to embrace multiple ways of knowing and become more aware of how knowledge is and can be made. Multimodality is not necessarily something that is born out of newer, digital technologies; rather, it is the idea that "alphabetic writing and reading are deeply embodied, multisensory processes; in this sense, alphabetic writing is always already multimodal" (Palmeri 9). Palmeri describes well the freedom and confidence-building that is exercised when students are licensed to be creative in his book:

> Flower and Hayes demonstrate that both alphabetic and visual creativity entail a willingness to intensively explore materials – to 'rearrange' and 'play' with alternatives.' An artist drawing a still life [...] will compose a more creative product if she takes the time to explore the many possible ways she might represent and rearrange a series of objects. Similarly, a writer composing a research-based essay would be well advised to consider a wide variety of sources on a topic, exploring ways he might creatively transform and combine those sources to develop a novel argument. (*Remixing* 30)

Note Palmeri's emphasis on how taking time and encouraging creativity in invention might lead students to "develop a novel argument." One might dismiss an endeavor described as "creative," "poetic," and "aesthetic" as contrary to the general aims of most composition courses—to learn academic writing, which generally is agonistic and argumentative; however, this "alternative view of invention, and indeed of inquiry" does not preclude or prevent agonistic writing; rather, "the role of the rhetor or investigator in constructing an argument or thesis" is emphasized (Lefevre 7). Inquiry, thus, can be creative and poetic, not only engaging with material physically, but also in abstractions, symbolic language, and impressions or felt sense. Pushing past artificial boundaries of genre in invention and embracing the complicated ways we come to know and understand, ultimately should lead writers to more nuanced and cogent agonistic arguments. Palmeri describes persuasively the potential and empowering role of multimodal composition in inventive stages of writing. And, his project is, in part, to "elucidate how multimodal composing can enhance students' invention and revision of alphabetic texts" (6). He further writes:

> After all, even if we grant that it is important to teach students to craft multimodal texts, we must recognize that alphabetic writing remains a valued form of composing that we are institutionally and professionally mandated to teach. As a result, it makes sense to highlight ways that multimodal composing activities can contribute to students' invention and revision of alphabetic texts. (8)

Palmeri's assertion that alphabetic writing and alphabetic texts, which we are mandated to teach in academia, are serviced by the crafting of texts that are overtly multimodal speaks to Susan Jarratt's concern expressed in her article, "Feminism and Composition: The Case for Conflict," that teachers of expressivist discourse might "spend too little time helping their students learn how to argue about public issues—making the turn from the personal back out to the public" (277). While scrapbooks might not be compelling or appropriate public forms of writing, they have the potential to serve that writing and make it relevant and persuasive. As Jarratt argues,

"the expressivist focus on student experiences and concerns is an important starting point for feminist pedagogy" (277). And, Gold further asserts that agonistic writing has an important place in the composition classroom: "We have been especially wary of agonistic or prescriptivist language instruction and thus have ignored the potential value of such instruction for empowering students as rhetors and inspiring civic participation" (2).

Invention that honors the various ways we come to know and understand also better takes into account the recursive nature of writing, a recursiveness that engages with and responds to feelings and a sense about what is being written—not always easy to articulate. As early as 1980, Sondra Perl, in her study of the composing processes of writers, observes that writing for most tends to be recursive rather than linear: "In recent years, many researchers including myself have questioned the traditional notion that writing is a linear process with a strict plan-write-revise sequence" and she characterizes recursiveness in writing as "a forward-moving action that exists by virtue of a backward-moving action" (364). She shows that the writers she studied tended to move backward (and, thus, forward) in a variety of ways, but it is her final observation that concerns my argument most. I quote her at-length here because she describes this motion well; it is characterized by a sense that:

> cannot immediately be identified with words. In fact, the move is not to any words on the page nor to the topic, but to feelings or non-verbalized perceptions that surround the words, or to what the words already present evoke in the writer. The move draws on sense experience, and it can be observed if one pays close attention to what happens when writers pause and seem to listen or otherwise react to what is inside of them. The move occurs inside the writer, to what is physically felt. The term used to describe this focus of writers' attention is felt sense. (365)

While I suggest that working from and with this "felt sense" is important to writers so that they may be able to develop meaningful ideas for writing, I am not suggesting that we can illicit what is "true" or "authentic" from within ourselves but that instead we can identify in the world

around us what is meaningful to us, what is important, what resonates, and, most importantly, here, what contradicts and even works to oppress or ignore our own experiences and perceptions and situate them socially. In other words, a writing activity of this sort is deeply contextual and social, and thus asks much of writers to position themselves contextually and socially, blurring the lines between expressivist and social theories of composition. Theresa Enos et. al. in their book *Beyond Postprocess and Postmodernism: Essays on the Spaciousness of Rhetoric* explain that expressivist discourse is not necessarily individualistic, does have ideological power, and reminds us that "rhetoric, writing, and teaching" are "actions by people within contexts of situations and cultures" (200). Thus, attempts at or precursors to finding voice, especially within constructs that are contextualized and situated, can also mean finding voice in relation to others, in certain places, and in certain time periods. However, when confronted with or overwhelmed by complex or oppressive discourse, readers need space to engage without being required or rushed to articulate or speak, making room for feeling, sensing, and thinking, which are all interrelated.

I argue that students might be able to move more productively and creatively from reading to argument when given permission to cut out assigned texts and rearrange them in relation to one another. Conventional assignments ask students to "break down" or "analyze" texts, a process which can stifle and overwhelm because it demands alphabetic writing and meaning-making sometimes before relationships with readings are explored and confidence is cultivated in the writer. Scrapbooking provides space for students to forge juxtapositions that quietly and by inference confront and interrogate presented narratives. Thus, much like *The Ideal Scrap Book* may have inspired the pivotal and public-facing *Negro Year Books*, scrapbooking, or some form of it, as an inventive practice in the classroom could help students move more

confidently towards overt, academic argument and civic engagement. My analysis of *The Ideal Scrap Book* is an analysis of a book that is at once a "finished product" — rhetorically making persuasive arguments about the lived experiences of African Americans at the turn of the century — but also an example of an inventive practice, leading to cogent, empirical arguments presented publicly and in academic and political circles to forge narratives of how hypocrisy and violence was perpetuated against African Americans. My analysis has import in first-year composition instruction. *The Ideal Scrap Book* is a useful example of the kinds of inventive practices that can encourage students to work beyond the outline in the ways I've described in this section – more meaningfully, and with more relevance and complexity.

Establishing a Need for a Feminist Pedagogy of Scrapbooking in the Classroom: Knowing and Knowledge-Production from Felt-Sense

Some work has explored the potentials of scrapbooking in teaching and learning composition. The most recent case is put forth by Kara Poe Alexander in her article "Material Affordances: The Potential of Scrapbooks in the Composition Classroom," published in 2013. Here, she focuses on how "scrapbooks lead student composers to consider how materiality works with message and audience," choosing a theoretical framework for scrapbooking that focuses on encouraging students to understand the material dimensions of literacy and rhetorical choices, defining "materiality" as "the diverse contexts surrounding writing [...] and how these contexts contribute to the message" (2). I broaden Alexander's definition of materiality to include my own curiosity about "how objects participate in human interactions that involve language, image, emotion, and gesture" (Helmers 17), in relation to social, economic, racialized, gendered contexts where authority is uneven. While she "establishes the pedagogical significance of

scrapbooks by underscoring how scrapbooks serve as a lens to teach materiality, affordances, the haptic mode, and rhetorical choices" (2), she treats the engagement with the "haptic mode" primarily as a tool for encouraging students to better understand design and how design is rhetorical; she writes:

> In short, materiality leads students to consider how form and content work together to convey and represent meaning. When students consider materiality, they create artistic, provocative texts that meet their own rhetorical purposes and extend the medium of the scrapbook. Such awareness supplies student composers with the potential to create additional meanings in their compositions and to better understand the choices they make in both traditional and non-traditional writing assignments. Materiality is thus an extremely valuable addition to the composition classroom. (3)

She analyzes rhetorically the scrapbooks of three female students in her class and concludes that they "demonstrate the creative and rhetorical flexibility students establish throughout the creation process" (5), confirming that scrapbooking, or asking students more generally to engage with ideas in multiple modes, as a form of composing will encourage students to be more creative when asked to engage with ideas. She concludes that the process of scrapbooking enabled students to "reshape their identities by seeing themselves as meaning-makers, as active contributors of knowledge, showing how "agency and materiality are entwined" as they compose (6). Like *The Ideal Scrap Book* potentially leading to the *Negro Year Books*, scrapbooking in Alexander's classroom contributed to the "development of specific rhetorical and multimodal skills that will be useful as students participate in a wide range of literate activities in both their professional and personal lives" (17). While Alexander focuses on themes, theories, and topics that overlap and resonate with feminist theory and practice, such as those related to materiality, agency, and literacy as intertwined with the ability to participate civically, she does not fully explore how material practices such as scrapbooking might encourage makers to engage a more full range of senses, inviting not only cognitive processing, but physical and emotional

processing, when cutting and crafting material might spur new, deepened meaning-making. thinking and responding. Precedence exists in feminist theories of composing for integrating a wider range of response to readings. For example, Stenberg. in a chapter called "Feminist Repurposing of Emotion: From Emotional Management to Emotion as Resource," argues that instead of "subjugat[ing] emotion to reason" (41), as has historically occurred in academia, that emotion might be repurposed "as a resource for knowledge," moving "emotion from something to be controlled to a generative part of intellectual, rhetorical work" (42). Engaging with emotion as related to cognition is important because when people internalize oppression and social norms, emotion and cognition are intertwined, acting together. As Michelle M. Lazar explains in her piece, "Politicizing Gender in Discourse: Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis as Political Perspective and Praxis," "[t]he effectiveness of modern power (and hegemony) is that it is mostly cognitive, based on an internalization of gendered norms and acted out routinely in the texts and talk of everyday life" (10). When Lazar explains oppression occurs "mostly" as a cognitive process, I offer Lynn Worsham's definition of emotion as a supplement: emotion is a "tight braid of affect and judgment, socially and historically constructed and bodily lived, through which the symbolic takes hold of and binds the individual, in complex and contradictory ways, to the social order and its structure of meaning" (216). If emotions, or even feelings, are artificially separated from cognition, felt-responses to internalized oppression might be dismissed as irrational, and, thus, invalid, undermining a potential site of resistance or critical consciousness. In one study, the researcher found that "the majority of all classroom instances she observed approached emotion as separate from social contexts of power and relations;" thus, when individuals are perceived to be unable to control their emotions, it is because they lack skills to self-regulate, which "promotes the idea that particular emotional responses, like anger,

bitterness, or rage, are urges in need of control rather than social responses to oppression and exploitation" (Stenberg 46). Thus, thinking of emotion as intertwined with cognition, or even as emotion as a form of intelligence itself, might help students and teachers embrace how "emotions inform our every moment of existence in the world and are central for understanding the relational and intra-subjective processes of knowledge creation" (Nunn 355).

Emotions also have been studied as being an important part of crafting, such as scrapbooking, and as integral to problem-solving, cognition, and experiencing agency. In one study observing potters shaping clay, researchers found that "sensory experiences and emotions appear to be integral to a craftsperson's knowledge and expertise in craft making" ("Emotions," Groth 18). In her dissertation, *Making Sense Through Hands: Design and Craft Practice Analysed as Embodied Cognition*, Camilla Groth so beautifully writes in her introduction, that:

> The act of making something with one's hands in a material is a way of participating in the world. It is a conversation, interaction and negotiation between the person and her environment. By manipulating material, we affect the world and are simultaneously affected. What we make either stays or vanishes, but the experience has changed us, maybe in little ways, maybe in great ways. Our hands are the ultimate contact point between our self and the world, the physical and material. Through our sense of touch, we feel the material and its properties, its potential and its agency. (xi)

While I do not argue here that it is necessary to encourage students to discuss their emotional responses to readings, or even attempt to compel or articulate any engagement with emotion, I do argue that it is important to carve out spaces where students are permitted to respond intuitively, bodily, and emotionally to the discourses with which they are engaging so that they might better understand or interrogate their own thinking or the arguments of others when reading, experiencing the sensations of agency.

Before moving on, it is important to acknowledge that scrapbooking in the classroom is not a novel assignment—specifically, scrapbooks have been used in the classroom to respond to

texts and, thus, are early examples of reader-response assignments. I was able to find an example of scrapbooking used as a pedagogical tool in the classroom as early as 1869: NW Taylor Root suggests in his book, *School Amusements; or, How to Make the School Interesting* the use of scrapbooking articles found in periodicals as an exercise in the classroom, and further suggests that the younger boys in school might choose from home "clippings and cuttings" from home papers: "One brings an anecdote, another an interesting item of news, a third an arithmetical puzzle, a fourth a beautiful or an amusing wood-cut," which are then "handed to the committee, who decide, by a majority, on their insertion; and they paste accepted articles into the scrap-book" (207-208). The book is then kept on a shelf next to other class's books so that a library of scrapbooks made collaboratively by each class is formed and able to be referenced and enjoyed into the future. In the 1700s, "the twin practices of gathering and arranging textual fragments in notebooks became institutionalized in the curricula of schools" a process called "gathering and framing" and later from the 1860s to the 1930s, "the training of kindergarten teachers included making albums with geometric paper designs" (Ott 6-9). And, in 1889, the *Indiana State Teachers Association* suggests using them as a supplement to readers in their "Notes on Teaching Reading." As a method of keeping track of readings and isolating text that is interesting or relevant in some way to the aims of the course, the scrapbook is much like the dialectical or reader's response journal used in composition courses today. This contemporary reading journal asks students to fold a piece of paper and transcribe text into a column on the left and respond to it in some way in a column on the right. Students then have a running index of interesting quotes and their initial responses to which they can refer and use later when writing papers or looking for evidence for arguments. As Ann E. Berthoff explains, "[t]he dialogue journal-also called a dialectical or double-entry notebook-is familiar to artists and scientists: it

encourages both accuracy and speculation; it helps develop the habits of reflection which constitute critical inquiry and creative thinking" ("Facets," 20).

Double-entry notebooks are an application of reader response theories developed in the 1970s and 80s, and these theories support the idea that writers need ways to work with complex texts in complex ways so that their own arguments are more nuanced and meaningful. Reader-response theories assert that, "Readers make meaning: readers — and not only authors— engage in an active process of production-in-use in which texts of all kinds [...] are received by their audiences not as a repository of stable meaning but as an invitation to make it" (Harkin 413). While initially the idea that readers, as well as authors, make meaning was exciting and even cast as "the portal to the land of boundless opportunity" (Eagleton 24), Harkin writes "that it is now a *theoretical commonplace* that readers make meaning, that notion no longer *feels* very liberating" (414). And, any notions that reader-response theory could empower students was minimized by concerns that even when authorial intention is broken, various interpretations were cast as more valid than others: "that is to understand the workings of an economic system that excludes inept, underprepared readers—one needs to be well-trained, well-born, or both." However, Larkin maintains that, "Reader-response theory was and is eminently teachable—and teachable in a way that was (in the language of the eighties) 'empowering'" (Larkin 417).

I agree. At the very least, strategic reading practices can help students negotiate their positionalities and subjectivities in relation to what they have read, a process which should infuse writing practices, especially in First-Year Composition programs, which often require the reading of complex texts from dense and varied discourses. Maureen Hourigan, in her book, *Literacy As Social Exchange: Intersections of Class, Gender, and Culture* shows that,

> there is a wide acceptance of the integration of reading and writing in first-year composition courses designed to empower writers marginalized by class or race

> or ethnicity, so, too, is there a wide acceptance of the integration of reading and writing in feminist composition pedagogy,

and that "reading [...] has become a staple of writing courses designed to improve critical consciousness in students marginalized by class, gender, or culture" (102-103). Salvatori suggests a clear relationship between reading and writing, in her article, "Reading and Writing a Text: Correlations between Reading and Writing Patterns,": "enabling students to tolerate and confront ambiguities and uncertainties in the reading process, we can help them eventually to learn to deal with the uncertainties and ambiguities that they themselves generate in the process of writing their own texts" (662). But, if readers do not read actively or creatively, embracing ambiguity, contradiction or tensions will likely be rejected. Students may read passively because they might feel at the onset, on account of either vocabulary, context, subject matter, the teacher, etc., unequal or separate from the discourse with which they are being asked to engage.

Students often find themselves unable to join conversations when those conversations are not occurring in their own language and on their own turf, or if the ideas and arguments presented directly contradict or minimize their own lived experiences; the exchanges can be uneven: "languages are exclusive, and that they exclude not only those who do not use their specialized vocabularies, but especially those whose gender, race, class, or ethnicity have placed them on the margins before a conversation even begins" (Hourigan 106). The idea that reading can be empowering to students in composition courses fizzled out for various reasons in the 1980s, outright rejected by some and absorbed as implicit by others. But, when reconsidered with feminist theories in mind, I argue that the idea can have import in today's composition pedagogies. A feminist pedagogy of using a form of scrapbooking in the composition classroom in response to assigned readings might offer to students a method of disruption, covert exploration, or early analysis not dependent on and free from word formation or alphabetic

writing. It is less a reader's response and more of an invitation to play, to cut, to explore, to make, and to juxtapose, trusting a kind of embodied dialectic between text and self to bring about meaning and an awareness of agency even in subjective positions. In particular, feminist theory informs a pedagogy of scrapbooking by encouraging students (and teachers) to be engaged critically, moving in a self-aware way from "what is" to "what ought to be" (Glenn 133). Additionally, teachers who adopt feminist pedagogies would likely want to:

> respect and foster the students' growing awareness of agency, both the personal agency necessary to make smart personal choices and the collective agency necessary for shaping social processes and their community [...] Students in courses taught by rhetorical feminists [...] learn to locate their personal experiences and reactions within the historical and social contexts that fosters (un/intentionally) their exclusion in the first place. Such a site helps them better position themselves in discussions of differences and personal interests, talking and writing about these issues in a public voice—claiming their agency, so to speak. (Glenn 144)

A feminist pedagogy of scrapbooking would enable students to locate their experiences and reactions contextually in discourses that might be exclusive and better position themselves when differences are brought into the kind of implicit dialogue scrapbooking fosters. For example, much like the maker of *The Ideal Scrap Book* juxtaposed contradicting stories, a student who disagrees with the ways a presented discourse conveys information to her could reframe that discourse by placing various articles next to others that contradict or complicate that narrative.

When a pedagogy of critical engagement is employed in a classroom, learning changes to become more holistic and expansive, pushing students to consider positionality and subjectivities in ways that connect them more meaningfully and authentically to the social and relational webs influencing the ways we come to know and make meaning. In a classroom with this focus, mechanisms would be in place to encourage students to truly embrace reading and writing as processes of engagement, shifting focus from product-oriented pedagogies. When

students are engaged, they are moving towards mastery, which is a type of embodied agency. The notion that students are or can be "agents," is a notion that gives us hope. Hope motivates action. Freire's "imperative of hope grows out of a deep satisfaction with his own earned authority and embraced agency" (Glenn 136). Glenn describes well how hope should be a significant force in feminist pedagogies: "Hope requires imagination as well as risk—and action [...] hope, struggle, and change are the troika of feminist rhetorical pedagogy, for students and teachers alike. Rhetorical feminist pedagogy signifies action, agency—it does something" (136). A feminist pedagogy of scrapbooking encourages critical engagement, and thus the acknowledgement of agency, hope, and possible action, in various ways.

For one, scrapbooking is an example of a kind of literacy that has been gendered as "female." Asserting the value of scrapbooking by embracing it as a useful inventive tool enfranchises women's literacies, and thus, implicitly enfranchises various literacies and ways of knowing, rejecting masculinist ways of knowing that are totalitarian: "the rhetorical feminist in the classroom expands the possibilities of discourse itself, broadening genres of speaking and writing far beyond the predominant masculine convention of the thesis-proof argument" (Glenn 145). When multiple literacies, multiple ways of knowing, are embraced in a classroom, conversations about the positionalities and subjectivities of all are tacitly embraced and encouraged. In particular, "assignments that ask students, and consequently the academy, to expand their definition of what counts as literacy, what counts as text, what counts as scholarship — ultimately, what counts as valuable" (Glenn 134) are a critical component of a feminist pedagogy. Scrapbooks are ephemeral recordings of women's histories, like much of the discourse that has recorded women's histories, such as quilting and diaries. As Cherry Muhanji remarks in a conversation: "[t]he male model of objectivity scraps so many things" (Alexander,

et. al 99)—a classroom asking students to make scrapbooks asks them to take meaningful discourse that otherwise may have been cast off as "scraps," and instead forge identities and reconstruct narratives with it, reinvigorating both a rhetorical genre and the will and agency of the student.

In addition, positionality and subjectivity come to life in assignments informed by a feminist pedagogy of scrapbooking: asking students to cut out scraps of text and rearrange them in new ways and create a repository of newly-situated, newly-arranged knowledge reinforces the notion that discourse is made and meaningful only in relation to its historical and social context. This kind of assignment "represent[s] literacy as an ideological arena and composition as a cultural activity by which writers position and reposition themselves in relation to their own and others' subjectivities, discourses, practices, and institutions" (Trimbur 109). Once context changes, meaning changes. Thus, if students are given the permission to move and re-situate discourse, they perform the agency necessary to create new, liberating discourse out of discourses that might have been at the onset oppressive or exclusive. I am tentatively calling any moments students realize their own agency in the writing/composing process "A-H-A" moments, standing for, "Agency, Hope, Action" and I think this framework could help organize or contribute to a composition course and its assignments. The correlation between agency, hope, and action is one that many feminist rhetorical theorists have consistently embraced as a viable ideology; however, it's worth mentioning that much of what feminist rhetorical theory posits about our ways of knowing and embracing agency can be grounded in recent work analyzing the power of embodied rhetoric in moving composers towards meaning-making and a realization of agency.

The cognitive and emotional changes that might precede a consciousness of agency possible in a feminist pedagogy of scrapbooking have been largely speculative, based in observable behavior in the classroom, theory, and experiences, but these ideas also cross into disciplinary work in neuroscience and cognitive sciences. While acknowledging his "comfort with probable, not absolute knowledge," Joddy Murray, in his 2010 book *Non-Discursive Rhetoric: Image and Affect in Multimodal Composition*, provides an explanation for these potential moves in consciousness in a section called "Writing Theory/Invention Theory":

> Consciousness exists as an integrated neural activity that is also differentiated, and it fades as diversity and breadth of experiences fades. Consciousness is not a place or a thing; rather, consciousness is a fluid, constantly dynamic repetition of states that can alter—or be altered by—image, language, emotions, and will [...] then will becomes the self-directing agent of consciousness to enact change. Will is learned and developed, not inherent [...] the nondiscursive can provide a way into the discursive from what is ambivalent, intuitive, unutterable, or ineffable." (139-140)

He defines non-discursive text as non-linear and better able to reflect that which is "ambivalent, intuitive, unutterable, or ineffable." If a student reads something disconcerting, offensive, callous, or untrue to them based on their own set of experiences, students may not have the language, confidence, or ability to "speak up." However, the nondiscursive—a genre and activity such as scrapbooking—might foster responses that are intuitive and suggestive. These responses, according to Murray's analysis and feminist rhetorical theory, might be productive, eventually providing "a way into the discursive." Murray's other assertion that "will is learned and developed, not inherent" raises questions to me that are out of the scope of this paper — but, I think his statement can be qualified to fit my aims. If we consider that the "will" to realize positionality and subjectivities is at least in part "learned," then scrapbooking might be a way of raising "consciousness" and moving writers and composers to want to "enact change." To be clear, Murray defines "image" as "what the mind forms and stores, not just what our eyes convey

to the brain. Consequently, image is not beholden to any particular single sense but is instead a cognitive placeholder made up of a maelstrom of sensual experience. We construct images based on all of our available senses, not just the visual" (58-59). So, creating scrapbooks would not necessarily need to be a process that literally assembles images; instead the scrapbook itself and its assembled pages, would be an image, a "cognitive placeholder" for the mind to "form" and "store" new, creative discourse. Murray outlines a "Non-discursive Theory of Writing," alleging that we don't yet currently have a "comprehensive writing theory that acknowledges the non-discursive not only as important in and of itself, but also as a possible bridge to creating discursive text" (140). In this outline, he delineates five values operating through and with texts, two of which — the "Will-to-Intuit" and the "Will-to Juxtapose" — that are most relevant to my analysis here. I transcribe his definitions here and below for easy reference:

> Will-to-Intuit: precisely the ability to disregard reason, this value insists on allowing the power of intuition to dominate over intellect (which, of course, is a false dichotomy). It encourages the role of emotions and feeling. It is the basis for inquiry and investigation. This is the curiosity maker, the hunger, the provisional experiment, the willful accident. (141)

A feminist pedagogy of scrapbooking would give students permission to use their intuition, something we all have regardless of status, experience, or relationship to discourse, and disregard reason, at least temporarily, allowing intuition to be primary to intellect, encouraging the role of emotions and feeling. I argue earlier in this chapter that invention should be a form of inquiry rather than a rigid process of steps, and invention, here, would be inspired by "curiosity," "hunger," and "will," embracing "accident" and acting as a catapult and driver of "inquiry and investigation." Similarly, Murray envisions a contemporary composition classroom as one that "encourages the power of the imagination not just for what is often labeled 'creative' writing, but for logical, reasoned, claim-based argument as well; one that acknowledges the value of

emotions not just in so called 'expressivist' or 'personal' writing, but also in the kind of social awareness and normal, rational decision-making we encounter every day" (13). Murray values images that "defy translation into words," which "are precisely the kind of images that are themselves the most generative, the most non-discursive" (51). When images "defy translation into words," they likely represent complexity and positionality in relation to others and our contexts that have not yet been represented well or at all in discursive, linear, alphabetic discourse, thus, finding language is inherently difficult and an act of creation, of imagination, of making something new—of inventing. Scrapbooking, especially in its unique ability to allow juxtaposition, which moves from just the image to the assemblage of image, works towards that knowledge-making by forcing dialogue and interaction where none yet exists:

> Will-to-Juxtapose: this value is able to contrast images and thoughts with one another, put them against one another, let them interact with one another, cause them to conflict, agree, disrupt, or collapse. (141)

Creating a space for and fostering a will to reveal "conflict," disruption, a collapse of discourse, and even agreement, is supported well by feminist pedagogies, supporting my observations about *The Ideal Scap Book* and also the potential for scrapbooking and related assignments used in first-year composition course in community colleges to inspire hope and agency in students as they navigate new discourse. The power of "juxtaposition" as theorized in recent scholarship by multimodal composition theorists has promise to complement feminist practices of composing scrapbooks in the classroom.

Juxtaposition as Feminist Rhetoric: Covert, Disruptive, and Inventive

Murray describes the "Will-to-Juxtapose" as the ability to "contrast images and thoughts with one another, put them against one another, let them interact with one another, cause them to

conflict, agree, disrupt, or collapse" revealing the power of "metaphor and simile" and "abstraction (141). Murray's language is interesting here because he suggests that the composer can in some sense animate the texts they choose to put together: "let them interact" suggests that providing the space for interaction is enough—a composer need not do more than collect and assemble and that meaning will come from intuition and arise out of the assemblage itself. The composer is "caus[ing]" images to "conflict, agree […]," not saying or stating explicitly that they conflict or agree. In some sense, the composer enables meaning to be produced, but can evade authorship of the meaning itself, as when meaning-making is derived from intuition and juxtaposition is distanced and abstracted in comparison to meaning-making made by way of linear, alphabetic, discursive argument. This notion of the composer as animator is powerful because it allows composers to work "under-the-radar" so-to-speak, not forced to acknowledge explicitly any relationships or tensions derived from their assembling. This possibility resonates with feminist rhetorical theory.

Working "under-the-radar," like the scrapbook-maker of *The Ideal Scrap Book*, is an example of a sort of "sidelong feminism" and can be employed in a process of invention that honors and finds acceptable ambiguity and implicit tension. "Sidelong feminism" is a method that appears to be respectful of those with authority, but tacitly and quietly undermines that authority, too. As I've discussed, I borrow this term from Anne Blue Wills, who in her work on memory albums, defines "sidelong feminism" as when "a woman expresses agency, claims her voice, and declares the complexity of her full humanity, all by using modes that, on the surface, appear compliant with and respectful of patriarchy" (94). In addition to composing without the potential scrutiny of peers and professors, students might create scrapbooks in the classroom to

forge new narrative streams, explore more whole-heartedly and fearlessly, and use juxtaposition to reveal fissures, contradictions, and ironies in discourse presented as monolithic or dominant.

Juxtaposition, in particular, is a rhetorical mode that has the potential to flourish in a genre such as the scrapbook, which invites play and arrangement of scraps of discourse and allows scrapbook makers to forge quiet connections where connection was not previously acknowledged. Rice cautions that juxtaposition could lead to "control and predictability and thus should not be romanticized as an idealistic writerly alternative" (*Rhetoric of Cool* 84). I return to his book in this section and rely on his work more extensively now, focusing on a chapter exploring the rhetorical potentials and capacity of juxtaposition, called, simply, "Juxtaposition." He argues, like I do about scrapbooking, that "[j]uxtapositions among ideas as well as word and image prompt assumptions and inferences absent in most argumentative or narrative writing" (74) and that encouraging juxtaposition in the process of composing helps students to regain control over themselves and what they produce by allowing them to embrace conflict: "[w]hen conflict is kept at bay, students–and what they have to say–are controlled […] a student would not find conflict as a central tenet of the discovery process" (85). He writes, showing further connection between a subordination of control and the encountering of conflict that, "When writers expand connections, when they begin to include a variety of material into the writing process (texts, images, fragments, sounds, quotes, figures, etc.), writers begin as well to move beyond immediate controlling situations," and eventually "they will encounter conflict" (86). Conflict, here, is not something composers necessarily have to deliberately try to create or re-create, though they may of course use juxtaposition through scrapbooking with the intention to communicate conflict or contradiction. Instead, here, Rice describes conflict as an inevitable product of bringing multiple kinds of previously disjointed discourses together in close spatial

proximity. Encountering conflict, however, opens up possibilities for students to become aware of conflicts not necessarily realized and also to begin to use juxtaposition through scrapbooking to convey it purposefully. Rice also speaks to the production of discourse that is purposefully forging new meaning and becoming active agents of that meaning-making, drawing from William Burroughs novel, *Nova Express*:

> Rub out word, Burroughs demands, if we are to utilize juxtaposition for the complex and difficult task of invention. Word traps us into clarity, into making ourselves easily understood, into being complacent, into settling on one conclusion when many may simultaneously exist. Rub it out, and juxtapose in its place." (86)

Here, instead, Rice characterizes juxtaposition as something done as an act of defiance, of a rejection of easily-packaged, problematic "truths" and an avoidance of "traps." Bringing images together through juxtaposition might encourage writers to reject complacency and easy conclusions—a tendency described by Berthoff referenced earlier in this chapter: "students do not like uncertainty [...] they find it hard to tolerate ambiguity" (22)—and to embrace conflict as productive and important.

Thus, an inventive process allowing for juxtaposition in a genre such as scrapbooking resonates with feminist work in composition studies, which has argued for "feminist disruptions" and also makes a clear "case for conflict." According to Ritchie and Boardman, in "Feminism in Composition: Inclusion, Metonymy, and Disruption," "In order to intervene significantly in power structures that keep women subordinate, feminists investigate and uncover the contradictions in dominant structures" (17). Scrapbooking parts of nonfiction texts that resonate with students as they read has the potential to allow them to undermine power structures and "uncover contradictions" as they cut, rearrange, and recreate. In addition, working with conflict in a classroom led by feminist principles is important: Jarratt writes that conflict can reveal

"possibilities for using argument to reconstruct knowledge" and, importantly, that a stance towards conflict that attempts to minimize it in the classroom "leaves those who adopt it insufficiently prepared to negotiate the oppressive discourses of racism, sexism, and classism surfacing in composition classrooms" ("Case for Conflict" 264).

Engaging the Reader

Throughout my researching and reading about scrapbooking, many writers have pointed to the ways scrapbooks drew in their readers, often captivating them as they leaf through pages and muse over selections, wondering why the maker made the choices they made or sensing the maker's sincere desire to remember, record, create. Even I, as I began this dissertation, describe how I was drawn into my mother's scrapbooks as I leafed through the pages. Scrapbooks have an ephemeral quality as something so obviously made by someone, pointing to the maker as an embodied, living person who has used their hands and heart to choose, save, cut, paste, arrange. Sirc goes as far as to describe "the homemade aesthetic nature of the piece; and its boldly naive desire to try to make something other than just another dull piece of art" as, in part, "representing everything [he] value[s] in composition (122). Further, when scrapbook makers juxtapose, they "intensify the perceptions of change, flux, and release them in juxtapositions which grind in on the senses. It is intimate and intense […]" (123). Rice also explains that "juxtapositions [...] are cool for how they manage to force reader interaction at levels traditional scholarly prose often cannot" (74), "forc[ing] readers (and writers) to interact with the unexpected textual and visual associations juxtapositions force us to encounter" (76). In addition, sharing scrapbooks, as a "medium that engages materiality and form," might help students become "rhetorically aware of the impact their compositions can make on readers (Alexander 17).

While a feminist pedagogy of scrapbooking would not necessarily require the sharing of scrapbooks with others, sharing scrapbooks in the classroom might invite better, more productive dialogue about difference. While editors Marguerite Waller and Sylvia Marcos point to the importance of dialoguing about differences in global feminisms, their argument about difference can be applied to the classroom, too, where differences abound: "Inclusion and dialogue are indispensable moves at the current juncture, and, epistemologically, divergences and frictions are *precisely the sites* that offer new openings" (xx). Sharing scrapbooks, passing them around in reading circles, presenting them, and even making communal scrapbooks out of personal scrapbooks could move students to deeper understandings of their positionality, intersectionality, bridges, and fissures in relation to others, and how those points might move them personally and collectively to want to advocate for change that empowers them. A feminist practice of scrapbooking might encourage students to "live with the messiness, uncertainties, and ambiguities of life in order to act for change and social justice" and "mix metaphors, blur genres, tell stories in a nonlinear and nonlogical way, all as ways to help writers and readers identify with each other in order to take further collective action" (Warnock 201).

Scrapbooking and Equity in the Composition Classroom

In our English Department, we work hard to live up to the expectation of being "student-ready" by encouraging instructors to integrate a diverse range of nonfiction materials to read, measure their individual course success rates by looking at equity metrics, create and provide in-house pedagogical training, and participate in whole-college reading programs, such as *One Book, One College,* all in order to foster literacy in contextualized, meaningful communities. (Prior years' books include *The Immortal Life of Henrietta Lacks*, by Rebecca Skloot, and

Undocumented: A Dominican Boy's Odyssey from a Homeless Shelter to the Ivy League, by Daniel Padilla Peralta.) Over the last couple of years, our department has almost completely eradicated our remediation program in composition, relying on state-wide and local data showing that those courses were not preparing our students for success in transfer-level courses, but instead acting as hindrances to their completion goals. I am proud of our responsiveness to new data, local, statewide, and national trends, and student feedback through campus-wide surveys. In future departmental training and in workshops offered during our Professional Development Week, we might offer sessions that encourage faculty to broaden the scope of what counts as "prewriting" assignments and to use scrapbooking as an example of a mode of composing that moves students more purposefully and productively to agonistic, academic arguments. Using more representative and multimodal assignments for invention could improve achievement gaps, even by metrics used by the Chancellor's Office that focus exclusively on student success rates measured by course completion, and even when using our Student Learning Outcomes as they are currently drafted. In addition, embracing a more diverse range of assignments during invention is more equitable because a broader range of experience and ways of making meaning consequently are embraced. As shown in Chapter 1, many forms of composing have been cast as "feminine" because they draw more explicitly on feeling and intuition than other forms of composing. Privileging practices that are part of a historical legacy of rhetoric by women might spark conversations about how we come to "know" and how discourses are made, enfranchising multiple ways of knowing. A broader range of inventive practices that include multiple modalities also is more equitable because safe places are carved out in the classroom to explore without the pressure to put all complex, potentially disruptive thoughts or ideas immediately into words to be shared with teachers and/or other students who might critique or confront. Lastly,

students with disabilities who might not understand and communicate best with words or with their own words, especially in early stages of literacy, might find it easier to position themselves in relation to a given discourse by using image as a first response to readings: Dunn argues that it is important to provide students with multiple sensory pathways—sketching, audio journals, walking a draft—for inventing and revising alphabetic texts, suggesting that multimodal activities can help many students come to write stronger alphabetic products (9). When we offer multiple pathways to academic argument, allowing space for our students to bring their "different truths [...] to our classes—feminism and rhetoric, according to Jarratt, become allies in contention with the forces of oppression troubling us all ("Feminism," Jarratt 278). She further writes, speaking from a position of hope, that:

> [her] hopes are pinned on composition courses whose instructors help their students to locate personal experience in historical and social contexts—courses that lead students to see how differences emerging from their texts and discussions have more to do with those contexts than they do with an essential and arguable individuality. I envision a composition course in which students argue about the ethical implications of discourse on a wide range of subjects and, in doing so, come to identify their personal interests with others, understand those interests as implicated in a larger communal setting, and advance them in a public voice. (*277*)

I hope that a feminist pedagogy of scrapbooking, and more generally pedagogies that embrace broader, more multimodal inventive practices, positions students to make arguments that are more meaningful, better situated socially and historically, and with a sense of their own agency to change and effect discourse, and their lives.

Concluding and, In the Future

I envision many ways this project could be developed in the future. I would love to explore the potential of using digital scrapbooks, drawing from this generation's use of social media and other online platforms to "patch together" news and information. As Rice suggests, an apparatus that encourages juxtaposition "mirrors the types of cultural, social, and technological juxtapositions writers engage with in the digital world" (75). Multiple online scrapbooking platforms are available, such as Pixel Scrapper, www.scrapgirls.com, www.smilebox.com, which offer streamlined digital scrapbook platforms allowing users to upload digital images and arrange them in various ways. www.pocket.com is a space that allows users to save articles read online, even enabling the highlighting of text; however cutting out specific parts of the texts and placing them next to others is not yet possible. e-Portfolios could be a useful tool in creating and storing digital scrapbooks made by students, too. In addition, classroom-based studies using scrapbooking as an inventive practice would help support my ideas and flush them out further; as Hassel and Giordano argue, "studying the needs of students who are served by open admissions institutions and who hope to access the opportunity that higher education presents — can only be done at two-year institutions." I also would like to expand my understanding of the ways invention is being treated across writing programs in community colleges more broadly to either confirm my sense that this stage of writing could be complicated and deepened. The most recent study I could find is a survey of textbooks looking for more current methodologies for teaching invention: "A Critical Survey of Resources for Teaching Rhetorical Invention," by David V. Harrington, Philip M. Keith, Charles W. Kneupper, Janice A. Tripp and William F. Woods, published in *College English* in 1979. Certainly, a new survey of textbooks and even course Student Learning Outcomes across community colleges might give us a better idea of what

inventive strategies are being taught. And, if an expanded notion of invention and all of its possibilities are lacking, then, in order to "teach juxtaposition, composition studies has to put aside the fixation on order" which has been "stress[ed] at the expense of necessary rhetorical conflict" (Rice 87)—knowing how to facilitate this move is another undertaking all together.

Lastly, juxtaposition is already pervasive in media and discourse production online: "[t]here already exists a literacy of juxtaposition around us" (Rice 76): consider Google News, Apple News, and other digital news sites, readily accessible and even pushed out to users on their phones, that take disparate articles and put them together on a page. While they are not juxtaposing quotes from within articles, the headlines and stories are juxtaposed, a process that William Burroughs calls the "Juxtaposition Formulae" in his sci-fi novel *Nova Express* and that Rice "situates [...] within the merging worlds of print and digital culture, the place where media culture appropriates the strategy for controlling purposes, and individuals struggle to learn it as a rhetoric of resistance to political and economic structures" (Rice 75). In *Nova Express*, as explained by Rice, Burroughs writes, "[t]he Formulae of course control populations of the world" (85-86). While I will resist veering "apocalyptic," I do argue that juxtaposition is pervasive and controlling, and that a feminist pedagogy of juxtaposition would help bring more attention in the classroom to the ways articles and news, assembled on a page, digital or otherwise, can evoke impressions and communicate through suggestion. The power of suggestion is not adequately explored in writing courses focusing on linear, clear argument and scrapbooking may provide a window into the ways readers can be manipulated and moved by textual production and presentation.

I look forward to integrating scrapbooking as a form of invention in my future courses. I imagine I will ask students to buy or make large books with blank pages and ensure that they

have two copies of the course reader—one to highlight and use as reference during class discussions and for citation, and the other to cut and remake as desired. A prompt for an inventive assignment rooted in a feminist pedagogy of scrapbooking might read:

> *We have read [these readings] regarding [these issues]. Look over the readings and identify what words, sentences, paragraphs, pages resonate with you. What makes your heart beat more quickly? What unsettles you? What makes you happy or sad? What excites you? What disgusts you? With scissors, cut out these parts of the readings and arrange them as you'd like next to other parts you cut out. Focus on assembling the pages in ways that make sense to you or resonate with you. Glue or tape the clippings in arrangements that seem purposeful or meaningful to you. You will not have to share your scrapbooks, but you will have the option to share, and you will have to show evidence of completion for credit. You will use your scrapbooks as inspiration for future writing and, hopefully, they will be generative to that writing.*

Another kind of assignment that interests me, and was evidently already a practice in elementary school classes in the nineteenth century, is the making of a collective scrapbook with the class. Currently, I have students tape articles or snippets that are interesting to them on the board after doing assigned readings and then we do walk-abouts, seeing what everyone chose to tape to the board. No one really knows who tapes up what, and from the board, we generate a list of common interests to focus the nature of our discussion and questions for the class for the semester. I would love to formalize and better document this process and keeping a sort of class scrapbook might be the genre to use. I can also envision the importance of asking students to reflect on being asked to respond in ways that are not overtly or consciously rational, which might open up productive conversation about the kinds of tasks we are asked to do in college, and in the world, and how those tasks are always ideologically-informed. I would also ask students to reflect on their own scrapbooks and/or collective scrapbooks, identifying any potential "A-H-A moments," which spur agency, hope, and/or action.

In sum, scrapbooking as an inventive practice in the composition classroom promises opportunity for students to engage in reading actively, as inventors and with a fuller engagement of their bodies, in meaning-making that uses felt-sense and fosters room to disrupt and contradict, potentially moving them toward a greater sense of agency and relationship to discourse and discourse production. As the world becomes inscripted and conveyed through such a complex and overwhelming system of discourse that is part of their everyday lives, students need ways to negotiate and respond that foster better understandings of self, self-in-relation-to-others, and self-in-context and are empowering and agential.

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