Peitho

AY, JANUARY 11. 1918.—TWENTY-TWO PAGES.

HANDS ACROSS THE SEAS

TREMENDOUS VICTORY IN CONGRESS

TREMENDOUS VICTORY IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS

GREAT BRITAIN

U.S.A.

The Critical Place of the Networked Archive

Tarez Samra Graban and Shirley K Rose, Editors

with essays by

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Editors' Introduction:
The Critical Place of the Networked Archive

Tarez Samra Graban and Shirley K Rose

The Issue and Our Call to Write Together

This special issue began as a series of e-mails between December 2012 and February 2013, in preparation for the September 2013 Feminisms and Rhetorics conference on "Rhetorics, Feminisms, and Global Communities," when we issued a call for collaborators to help us critically investigate a digitized subset of Suffrage-related cartoons by American illustrator John Tinney McCutcheon.[1] From the thousands of cartoons that McCutcheon drew for the *Chicago Tribune* between 1903 and 1946, we had selected seven cartoons with themes related to American perceptions of the British women's suffrage movement, curious about how we might conduct a networked feminist scholarly project. The response to our call for FemRhet 2013 was so positive that we knew, even before the conference, we would need to involve more scholars in the work. We envisioned a longer-term project that would not merely lead to richer understandings of McCutcheon's cartoons and their political history, but also support an arc of inquiry that shows the meta-critical possibilities of a networked archive. We were especially interested in how a jointly constructed project could assume, rely on, and explore various digital affordances for networking.

After our conference sessions, and to some extent because of them, in October 2013 we were joined by two new collaborators to help us articulate different critical perspectives on McCutcheon's transnational cartoons—those panels that depicted women's suffrage in Great Britain, as well as the means (and screens) by which views of British Suffrage were circulated in the United States and Canada. Together, we hoped to offer a spectrum of critical approaches—from the analysis of visual media ecologies to the articulation of a relational network—based on the material artifacts themselves, the contexts from which they arose, and the digitized contexts in which they continue to abide. We wanted to design a vital discussion of how suffrage events could be depicted "at home and abroad," and of how new audiences, contexts, ideas, and movements could emerge from such a transnational, multi-methodological conversation.

The Essays and their Arc of Critical Inquiry

The spectrum of approaches reflected here embodies Jacqueline Jones Royster and Gesa E. Kirsch's "enhanced inquiry model" (148). All of our collaborators in this issue approach McCutcheon's cartoons as an intentionally theorized set of relationships, moving between familiar and unfamiliar contexts in their analysis of the McCutcheon archive. Collectively, the seven collaborators

practice a kind of "tacking in" and "tacking out," alternating between a dialectical engagement with the digitized cartoons and a critical distance of the "conscious awareness of what [they] have come to know" (Royster and Kirsch 76), and ultimately revealing a complex network of archived agents. Such enhanced inquiry places national Suffrage histories alongside facts of global recirculation, and feminist historical methodologies alongside rhetorical ecologies (Edbauer). Our contributions, then, are guided by an ethic of identifying and making accessible various sets of resources to be repurposed and re-circulated by diverse scholars for multiple purposes. By understanding the technologies on which suffrage proponents and opponents—as well as McCutcheon and his readers of the *Chicago Tribune*—depended and which they exploited, we might better understand *the means by which* arguments were networked then, and can be networked now.

The crux of our shared project is a small "archive"—narrowly constrained—that we have strategically constructed and positioned as a node from which we net-work connections to our individual scholarly projects and to one another's projects as well. Yet the collective effort it represents sustains and is sustained by multiple other connections that digitization of an archive makes possible. This archive, which we named the "McCutcheon Transatlantic Suffrage Cartoon Collection" (MTSCC), was initially constituted by the seven cartoons that Shirley selected for their trans-national representations, including depictions of the suffrage movement in Great Britain, depictions of Americans' perceptions of the British suffrage movement, and depictions of relationships between the British suffrage movement and the suffrage movement in the United States and Canada. The resulting networked archive is truly multidimensional: it occurs and exists on different planes of questioning, as our contributors' varied approaches demonstrate, and it is only in finding the locus where these planes intersect that we that we began to understand the differences digitization makes for this way of approaching a visual archive.

The essays throughout this special issue address the possibilities or constraints afforded by delimiting and then expanding this archive. Kristie S. Fleckenstein opens the special issue by articulating how the meaning of McCutcheon's cartoons emerges from their participation in a complex system of visual media that are "profoundly political or ethico-aesthetic at all scales" (Fuller 4). Fleckenstein argues that, when read against the background of an "ambient visual media ecology" (14, this issue), the political cartoon yields up a message that radicalizes McCutcheon's political positions, either for or against the movement. In an enactment of Fleckenstein's animate media, Jaqueline McLeod Rogers examines the depiction of protest spectacle and figures —including the use of costumery and ephemera—in two anti-suffrage cartoons by Canadian editorial cartoonist Newt McConnell, published between 1905-1914 in *The*

Toronto Daily News. By analyzing the relationship between each cartoon's tropes and Canadian cultural attitudes, Rogers makes the case for both McConnell's and McCutcheon's cartoons to be culturally referential and digitally re/situated according to uniquely transnational values. Following Rogers, and inspired by Royster and Kirsch's "strategic contemplation," Sarah L. Skripsky specifically situates digitized Suffrage cartoons as periodical texts that enact serialized rhetorics for readers of both present and past. Skripsky reconstructs McCutcheon's macroplots (in which his serialized cartoons form narratives centering on stock characters' progress over time) to suggest new ways that the digital recirculation of McCutcheon's cartoons can offer a three-dimensional representation of England's controversial Suffragette.

Departing somewhat from the cartoon/ist as rhetorical subject, Jason Barrett-Fox traces local and cross-continental feminisms in the archival correspondence and intertextual conversations between McCutcheon and Jane Addams through the lens of Frank D'Angelo's matrix of intertextual rhetoric, locating some of McCutcheon's visual rhetoric in a significant political position of which most extant McCutcheon archives bear little to no trace. Ultimately, Barrett-Fox argues for a feminist convergence of archived evidence that offers a new awareness of consubstantiality between the American and British women's movements, indicating a change in McCutcheon's social perspective and problematizing the notion of McCutcheon's archive as a network. To further illuminate the meta-textual quality of McCutcheon's archive, Tarez Samra Graban argues for an archival ecology that relies on circulatory notions of metadata to reconstitute what it means to work in archival spaces according to various relationships among users, and relationships between users and other connections. Graban argues for viewing McCutcheon's digital archive as a set of locatable "publics" whose geospatial coordinates reveal complex historiographic relationships between Suffragists and Suffrage histories. Together, the first five essays demonstrate the potential of a shared, strategically constructed digital archive for generating multiple meanings and interpretations that can simultaneously support and challenge one another.

The remaining two essays examine how that is accomplished in this project. Promoting the broadest understandings of "archive" and "network," Oriana Gatta and Shirley K Rose each perform a meta-analysis on different aspects of the project. Bridging computer science, artificial intelligence, and linguistics, Oriana Gatta argues that the logic of archival research is simultaneously inductive and deductive by performing keyword analysis on the first five essays comprising this issue. By tracing patterns of meaning that emerge from mining the text of these essays, Gatta reveals material, ideological, and disciplinary presumptions that both liberate and constrain our questions, specifically by pointing to the differences between our explicit and implicit attention to

terms as *methodological*. In a final postscript, Shirley K Rose shows that, just as McCutcheon's work was enabled by a network of relationships developed and maintained by the communication technologies of his day, the critical project represented in this special issue one century later is developed in networks of relationships that have been somehow sustained and provoked by the digital technologies of our time. In addition to reflecting on the fluctuating nature of the archive, Rose presents insights drawn from her interviews with the issue's collaborators about their participation in the project.

To support this critical arc, we encourage readers to open the Gallery prior to reading the first essay; McCutcheon's cartoons will provide a useful visual backdrop to Fleckenstein's discussion of ambient media ecology before being brought forward as a focus of attention from Rogers, Skripsky, and Barrett-Fox.

The *Archive* In its Historiographic and Technologized Contexts

Rebecca Dingo's explanation of networking arguments—as both an analytical method and a generative or invention heuristic—has been particularly useful for articulating our archival approach. We examine the texts that constitute it and connect subjects within it in "relational terms" (14), "call[ing] into question the situatedness of texts and the traditional rhetorical relationship of text, speaker, and audience and demonstrate[ing] the need to look at how rhetorics circulate and how that circulation relates to (geo)political economies" (15). Dingo explains that "this approach to rhetorical analysis examines not just arguments about women but also the ways these arguments change as they move across contexts" (14). In much the same way, we proposed this special issue at the convergence of two critical and cultural moments for feminist recovery and feminist research: six months after the centennial of the Washington D.C. Woman Suffrage Parade (in March 2013); and six months prior to the 25th anniversary of the Coalition of Women Scholars in the History of Rhetoric and Composition (at CCCC in March 2014). We saw that developments in the digitization of print archives provided us with new opportunities for accessing materials by and about Transatlantic views on Suffrage, as well as noetic lenses for examining newspaper cartoons that shaped an informed public opinion about the international reach of the suffrage movement, even as they reveal interesting gaps.

We also anticipated a readership invested in *Peitho*'s new intellectual mission to both actively engage in historical work with a feminist lens *and* actively shift feminist theoretical orientations toward the future. We anticipated readers who would be interested in archival preservation and storytelling, and readers interested in re/defining more methodologically inclusive histories in the making. Moreover, we anticipated readers who are committed to understanding

feminist histories and feminist methodologies as things that are distributed, studied, and *shared*. Rather than simply applying print-based or circulatory methodologies to a digitized archive—or assuming that McCutcheon's Suffrage *archive* resides only in the organizational and curatorial decisions made during the digitization of material artifacts—the collaborators in this issue invite readers to ask what happens when they rethink their notions of "feminist recovery" and "critical examination" according to the imaginative, ecological, and even immaterial question of what a networked archive specifically equips us to do. How might its trans-linking provide a fuller sense of historians' involvements in feminist recovery—past, present, and future?

To that end, this issue of *Peitho* involves several special features: a gallery of digital photographs of pages from a multi-volume scrapbook in which McCutcheon's cartoons have been collected, organized, and stored; embedded external hyperlinks to related archives or collections; and embedded internal hyperlinks between the essays in this issue, as a way of highlighting cross-disciplinary reflections that link key claims between and among them. During our preparations for Feminisms and Rhetorics 2013, and in our collaborations and discussions since then, the McCutcheon Transatlantic Suffrage Cartoon Collection expanded several times, and we include one of its iterations in the following "Gallery: Transatlantic Suffrage Cartoons Drawn by John T. McCutcheon for the *Chicago Tribune*." Individual authors in this issue refer to "Gallery Image" when discussing one of the cartoons from this particular collection, and "Figure" when referring to additional illustrations or cartoons, some by McCutcheon and some by other artists, numbered serially within their essays.

It is worthwhile to note that the initial construction and subsequent expansions of the collection were, and continue to be, collaborative ventures. The images in the MTSCC are actually digital scans of pages from the "Scrapbooks of John T. McCutcheon Cartoons, 1903-1946" collection, held at Purdue University Archives and Special Collections, and containing twenty-five volumes in all. With the support of archivist Sammie Morris, Rose selected her initial set of cartoons after examining everything in the scrapbooks that was published in the *Tribune* from 1903 to 1920—the years in which the British and U.S. suffrage movements intersect with McCutcheon's tenure at the *Tribune*. She then made the archive accessible as a password-protected online slideshow to everyone who responded to the initial call for collaborators, offering more images and expanding the size of the collection in response to collaborators' queries and needs. Eventually, the MTSCC was supplemented with two additional Transatlantic suffrage cartoons identified by Skripsky in the process of researching her essay. At different stages of preparing for FemRhet 2013 and for this special issue, Rose selected and circulated additional sets of cartoons that—while they did not necessarily reflect McCutcheon's Transatlantic portrayals of Suffrage—helped contextualize

our questions about the digital recirculation of McCutcheon's other portrayals of suffrage, and his other political portrayals of women more broadly.

Our selection of these images from among several thousand in the twenty-five-volume scrapbook admittedly disrupts the scrapbook's coherence as an original archive that was initially assembled over forty years' time, but we can appreciate the role that scrapbook technologies play.[2] Scrapbooks were a technology by which suffragists networked their arguments, documenting and (re)circulating newspaper coverage and other media that provided accounts of lectures, demonstrations, and other occasions for articulating suffrage rhetorics. For example, Susan B. Anthony assembled a thirty-three-volume scrapbook record of her political activist work; and Ellen Gruber Garvey reports that a national press bureau opened by suffragists in 1909 paid a clipping bureau to track newspaper reporting on suffrage around the country as well as maintaining its own files of clippings of suffrage-related stories from sixteen New York City area newspapers (245).

As a collection of images separated from the context of the daily papers in which they appeared and placed side by side in the order in which they originally appeared on the blank pages of these volumes, the scrapbooks make a claim for both the coherence and the evolution of his vision and perspective on local, national, and world events over the more than four decades he drew them. Late nineteenth century and early twentieth century newspaper readers were inundated with print materials, and scrapbooks allowed them to manage, collect, evaluate and organize those materials it and make them accessible again when needed—much as "present-day readers manage digital abundance with favorites lists, bookmarks, blogrolls, RSS feeds, and content aggregators, nineteenth-century readers channeled the flood of information with scrapbooks" (Garvey 3-4).

A central question for our larger project is whether and how this emphasis on network analysis can help us understand how to intentionally and strategically carry out the work of creating and sustaining a body of feminist scholarship that begins with a collective focus on a small shared archive of images. That is, how do we create a set of resources that is amenable to being repurposed and recirculated by diverse scholars employing a variety of types of inquiry for multiple purposes? One answer may lie in understanding some of the technologies that contributed to the circulation of the news informing McCutcheon's daily cartoons, technologies that he also exploited for the circulation of his own work and portrayed in the cartoons themselves. But another answer may lie in understanding how rhetorical networking takes account of the roles of *both* early 20th-century technologies *and* early 21st-century technologies, since considering the technologies by which suffrage rhetorics were networked a century ago

prepares us to recognize the role that technologies play in conducting feminist historiographical research with digital archives today.

As such, our understanding of this "rhetorical networking" is necessarily pan-historical, evident in actual responses to circulation as well as historical depictions of those responses. For example, newspaper readers' reactions to news stories and their reliance on newspapers for information about local, regional, national, and international events are shown in cartoons such as "This Morning's Paper," published on February 4, 1914 (Figure 1), in which a woman scans the papers to "see how many women registered [to vote] yesterday," or the first illustration for McCutcheon's serialized illustrated narrative in four parts "Bab's Ballot," published from January 24 through March 18, 1914 (Figure 2), in which a young woman voter vows to stay informed about public issues. And the effects of speaking tours as technologies by which texts and ideas were circulated in the early 20th Century are shown in McCutcheon's October 20, 1913 cartoon "Mrs. Pankhurst" (Gallery Image 6), in which McCutcheon acknowledges the role that British suffragist Emmeline Pankhurst's U.S. speaking tours played in introducing and circulating Suffragette rhetoric. The texts of these speeches were often subsequently published and recirculated in the meeting minutes of the sponsoring women's clubs and occasionally in local newspapers as well. Likewise, McCutcheon's cartoon "Hands Across the Sea," published on January 11, 1918 (Gallery Image 7), depicts women's suffrage as a Transatlantic move-

Figure 1.   *Figure 2.*

ment aided by the cable technologies of the day, reflected in a British woman and an American woman reaching across the Atlantic to congratulate one another for their respective victories for the cause of women's suffrage.

Just as McCutcheon's rhetorical work was enabled by the communication technologies of his day, our project collaboration has been enabled and sustained by numerous communications and archival technologies including email and email listservs, a scholarly conference, telephones, online slide-sharing software, and "cloud"-based dropboxes. Without the digital technologies that made our shared access to these cartoons possible, it is unlikely that more than one or two of us would have had the occasion to examine these cartoons and the project could not have been conducted from our geographically separate locations across the United States and Canada. Many of these technologies are so familiar as to make their role in sustaining scholarly networks taken for granted if not invisible to us, yet it is important that we recognize and acknowledge their role is sustaining our collaborative study of the networked archive.

In establishing this collection, we necessarily have delimited not only the chronological range but also the representational scope of McCutcheon's work. McCutcheon's career as a published illustrator began while he was a student at Purdue University in the late 1880s and continued until his retirement in 1946, and he estimated that during his lifetime he drew more than 10,000 cartoons on the multitude of topics that made front-page news. Yet we have limited the focus of our shared archive to his depictions of the suffrage movement between North America and Great Britain. So as not to oversimplify or underestimate the significance of his work, we articulate here a few perspectives left out of the rest of our discussions. Responses to the question of what were McCutcheon's loyalties are admittedly challenging to discern, and in retrospect they may not matter for the kinds of net-working we do. Still, in his 43-year career at the *Tribune*, McCutcheon's cross-continental themes of suffrage, race, and politics were intermixed. This often resulted in racialized tropes of ordinary citizens as well as national and international leaders, including his well-known illustrations for George Ade's 1897 collection of stories in *Pink Marsh* (viewable on Google Books) and his well-circulated "Injun Summer," the latter falling out of favor of *Tribune* readers because of its perceived racial epithet.[3]

The re-circulation, nearly a century after their original publication, of two other cartoons demonstrates the complexities of McCutcheon's representations of race. In "The Color Line Has Reached the North" published on July 28, 1919, McCutcheon depicts the Chicago Race Riots of that summer as a gender-neutral but regionally fraught event. In "The Missionary's Sons" first published on September 30 of that same year, McCutcheon depicts the multi-race city riots as little more than tropes reflecting a kind of ideological futility on either side of the United States border by calling attention to the irony of Uncle Sam—the "missionary" armed with "good intentions" and carrying a "mandate for mankind." McCutcheon also targets multi- and international attitudes towards race and racialized politics in the anti-fascist "At Last King Victor Emmanuel Makes the First

Figure 3. Courtesy of Hoover Institution Library & Archives. Stanford University.

Figure 4. Courtesy of Hoover Institution Library & Archives. Stanford University.

Page" dated 12 May 1936 (Figure 3), and in the undated "Meet My Family" depicting the Women's League's amalgamation of support roles in World War I (Figure 4), both of which we have seen as archived pen-and-ink drawings, though not in their circulated newsprint forms.

We simply began with what we identified as a critical challenge: McCutcheon's focus was not solely Suffrage and not explicitly on transnational representations of it. Yet we saw real critical import in constructing a subset of images related to transnational perspectives on suffrage. We also saw potential in modeling this work to enable others to do the same with another archive or with other parts of McCutcheon's archives that we have chosen to exclude. It is our hope that readers of this special issue will both recognize and imagine what other kinds of connections or inquiries seem possible to them for political cartoons, for Suffrage, and for feminist criticism—not only in tropes they see reflected through examining the cartoon/ist as rhetorical subject, but also in the kinds of delivery or presentation that might help us to problematize the intellectual space of something like a digital archive.

Tarez Samra Graban and Shirley K Rose, Guest Editors
(click editor name for link to bio)

Notes

2   The multi-volume collection of McCutcheon cartoon scrapbooks held in the Purdue Archives and Special Collections has features of both the newspaper clipping scrapbook provided by clipping services and the personal scrapbook of items of interest to the creator. According to Purdue Archivist Sammie Morris, Shaw McCutcheon, John T. McCutcheon's youngest son and the donor of the scrapbook collection, reported that the scrapbook collection had been kept by a personal friend of the family—evidently one of longstanding, as the scrapbooks cover a period of more than forty years.

3   For a discussion of the Tribune's decision to cease reprinting "Injun Summer," see the September 30, 1907 article by reporter Sid Smith.

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Gallery of McCutcheon Transatlantic Suffrage Cartoon Collection

A collection assembled by Shirley K Rose from digital photographs and scans of pages from the "John T. McCutcheon Cartoon Scrapbooks," containing clippings from the *Chicago Tribune* from 1903 - 1946. Scrapbooks are held at Purdue University Archives and Special Collections.

Click on images to enlarge.

An Englishman's Home

A Modern Martyr Goes to Jail

In the Nation's Spotlight

In Merrie England

As the Suffragists Will Probably Immortalize Their First Martyr

Mrs. Pankhurst

Hands Across the Seas

She's Been Kidded by Experts

Women Uniting Against War

Animating Archive and Artifact: An (Anti)Suffrage Caricature in Its Visual Media Ecology

Kristie S. Fleckenstein

In her primer on "Finding and Researching Photographs," Helena Zinkham offers a two-part visual archival "tutorial," first demonstrating how to find archives of desirable visual materials, then demonstrating how to work with those materials. While Zinkham initiates the novice into the joys of locating available physical or digital visual repositories and into the challenges of analyzing materials uncovered there (120), she also implicitly configures the archive as a discrete and inert storehouse, and the artifact as equally discrete and inert—two intertwined assumptions that circulate throughout her article. Zinkham's intentionally pragmatic account of photographic archival research does not acknowledge the dynamic, networked nature of historical visual materials, both digital and material, or of the environments within which they are amassed and organized. Without diminishing the value of Zinkham's helpful advice for the inexperienced archival researcher, I interrogate this implicit representation of visual archive and artifact as isolated and fixed, arguing instead that each exists as a participant within an *ambient visual media ecology*: a historically specific array of mutually constitutive connections among visual technologies, artifacts, collections, and users that constitute the surrounding "vision-scape" of a culture. Such a perspective animates—brings to life—archive, artifact, and researcher.

The elements comprising *ambient visual media ecology* emphasize the dynamism intrinsic to archival research, especially research involving the visual. Coined by Neil Postman in 1968 and defined as "the study of media environments," *media ecology* highlights the active reciprocity among media, cultures, and communication (qtd. in Lum 10). As Postman explains, putting *media* in front of *ecology* underscores "the ways in which the interaction between media and human beings gives a culture its character" (62), pointing as well to the interplay between the materiality of a particular medium and its intersection with users. *Visual* media ecology directs attention to one specific intersection: the vigorous reciprocity among visual technologies, artifacts, and cultural citizens within a particular historical moment. Finally, *ambient* visual media ecology incorporates the multiple intersecting levels of signification forming any visual media ecology. *Ambient* accentuates the way in which a visual media ecology functions, first, as a background or vision-scape shaping participants' everyday realities. This background forms a pervasive *un-remark-able* setting

against which life is lived on daily basis. That background derives not from any specific visual artifact but from the quality of visuality itself, a quality emerging from the flow of visual artifacts within communication streams at a particular historical moment. Second, and conversely, this unremarkable quality of an ambience is coupled with *re*-mark-ability: the eruption of specific visual experiences that command attention. These various elements combine in an ambient visual media ecology to highlight the vibrant nature of a cultural member's existence within that ecology.

Situated within this animating context, archive, artifact, and users—historically positioned viewers and researchers—operate not as obdurate isolates but rather as "a comprehensive participatory event, a universe of action, and a world of knowledge and learning" (Marcum 189). An ambient visual media ecology brings to active life archive and artifact, an insight that holds important implications *both* for the pragmatic act of visual archival research in general *and* for the specific examination of John T. McCutcheon's suffrage-related cartoons that we undertake in this special issue of *Peitho*. More than simply highlighting re-contextualization, or a process of reading one archival image against another or one medium against another, an ambient visual media ecology stresses the extent to which McCutcheon's archive and artifact are actions encompassing myriad planes of signification. An ambient visual media ecology directs our attention not just to a method of understanding suffrage-related cartoons but also to a larger meta-methodology that illuminates the presuppositions underlying the positionality and the contingent meanings of those cartoons. Sensitivity to the vitalizing influence of an archive's, artifact's, or user's ambient visual media ecology uncovers how McCutcheon, his readers, and his researchers are likewise actors and agents. "In an ecological system, as distinguished from an environment," James Marcum contends, "the subject [archive, artifact, archivist-scholar] interacts with and participates in the creation and evolution of the system" (192), producing not visual information but "an action-perception cycle" (191). This intricate array of transactions with other media, images, and users—both past and present—transforms archive, artifact, and varied participants into lively *happenings* or animations, rather than static *happened* or inert traces frozen in a repository. Finally, within the parameters of the McCutcheon project explored throughout this issue, the ambient visual media ecology animates gender, highlighting the notion that any gender construction effected by images likewise operates as an *event*—a product of the action-perception cycle. Bringing the visual archive and artifact to life thus opens up new vistas for feminist historical research, underscoring the importance of auditing men's and women's experiences within a visual media ecology, especially as they turn to that ecology for *topoi* to guide rhetorical performances and responses.

To demonstrate the intricacies of an ambient visual media ecology and to trace its implications for understanding the vibrant nature of visual archive and artifact, I examine one editorial cartoon satirizing women's political activism. Penned in 1903 by McCutcheon for the *Chicago Tribune*, the cartoon exists as part of an interlaced system of visual media that Matthew Fuller characterizes as "profoundly political or ethico-aesthetic at all scales" (4). I begin with a brief account of the theory of an ambient visual media ecology and describe one incarnation: the anti-suffrage orientation at the *fin de siècle* ambient visual media ecology. I then examine the transaction of ecology and cartoon in two methodological moves, highlighting the interplay of perception and action in the cartoon as event. Although I address perception and action separately and sequentially, the two exist without clear-cut boundaries, making both artifact and its hosting archive *animate* rather than inanimate. I illustrate that animation by positioning McCutcheon's 1903 cartoon within a system of anti-suffrage visual rhetoric that circulated across and through different media. Finally, I conclude by returning to the visual archive, emphasizing its liveliness for feminist scholars.

Animating Archive and Artifact: An Ambient Visual Media Ecology

Considering archive and artifact as events within an ambient visual media ecology emphasizes the animated nature of each. McCutcheon's 1903 cartoon provides initial ingress into the ecological system and insights into the animation of archive and artifact, especially as that animation intersects with gender construction. The cartoon as event appeared on Thursday, October 22, 1903, three short months after McCutcheon left the *Chicago Record-Herald* for the *Chicago Tribune*, his six-panel cartoon dominated the daily's front page (Figure 1). Bookended on either side with articles on politics, crimes, and finance, the cartoon, as McCutcheon claims he intends it, mildly caricatures the ninth annual meeting of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs, an organization less than a decade old that advocated a variety of social causes, including suffrage. Looming above the fold, McCutcheon's illustration offers six humorous scenarios of female interaction (Figure 2). In each scenario, Federation members—individually or in groups—inveigle women to join their cause by disrupting the everyday lives of non-members. Contrasting absurd behavior with domestic order, the cartoon subtly gestures toward divisions within the Federation itself, between those seeking suffrage through conciliatory "velvet-gloved" strategies and those employing more radical "unpopular and unconventional" tactics (Wheeler 114, 103). As he contrasts hyperbolic, even illogical, activism with traditionally female responsibilities—i.e., weddings, dinners, childcare,

Figure 1.

Figure 2.

and family health care—McCutcheon demonstrates his claim that he deliber-ately "blunts his barb" in any satire of a "woman's activities" (200). Rather than excoriating the Federation clubwomen as "perversions of a gift of God to the human race," which former President Grover Cleveland does in a 1905 *Ladies Home Journal* article, the cartoonist called Gentle John claims that he employs a kinder strategy, one designed to tease while "somehow flattering" activist women (199). However, when networked within its ambient visual media ecol-ogy and conceived as a happening rather than a static happened, the blunted barb potentially gains a very sharp edge.

The concept of an ambient visual media ecology brings to the foreground the formative and transformative aspects of a culture's media, especially as those media interact on multiple levels of signification. Neither McCutcheon,

nor his cartoon, nor his readers existed within a media vacuum, a point that Jason Barrett-Fox reinforces through his examination of intertextual ecologies and economies (62, this issue). Instead, McCutcheon made artistic choices influenced by his immersion in a visual media ecology (Becker 318). Similarly, *Tribune* subscribers participated in the same visual media ecology, a membership that encouraged them to perceive certain details of a cartoon while ignoring others. Both artist and viewer were caught up in the inherent transactivity of their ambient *fin de siècle* visual media ecology, a transactivity that influenced participants to see the world, and gender identities at play within it, in certain ways. Fuller brings attention to the liveliness of any media ecology, contending that such ecologies demand a "materialist account of the world," one that acknowledges the way in which media "make the world and take part in it, and at the same time, synthesize, block, or make possible other worlds" (1-2). As Fuller contends, there is "life among media," a vivacity that links and "cross-fertilizes" across mental, natural, and social planes (5). The liveliness ensued from the existence of a media ecology as an open system in which "parts no longer exist simply as discrete bits that stay separate"; instead, "they set in play a process of mutual stimulation that exceeds what they are as a set" (1). Media thus *constitute* activity, where modes "always demand carrying over into another mode, another universe of reference, and always another" (5). Neither static nor discrete, the material and the transactive elements of a media ecology emphasize the mutual constitutiveness of active pattern-making among material media, artifacts, archives, and users. It is this pattern-making that bears symbolic weight. Fuller elaborates: "complex medial systems cooperate to produce something more than the sum of their parts" (6). As an event within complex medial systems, then, McCutcheon's cartoon—as well as its depiction of gender—exists not as a pattern but as an *invitation to viewers to create* a pattern, underscoring its identity as a happening to be performed rather merely labeled, categorized, and accessed.

While the term *media ecology* evolved in the wake of the twentieth-century electronic technological revolution, the ambient visual media ecology within which McCutcheon wrote and drew was marked by similar seismic changes. The turn of the century constituted an explosive moment of American mass mediation involving print and visual technologies. The latter decades of the nineteenth century featured the emergence of what Carl Kaestle calls a "'culture of print'" (24), wherein print, through various technological revolutions, became the privileged medium. McCutcheon experienced that sea-change, explaining that, "when I started work the only way of reaching the mass of people was through the press. . . . The dominating power and responsibility [for "the molding of public opinion"] rest[ed] with the printed column and cartoons of the country's newspapers" (198). Throughout this "watershed

period," the printed word replaced the oral word as the preferred medium of daily life. In these final decades of the nineteenth century, the decades within which McCutcheon begins his career, Americans became "habituated to the presence of printed materials in their daily lives" (Kaestle and Radway 16). Furthermore, as McCutcheon himself prefigures, this rupture involved more than the printed word; it involved as well the printed image, rendering the culture of print intensely visual.

Advances in visual technologies, from the cheap reproductions of chromolithography to photoengraving and the halftone process, kept pace with changes in print technologies. As a result, the waning decades of the nineteenth-century experienced a visual explosion through the mass-mediation of the graphic image. McCutcheon alludes to just such a tectonic shift in his 1889 commencement oration at Purdue, "Caricature in Art." He asserts the current age of the newspaper, "enhanced by the skill of the illustrator," provided the medium by which "caricature and comic art first come into common application and use" (60). As a visual media ecology underscores, and as McCutcheon's own autobiography reveals, these changes were not just occurring on the *outside* of the cultural member. They were happening in concert with parallel changes *inside* the cultural member. Ambient visual media ecology, thus, underscores the constant morphing of media, artifacts, archives, and users across mental, natural, and social planes. But equally important to McCutcheon and to the *Tribune*'s subscribers was their necessary negotiation with available visuals, particularly suffrage visuals, through which the October 22 caricature acquired meaning. The perception-action dynamic intrinsic to a visual media ecology illuminates how a cartoon can operate simultaneously as both a mild caricature and a damning indictment of the Federation clubwoman.

Animating Perception: Cartoon as Invitation

The two-part movement of the perception-action cycle provides an important way of framing an (anti)suffrage cartoon and the gender identity it constructs as *events*, offering a portable methodology for animating feminist visual archival research across oeuvres and sites. An opening move in in such an event involves exploring the act of perception itself. McCutcheon implicitly points to the importance of perception in his creative aims, for he wanted his readers to see his cartoons in a specific way. Writing as a well-established and successful cartoonist, he notes that he has "always enjoyed drawing a type of cartoon which might be considered a sort of pictorial breakfast food" that had the "cardinal asset of making the beginning of the day sunnier" (199). To secure this mode of perception, McCutcheon featured elements in his cartoons that, in his view, seemed "to reach out a friendly pictorial hand to the

delinquent rather than to assail him [or her] with criticism and denunciation" (199). But what McCutcheon failed to point out was the degree to which an artifact's message and impact emerge from the *pas de deux* between its intrinsic visual qualities and viewer's perception, a vision schooled through participation in an ambient visual media ecology.

For McCutcheon and his *Tribune* readers, their increasingly anti-suffrage *fin de siècle* visual media ecology issued an invitation to read McCutcheon's "sunny" cartoon as an indictment of women's activism. As the concept of ambient visual media ecology illuminates, rather than approaching McCutcheon's cartoon with "immaculate perception" (Edelman 4) in which vision unfolds as an unmediated imprint of external stimuli, *Tribune* subscribers actively participated in perceiving some elements of the cartoon rather than others. Lawrence J. Prelli refers to this active and constructive perceptual process as the "contingent" nature of vision, emphasizing that individuals choose what to notice among the countless options offered by a visual-material artifact (12), while art historian E. H. Gombrich explains that the eye, trained to select and deflect the "the welter of dancing light points stimulating the sensitive rods and cones that fire their messages into the brain," learns to perceive some things and not others (50). Concerned with the intersection of image and political behavior, Murray Edelman notes that images individually and collectively, "construct and periodically reconstruct perceptions and beliefs that underlie political action" (9), that "people perceive and conceive in light of narratives, pictures, and images" (7). Since visual forms "govern seeing and believing" by fostering expectations (7), what viewers select to see in any image is "based on expectation more than on observation" (16).

For *Tribune* subscribers, viewing McCutcheon's cartoons was not a process of passive reception but "an effort of imagination and a fairly complex apparatus" (Gombrich 60) consisting of various conventions and contents—the everyday archive—afforded by a particular ambient visual media ecology within which McCutcheon and his viewers were immersed or schooled. Important to schooling perception are the contents forming a community member's image repertoire: *how* one sees is inextricably and reciprocally linked to *what* one sees. The movement of multiple intersecting images across media forward one narrative arc over another, one account of reality over another, inviting community members to see these intersecting images train them to see.

An ambient visual media ecology conspires to influence how an individual perceives by building expectations through the flow of artifacts, and the newspaper cartoons dominating the early twentieth-century vision-scape consisted of images created almost exclusively by men, resulting in a set of expectations "created and consolidated around male sensibilities" (Sheppard 29). Women rarely ventured into this professional arena, as Stephen Becker's dedication

in the 1959 *History of Comics* underscores. Honoring the National Cartoonists Society at mid-century, Becker praises the "over four hundred creative *gentlemen* who are both the heirs and the perpetuators of the great tradition of comic art" (np, emphasis added). While woman suffrage constituted a hugely popular topic—one of "the two most satire-provoking, gag-producing issues that had ever come along to rescue a harried artist from an impending deadline" (Hess and Kaplan 144)—little of that male-produced visual rhetoric cast either suffrage or its proponents in a positive light. Instead, the visual media ecology was flooded with anti-suffrage imagery both in the American and British media. In addition, these anti-suffrage cartoons circulated with little visual riposte in the United States.

Although American women from the inception of the suffrage movement did incorporate visuals into their suffrage campaigns (Florey 6), in the early 1900s few of them were cartoonists, so few pro-suffrage visual forms countered negative gender representations seen in newspapers. Compounding the difficulty of launching an effective visual refutation, the rare pro-suffrage cartoons created at the *fin de siècle* appeared in narrowly circumscribed venues, such as the pages of suffrage organization publications. Without access to the mainstream press, the pro-suffrage image producers had little chance of disseminating their point of view beyond their own adherents (Hess and Northrop 17). Equally troubling, many pro-suffrage journals exercised their own censorship of women's cartoons, in some cases refusing to publish any visual rhetoric that they assessed as too radical in tone and content (Sheppard 23). The upshot was that pro-suffrage forces on the cusp of the century made little impact on the anti-suffrage visual rhetoric promulgated by male artists through mass-media outlets. Concomitantly, those pro-suffrage forces made little impact on the expectations—the predispositions—of cultural citizens. Suffrage historians note the toll imposed by the shaping of perception through expectation. Elisabeth Israels Perry claims that "pictorial rhetoric helped subject the [suffrage] campaign to costly and disheartening delays" (3) because, to a large degree, community members schooled by anti-suffrage images saw what they expected to see.

The anti-suffrage orientation of the visual media ecology within which McCutcheon's playful "breakfast food" circulated thus highlights the way in which such breakfast food could become anything but playful for suffragists and pro-suffrage activism. The cross-fertilization of anti-suffrage cartooning in periodicals, postcards, stereographs, book illustrations, and cover art created what Barbara A. Biesecker calls a "visual ecology of repetition" (152) where "stunningly similar—if not identical—moving and still images" of the same phenomenon circulate (162). The ensuing "imagistic repetition" (163), she says, promotes a "collective and politically paralyzing fixation" (164), a fixation that

treats the repeated images as reality. Edelman concurs. "Perception springs from prognosis," he aphoristically argues, and that prognosis for McCutcheon's readers was firmly anti-suffrage within a single medium and across multiple media (16). The circulation across the ambient visual media ecology of one particular gender construction—the suffragist as harridan, or the masculinized female—illustrates the creation of expectation and its influence on perception. This stock character constitutes a visual ecology of repetition, flowing through virulently anti-suffrage cartoons published in periodicals and newspapers in the early 1900s, predisposing *Tribune* subscribers to see these traits even in supposedly harmless cartoons such as McCutcheon's October 22 panel. A representative cartoon penned by William A. Walker, appearing in the April 1896 issue of *Life*, an immensely influential weekly humor magazine, exemplifies the repetition of the harridan (Hess and Northrup 65).

The formal elements of the cartoon evoke not only the stock figure of the aggressive masculinized woman who challenges male authority and stature but also the cultural anxiety attendant on that figure. Captioned "The New Navy," the two-page cartoon features a ship of the line "manned" by a crew of women dressed in bloomers, uniform jackets, and bicornes, all of which mimic traditional naval apparel (Figure 3). As part of the military, the female sailors challenge a traditional male-only preserve, usurping male privilege and power. The arrangement of the women reinforce this usurpation and their

Figure 3.

identity as harridans. Walker positions this startling mass of uniformed women in a V-formation, mimicking the configuration of an invading force. A short, extremely heavy-set female admiral spearheads the assault. Dressed in a military jacket with gold buttons, gold facing, and epaulettes, she stands with legs spread, arms akimbo, chest outthrust, and facial expression fierce. Backed up by her contingent of women officers and crew members, the admiral signals readiness to mete out violence in the service of their collective goals, all male-coded traits in the early twentieth century. The martial vestments, the arrangement of the figures in a phalanx, as well as the hostile body language and physiognomy all configure a powerful woman as an unnatural woman, implicitly categorizing the activist woman, including the activist clubwoman, as perversions. As one of many similar visual forms, this cartoon contributes to the creation of an everyday archive operating across media, shaping expectations that individuals then drew on to interpret McCutcheon's six-panel satire.

McCutcheon observes that "a most unwholesome type of cartoon is that which strives to arouse the ignorant passions of one element of society against another" (199); however, a visual media ecology replete with anti-suffrage images encourages a most "unwholesome" cycle of expectation and perception (199). Even with six panels featuring at least some women with traditional visual markers—soft, feminine outlines, clothing, and props, and

roles—the cartoon as event emerges as an indictment of the Federation club woman and other suffrage activists. Particularly subject to the visual ecology of repetition is the upper left-hand panel (Figure 4). Depicting women in military-style garb marching in regimented lines behind an all-woman band, the panel offers itself as an opportunity to interpret activists as harridans: overbearing, vindictive, and power hungry. Keeping pace with drums, trumpet, flute, and tuba, the women in the ranks wear double breasted coats and top hats, coats that disguise their curves and hats that hide their crowning glory. Summoning forth the image of the naval gear of Walker's *Life* cartoon, the marchers in McCutcheon's front-page satire present a male, even a militaristic, profile. They eschew feminine adornment, restraining bodies and hair with their strict masculine guise. In the process, these rank-and-file soldiers of the cause divert the viewer's eye from their more lusciously drawn sisters who, instruments in play, lead the march with wasp waists and billowing bosoms. Thus, the looping movement of perception through expectation directs attention to elements of aggression and construes those elements as intrinsic to a female activist's identity as harridan. The banners the marching group carries reinforce this interpretation. While the first one raises alarm by celebrating the increasing number of suffrage adherents, the second banner articulates verbally the latent combativeness of the marching figures. Focusing the reader on militant visual elements, the verbal banner counsels "Down With Non-Union Women" and instructs members to "Ostracize Them From the Sex." According to these orders, any woman who is not actively supporting Federation activities should be roundly condemned and soundly disciplined, a double agenda that the grim marchers will execute without a qualm. Despite McCutcheon's avowed efforts to blunt his barb, the female activists in his six panels potentially become harridans because such a response is congruent with the play of expectation and perception characterizing the ambient visual media ecology. This reciprocity between what we see, how we see, and how we devise meaning from that intersection underscores the cartoon's existence as an active happening.

Animating Action: Cartoon as Behavior

While perception underscores the liveliness of visual artifact and archive, so, too, does action emphasize artifact and archive's vibrant nature. Perception forms the foundation for action, where images are "the essential catalysts of support for a course of political action" (Edelman 9). As both *product* and *narrative* of actions, images influence beliefs and actions (Edelman 10), whether motivating individuals to become part of a political movement or providing them with justifications for enacting—or resisting—political initiatives. The male sissy offers one potent example of a character whose actions inspire viewers to

resist rather than support suffrage. Just as cartooning's anti-suffrage symbolic code excoriated women as pseudo-men, or harridans, it also excoriated men as women-in-the-making, or sissies. The sissy served as an expression of male fears ensuing from those female incursions into their sites and activities, its term and stock character emerging in turn-of-the-century American visual media ecology just as women were entering into the traditionally male-marked domains of educational administration, medicine, business, and journalism. Configured as the inevitable consequence of female enfranchisement, the sissy transformed the virile paterfamilias into the helpless turn-of-the-century pantywaist stripped of masculinity and power. Catherine Palczewski, in fact, contends that the iconography of the male effeminate in anti-suffrage postcards merely expressed in visual form what was unspeakable in verbal form. The sissy thus provided a negative example of what not to do and how not to act. A cartoon from Life provides an example of the sissy and elucidates its effect on an audience's "ways of conceiving, seeing, and understanding," to which list I would add acting (Edelman 28).

This phenomenon of spatial feminization—where space dictates a specific set of acts for the sissy—occurs in "The Coming Man." This quarter-page cartoon published in the September 24, 1896, issue of Life, features a middle-aged bearded man, hidden in his bedroom, taking stock of his appearance (Figure 5). Arrayed in delicate, short-sleeved, lace trimmed night wear, this aging figure holds a small mirror in one hand and a curling iron in the other, acting in ways appropriate for his feminized space. Within the confines of his boudoir,

Figure 5.

the bespectacled "Coming Man" frantically works to beautify himself before making his curtsey in the parlor, his muscular bare arms at startling odds with the task at hand. Through his single-minded focus on this action, the figure conveys to readers a set of actions appropriate to the new man: costuming and adornment. Against the everyday archive of *Life*'s sissy, McCutcheon's own caricature lends itself to a similar feminized scene-act dynamic.

In McCutcheon's various panels, when men do act, they also perform only the duties traditionally assigned to women, and they perform them in female-marked spaces. For example, in panel four of *The Tribune*'s "Federation of Women in Session …," a meek male, positioned in the panel's background, clutches two squirming babies with a dog cowering at his feet (Figure 6). His primary task, this panel suggests, consists of nurse-maiding his children rather than overseeing his home or his business. In addition, the figure lacks the ability to act authoritatively in his domestic sphere, a restriction underscored by the women in the panel. As the sissy pleads for dinner, wife and cook in the foreground conspire to deprive him of his meal until he obeys their edicts. Feminized by the scene, the hapless male wields no political or economic power, engages in no behavior praiseworthy for its stalwart spirit or mental discipline. Rather, the cartoon positions this "coming man" in the most private of domestic spaces and stipulates a set of actions congruent with that space.

However, even as scene influences act—feminizing male behavior by situating weakened men in feminized spaces—act also influences scene, a reciprocity that upends the gender status quo by empowering women and disempowering men in public. As Kenneth Burke points out, the *scene*—the background of and situation for the act—is an essential part of any rhetorical performance. Burke's scene-act ratio functions reciprocally in that scene can

Figure 6.   *Figure 7.*

shape act, such as a church eliciting reverent behavior, at the same time that an act can shape scene, such as prayer transforming a secular space into a sacred site. Both dynamics feature in the depiction of sissified behavior in turn-of-the-century ambient visual media ecology, revealing where suffragists seize control of public spaces in anti-suffrage cartoons, suppressing male actions in those same spaces. For example, the second panel of McCutcheon's caricature illuminates the devolution of men into sissies through their displacement from the public sphere (Figure 7). Set within a church, the panel depicts a Federation clubwoman in masculine-flavored garb, disrupting a wedding ceremony. With right hand pushing the dewy bride away from minister and bridegroom, she takes command of the traditionally male-dominated venue, abrogating the minister's authority in that sacred space, and circumscribing his actions. Rendered nonplus, the male minister is unable to rescue either sacrament or celebrants from the clubwoman's machinations. He is stripped of influence and re-cast as sissy along with the inept groom. Even more extreme, by successfully invading the house of God, the activist implicitly denudes God of spiritual authority and thereby restricts the deity's ability to act.

In the act-scene ratio of early twentieth-century ambient visual media ecology, then, anti-suffrage gender politics is a zero-sum game. As female activists act within public spaces, men are unable to act within those same spaces. Re-barbing McCutcheon's October 22 caricature, the act-scene ratio casts emasculated man as the new century's new woman, inviting the reader to resist any political or economic movements that might contribute to the emergence of the sissy. Within this calculus, action intertwines with perception to animate artifact and archive, highlighting a similar animation of gender identity.

Conclusion

In his 1950 autobiography published posthumously, McCutcheon explains, "I tried to be optimistic and constructive rather than iconoclastic and discouraging" (200). But the circulation of the female harridan and the male sissy throughout the visual media ecology jeopardizes his avowed intent. That visual ecology of repetition provides *Tribune* subscribers with visual forms and models by which to perceive and act on his cartoons. These stock characters infiltrated users' cultural imagination and shaped perceptions that, in turn, guided their participatory actions. The action-perception cycle, then, highlights how an ambient visual media ecology can animate artifact and archive. Marcum makes exactly this point, contending that "humans live within their ecology, not separated from and perceiving it from outside" (195). By extension, humans live within the artifacts and archives they shape from their ambient visual media ecology, participating in the constitution of both, while

also remaining subject to that constitution. An exploration of McCutcheon's 1903 cartoon offers insight into artifact and archive as event, exposing the intricacies of the vast, complex network within which any act of perception-action takes place. That exploration animates artifact and archive, changing how we perform and conceptualize archival research, especially when it intersects with gender.

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Geopolitics in the Anti-Suffrage Cartoons of American John Tinney McCutcheon and Canadian Newton McConnell: Stopping Trans-Atlantic Flow

Jaqueline McLeod Rogers

Many feminist historians would agree that "one of the first major transnational struggles of women was over the right to vote," an issue appealing to "global principles that transcended national boundaries" (Tripp 56). A key strategy in the cartoons of John Tinney McCutcheon—one that can also be seen in the work of prominent Canadian cartoonist Newton McConnell—is to deny the global appeal and relevance of the woman's suffrage movement by depicting national barriers to its spread: neither the movement nor its leaders are given a smooth Atlantic crossing in these cartoons that offer geopolitical arguments against the importation of suffrage activism. While both McCutcheon and McConnell establish Britain as the home of female activism and depict suffrage as being out of place—unnecessary and even dangerous—on their respective home grounds of the U.S. and Canada, careful comparison of their cartoons reveals that each makes a unique place-based case energized by details of local and national character.

To depict suffrage activism as foreign to and unwelcome on home ground, McCutcheon depicts it as a British phenomenon and America as a place where women are winning the right to vote through peaceable means. He exudes national pride and confidence in a cartoon that reduces the energetic and charismatic British suffrage leader Emmeline Pankhurst to the role of being a student of the American women's movement. Entirely lacking McCutcheon's sense of the power of nation and culture to overcome imported suffragette ideals, McConnell imagines British-style activism as tearing apart traditional gender relations and civic calm in Canada. His cartoon of mob violence erupting on a Toronto street imagines a scene worse than any that actually occurred or appeared in media representations, for in it the women are uncontrolled and the men endangered. Both cartoonists say no to British–style activism: McCutcheon by imagining America as capable of exerting educative influence on the British-based political movement, and McConnell by imagining colonized Canada as unable to withstand the force of such disorder.

Despite making unique nation-based arguments against suffrage activism, McConnell and McCutcheon mount their opposition using a shared

overall strategy: depicting suffrage activism as foreign to their culture—unwelcome, unnecessary, even dangerous on their home ground. This same approach continues to be practiced today amongst those who want to make conservative claims to regional or national identity and defend their borders against change. A similar strategy can be understood, for example, as contributing to the Danish cartoon scandal, which called upon the Danish people to assert their identity as different from and even opposed to Muslim others, who were depicted as unsuitable outsiders in cartoons of varying vehemence. Most of us are familiar with the story of how these cartoons caught public interest and caused offense. In 2006, a series of political cartoons seized the imagination of people around the world, when the *Jyllands-Posten* ran a series of 12 cartoon images of Mohammed. Muslims made death threats against the paper and some of the cartoonists who contributed images, causing divisions between those who defended the secular value of individual liberty and those who defended the rights of Muslims to practice their religion without mockery they deemed blasphemous. In this latter vein, Giselinde Kuipers pointed out that publishing these cartoons was an act of veiled aggression on the part of the Danish paper under the guise of humor and fun, targeting an already oppressed minority and depicting them in the process as humorless and dangerous (67). There is a link, then, between the strategies of exclusion used by early twentieth-century anti-suffrage cartoonists to show suffrage activism as geographically and culturally out of place and those used in the recent controversy to erect national borders against others on the basis of race and religion.

Cartoons with Borders: Sending Suffrage Back to Britain

In pre-WWI years, British-based suffrage groups, though themselves splintered rather than united, conceptualized their struggle as transnational and had expansionist aims to grow the women's movement across national boundaries. *Votes for Women,* the newspaper of the militant Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), reported its progress as becoming "imperial" rather than national when a branch opened in British Columbia in 1912, "and suggested that 'There is much to be gained by making the Votes for Women agitation Imperial in its scope, for success in one part of the Empire will contribute to success in every other part'" (Fletcher 106). In London, the more moderate Women's Freedom League (WFL) held a four-day fair in 1912, calling for "'Women of the Nations, [to] unite!'" The fair was convened to symbolize and celebrate "the spirit of 'internationalism' unfolding across the world by serving as a meeting place for 'liberty-loving women from many lands (Fletcher 111). While suffragist networks spread quickly around the geographically connected

countries of Great Britain (from England to Ireland, Scotland and Wales) as well as to colonized countries like Canada, Australia and India, suffrage activists made additional efforts to connect to women in the United States, such as the invitation for American women to join in the Suffrage Pilgrimage of 1913. In sum, the movement's members self-consciously spread its reach by engaging other women wherever they were denied the vote.

As Kristie S. Fleckenstein points out in the first essay of this special issue, suffrage was a *fin de siècle* preoccupation within media as well as in lived political life, and cartoonists who tackled this subject drew from a media ecology whose networks crossed spaces and genres. In the process of transnational borrowing and circulation, individual cartoonists modify media images with place-based touches so that they appear to be "the same and different," to borrow the phrase linguist Alastair Pennycook uses to describe the generative possibility of localization (49). We can see this process playing out in McCutcheon's cartoon that depicts the iconic figure of Emmeline Pankhurst on American soil, observing a dignified display of the political progress of American women, and quietly taking a backseat rather than a leadership role (Gallery Image 6). In this case, a sense of difference is emphasized as the powerfully energetic Pankhurst undergoes place-based transformation. McConnell's cartoons also transfer trans-Atlantic themes and images to a Canadian context, yet they do so in a process that explores misfit and the potential for conflict. For example, McConnell's depiction of a women's suffrage mob raging through the streets of Toronto alters popular media images of violence—which usually show women being physically restrained by men or arrested by officers—by portraying the mob as in control of the street while men are on the run. These cartoon adaptations of popular media images invoke a "not in our backyard" attitude by showing how key elements of the movement do not fit with—in fact, may jeopardize—local life and culture.

Conversely, visuals can also show regional problems as global issues. Several media critics have explored the general process by which stories and events from the world stage are captured in cartoons to make the exotic accessible for a local readership. Josh Greenberg points out many political cartoons set social problems in the everyday world, in an "ideological appropriation" that allows readers to mobilize local standards of meaning-making to make sense of events that otherwise belong out there to a wider world (1). Ray Morris uses the term "domestication"—introduced by Erving Goffman to discuss popular art—to explain how cartoons make persons and situations from remote regions more accessible by presenting them in recognizable ways. He defines domestication as "the process by which abstract ideas and distant, unfamiliar persons or events are converted into something close, familiar and concrete" (200) and says its purpose is to "translat[e] what is novel and hard

to understand into the commonplace by highlighting mutual elements and masking unique ones and by focusing on repetitive patterns to minimize novelty and mental adjustment" (201). Both Greenberg and Morris note that localization tends to oversimplify or distort complex external affairs, a point borne out in suffrage cartoons.

Yet the process of domesticating Suffrage in North American cartoons unfolds somewhat differently from what Greenberg and Morris describe: while these cartoons do localize abstract ideas and persons from far away, such ideas and persons are not made comfortably familiar or translated into a welcome "commonplace." Close analysis of selected cartoons by McCutcheon and McConnell reveals a shared opposition to suffrage as it is understood through the British model, although place-based orientation leads each cartoonist to muster his own forms of opposition. In examining McCutcheon's "Mrs. Pankhurst" (Gallery Image 6) in contrast to McConnell's "James L. Hughes," I trace how both find different grounds to reject the leadership of Emmeline Pankhurst. I will also look at how McCutcheon's "An English Man's Home" (Gallery Image 1) and McConnell's "Mayor Oliver" (Figure 1) use different means to depict a suffragette mob as unwelcome on their home ground. When the women's movement comes to Toronto in McConnell's cartoons, it threatens civic peace and social patterns. When the women's movement comes to McCutcheon's America, there is a need for surveillance, along with an opportunity to parade American solutions; the scenes of activism McCutcheon depicts belong to British geo-politics.

Most U.S. readers will be less familiar with McConnell's work than with McCutcheon's. Elisha Newton McConnell (1877-1940) is known to have worked for the *Toronto Daily News* from 1904 to 1912, and with 1170 drawings and 330 of his prints and engravings preserved as public documents, his archival presence establishes him as a figure of some historical significance. Yet not a lot of scholarly work has been done to analyze his impact on Canadian cultural or political life, and it can be observed that his artistic skills are not as strong as McCutcheon's, which may contribute to their being comparatively less complex and creative. McConnell's cartoons aim to engage or enrage, in the broad

Figure 1.

satirical spirit of the British *Punch* and in keeping with an anti-suffrage stance popular in other Canadian cartoons. In a thesis tracing political cartooning throughout Canadian history, Bruce Retallack characterizes Canadian cartoonists as sharply negative toward suffrage, becoming increasingly pejorative as a way of "shower[ing] ridicule on [Suffragists'] demands" (437):

> The demand for women's suffrage emerged as a major issue at the end of the nineteenth century, and became considerably more heated in the early twentieth. As a result the negative cartoon characterization of women, which otherwise might have cropped up only sporadically, appeared much more frequently than before, … as (male) artists from coast to coast refined their vision of feminists and suffragists in order to shower ridicule on their demands.

While McConnell may not have the same national stature as McCutcheon does in the U.S., Retallack's analysis helps to establish McConnell's approach as representative of a Canadian approach to presenting cartoon images of suffrage.

McCutcheon's and McConnell's cartoons engage similar *topoi*—Emmeline Pankhurst and suffragette women. However, McCutcheon's opposition to suffrage is more subtle. He delivers what has sometimes been called an American "cracker box" style of humor by showcasing American good judgment and wisdom in a non-derisive way that may provoke audience reflection. McCutcheon depicts America as modeling an independent and enviable approach to dealing with women's rights—one unfolding without Mrs. Pankhurst's guidance—but McConnell sees a threat in England as a threat to Canada, and is sharply intolerant of the cause itself and of male sympathizers.

McCutcheon's "Mrs. Pankhurst" and McConnell's "James L. Hughes": Saying "No" to Trans-Atlantic Influence and Leadership

Emmeline Pankhurst was the lead figure and symbol of the suffragette movement in Britain where, by founding the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), she openly advocated for the use of violence as a necessary tactic to move the cause for women's franchise equality forward. She toured North America three times, raising money to fund her organization in England, as well as in support of internationalizing the women's movement and influencing the political situation of North American women. She toured both Canada and the U.S. in 1909 and 1911, and then the U.S. only in 1913, visiting Chicago and Toronto. While the North American public had opportunities to encounter Mrs. Pankhurst in person, for most she remained a figure

known through media reports and images as the symbolic spokesperson for the movement.

It is possible to link McCutcheon's cartoon to the political controversy that developed around Pankhurst in 1913 when on her third attempt to tour America, she was detained at Ellis Island on the charge of "moral turpitude" (Bartley 171). Biographer Paula Bartley summarizes the event in this way:

> When she arrived at Ellis Island, New York, on the French liner *La Provence* in October 1913, she was not allowed to land. … [W]hen she confessed to the interviewing immigration officer that she had been in prison and had countenanced arson, she was refused entry.

On the intervention of President Wilson, Pankhurst was eventually allowed to enter the country for a shortened visit, but her detention and admission caused controversy. The arch conservative Chicago newspaper, the *Inter Ocean*, for example, opposed her entry asking whether "deliberate incendiarism, … the incitement of half-crazed fanatics to assault, arson, pouring acids in mailboxes and the destruction of the property of peaceful citizens does not present evidence of 'moral turpitude'" (172).

McCutcheon's cartoon responds to the controversy by arguing that Mrs. Pankhurst should be allowed to visit America. The top frame exposes the problem arising from turning Emmeline Pankhurst away, and the bottom frame reveals the good that can come from allowing her visit. Together, these frames suggest that she should be made welcome to avoid undermining America's claim to being a place of liberty and to seize the chance to educate this British woman in the ways of American process. The top frame on the right side of the cartoon depicts the relatively small figure of Christobel Pankhurst being welcomed in France. She strikes much the same posture as the larger statue of Marianne, the French symbol of liberty, conveying that while the Pankhurst women may belong in "monumental" company, they themselves have not attained such symbolic status: if Christobel's stance resembles the pose Marianne strikes, she is comparatively small and human. On the left side providing a contrast scene, Emmeline Pankhurst is being turned away by the Statue of Liberty who, unlike Marianne, has lost her dignified posture and is instead stooped over to manage the details of day-to day security, holding up a sign that says "Keep Out." The transatlantic comparison in this top frame does not paint the U.S. in a favorable light, for France remains the untarnished representative of the freedoms that the U.S. now opposes. The American coast is littered with similar signs to the one Lady Liberty holds, in opposition to the open-handedness she usually represents.

McCutcheon's cartoon is calling for a revised approach to the impending visit of Emmeline Pankhurst and to the form of radical suffrage she represents.

She is welcome in America if she leaves her politics at home and is prepared be guided by American leadership. The bottom frame shows Pankhurst in America, riding in the back of a touring car that has two banners "Votes for Women" and "Seeing America." She is observing and applauding ten women lined up representing suffrage states. In choosing to stage a parade as a persuasive spectacle in this cartoon, McCutcheon recreates a cultural reality for, as Jennifer Borda argues, suffrage parades were frequently used to sway members of the public and government (3). While on one level, McCutcheon's overall argument in favor of showing off America and the American way can be understood as an expression of civic and national pride, on another he may be more cynically implying that Mrs. Pankhurst's trip and tour are themselves media events that deal with reputations and optics more than with values and change. Implicitly, the cartoon asks the audience to think how they want the American nation to be perceived by others on questions of liberty and access.

The American woman serving as Mrs. Pankhurst's tour guide, standing and relatively dignified, is drawn as bigger than Mrs. Pankhurst, conveying in this visual trope that an energetic American woman outstrips a legendary British woman. Visiting America, being instructed rather than leading—taking a backseat—Mrs. Pankhurst may even lose her reputation for leading an international women's movement—at least one that includes women in the United States. The texts spell out what the visuals convey: it is better to let Mrs. Pankhurst in, for America has nothing to fear from her (except losing liberty by overreacting) and she has much to learn.

This cartoon is built on contrasts, which Medhurst and DeSousa refer to as the "basic form" of arrangement in visual rhetoric. Apart from the contrast images already discussed, there is also contrast established by the text. The first of two captions question turning Mrs. Pankhurst back, while the second asks, rhetorically, if it isn't better to show her the American way. Within the frames there are also signs to read. In the top frame, the U.S. side is littered with signs that say "keep out," ironically reversing the attitude of openness and welcome usually associated with Lady Liberty. On the French side, Marianne holds a flag that bears the three words: "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality." There is also strong contrast in the dialogue. The Statue of Liberty has abandoned statuesque pose and the duty of guiding ships to safe harbor and instead, using undignified vernacular—marked by contractions and an exclamation—she attempts to send Pankhurst away, fearing Pankhurst will teach "our girls" to be arsonists. Referring to women as girls is both informal and demeaning—further aligning with thoughtlessness, even ignorance, the argument of those citing American values as reason to bar Emmeline Pankhurst from entering the country. In contrast, the second frame depicts the statuesque dignity of the American women who represent suffrage states and the animated yet

striking presence of the female figure who is showcasing the accomplishment of winning voting rights in ten states without violence.

Turning to McConnell's "James L. Hughes" (Figure 2), we have a cartoon that undermines suffrage activism not by rendering its leader powerless but by depicting the impending visit of Emmeline Pankhust as dangerous to Toronto citizenry. The cartoon caricatures a minor political figure, James L Hughes, so it is difficult to pin down the controversy that may have triggered this image. Archival information describes Hughes as committed to educational reforms. He wrote, for example, about the need for both sexes to receive physical education. For his public engagement in promoting women's rights, he is skewered in this caricature as a man who is confused about his own gender representation, off balance and shameless. Feminizing men by cross-dressing them in women's clothing was a frequent gesture used by several Canadian cartoonists—a staple as to be considered a category onto itself by one analyst of the

Figure 2.

form (Morris, *Jester*). Their gendered identification as male is not obliterated or erased, for physiognomy is basically unaltered even in costume, which at the time was thought to convey a humorous sense of incongruity. What *is* undermined is their understanding of socially-coded gender difference and behavior.

If we set aside what McConnell may have meant by making Hughes his particular target, we are compelled to ask about who or what is missing from this frame. In this cartoon whose purpose is to denounce suffrage, the main target is a male figure, and women are entirely absent. This captures the extent of McConnell's male-dominant world view—he depicts a woman`s issue by examining how it affects men. Women are neither fit to participate in actual political life, as his antagonism to the principle of suffrage demonstrates, nor in his fantasy cartoon world, where those who bear the lash of his pen are male actors.

The most interesting stylistic elements in McConnell's caricature are the lines indicating motion and body position. The circular lines around Hughes convey that he is whirling around in a jig, another sign of his having abandoned sense at the prospect of Mrs. Pankhurst's arrival. The dance, coupled

with the dress, paints those who anticipate or support Mrs. Pankhurst as dangerous transgressors, precariously off balance. He raises one tiny-heeled foot in the air, and stands on the toes of his other foot, another way of depicting him as off balance. The tome he holds aloft in his left hand is unidentifiable, signifying an absence of meaning; it counterbalances the umbrella as weapon that he wields in his right hand. The figure chants "Votes for Women," indicating his commitment to a slogan rather than anything more complex. His grim facial expression conveys that dedication to this cause leads to misery.

The date for this cartoon is not firm. A biography of Mrs. Pankhurst points out that her 1909 tour was a media triumph in Toronto, eliciting praise for her appearance, demeanor and counsel: "The Toronto newspapers echoed the reporter who spoke of his surprise at 'meeting instead of the Amazon type he had expected, the very reverse, the woman of palpable culture and refinement, low-voiced, courteous, and well-bred. She is the last woman you would imagine leading band of shrieking sisterhood against the bluecoats of Westminster'" (Bartley 166). On this trip, the force of her presence overcame negative prejudices. We can speculate that the cartoon appeared either before her tour as part of a furor of opposition or that it appeared soon after as a reaction against her unexpected popularity. In either case, in McConnell's view suffrage is linked to foolishness and violence, a view that gained support in Canada in the years following 1909 when acts of WSPU violence increased.

McCutcheon's "An Englishman's Home" and McConnell's "Mayor Oliver": Keeping Suffragette Mobs Out

To depict the growth of the suffragette movement, McCutcheon chooses England as the setting, conveying that women's sense of being treated unjustly is not so much a transnational as a British problem. In "An Englishman's Home" (Gallery Image 1), Prime Minister Asquith sits in his home, in a seat of power and comfort, his back turned to the woman problem outside his window and coming into his home. This is a home "invasion" in Edwardian times— but the homeowner remains oblivious. Asquith is consumed by reading about traditional patriarchal domestic governance under the comforting gaze of a predecessor's portrait.

For their part, the women in the cartoon appear to be assertive and determined, but not overly aggressive or angry. They are both well-behaved and well-dressed, wearing hats and fur pieces. This relates to another of McCutcheon's suffrage cartoons, "A Modern Martyr Goes to Jail" (Gallery Image 2), showing a wealthy suffragette being taken to "gaol" under what appears to be the helpful escort of two "bobbies"; she wears a crown and a maid

and nanny follow behind. She is wealthy, and the drawing suggests her wealth protects her from any real danger. The arrest is like an adventure, and she is shown striding forward, almost leading the way. This cartoon strips British suffragette protest of any heroism: protesting women in England are protected by their wealth and class from the full force of the law and government, and their protests and arrests may be more about public performance and personal adventure than about dedication to principled equality. The women outside the Prime Minister's windows in this cartoon, however, are not unsympathetic characters. This is no irrational or ragged mob, but a group that is mannerly and orderly—some appearing more curious than determined as they peer into the Prime Minister's home. In this picture the deliberate oblivion of the powerful male is the target of satire, and the women are shown as interested in gaining some access to this comfortable seat of power.

Whereas Asquith is well defined and holds the central position in the frame, the women are in sketch form, barely filled in. This reinforces the relative power positions, with Asquith ensconced in a room of his own. Stylistically, the section of the cartoon depicting Asquith is well defined. He has settled into a chair whose curved feminine lines hold him in a comforting embrace and is warmed by the gaze of a male ancestor in portraiture. He is protected from the crowd of women that remain outside. They hold simple signs, but he has the company of books.

If McCutcheon implies that mob activism takes place only on British soil and not in America, then McConnell—in "Mayor Oliver"—images it taking shape in Toronto with a force and vehemence that exceeds both historical records and common media depictions. Whereas cartoons showing suffragist activism often show women under the escort and control of police, McConnell envisions a mob of women running wild, chasing men as their victims rather than policed by them. McConnell's cartoon is dated around 1910, and we know that he was a mayor who did not stand for reelection in that year. As was the case in analyzing McConnell's caricature of the local political figure Hughes, this cartoon is also difficult to analyze because the Mayor and his sidekick are not well known with the passage of time. Mayor Oliver may have had a reputation for attempting to withhold information from the public, which seems to be the jibe that underlies his pondering this question: "Wonder who told them we didn't encourage the suffragette movement in Toronto?" This sounds like a politician who depends on secrecy and who is unpleasantly surprised that women have discovered or guessed that he has in some way opposed suffrage. The caption is further interesting for suggesting that the women have not amassed for the political purpose of seeking the vote. They are

after revenge rather than rights—they are pictured as reacting in anger to rumor or a leak, rather than taking reasoned action.

Also notable in this cartoon is the way McConnell depicts the angry mob. They appear to be middle-class, mostly middle aged, and dangerous: brandishing umbrellas and canes and wearing high-heeled boots and wide-brimmed hats, with pointed feathers designed to harm. Located on the upper right is a man's top hat floating over the crowd—without supplying grisly details, this visual detail hints that it is dangerous for men to get caught up in this crowd. Momentum is on the side of the mob, and the men are on the run. As in the other cartoon by McConnell, again women themselves are not the central figures. This is not presented as a woman's story but as a *man's*—or at least, the cartoon is clearly drawn from the perspective of male experience. We are given a close up of those in jeopardy—men who wield political power but who are now on the run.

McConnell's representation of suffrage supporters in Toronto as a violent mob is not based on any actual Canadian scenes of violence. Historian Paula Bartley emphasizes the relative passivism of the Canadian suffragists who "disagreed that militancy was the way forward. In contrast with both the British and the American women's suffrage movements, Canadian suffragists generally behaved rather decorously in their campaign for the vote, lacking the flamboyant militancy of some of their British and American counterparts" (164). McConnell's drawings appear to respond to controversies raging in the British press against the suffragette threat and against Mrs. Pankhurst's endorsement of civic violence. In the Canadian colony, legal bondage to the Empire was still on the minds of many who had been involved in the commitment of some 7000 soldiers sent as part of the Boer War effort, which had only ended in 1902. A mere decade later, traditional and conservative Canadians would view Emmeline Pankhurst as a public enemy for being criminalized in England. Those who followed her endangered themselves and the social and civic order.

By contrast, as a U.S. citizen, McCutcheon inherited a view of the U.S. as independent of English influence and a view of citizens as "those who did not support British patriots. . . . [so that] women, like men, have technically been citizens since the birth of our republic" (Ramsey 12). While his cartoons do not advocate for women's rights, they also do not depict suffrage supporters as figures of foolishness. Instead, McCutcheon targets the class-based British response to the suffragette movement, and he makes privilege the object of folly in several of the frames. Yet he is not fearful that problems in England will automatically become American problems. He does not depict Emmeline Pankhurst as a dangerous and influential figure, but as one who can learn from American women about orderly change.

While McConnell is the more conservative of the two for re-inscribing without challenging hegemonic or dominant anti-suffrage views, McCutcheon can also be understood as conservative in protecting the status quo by inviting viewers to admire slow and orderly change.

Yet differences in how each depicts the transfer of suffrage activism from Britain to their homeland may also reflect differences in the nationhood status of America and Canada, the former independent and the latter still a colony. McConnell 's concern that trouble in Britain will lead to trouble in Canada reflects the vulnerability of a nation that continues in the service of another, whereas McCutcheon's sense of American invulnerability reflects the confidence of a nation growing powerful in independence.

Using Political Cartoons to Map Boundaries: Being In and Out of Place

Elisabeth El Refaie points out that the word "cartoon" appeared mid-nineteenth century in the British satirical publication *Punch* to refer to illustrations criticizing government plans for opulent parliament buildings when so many citizens were struggling in poverty (185). She describes how the publication of such cartoons caused a sensation because the public, used to text, was strongly affected by the visual impact of the images. By contrast, contemporary readers tend to take editorial cartoons for granted, a staple of newspapers rather than innovative. Only occasionally do editorial cartoons catch the public attention, as in the case of the Danish cartoon scandal, which touched on contentious global issues of mass immigration, post-secularism and pluralism, deepening divisions between various groups: those defending free speech and/or modernist ideals of nationhood and identity and those committed to the project of loosening geopolitical borders and asserting religious rights. Apart from sparking scholarly and political debates about human rights and national identity, the cartoons affected a global audience by fostering a sense of victimization within the Muslim community and fueling anti-Muslim sentiment amongst those upholding the ideal of a fixed national identity.

Cartoons can be used a vehicle associated with humor to isolate and ridicule an oppressed group within the nation and to incite ill will, This is the context for understanding early twentieth century anti-suffrage cartoons that likewise adopted the strategy of depicting the oppression of women as part of the national interest. At root, the Danish cartoon scandal can be described as an act of aggression against a group with global affiliations whose local presence had become for many a national irritant; similarly, anti-suffrage cartoons expressed national ill-will against a group and movement whose power spanned beyond national borders, arguing they should keep out (McConnell)

or be prepared to follow house rules upon entry (McCutcheon). Like the Danish cartoons, the anti-suffrage cartoons of McCutcheon and McConnell similarly place a transnational problem on a national stage in order to make a case that the foreign element cannot be domesticated and jeopardizes social and political order. There is a problem with fit.

In our time, we have seen Muslims portrayed as humorless and dangerous; in the anti-suffrage cartoons of McConnell and the subtler McCutcheon, women linked to radicalism are similarly drawn as humorless and in need of containment. If Denmark claimed free speech as key to national identity in a way that disenfranchised Muslims concerned with religious rights, McCutcheon and McConnell each make claims about local and national character that oppose the claims of the suffrage movement. In McCutcheon's cartoons, those agitating for suffrage must be acknowledged as part of a process of containment, a step required to maintain slow process in the American way. In McConnell's cartoons, suffrage is dangerous, upsetting the gender decorum of peaceable society.

Of course, there are important differences between the cartoons and their public influence. As Oring argues, we need to consider that the Danish cartoon scandal was caused less by the cartoons themselves than by the political threats and controversies that followed (58). Yet what is interesting as a common feature is that in the face of a global threat, a shared strategy of all these cartoons is to invoke national standards and identity to demean persons pictured as *Others* and to combat their claims to rights. They rely on "humor's capacity to mark hierarchized national characteristics rather than to encourage global solidarity" (Kuipers 65). The cartoons represent an attempt to protect a geopolitical space against a flow of global influence that has already found successful points of entry.

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Rereading McCutcheon's Suffrage Plots: Rising Action in the Digital Archive

Sarah L. Skripsky

To the casual viewer, editorial cartoons may seem didactic and unsophisticated, offering flattened representations of reality. Even critics emphasize cartoons' compression of time and detail to accommodate limited frames (Greenberg). Such readings may neglect the *dialectic* relationship of cartoons—including those featuring consistent characters. Despite cartoons' compression, their intertextual narratives can expand readers' range of vision. Michael DeSousa and Martin Medhurst have suggested that cartoons "tap" or access readers' collective, cultural consciousness (84-85). Linus Abraham extends this claim to suggest that cartoons both shape and sustain cultural identities: "[C]artoons as a cultural form . . . help identity *formation and maintenance* through . . . repetitive sharing . . . [and thus] galvanize the 'collective consciousness' of readers" (161, emphasis added). Though Abraham focuses on the identity formation of readers, I would broaden his claim as follows: cartoons foster identity formation of *depicted characters* through "repetitive sharing," through both publication cycles and republication in archives. Especially when such "repetitive[ly] shared" characters are drawn from the public sphere, as in the case of suffrage, cartoons' intertextual narratives can develop the subjectivity and agency of those depicted—creating a "rising action" in terms of both nuanced identity and increased activity.

When read as multi-frame compositions, periodical cartoons can transform two-dimensional characterizations. Their serialized nature, not to mention their assemblage in archives, offers fertile ground for the emergence of three-dimensional, subjective characters—what Wayne Booth calls "dramatized" characters—in the context of what I term *macroplots*. Through such publications and re-compositions, cartoons can publicize once-controversial subjects such as the suffragette (or suffragist) in a popular format that offers her an array of faces and a depth of subjectivity. This range of vision characterizes the suffrage cartoons of John Tinney McCutcheon, the influential yet politically opaque "Dean of American Cartoonists." When read collectively as a multimedia narrative, McCutcheon's suffrage cartoons of ca. 1903-1922 suggest that he offered his immediate audience—the *Chicago Tribune*'s daily readers—sustained attention to American, British, and transatlantic suffrage on the rise. At the same time, via archival conservation and recirculation of these cartoons, we as a temporally distant public are offered another opportunity

for sustained attention to early 20th-century suffrage. Moreover, in the case of collaborative, digital archives that offer an "interactive network" among images and engagements (Gatta 101, this issue), researchers sustain such attention in dialogue with others. In so doing, we recognize the limits of our assumptions, expand each other's reading strategies, and uncover the problems and opportunities of an archive—ultimately noting its potential dissonances. To apply the language of feminist rhetoricians Gesa E. Kirsch and Jacqueline J. Royster, our reading of suffrage via the "strategic contemplation" enabled by a shared digital archive benefits from "ecologies of person, time, and context [that] stretch" beyond a rhetor's (i.e., cartoonist's) motives and immediate rhetorical contexts (656).

Through analysis of *macroplots*, my approach to our collection of McCutcheon's suffrage cartoons demonstrates the merits of narrative criticism of digital archives. Such expansive temporal reading is distinct from cartoon critics' more typical concern with time compressions or what I term *microplots*. While microplots relate closely to authorial intent and showcase a cartoonist's skill in controlling scope, macroplots may be traced across cartoons not framed or titled in common; as such, their stories are re-composed based on other intentions and rhetorical situations, including those of contemporary critics. Thus, macroplots may arise as a consequence of cartoons' proliferation in publications or via reassembly for preservation and scholarship. As elements of macroplots, archived cartoons allow us to reassess the stories of their subjects (e.g., the suffragette) beyond the intentions of a cartoonist, editor, publisher, or historian. Such storylines offer promising critical pathways for rhetoricians; moreover, networked archives offer promising critical collaborations.

Here, I suggest that McCutcheon's body of work represents the suffragette as a more sympathetic subject than does any single cartoon.[1] I first demonstrate a macroplotted reading strategy in relation to McCutcheon himself as subject before moving to his varied representations of the suffragette. Specifically, I demonstrate the suffragette's "rising action" (i.e., her "coming of age") by macroplotting relevant McCutcheon cartoons, including those shared in this issue's digital gallery. In the context of lengthy narratives, a significant shift in reception of female characters from woman as *object* to woman as *subject* has been documented by such critics of the novel as Catherine Gallagher. Readers' co-journeying with women across narratives has been linked to rising sympathy and identification. Housing narratives of similar complexity to the novel's, an archive enables researchers to pursue macroplots—and, in turn, be pursued by them. Such dynamics intensify via networked archives and critics. Though still embedded in our subjectivities, we collectively navigate an archive's histories and stereotypes with expanded vision.

Consider the vision acquired from macroplotting a series of cartoons honoring McCutcheon in 1940. Published as a festschrift titled *Saga of a Hoosier Boy,* these cartoons drawn by McCutcheon's contemporaries showcase not only masterful microplots but also a sweeping macroplot of his contributions to public life. An exemplar of extreme compression via microplotting, a cartoon by Karl Kae Knecht of the *Evansville Courier* (Figure 1), foregrounds McCutcheon as a Hoosier boy raised skyward by Mother Indiana's arms while depicting his long career in Chicago, with newspaper stacks flanking a bust of the mature cartoonist grinning from Lake Michigan's shores. Knecht includes an array of McCutcheon's biographical details—dates of international trips, a cumulative tally of over 15,000 cartoons, and much more—within a single-frame cartoon. In contrast to such compression, a macroplotted reading of the *Saga* reveals broad themes of praise, if little critique. Not only McCutcheon's regional prowess and prolific output but also his professional mentoring, artistic magic, regal status, and pioneering work emerge from a contemplative reading of this festschrift as archive.

Representing McCutcheon as a mentor worthy of "[d]evotion," H.T. Webster (*New York Herald Tribune*) rebrands McCutcheon's iconic dog as "all the rest of us [cartoonists]"; the faithful pup looks adoringly at a boyish McCutcheon. Similarly, Milton Caniff (*Chicago Tribune* and *New York Daily News*) republishes McCutcheon's letter of encouragement of Caniff as a "very

Figure 1.   *Figure 2.*

definite talent." The letter floats above a juvenile Caniff sketching at a desk with a sleeping dog nearby. The dog, a version of McCutcheon's trademark hound, guards the novice cartoonist, an "everyboy" dreaming of artistic ascent.[2]

In *Saga*, fellow cartoonists also repeatedly dramatize McCutcheon's unusual powers. Rollin Kirby (*New York Post*) figures McCutcheon as a genie of India ink trapped in a bottle for 70 years before emerging to receive honors. An equally inky image, "Treasure Island!" by Harold Talburt of the *Washington News*, casts McCutcheon as a crowned millionaire in paradise, counting his money from atop a drawing-board island rising above the "motley crew" of ordinary cartoonists in a sea of ink.[3] In turn, Talburt imagines *Tribune* owner "Colonel" Robert R. McCormick as McCutcheon's butler, marching toward the artist with a tray of moneybags. Fellow *Tribune* cartoonist Carl Somdal retains McCutcheon's crown while placing his head in the heavens as a Man in the Moon, thus transcending the plots of the Grim Reaper on Earth (Figure 2).

Praise for McCutcheon's pioneering status in editorial cartooning also traverses the *Saga* collection. Jacob Burck (*Chicago Times*) shows McCutcheon rising "Higher and Higher" above Chicago itself, perched on an artist's stool above the skyline. Similarly, Hal Coffman (*Fort Worth Star-Telegram*) dubs McCutcheon "top hand" among cartoonists via an admiring Texas cowboy who gestures toward McCutcheon's national reputation via syndication. McCutcheon's interstate adventures progress in scenes by Charles G. Werner (*Oklahoma Times*), John Cassel (*Brooklyn Eagle*), and Jay Darling (*Des Moines Register and Tribune*), the last of whom crafts a marker for "The Trail of John T. McCutcheon," a distant figure who is both triumphant explorer and laureled deity (Figure 3).

All in all, the *Saga* provides a laudatory macroplot for McCutcheon, proclaiming his prominence and worth while dramatizing his multifaceted contributions to cartooning and American culture. In contrast, McCutcheon's macroplotting of the suffragette is considerably more varied, even dissonant. Such dissonance might be expected of a cartoon character representing not only thousands of historical women

Figure 3.

but also a cause as controversial as suffrage. More importantly, such dissonance should also be expected of an archive less ideologically controlled than a festschrift or personal scrapbook—indeed, of a digital archive collaboratively assembled and then multiply read by critics. In such an archive, the danger of objectifying or flattening the suffragette diminishes, and the suffragette emerges as a subject worthy of sustained attention, even discord. Macroplotting McCutcheon's suffrage cartoons, as this digital archive allows, will demonstrate how they foster a more sympathetic subjectivity for the suffragette, though not uncomplicated or neatly heroic.

In keeping with the norms of early 20th-century cartoonists loyal to publishers and the public (Katz), McCutcheon's autobiography avoids overt commentary on controversial matters such as suffrage. In *Drawn from Memory*, McCutcheon offers glimpses of his domestic life, international travels, and professional routines—but few internal revelations. Given that McCutcheon's suffrage cartoons may reveal his perspective while also, necessarily, engaging public opinion and navigating *Tribune* politics (largely Republican and less-than-progressive), how can we fruitfully read the "rising action" of his macroplotted suffragette? Regardless of clear political intent, McCutcheon's body of work makes the suffragette a character worthy of public contemplation. Via macroplotting enabled by publication cycles and sustained by unfolding activism, McCutcheon's suffragette inhabits a range of personae. Frequently an object of humor in his early cartoons, the suffragette later reappears in a range of representations: as activist, soldier, orderly exemplar, angel, political consumer, and tamer of political "dogs"—as a voter exerting moral, peaceable influence. Ultimately, McCutcheon depicts the suffragette as a target not only of jokes but also of aggressive political rhetorics. The suffragette's shift from controversial rhetor-activist to a necessary *audience* and *pacifist force* signals a transition in her public perception and political agency.

The suffragette as activist may be the character's least surprising guise, but McCutcheon's treatment of activism affords narrative twists. Chronologically, his sketches of the suffragette-activist progress from the use of unattractive, reactionary figures to more attractive, restrained, and patriotic ones, particularly when representing American women. In the 25 Sept. 1905 cartoon "Evidently Mr. Cleveland Never Expects to Run for Office Again," McCutcheon depicts suffrage clubwomen as matronly and agitated, grimacing, waving brooms, and even grinding axes in response to President Cleveland's published anti-suffrage pronouncement: "WOMEN SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO VOTE." With clenched fists and jaws, McCutcheon's clubwomen arrest viewers' attention and call each other "TO ARMS!! TO ARMS!!" On the wall of the club, the revised French republican motto "Liberty, Equality, *Sorority*" (emphasis added) suggests transatlantic influence on the women's

fury (Figure 4). The motto looms large over this scene of agitation as a clubwoman removes Cleveland's portrait from the wall in protest; national authority is deposed, and transatlantic rhetorics are rising. Later, in "An Englishman's Home" (Gallery Image 1), the cartoonist casts British women's activism as "invasion" with a mob of grim-faced suffragettes rushing at the windows of Prime Minister Asquith's study (a domestic compression of the political movement). Even more extreme is McCutcheon's "In Merrie England" (5 April 1913) with a triptych of "probable dispatches" of violence and disorder in the U.K. "if the destroying angels continue their crusade" of suffrage, as captioned. In this hyperbolic depiction of British suffrage activity in the 1910s, McCutcheon imagines "[t]hrongs of militant suffragists" destroying trains and national landmarks; the activists appear both reactive and destructive.

Figure 4.

Contrast these scenes of suffragettes' agitation and aggression—which, in McCutcheon's framing, are often blamed on international examples and influence—with the composed, civilized, and patriotic groups in his American scenes of a similar time. The 4 March 1913 cartoon "In the Nation's Spot Light," published the morning after a large suffrage parade, shows a symbolic line-up of six suffragettes celebrating President Woodrow Wilson's first inauguration with clapping and flowers (Gallery Image 3). An elegant, smiling suffragette shares Wilson's foreground of fame, to the chagrin of some male supporters, including a frowning vice president, Thomas R. Marshall. The macroplotting of McCutcheon's attractively restrained American suffragette-activist continues in an October 1913 cartoon (Gallery Image 6); it portrays U.S. suffrage states as a rank of women assembled to show Emmeline Pankhurst "what we've done by orderly methods . . . not a single window broken." This allusion to the demonstrations depicted in "An Englishman's Home" suggests McCutcheon's distaste for British activism. Consider, too, the patriotic cartoon of 24 May 1916, "Taking an Interest in their Country," which gives a female "Suffragist Parade" figure the most prominent position in a marching rank of patriots, otherwise composed of three generations of males (Figure 5). Synchronized and resolute, each marcher carries a U.S. flag.

Figure 5.   *Figure 6.*

Later that year, McCutcheon reinforced the orderly patriotism of American suffragists by depicting suffrage states as two sleek lines of women divided by the majority's support of the incumbent, Wilson, versus those backing Republican challenger Charles Hughes (Figure 6). In a similarly congenial depiction of suffrage groups, the 11 Jan. 1918 "Hands Across the Seas" (Gallery Image 7) shows smiling British suffragettes and American suffragists offering a congratulatory handshake across the Atlantic after legislative victories on both shores. Here, differences among international suffragettes are understated, and both national figures are attractive, if exaggerated for comic effect. Both art and life, then, honor the suffragette-activist's capabilities at home and abroad, despite McCutcheon's earlier reservations.

Many McCutcheon suffrage cartoons play on the 19th-century ideal of woman as domestic angel while translating that moral force into political force; this translation of the angel into a public agent is, of course, one rhetorical tactic used by suffragettes themselves. While early McCutcheon cartoons poke fun at the political role of the suffragette-angel, later cartoons show her as a necessary audience and counterbalance for morally suspect politicians. In effect, macroplotting the suffragette-angel shows the growing power of women voters, even when framed by a conservative rhetoric of moral influence.

As early as 1903, McCutcheon's "The Federation of Women" cartoon (Figure 7) offers domestic angels a political role. However, this depiction fans fears about the activism of the "fair sex," applying hyperbole to the influence of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs.[4] In six frames, McCutcheon humorously forecasts the effects of the federation's call for women to unite:

Figure 8.

first, formation of a Fair Sex Union with nearly a billion members; then, interrupted weddings, delayed baby and husband feedings, and denied access to medical treatment for grandmothers (if not unionized). McCutcheon narrates the imagined Union as the source of all such consequences. The supposed interruption of domestic routines—especially stalled meals—mockery at the angel of the house, now represented as a conniving "demon" of politics. Cartoons of the 1910s show a shift in attitude toward women's involvement in politics while still invoking their angelic role. A 1911 daily news cartoon, for instance, offers a moderate position on political angels (Figure 8). In the top frame, McCutcheon lauds the Los Angeles Ladies' Political Marching Club: "In the 'City of the Angels,' the latter voted for good government." Smiling clubwomen approach the voting booth two by two, each wheeling a smiling baby. Here, McCutcheon mobilizes the domesticity of political angels and emphasizes their patriotism with U.S. flags flying in the background. Three cartoons of 1913 reinforce the moral role of women voters. In the first and last scenes of a five-frame cartoon, women voters are praised as agents of many reforms, from child labor laws to proper bar conduct (Figure 9). Similarly, women voters are cast as reformers in both "Chicago Gambling Joints and Women's Votes" (Figure 10) and "Political Methods—Old and New" (Figure 11). In the latter cartoon, the "new politics" emerge as increasingly "bi-sex" and collaborative—as well as "clean" and "respectable."

McCutcheon gives the evolving angel more authority in the 1910s, narrating her transition from suffragette to voter while retaining her moral and domestic influence; in effect, the suffragette-angel becomes not merely a

Figure 9.   *Figure 10.*

Figure 11.   *Figure 12.*

voter-angel but also increasingly shrewd. To appreciate such an evolution, consider first McCutcheon's earlier, less savvy depictions of femininity—e.g., in a 1907 cartoon titled "Miss Chicago (Picking a Mayor)—'Eeny, Meeney, Miney, Mo,' Etc." (Figure 12). As the title suggests, Chicago is figured as a naïve woman, a feminized city unsure about its next leader, and thus choosing one randomly from a line-up of male hopefuls. Though this editorial critique is aimed at Chicago versus all of the suffrage movement, McCutcheon chooses

Figure 13.   *Figure 14.*

to embody a naïve city as a woman, a trope he repeats in 1914 in "The Long Ballot" (Figure 13). He does, however, dramatize the development of women's political knowledge—i.e., in "There are to be Schools for the Instruction of Women Voters" (Figure 14), in a four-part serial called "Bab's Ballot" running January through March of 1914 (Figures 15-18), and in "Women Juries for Women Criminals" (Figure 19).

McCutcheon's cartoons of the 1920s further develop the rhetoric of the voter-angel, sketching the woman voter as a formidable audience, an informed consumer and agent of politics. In "She's Been Kidded by Experts," a two-part narrative reinforces the voter-angel's political and rhetorical coming-of-age (Gallery Image 8). In these scenes, politicians become salesmen, and the voter-angel learns to stand her ground. The voter-angel who bought into President Wilson's faulty promise that his policies would prevent U.S. involvement in war[5] in 1916 resists a similar rhetoric from presidential candidate James Middleton Cox, struggling to gain support for the new League of Nations four years later. The nature of the woman voter's refusal is distinctly domestic: with the failed goods of Wilson filling her shelves, she claims she is "still paying on the set" from a previous salesman—thus, performing a political refusal via the role of a wronged consumer. A later cartoon intensifies the voter-angel's power. On 26 April 1922, McCutcheon's "The Women are Uniting Against War" first represents War itself as a plump, uniformed soldier—drunk with his "War Habit," trashing past treaties, and reclining in laughter at a headline announcing women's peace activism (Gallery Image 9). A female figure bearing the banner of "Woman's Influence" responds to her adversary's mockery

Figure 15.   *Figure 16.*

Figure 17.   *Figure 18.*

with a brash "So!" McCutcheon's captions tease: "If she is in earnest, we . . . [c]
an see his finish." In a second scene, the voter-angel leads the way for a do-
mesticated War wheeling the couple's smiling children, Peace and Prosperity.
This restyled gentleman follows his fictive bride on her political journey, their
path completed by "dogs of war" trailing meekly behind. Here, McCutcheon
revises his trademark dog into a trio that looks as peaceable as the offspring
of the voter-angel and the sanctified demon of War.

Such domestic depictions of the suffragette-turned-voter are worthy of contemplation. Even if founded on conservative rhetorics of womanhood, they grant rhetorical and political agency. Indeed, Booth might call our attention to the increasing dramatization or subjectivity of McCutcheon's suffragette over time. Macroplotting these cartoons, as this digital archive makes possible, allows us to observe the empowered angel extending a hand to the suffragette-activist of McCutcheon's evolving imagination, and a guarded respect for a new voting population emerging from the handshake. Though McCutcheon never drew this particular handshake in a single cartoon, our contemplation of his body of work on suffrage makes the image hold long enough for us to receive it—and with it, a productive dialectic of suffrage.

Figure 19.

Notes

1 Arguably, McCutcheon's increasingly progressive attitude toward women in politics also improved his representation of the suffragette (Barrett-Fox 60, this issue).

2 Jaqueline McLeod Rogers' examination of Canadian cartoonist Newt McConnell's suffrage cartoons reveals the trope of a dog as well. In his "Mayor Oliver" and "James L. Hughes" cartoons (ca. 1910 and 1905-1914, respectively), McConnell may well be invoking McCutcheon's suffrage cartoons via allusion to his trademark dog even as McConnell sharply critiques suffrage sympathizers.

3 Here, art mirrors life insofar as McCutcheon did own an island in the Bahamas, Salt Cay, which his family called "Treasure Island," though Talburt inflates McCutcheon's royal status.

4 Kristie S. Fleckenstein makes a detailed case for this cartoon's anti-suffrage influence within its "visual media ecology."

5 *Tribune* readers may well have read this voter-angel's pacifism through the lens of Jane Addams's founding of the Woman's Peace Party (WPP) in 1915.

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Intertextual Networks, Recursive Adaptation, and Progressive Politics in John T. McCutcheon's "Women's Work," 1909-1912

Jason Barrett-Fox

Intertextuality in Networked Archives

This paper explores the interpersonal and intertextual relationships around John T. McCutcheon's public shift in support of suffrage between 1909 and 1912, tracing his representations of woman suffragists at a time when the *Chicago Tribune* was becoming a nationally dominant media organization, with weekly circulation numbers approaching 250,000. Specifically, I argue that his public pro-suffrage becoming is best understood as a politically pragmatic facet of Theodore Roosevelt's 1912 Progressive Campaign. Despite a dearth of primary materials (other than cartoons) in which McCutcheon mentions suffrage, this transformation is traceable in the conceptual, discursive, and imagistic adaptations of the suffragette that occur among the works of McCutcheon, Jane Addams, and Roosevelt during this three-year period, indicating a moment of unique but precarious consubstantiality. This space of overlapping "concepts, images, ideas, and attitudes" highlights the delicate intertextual network these subjects constructed around the suffrage question moving into 1912 (Burke 21). That network, then, informs the networked archive at work in this special issue, one that complicates the differences between physical and digital archives and implicates us in the historiographical negotiation of women's histories and futures. Here, then, our own ability to make historical claims becomes yet another artifact under investigation.[1]

Our goals range beyond offering new readings of McCutcheon's cartoons, personal relationships, or political contexts (though we nod in all these directions). We explore the articulation of new methodologies for doing a kind of collaborative rhetorical history in networked archives, where linear space gives way to anti-linear interconnections, personal and public, spaces where "[e]lectronic linking shifts the boundaries between one text and another" (Landow 33) and, in the case of this special issue, one project and another. We investigate not just an answer to the question of what suffrage meant to McCutcheon but of what implications its digital extension might entail for future scholars as the networked archive and its intertexts continue to expand through the emergence of ever-new linkages, adaptations, and uptakes.

Intertextuality functions across and among discourse, artifacts, and time to challenge traditional notions of causality, linearity, and authorial presence,

subtilizing the *doing* of history. In this view, the *meanings* of McCutcheon's political cartoons emerge not only from their initial media ecologies but also from their participation in a complex, intertextual system of visual, cultural, and personal relationships, all dripping with sociopolitical implications. Those interpretations produced by archival and networked accounts can be re-produced through metadata, synchronized, located, and, at best, rendered suggestive. This essay attempts to (re)present McCutcheon as a rhetorico-political subject (a subject whose archival presence incites both suasory and civic uncertainties). In so doing, I show that McCutcheon is simultaneously *rendering* and *being rendered by* rhetorico-historical discourse, and I present archival study (both physical and networked) as a venue to explore Frank D'Angelo's concept of intertextual adaptation. Adaptation denotes not just a shared space of consubstantiality but a type of connection between a source and an original text, enthymematically signaling to audiences that a reworking has taken place (D'Angelo 34). It can employ the past in a piecemeal style (nostalgic recycling) (34), or it can offer a new, parodic vision where this fragmentary nostalgic recycling becomes scenic, metafictional, and subject to a larger argument or historical suggestion (11). Therefore, a working definition of the *intertext*—that fluid yet consubstantial space—should suit research in the network by involving "a rejection of linearity in form and explanation, often in unexpected applications" (Landow 25).

In this intertextual network, something analogous to but topically different from Sarah L. Skripsky's macroplots is at work. D'Angelo's operative terms reflect McCutcheon's, Addams's, and Roosevelt's recursive recycling of each other's versions of suffragettes with their intertextual network tightening as the election draws nearer. And while one goal of this study "is to reconstitute as best we can the rhetorical situation at hand" (Solberg 59), another is to highlight the ways in which all rhetorical technologies, intertextuality included, "have politics" (55). In his public shift toward embracing a positive rendering of suffragettes and their politics, McCutcheon adapts his own work as well. He "acknowledge[s] his earlier texts" (D'Angelo 36) by "recasting" in 1912 his previous caricatures of suffragettes "into a new [rhetorical] form" (D'Angelo 34), opting for images underscored by agency rather than docility. As members of this subtle and collective enterprise, the contributors of this special issue draw laterally from McCutcheon and his influences, centrally from one another, and recursively from the network that is becoming and will continue to grow beyond the claims made here.

Body Politics

By the end of the twentieth century's first decade, McCutcheon had become implicated in promoting the *Tribune's* Republican commitments. From his 1903 arrival at the paper, one such obligation meant embracing

traditional notions of womanhood and distancing the paper from the desta-
bilizing influences of the suffrage movement, which the Republican brass and
editor-in-chief Colonel Robert McCormick considered to be political baggage.
Hence, when cartooning women characters, McCutcheon claimed merely to
consider his readers' often gendered "tastes" and "prejudices," making sure
not to "arouse resentment" or "offend advertisers" (*Memory* 200). When "a
woman's activities are to be caricatured critically" McCutcheon explains, "a
cartoonist shall blunt his barb by somehow flattering her" (200), letting her
off the hook but hanging her up in different ways. Two cartoons appear by
McCutcheon in 1909 that make use of one stock female character from the
growing batch he had been collecting since the 1890s: the dour suffragette.
The first, an image from February of 1909, pictures British Prime Minister H.
H. Asquith reading *An Englishman's Home* while innumerable and identical mid-
dle-aged angry-eyed women stampede toward his windows waving placards
scrawled with the words "We Want Votes" and "Suffragette Invasion" (Gallery
Image 1). Asquith, unphased by the spectacle, surmises that "There's No
Danger of An Invasion." In this image, McCutcheon's stock suffragette bears
stern focus but remains homogeneous, as if participating in the cartoonist's
silencing gesture. Her silence is accentuated by her identification as part of
a corporeally identical mob of protesters, rather than any one woman with a
singular message on the issue.[2]

Though parades and marches were fundamental to the movement,
McCutcheon's conflation of the spectacle with its message had a muting ef-
fect (Borda 26), as did the sour uniformity of his Jane-Addams lookalikes.
Not coincidentally, McCutcheon had been introduced to Addams around this
time during the regular Friday afternoon meetings of the Little Room club,
which met in Chicago's Fine Arts Building where he kept his studio. Despite
much levity and shenanigans in the Little Room, Addams's presence changed
the social club's tone and helped to rally other noteworthy women like Elia
Peattie, Edith Wyatt, Harriet Monroe, and Clara Laughlin to public support of
suffrage. This support became more fervent after 1907, when club co-found-
er Hamlin Garland absconded with all the men who would follow and started
another famous Chicago club, the Cliff Dwellers, ironically named after Little
Room co-founder Henry Blake Fuller's 1893 critique of Chicago's business
elite. McCutcheon, in the minority, remained a member of both. After the
split, the club radicalized to a degree around the work of its feminist ca-
bal, who, among others, served as intertextual resources for and influences
upon McCutcheon's developing ideas about the role of public women. By
1909, then, the intertextual dynamic between McCutcheon and Addams had
been established, though the reformer's influence on the cartoonist had not
yet made it into print.

The second use of this stock character occurred in a more telling instance of McCutcheon's and the *Tribune's* orientation toward suffragettes in 1909, involving two English activists—Emmeline Pankhurst and Marion Wallace Dunlop—who were symbolic of the militant arm of Britain's Women's Social and Political Union. In July of that year, McCutcheon offered a dainty mash-up of Pankhurst and Dunlop as the "Modern Martyr" in a comic entitled "The Modern Martyr Goes to Jail" (Gallery Image 2). Yet as June Purvis elaborates, the real-life strategies of the WSPU under Pankhurst differed sharply from McCutcheon's representations of WSPU strikers as aging, middle-class dilet-tantes. Despite the deft attempt to ironically neutralize these women, they were deadly serious (Purvis 209). As Floyd Dell argued in his 1913 comparison of Addams's and Pankhurst's approaches to pro-suffrage agitation, "Let us un-derstand [that in] this suffrage movement … we have in militancy rather than conciliation, in action rather than wisdom, the keynote of woman in politics" (40). This point was muted by McCutcheon's political obscurantism.

Along with the placard-waving that was lampooned in McCutcheon's first suffrage cartoon of 1909, the WSPU reportedly bombed and torched build-ings, including churches. In addition, the WSPU women, upon incarceration, often resorted to hunger strikes, jeopardizing the very internality of "the wom-an" herself; hence, she jeopardized the bodily and political economies that rested upon her. As Purvis explains, the women suffered distress, humiliation, and forced "instrumental invasion of the body" akin to rape (134). The prim-ness of McCutcheon's "Modern Martyr" reminds us that its intertextual uptake incorporates, at least, "ridicule, incongruity, [and] exaggeration" (D'Angelo 38). In her stock form, the "Modern Martyr" sports pristine feminine apparel and a shiny crown atop her head. Her delicate police escort is trailed by men carrying trunks, presumably filled with domestic finery, two children with a nursemaid, and another female servant, a stark disjunction from the photo published in British newspapers that year of Pankhurst, contorted in rage, being dragged, screaming, to prison. Behind the modern martyr, a small sign reads "To Gaol." From her neatly upswept hair to her jaunty gait, every detail of this image un-dermines the radical and militant character of its subjects' actions and differs sharply from the gravity with which they were depicted abroad.

In McCutcheon's case, these parodic renderings are derived at least par-tially from the *Tribune's* sense of political pragmatism within a generally an-ti-suffrage milieu. Specifically, though, McCutcheon's 1909 drawings function as almost-exhausted adaptations of characters popularized around the turn of the century. In the 1890s, for instance, McCutcheon's close friend and writing partner, George Ade, lampooned the early feminists in his much-lauded stories "The Fable of the Good Fairy with the Lorgnette" and "Why She Got it Good." Ade poked fun at suffragettes' "twinned earnestness and condescension"

(Szuberla 59), envisioning a particular do-gooder as articulating in "breathless prose" that she "decided that she would allow the glory of her Presence to burst upon the Poor and the Uncultured. It would be," his protagonist imagines, "a Big Help for the Poor and Uncultured to see what a Real Razamataz Lady was like" (59).

McCutcheon and the Bull Moose

By the spring of 1911, the *Tribune's* suffrage politics—and hence McCutcheon's cartoons—became more complex. The upcoming election posed a problem: Roosevelt was dividing the party, and his division was felt with particular force in Chicago, the location of the upcoming Progressive Party Convention. Sensing a shift away from Taft, McCormick—a staunch Republican—wrote his Aunt Nellie that "[i]n Chicago, at least, the public is unanimous for Roosevelt" (Smith 141). Within days, evidence surfaced of a tectonic shift in the paper's politics when McCormick traveled to New York, "stood upon TR's Sagamore Hill porch and declared flatly that Taft could not carry Illinois" (Smith 141). Upon hearing of McCormick's decision, McCutcheon augmented his cartoons in ways sympathetic to the *Tribune's* new politics, even if it was moving the paper into strange, non-Republican territory. McCormick's transition out of the Republican Party meant that the *Tribune* would be moving away from the business of "anointing Republican presidents" (Smith 141) and would be aligning itself with Roosevelt's Progressive Party.

This is significant because physical archives suggest that McCutcheon had begun an epistolary friendship with Roosevelt in the fall of 1904 by sending him the original drawing of a cartoon entitled "Mysterious Stranger," detailing Missouri's decision to vote Republican for the first time since Reconstruction—a move that won Roosevelt an easy victory over Alton Brown. By 1912, McCutcheon had garnered several invitations to the White House, and when Roosevelt made the last-minute move to support women's suffrage, McCutcheon's cartoons took on different characteristics, moving from comic caricature to symbolically embellished realism. In short, feminism moved from something for readers to mock to something by which they could become intertextually transformed. For instance, a 1913 cartoon of once-lampooned Pankhurst transforms the innocent martyr into a figure too dangerous to be allowed entry into the United States—under the auspices that she will teach American women to use Liberty's torch. Unlike her other incarnation, the social force of this intertextual Pankhurst is underscored rather than undermined, and the tone of McCutcheon's drawing moves from mockery to support (Gallery Image 6).

In addition to influencing his suffrage drawings, Roosevelt played an important role in McCutcheon's career more generally. In the decade preceding

the 1912 election, he publicly championed the cartoonist and functioned as a lead character in his 1910 book *In Africa: Hunting Adventures in Big Game Country*. In this book, McCutcheon lays the groundwork for Roosevelt's comeback tale, explaining how he and the President fortuitously met up on an elephant expedition for the Museum of Natural History. Roosevelt had escaped, as relayed by McCutcheon, so that he could not be accused of splitting the party away from Taft. McCutcheon, "[i]n the colonel's tent one day, ... spoke of the possibility of him running again" (*Memory* 246), to which Roosevelt replied in the negative. "[T]he kaleidoscope never repeats," Roosevelt retorted, "A lot of people seem to worry about what to do with ex-Presidents. Well, they needn't worry about this one. I can keep myself busy'" (246). The impression McCutcheon conveyed to the public in 1910 was that Roosevelt seemed ready to enjoy a post-political life of ease and adventure.

The Campaign Orator and the Progressive Mouse

Barely a year after their sub-Saharan rendezvous, Roosevelt abruptly changed course and recruited McCutcheon, *The Tribune*, and McCutcheon's fellow Little-Roomer, Jane Addams, to support him in his unorthodox presidential bid, deftly tightening the network among them. It was, McCutcheon gushed, "one of my proudest experiences to have gone through that Bull Moose campaign as a rapt participant. The *Tribune* threw its whole weight behind T.R. My cartoons were 100 per cent for him" (247). Further, he explained, "I even made my first and last political speech in his behalf" (247). Roosevelt's reversal seemingly necessitated one on McCutcheon's part as well: four years earlier, in a lengthy illustrated piece for *Appleton's Magazine* called "The Campaign Orator," McCutcheon lampooned partisan speechmaking as an unscrupulously opportunistic activity. The political orator was one who creates a "grand and noisy Carnival of Words" after which one is left with nothing "but a ringing in the ears" (296). Considering his previous writing on the subject, evidence shows that McCutcheon approached his Roosevelt speech with a sense of healthy trepidation.

McCutcheon's speech on Roosevelt's behalf is an interesting artifact, and though it is mentioned in his autobiography, it has never been replicated or published. The importance of the speech rests in the metonymic relationship into which he places himself and Roosevelt: both the advocate and the advocated suffer from a public perception that their motives may be impure or politically expedient, a noteworthy moment of intertextual overlap. McCutcheon touts this speech as his one and only moment of political public address, and the physical archives bear that out. None of his subsequent speaking engagements ever again took place on the stump.

McCutcheon's political reticence was due a belief that definitive position-taking or claims-making threatened his aesthetic and editorial dexterity,

undermining his ability to critique an issue from multiple sides. As he laments in his speech, his readers and even close friends assumed his pro-Progressive cartoons were products of McCormick's editorial mandate. "I went to considerable pain," he explains, "to convince them that I sincerely and emphatically was for Roosevelt and therefore in complete harmony with the policy of the paper. Some of these worthy friends looked incredulous" (par. 2). McCutcheon relates, "In vain I tried to convince them I was for Teddy Roosevelt till the cows come home" (par. 3). Perhaps the friends remained unconvinced because they understood McCutcheon's need to operate on all sides of a political issue in order to remain rhetorically supple. He "[f]inally … reasoned that there was one way of convincing my stand-pat friends that I really and honestly believed in Roosevelt and the principles for which he stood" (par. 4). McCutcheon continues, "I would make a contribution to the Progressive Campaign Fund. It may seem a desperate step to take," he explains, "but I felt sure that it would convince the most skeptical. No man contributed to a campaign fund because the editor orders him to" (par. 4).

Not surprisingly, only two women among a bevy of political men are mentioned in McCutcheon's speech, and the one given highest credence is his club-mate and ally Jane Addams. Her *ethos* serves, again metonymically, to undergird the questionable positions of both the speaker and Roosevelt himself on the suffrage question. As McCutcheon clarifies, leveraging Addams as evidence, "[t]he fact that women like Jane Addams … support the new party is a high testimonial of its worth" (par. 16). Just as the dubious cartoonist spends the first several paragraphs of his speech freeing his own *ethos* from the residue of secondary motives, he ends the last paragraph of his speech hedging Addams's support to fill the obvious gap left by both himself and the Rough Rider. These metonymic substitutions offer compelling indirect evidence of the ever-tightening intertext operating among McCutcheon, Roosevelt, and Addams.

From his first days at the *Tribune* in 1903 to his reversal on the issue of suffrage in 1912, McCutcheon continuously appropriated and adapted images of suffragettes that were based on Jane Addams and her settlement work in Chicago. Early on, suffragettes and settlement workers were represented in their solemn pomposity and mass homogeneity, often relayed in reference to what Addams called civic housekeeping. This version of the suffragette "cleaning house" was mockingly represented by McCutcheon as late as 1905 (for example, see Figure 1)—the same year Roosevelt began openly lampooning Addams's published work. Addams claimed membership in the first generation of women to attend university but remained dedicated to the belief that women's social-work extended from their essential femininity. She was an ambivalent figure—not by choice but by the political constitution of her age.

When Theodore Roosevelt offered her a spot on the national stage in 1912, inviting her into his intertextual space, the invitation came at a cost.

Figure 1.

Roosevelt's motives remained doubtful to Addams and her supporters. After all, this was the man who had, only a few short years before, "dubbed her 'poor bleeding Jane' and 'a progressive mouse'" (Curti 240). He had recently "derided her 'book on municipal problems, which ascribed our ethical and social shortcomings in municipal matters in part to the sin of militarism'" (Carroll and Fink ixx). Though united on the party's central plank of trust regulation, the two differed as much as possible on two important issues, roles central to Addams's identity and emergent public persona: the role of the military in international politics and the role of women in domestic politics. It is on the latter that Roosevelt shifted, adapting Addams's version of suffrage, while he and McCutcheon remained laudatory of American militarism.

The Progressive convention was, after all, in Chicago, and Addams was its best-loved citizen. Despite Addams' support, her "socialist friends saw Roosevelt as a double-dealer [, and h]er pacifist friends wondered how she could overlook Roosevelt's bellicosity" (Joslin 135), she tentatively agreed to discuss the issue. This, much to the chagrin of the Prohibition Party, who "noted dryly that they had always included a platform plank in favor of suffrage," and who were surprised "Addams had never supported their candidates" (Joslin 135). By October of 1911, Roosevelt moved to woo Addams but felt wary about the suffrage question, explaining that he had, "never regarded the cause of woman suffrage as being of really capital moment" (Joslin 133).

If, Addams surmised, she was going to put herself in a difficult position with leagues of her supporters and affiliates throughout the country, she would trump their skepticism by convincing Roosevelt that the politics of suffrage were good for the Progressive party. By July, Roosevelt was back in touch with Addams through their mutual friend, Judge Ben Lindsay. She and Roosevelt were at discord about how the Progressive Party, newly organized and scheduled for a convention at the Coliseum in August, should respond to the issue of female suffrage. She wanted an equal suffrage plank in the party

platform. Lindsey relayed the message to her that Roosevelt was having a "change of heart," coming to agree with her that the convention might be ener- gized by championing the cause of women. Certainly, he knew that the women in the United States had strong networks of clubs, associations, and commit- tees that might coalesce around his campaign, giving his candidacy the vitality it would need to win male votes (Joslin 133). Noting explicitly his intertextual relationship with Addams, Roosevelt wrote in his 1913 autobiography that it was "women like Jane Addams and Frances Kellor, who ... changed me into a zealous instead of a lukewarm adherent to the cause" (167). Self-hagiography aside, between October 1911 and August 1912, Roosevelt reluctantly let him- self be converted by Addams, only agreeing to a suffrage plank the month before the convention. McCutcheon's cartoons immediately followed suit, de- picting his earlier stock suffragettes as agents of social change.

Addams's compromises colored her interactions with Roosevelt. When, at the convention, he refused to seat the African American delegates from the South, Addams protested but allowed herself to be overruled, a move that for a while soiled her reputation as a founding member of the NAACP. When faced with "two inequalities," "Addams chose the one closer to her experience" and stood after all "before the convention to second the nomination of Roosevelt" (Joslin 134). Addams's nominating speech, the first ever by a woman, electri- fied the audience, stimulating Roosevelt to foreground her participation for the rest of the campaign, knowing "no other female writer in the country had more admiring readers" (136). Roosevelt needed Addams's *ethos* and intertex- tual overlap desperately, as "not all proponents of suffrage were convinced at [his] sudden conversion to their cause" (Gould 138). The opposite could be said for Addams: it was "the Bull Moose Convention that [allowed her] ... to redesign herself as a professional woman" and to catapult herself into the national imaginary; "her writing at Bar Harbor during the fall of 1912 did much to establish her identity as a public figure" (Joslin 136).

In a cartoon from early October 5, 1912, McCutcheon consolidates his adaptive, pro-suffrage transition: a sheepish man cowers in a chair while his wife, standing proudly with an assertive comportment, explains, "I have my opinion of any man who hasn't gumption enough to register and vote, if you don't register, you mustn't talk politics around this house," to which her little white dog (a McCutcheon staple) remarks "Humph! He's zero in masculinity." McCutcheon tops off the image with a large title-line: "Have You a Backbone? If so, Register Today." The contemporary women's activist, first represented as the stock suffragette in McCutcheon's "Modern Martyr," gets adapted and reversed. Her public homogeneity gives way to personal and ethical power. She becomes a real threat to the now emasculated men too fearful or lethar- gic to turn out to vote (Figure 2). In an October 5, 1912 letter to McCutcheon,

Addams offers her appreciation for his adaptation of the newly empowered suffragette. She writes, "Dear Mr. McCutcheon, The women of the Progressive Party want to thank you for this morning's cartoon in the Tribune. We hope that every man and woman will register today." Under Addams's signature, she had collected the signatures of 11 other female Progressives to underscore her thanks.

McCutcheon's intertextual transformation in relation to suffrage represents a very small period over his long and distinguished career, but it also bears noting that it works against his own self-memorialization as a cartoonist who draws, mainly, "a type of cartoon which might be considered a sort of pictorial breakfast food" (199). McCutcheon's suffrage cartoons after the Progressive campaign explicitly violate his firmly stated distaste for political didacticism. In *Drawn from Memory*, he highlights his view that "people want to be amused rather than reformed" (199). He continues, "the prophetic cartoon," as a rule, "falls down with a prodigious flop" (202). After 1912, particularly regarding the women's movement, McCutcheon breaks his own rule, choosing instead to stick with his recursive adaptation of his stock suffragettes as empowered, world-historical individuals.

Figure 2.

Though the 1912 convention was a huge success in and around Chicago, the Progressives were "buried under heavy downstate majorities for Woodrow Wilson" (Smith 142). As one editor's suggestion after the election that Roosevelt be offered the editor-in-chief position was summarily rejected by McCormick, the *Tribune* turned back to Republican politics as usual, but, by this time, the women's movement had entered the mainstream.

Future Networks

On June 22, 1922, fewer than two years after the ratification of the 19th Amendment, McCutcheon published the image that has served as the impetus for this article, an endpoint of sorts that enamored me with the question of how the cartoonist ended up so boldly aligning himself with the political futures of women. It features, again, his embellished realism, and in it we find a woman, standing tall, holding a flag. This one reads "Women in Politics" (Figure

3). Under her feet unfolds a vertiginous staircase in which each subsequent step looms notably higher than the last. She stands on a middle step, looking upward, reading "U.S. Senate," while below her we see the terrain she has already covered: "U.S. Representative," "Mayor," "State Legislature," and "School Trustee." Her head, tilted skyward, remains fixed upon the highest steps: "Governor," "Supreme Court," and "Presidency." Like the 1922 audience of this prescient illustration, we still anticipate the answer to the question McCutcheon raises: "How High Will She Go?" In addressing this question, the networked archive we have created complicates traditional boundaries between the physical and the digital, between the present and the past, and between primary data and metadata (Graban 75, this issue), implicating us in both the uncovering of rhetorical histories and their writing. We, in the "hypertextual, decentered" world of digital media, like Robinson Crusoe, wander "across the desert finding random objects"—of which our own tellings are a part—and construct worlds out of them (Allen 212). This is unfamiliar but exciting terrain that, as Graban articulates, requires us not to ignore but to negotiate "vexing material gaps in institutional archives" and to work toward the creation of methodologies capable of generating "rhetorical activity" ("From" 172), however provisional—even when traditional rhetorical artifacts and their neatly linear portrayals elude us.

Figure 3.

Notes

1   I wish to thank Bailey Romaine and the staff at the Newberry Library, as well as Jan Perone of the Lincoln Presidential library for their archival assistance.

2   The image alludes to an incident that occurred the year before, when Asquith became the first victim of the Women's Social and Political Union's window-breaking campaign.

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Re/Situating the Digital Archive in John T. McCutcheon's "Publics," Then and Now

Tarez Samra Graban

Defining a Suffrage archive as *transnational* means paying attention to "how globalization has influenced the movement of people and the production of texts, culture, and knowledge across borders" in order to blur stark distinctions among them (Dingo 8). This in turn relies on a shared belief that the *archive* itself moves freely throughout multiple interpretive agents and multiple points of entry, occurring in multiple dimensions—for example, in the digital scrapbook pages Shirley has created and arranged *as well as* in the collaborative scholarship that has grown up around the McCutcheon Transatlantic Suffrage Cartoon Collection. If *archive* offers an emergent temporal and spatial picture—a layering of relationships between subjects, agents, and their socio-historical events—then *digital Suffrage archive* is more than the mere digitization of material artifacts or the digital expression of circulation practices and ideals inherited from print. Instead, it is a constellation of the various lenses and filters through which historical communities are both formed and examined around Suffrage topics.

The aim of this authorial collective so far has been to reveal a critical way of knowing and historicizing about the digital renderings of John T. McCutcheon's work on suffrage, and questioning traditional archival imperatives. Space (or location) is one such imperative we need to question. The McCutcheon Collection is not (merely) a digitized archive but a *net-worked* one, transnational in scope *as an outcome of its digitization* and not merely because it offers digital copies of a collection already related to transnational events. It shows the residual effects of an interspatial migration of ideas, and it suggests the pathways through which these ideas move through our historical consciousness. As a result, I argue for resituating McCutcheon's *transnational digital archive* as a kind of ecology that enfolds narratives of historical recovery alongside narratives of historiographic reflection, revealing various associations and dissociations that inform our sense of what scholarly practices are made possible in and between digital spaces.

The Networked Archive as a Data Ecology

At the 2011 Feminisms and Rhetorics Conference, Shirley K Rose argued for the various archival locations of McCutcheon's cartoons as evidence of their rhetorical placement, and for the act of archiving as exercising rhetorical agency. Inquiry into locations of McCutcheon's suffrage depictions and the significance of their placement, or "archival research in place," she

argued, is a feminist practice. By analyzing the whereabouts of several thousand McCutcheon cartoons, Rose noted that their various locations illuminate different thematic desires and, in some cases, connections to McCutcheon himself. For example, the fact that the University of Missouri established the world's first school of journalism attributes to their collection of 324 of the pen-and-ink cartoons that McCutcheon sketched for the *Chicago Tribune* (held in their special collections) a particular significance. Similarly, the Syracuse University Library holds 663 original drawings, some of which depict middle and late Suffrage and might be read as rhetorically significant because of the university's geographic closeness to the site of the 1848 Seneca Falls convention. These locations, in turn, reposition donors and archivists as agents in the cartoons' rhetorical circulation.

However, in addition to thinking about McCutcheon's cartoons as *situated* in terms of their various locations, we might consider the critical possibilities of thinking about them as *locate-able* in terms of the intellectual publics they incite. By "publics" I mean not only the reading and consuming publics of McCutcheon's cartoons, but also the new spheres of activity made possible for McCutcheon's drawings as a result of ongoing digital work, as well as the social and political questions that historians find themselves better equipped to ask. Reflecting meta-textually on McCutcheon's publics increases the archive's value by "creat[ing] a much more open and expanded view of rhetorical performance, accomplishment, and rhetorical possibilities" (Royster and Kirsch 29) specifically for working transnationally. For example, the digital mobility of "First One East of the 'Mother of Waters'" is best understood in its paradox of being a simultaneously stable and widely circulating artifact (Figure 1 and Figure 2). Once widely circulated in multiple copies of newsprint, and now preserved in limited copies, its digitization does not necessarily restore it to its former circulatory activity or liberate it from being a preserved object. Rather, its digital recirculation draws attention to the shifting temporal and cultural conditions under which the cartoon was, is, or can become a captured representation of some analytic desire—whether McCutcheon's readers' or our own. The simultaneous preservation of the once-circulating newspaper clip *and* its digital recirculation lend it a new quality of being. Analyzing and imagining become two necessary processes in this archive's formation and mutation, requiring an understanding of the multiple factors that bear on those searching as well as those being sought (Graban 188).

Thus, while the geospatial coordinates of McCutcheon's cartoons may include their actual and plausible circulation, the cartoons' publics signify more than just new audiences gained through a digital relocation of pen-and-ink drawings. They reflect tectonic shifts in our feminist historical landscape by drawing our attention to relationships between Suffragists and Suffrage

Figure 1.

Figure 2.

histories. These digital landscapes complicate—and cause us to critically question—archival materials, their recirculation, and our role in their relocation. The *locatable archive*, then, assumes a flexible reciprocal ecology that describes *how histories are performed*. For example, juxtaposing the "local preoccupations" and "national characteristics" in her comparison of McCutcheon's "Mrs. Pankhurst" (Gallery Image 6) to McConnell's "James L. Hughes" (Figure 3), Jaqueline McLeod Rogers argues that historiographic inquiry can show how two cartoonists "domesticate" a global problem (Rogers 37, this issue). At stake in this analysis is the notion that the cartoonists can be reread not only in the context of sought information about their drawings, but also according to how their digital recirculation enables or disenables their cross-cultural comparison. The outcome is in our charting new relationships between the actual and virtual places where digital images are retained or have been exchanged, and in the possibilities for recasting

Figure 3.

Suffrage histories as things that occur at the interface of the institutional, the archival, the digital, and the spatial.

In short, McCutcheon's intellectual publics reflect differences between practices, ideologies, and motives for how feminist recovery is done. As a result, the digital archive we construct through this special issue is transformative in several ways: it models a network that resists historical flattening, i.e., does not merely re-present or remediate material artifacts; it complicates even delimited spaces of circulation; and it offers a way to examine digital collections as historically dispersed sites for new critical possibilities.

Historical Unflattening: From Curation to Data Circulation

Ekaterina Haskins and Matthew Kirschenbaum urge us to re/imagine the digital archive within an information milieu that is dynamic and shared and to consider how accessing digital materials challenges our curatorial impulses, since—as the archival landscape becomes more digitally hybrid—our concerns about the optimal environment for preserving materials become more complex. I agree, but I also think that how we understand *working in digital spaces* depends on how well we can reinvent historiographic relationships through metadata. The Online Computer Library Center (OCLC) defines "metadata" as the "structured information that describes, explains, locates, or otherwise makes it easier to retrieve, use or manage an information resource."[1] Metadata can also be used to recreate *implicit relational networks*, enabling what Derek Mueller calls an inventorying or re-inventorying of those loci through which disciplinary knowledge circulates, gains attention, and gains or loses status (196)—for example, terms that approach the circulation of documents as a study in rhetorical agency, such as "participated in," "moved from," "finds/creates," or "is motivated by." Metadata can render history as relational by reflecting various slippages between physical and digital artifacts or repositories, by inspiring the construction of new digital environments, and by potentially reshaping available digital resources. In short, when we see the potential for metadata terms to disseminate rather than to curate and preserve knowledge, we can then understand the digital archive as an assemblage of ideas that draws attention to its own coming into being—its own process of historicization.

This rhetorical repositioning of metadata is demonstrative as well as inventive for something like the McCutcheon archive, *both* adapting our ways of knowing/searching to digital resources that come available *and* naming new ways of knowing/searching that emerge from these resources. But it requires a modified set of terms that privilege dissemination, inconstancy,

and portability, thereby supporting the shifting beliefs and motivations of McCutcheon researchers and their benefactors. These terms would probably not be derived from standard protocols like the Dublin Core (which assign tags to texts as if they were preserved artifacts or published work). Instead, as shown in Figure 4, these new standards might best be derived from terms that recognize the *vital movement of intellectual capital and curiosity in triangulated relationships* between McCutcheon, his subjects, their antecedents and audiences, and historians' contextualized motives for seeking them out. These terms might reflect questions such as: Where did researchers first learn about a particular subset of McCutcheon's cartoons and in what particular contexts? What broader Suffrage narratives or histories are challenged by the ways in which knowledge circulates about particular cartoons? What disciplinary ideologies are reinforced or challenged by the cartoons in these various combinations and recombinations? And, What are the various institutional and public motives by which the historicized cartoons get recirculated, or removed from circulation?

Dublin Core Metadata Standards	Alternative Metadata Relationships
1. Contributor	1. Researcher's affiliation(s)
2. Coverage	2. Geographic Locale(s)
3. Creator	3. Subject's Affiliation(s)
4. Date	4. Date(s)
5. Description	5. Relevant field(s)
6. Format	6. Related term(s)
7. Identifier	7. Related topic(s)
8. Language	8. Location(s) Found
9. Publisher	9. Ways(s) of Access
10. Relation	10. Purpose/Motive(s) for Access
11. Rights	
12. Source	
13. Title	
14. Type	

Figure 4. Table Comparing the Dublin Core Metadata Standards with Modified Tags that Reflect Circulation and Recirculation

While the Dublin Core describe *preservation* characteristics of distinct entities (objects, texts, artifacts), the "alternative" metadata standards can reflect relationships between entities by describing how those entities circulate, get used, or are constrained.

What this means for historians interested in archival metadata is a set of expectations defining relationships differently, and in turn requiring different

tagging practices to signal those relationships, how they occur, and how they can be historicized or traced. Purveyors of the digital archive might recognize in these alternative metadata tagging standards a useful historiographic methodology that better serves feminist and post-structural archival practices by representing datasets as fluid cultural forms mediating between readers, writers, texts, ideas, and the principles underlying their circulation. Most importantly, these tags derived from different "publics" help reframe revisionist histories, such as that of women's Suffrage, as acts of exposing perspectives that would otherwise be flattened in the process of digitization. Whereas curatorial database networks primarily re-present or remediate material artifacts, a feminist poststructural data network can continually reinvent historical events through *co-curation*—attending as Rebecca Dingo suggests, to "how arguments about women travel, shift, and change" as well as illustrating "these shifts in arguments, not just the arguments themselves" (14). This is especially useful for working in transnational digital spaces.

Complicating Circulation: From Tagging to Trusting

In part by inspiring this shifting activity, the metadata "publics" I identify in McCutcheon's archive form a *technogenesis of trust* by enabling us to recognize and participate in new "infrastructures of trustworthiness" (Miller 1) as we rewrite Suffrage histories within and across borders, observing how and when our own ideologies about transcontinental suffrage become circulatory filters or lenses. "Technogenesis," as N. Katherine Hayles argues, "is not about progress" or regression in the relationship between humans and their tools (or between historians and their technologies) but about *adaptation* and *engagement* (81). It is about the "coordinated transformations" of both humans and their various technologies or tools (81). In Hayles's scenario, historians' subjectivities and their abilities to trust in historical discourses are not contaminated by tools, but rather complicated through the spaces that tools help to illumine and delimit. What this means for the MTSCC is that its various tools of digitization don't only allow us to invent additional topical categories that account for McCutcheon's circulation; rather, we can invent new motives for doing Suffrage historiography by seeing the tensions and easements reflected in the terms that we seek and other terms we might employ.

The "publics" I introduce above work in much the same fashion. They are not necessarily determined according to the literal contents or portrayals in each of McCutcheon's cartoons, or intended to replace one normative interpretation for another, or to put one set of perspectives under erasure—that is, for example, diminishing the white male cartoonist's perspective in favor of the suffragist's or suffragette's. Rather, they are constituent portrayals that take into account how various agents interact through space and time, locally

and globally, over the whole archive. They allow us to arrive at a postmodern multiplicity of viewpoints and possibilities enabled by a flexible metadata model, and they are best realized in the archival interstices—the virtual and intellectual spaces between the cartoon portrayals and researchers' expectations of how those portrayals have worked, should work, or can now be understood as working. For the MTSCC, these interstitial publics portray multiple rhetorical situations, raising our reflective consciousness of various interpretive and dialectical inflections on *both* McCutcheon *and* his historians.

On one level (Figure 5), these publics reveal new or imagined metadata relationships between conservative and liberal oppositions to war; ethnophobia and ethnocentrism; oppositions to war and promotions of economic conscience; American and British conservatism; and promotion of economic consciousness, at home and abroad. For example, the locatability of "An Englishman's Home" (Gallery Image 1) is best realized in the various sets of political and historical issues around the British suffrage movement and how they are juxtaposed with discourses surrounding the threat of invasion by

Figure 5. Thematic Publics

German military forces. The cartoon references women's suffrage demonstrations in Parliament Square—the actual presence of women at the windows and breaking of windows of 10 Downing Street—over the preceding year. As

a result, we might see a public form at the intersection of war opposition and economic conscience, because it reflects Britain's preoccupation with warding off attacks by unnamed foreign powers (assumed to be Germany), and reflected in Britain's tendency to dramatize its own preoccupations, as in Guy du Maurier's 1909 threat-of-invasion play "An Englishman's Home," to which the cartoon alludes, and later in Alfred Hitchcock's *The Birds*, based on Daphne du Maurier's 1952 threat-of-invasion novelette by the same name. The resulting metadata tags for this cartoon might range from "British Conservatism," attached by a researcher who is empathetic to these cultural tensions; to "liberal ethnocentrism," attached by a researcher who recognizes that—on some level—the cartoon has been circulated and re-circulated among feminist groups to note the irony in Suffragettes being positioned as foreigners and liberals, both in 1909 and at historical junctures since then. Or it might be tagged "foreign invasion," by a researcher who is empathetic to cultural tensions or tagged "historical stereotyping," by a researcher who recognizes the irony of circulating this cartoon as a transnational artifact because it raises the question, Who stereotypes whom: America or Europe?

In "She's Been Kidded by Experts" (Gallery Image 8), we might see a public form at the intersection of conservative and liberal oppositions to war, not only because of McCutcheon's repeated motif that positions the American Suffragist as someone eager to avoid worldwide armament (and easily duped because of it), but because it reflects the desires of Suffrage historians and historiographers to mirror the political and strategic use of war in building campaigns and in tracing women's role as unintentional participants. Or, in "Mrs. Pankhurst" (Gallery Image 6), we might see a public formed at the intersection of liberal and conservative oppositions to war, not because McCutcheon's cartoons explicitly represent the 19th- or 20th-century citizen as acting out on her perceptions of conservatism or liberalism, but because this approach assumes a certain mutual understanding of the American and British positioning on civil disobedience and organizational leadership. These publics are similar to what Belinda Stillion Southard calls "movement constituencies," whereby ideological differences among supporters of the same movement can emerge as differences in lifestyle and political orientations, making it hard to claim Suffrage as either wholly inclusive or wholly disparate (130). Unlike database networks whose standards often define information by labeling and tagging what *has occurred*, interstitial publics reflect opportunities for complicating standards by labeling or tagging what *might occur given our pan-historiographic view of the whole digital archive*.

On another level or dimension (Figure 6), these publics emerge at the interstices of various role- or goal-based motivations and positionings, including

history, historiography, feminist criticism, social philosophy, rhetorical analysis, digital humanism, and archiving. Various triangulations make cross-disciplinary archival perspectives quite possible based on their converging and diverging expectations of transnationalism. Once realized or considered, these motivations and positionings can be used to discern new interstitial gaps and to articulate new entity relationships for further study in a limitless process.

Figure 6. Positional Publics

For example, in "The Women are Uniting Against War" (Gallery Image 9), the public formed at the intersection of ethnophobia and ethnocentrism in Figure 5 is discernable in more than one space between historian, rhetorical analyst, and feminist critic—again, not because McCutcheon's cartoons explicitly represent the 19th- or 20th-century citizen as acting rashly on her perceptions of others, but because this approach assumes that women's groups took an anti-imperialist stance across the world stage.

The interesting possibility this alternative metadata tagging creates for digital historiography is that these interstices may destabilize arguments about McCutcheon's portrayals of Suffrage as well as our digital re-appropriations of them, ultimately making it less clear to what degree he (and we) can, should, or even desire to be considered historical agents for Suffrage in the United States and abroad. Kristin Hoganson already complicates this

assumption in her histories of U.S. Suffrage discourse, by treating ethnopho-bia as a point of historical contention for turn-of-the-twentieth-century U.S. suffragists who, in the absence of a strong coalition with anti-Imperialists, couldn't justify their lack of attention to ethnocentrism. Hoganson argues that the American suffragist felt as politically hobbled as the Filipino (9), something that Mary Livermore admitted to at a November 1903 meeting of the New England Anti-Imperialist League in Boston. Another reason Hoganson offers is that the American suffragist's intense and inward examination of racial barri-ers and the need to overcome those barriers as a nation may have obscured the ways that her history was typical of other nationalist histories (11).

The interstices may also destabilize arguments about significant extant portrayals of Suffrage and Suffrage publics, such as those forwarded in Karlyn Kohrs Campbell's *Biocritical Sourcebook* as a result of women's involvements in public speaking from 1925-1993, a period she described as precipitated by the organizational differences between the National American Woman Suffrage Association and the National Women's Party, and a decade she said would "di-vide women activists along class lines and foreshado[w] more contemporary schisms" (xi). Rather than identifying Suffrage publics according to the schisms that stemmed from the 1913 ratification of women's vote to the gender gap which influenced voting through the 1992 elections (Cott 101-104, referenced in Campbell xi), examining the digital archive through the lens of interstitial publics may provide historians with a different way of reading how those activ-ities were inextricably linked, difficult to disentangle, and moreover, difficult to engender given that they rely on several historical agents beyond the subjects they depict and beyond the audiences who presumably read them. Rather than link these Suffrage activities to past struggles, it is feasible to see them as indicative of *unarticulated* struggles, especially when those struggles imply complex roles for their viewing publics.

In considering how metadata publics present new possibilities for histories on McCutcheon, I am creating what Marlene Manoff has called the "archival effects" of McCutcheon's archive by indicating how the weight of its past can be justified in the gravity of its present. "Archival effects" reflect the intellec-tual "appetite" and "market" (Manoff 388) that the recontextualized and re-as-sociated McCutcheon archive creates, becoming a historical object that new technologies can deliver and redeliver in its entirety. Rather than simply digi-tizing material artifacts and expecting them to reflect the same relationships that they do in print, the digital archive becomes a metaphor for nominating materials for historical examination, specifically to imagine what communities might have (had) access and what technologies, tagging practices, and publics should come next. By nature, these publics might resist grand narratives in favor of multilayered histories, they might be derived by an interest in quality

and depth of metadata rather than quantity, they might rely on the integration of historians and subjects in the same digital space, and they would most certainly reflect unfinished histories and histories in circulation. Our collective work on the MTSCC alters our sense of its history by causing what Manoff describes as a "proliferation" and recirculation "of historical artifacts in digital form" (388),[2] and in some cases creating a first-time circulation of the collection as necessarily *transatlantic*.

Critical Regionalism: Learning from Historically Dispersed Sites

While Manoff argues for the archive's ubiquity in the way it erodes boundaries between "virtual and material worlds " (392), I argue for its ubiquity based on what I can witness of historians' attitudes towards digitization and digital preservation and how they *evolve*. A methodological turn to the ubiquitous in feminist rhetorics is not only not *new*, it also unsurprising given our interest in the timeliness of practices, traditions, movements, and institutions— and hence our desires to realize a "greater awareness of place, manifested in specific sites where human action takes place" (Ayers 1). Such a methodological turn offers us a way to exploit digitally dispersed sites for the circulatory standpoints they make possible.

A recirculated archive leads to a kind of critical regionalism in research interests, working in contrast to the "flat" archival data that Jenny Rice says makes artifacts seem homogenous even when they reside in very different landscapes (202). For Rice, "critical regionalism" unflattens (or raises) those circumstances that would normally obscure not only what people *do* in particular space, but also how those spaces become or represent *rhetorical appeals to place*, i.e., how what people do marks them as part of the region, culturally or intellectually. Our treatment of McCutcheon's archive resembles critical regionalism because it demonstrates two of Rice's most critical traits.

Firstly, McCutcheon's involvements do not just mediate between the global and local—they mediate "between overlapping spheres of the local and global" by serving as regional interfaces (Rice 204). While I embrace Manoff's imagery that the inspired "creation of hybrid objects … provide[s] new historical contexts" (388) in something like the MTSCC, I take issue with the declaration that digitization simply causes our historical appetites for objects and artifacts to grow. In fact, the interstitial and transnational quality I argue for in the MTSCC is still primarily due to a recirculation and recombining of perspectives, and not so much to the invention or creation of distance between archival subjects as national vs. transnational, British vs. American, and global vs. local. Neither do McCutcheon's involvements occur inside of a smaller

geographic ring within a larger ring that signifies country or nation (Rice 206); in fact, his involvements are "non-concentric," reflecting multiple complicated and conflicting relations to his own national identity and that of his subjects (Rice 206). "Regions" in Rice's critical regionalism do not serve as territorial containers, but as "topological meetinghouse[s] for large-scale questions that have coalesced into an exigence in a particular time and place" (205). For example, Figures 5 and 6 are meant to illustrate regional assemblages that "are not permanent, nor are they ahistorical. Their proximity is temporary," and therefore they operate more as temporary folds for theorizing than they do statements about membership or identity bound up in certain spheres (Rice 209).

Secondly, McCutcheon's involvements are strategic, which means they constitute a strategic and rhetorical performance, "a strategic interface, which stands in a marked contrast to the perceived naturalism of the national, the local, and even the cosmopolitan" (Rice 210). By arguing for McCutcheon's archival effects as historical appetites or markets, and for the digital archive's data standards as *regions*, I suggest that out of digitization comes a transformative historical ecology that already demonstrates complex connections between users and their past, present, and future queries. In recasting this digital archive according to the unfinished nature of these connections, we can truly define it as transnational. Most importantly, the unfinished network is productive, collaborative, and operates according to what Cathy Davidson has called the many-to-many principle that is characteristic of "humanities 2.0" projects (709)—these projects demonstrate "a humanities of engagement that addresses our collective histories and [our collective] concern for history" (715). The MTSCC becomes characterized by its own dispersal—its own "interactivity and user participation" (Davidson 709).

Conclusion

As Cheryl Glenn and Jessica Enoch have argued: archival records are "inert until they are animated" (331), and thus historical research in archives necessarily must be more than a striving towards a truer more correct interpretation, i.e., more than a supposed reversal of damage or falsification (331). This is why I see our work—*networking* archives—as critically significant. Where Manoff sees a reconciliation of database, narrative, and archival metaphors in complex projects like these, we see an archive's ubiquity in the various publics (institutional, academic, social, feminist, and anti-feminist) that become evident when its transnationalism is an outcome of its digitality, and when we treat the cartoon as an archival subject in the abstract as well as the material sense.

However, my recommitment to *archive* and *ecology* as metaphors for tracing intellectual capital should not be confused with Michele Foucault's ecology

as a site for observing power shifts (*Archaeology*), or be understood as a simple nod to Bruno Latour's actor-network theory, which treats the social as visible only when it is being modified (159). Like Foucault and Latour, I embrace these metaphors as lenses and filters through which historical communities can be examined, and I think the social and political dimensions of a community can be recognized as immaterial forms in constant re/circulation. However, *unlike* Foucault's archival ecology and Latour's actor-network model, in the metadata relationships comprising McCutcheon's transnational archive, there is not necessarily a single extant body politic waiting to be discovered or noticed as emergent through the right kind of network that shows its own traces. Rather, the network of information *becomes evident as a set of contingencies that involve researchers' motives and interests*. This in turn calls for understanding a community of historians' role in not only mapping those territories but in obscuring territory in the first place. This is the tectonic shift that renders a new landscape.

As a case in point, what we have identified as our own subset of these McCutcheon cartoons focusing on transatlantic portrayals of Suffrage in the image gallery has been circulated and re-circulated, expanded, and even shortened over six times since the formation of our Feminisms and Rhetorics panel in early 2013, with each of those expansions and circulations dictated by our various motives and needs for the collection, as well as the ways we felt the collection needed to be brought into conversation with other cartoons from our research. In posing McCutcheon's digitization as transnational, we are investigating "the way any geo-political (ethnic, cultural) construct is criss-crossed and thus mutually constructed by others" (Bizzell and Jarratt 22). We are considering what the cartoons' metadata help us to complicate or to contest about how we study Suffrage, what are the ways Suffrage can be studied, and who we determine are leaders and pioneers in Suffrage's historicization, especially if they complicate what we have taken for granted as geographic relations or *a priori* relationships (Markoff 90).

In this way, digitization gives voice to a different set of contingencies. While we do value the construction and analysis of archives for accessibility, we are more concerned with the "decentering" of knowledge and authority (Davidson 711) that occurs when we acknowledge the archive as a work in progress contingent upon each other's discoveries. In our critical approach to the MTSCC, we can see revealed what John Markoff a decade ago called the "paradigmatic" history of women's suffrage—a history that relies on the ability to track Suffrage ideologies in time and space (90), to recognize the legislative ambiguities and disambiguities as they occurred (88) and continue to occur, and to realize the connections between natural and economic events and Suffrage (103), and between geography and "democratic innovation" (106).

Women's suffrage has always been a global endeavor whose local or regional successes and failures should not be evaluated distinctly from the global (91), and moreover, where historical narratives should not be read apart from the ideologies that help them to circulate.

Notes

1   For archival description, this typically involves the international Dublin Core, a set of fifteen terms used for naming preservation data fields, and intended for creators and users of open-access archives to achieve a certain level of coherence and stability among the records they describe or create.

2   I do depart from Manoff's argument about digital libraries and ubiquitous proliferation in that I am not primarily arguing for digital proliferation or archival *abundance*, but rather for archival *nuance*. I find the term *nuance* useful for presenting one way that McCutcheon's archive has shaped and can shape historians' thinking about *virtual spaces* as abstractions, "increasing the weight of the past while the present appears to shrink through accelerating cycles of innovation and obsolescence" (Manoff 388).

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Connecting Logics: Data Mining and Keyword Visualization as Archival Method/ology

Oriana Gatta

Introduction

The logic of archival research is simultaneously inductive and deductive, with patterns of meaning emerging from the archived texts to which we bring our own questions based on presumptions about their significance. I am certainly not the first to notice the subjective, socially constructed character of archives. For Barbara Biesecker, Cheryl Glenn, and Jessica Enoch, archives do not represent a mimetic result of some capital "T" truth; rather, we invent the truths we "find" in an archive. Similarly, Robert Connors posits that archival data includes a researcher's own prejudices about an archive. The advent of digital technologies, however, offers historiographers and archivists new method/ological tools. And a small but growing number of rhetorical historiographers have begun to engage the theoretical, methodological, and practical implications of these technologies for archival work. Jessica Enoch and David Gold's introduction to their special issue of *College English* summarizes much of this work, including Alexis Ramsey-Tobienne's characterization of "Archives 2.0" as and "emergent and participatory archival form," Jessica Enoch and Jean Bessette's call to be both open to and critical of digitizing feminist historiography, and James Purdy's contemplation of the challenges digital archives pose to defining archives and archival work (107). Not included in this summary are Patricia Sullivan and Tarez Samra Graban's contemplation of the feminist potential of "digital-only searching," Janine Solberg's investigation of the assumptions underlying Google's search algorithms, Graban's argument for organizing archives via emergent taxonomies of discursive metadata— information identifying an archived text's rhetorical significance—or Royster and Kirsch's keyword search of Google.com, Amazon.com, and a university library's holdings as an initial step towards identifying "a convergence of rhetorical, feminist, and global studies" in Rhetoric, Composition, and Literacy scholarship (116).

Given the relative newness of digital technologies and their archival application, each of these pieces also calls for ethical consideration and careful articulation of digital historiography and archival research methods and methodologies. For Tara McPherson, Matthew J. Kirschenbaum, and Jessica Enoch and Jean Bessette, this means cultivating openness to new understandings of familiar texts and practices that digital methods and methodologies may provide. We may, according to McPherson, "understand [our] arguments and [our] subjects differently, even better, when [we] approach them through

multiple modalities" (121). This statement responds to an implied concern that new digital methodologies will replace familiar ones. Part of this concern may stem from extant relationships between digital and quantitative methods, and the undoubtedly positivist ends to which quantitative methods have been and continue to be used. However, as Richard Haswell notes, the "quantitative method assumes that dimensions can be created by humans, not only 'found' in nature" (187). Both quantitative and qualitative methods consciously engage in meaning-making and are, therefore, both "culturally situated and inscribed, never disinterested or impartial" (Kirsch 248). This means that both objects of observation *and* the "hard" data resulting from that observation are identifiable based on subjective processes of identification that are historically and culturally situated.

Furthermore, as Kirschenbaum explains, new methods and methodologies can be used as invention strategies: "The goal is not to use the machine to supplant the judgment and expertise of a human expert who has spent a lifetime reading Dickinson, but rather to see if [digitally-generated] classifications can 'provoke' new insight among a body of familiar texts" (n.p.). Digital methods and methodologies can be used to "provoke" what Royster and Kirsch call "strategic contemplation," or "the capacity to see both patterns and possibilities that may exist in support of knowledge creating and understanding . . . that may become visible when we stand back, observe, reflect, and meditate about the contexts of various practices and the choices that rhetors make" (90). As Tarez Samra Graban and Shirley K Rose note in the introduction to this special issue, a primary goal of the archive is to visibly trace engagement with McCutcheon's cartoons, traces that can then become part of the archive and provide provocations for continued archival invention. The archive, therefore, will enact a simultaneously ontological and hermeneutic definition of *archive*, where meaning-making as interpretation is *itself* the subject of interpretation, and where the reflexivity integral to feminist work will be made visible. Toward this end, I argue that digital data mining and visualization can be used to make visible a network of methodological interconnections composed by the contributors to this special issue. More specifically, I use analyses and visualizations of keyword frequencies and keyword concordances culled from the initial drafts of the first five essays in this issue to answer the following questions: How do these scholars interact with this archive? Or, what methods do these scholars employ in their interactions with this archive? What methodological considerations or assumptions guide these scholars' interactions with this archive? And what connections exist among these scholars' methods and methodologies?

Because the first five essays in this issue intentionally enact a networked approach to archival work by training several lenses on a shared set of cartoon

images, keyword analysis makes sense as one approach to identifying the network's methodological contours based on my assumption that the network operates in part via the language used to describe and enact it. Keyword frequency and concordance analyses identify linguistic patterns by quantifying linguistic presence (and absence). The answers to the questions above suggest points of intersection on which visual representations of the networked archive can be built. Further, they evidence data mining and visualization methods as potential avenues of provocative reflexivity regarding methods and methodologies for feminist theorists, archivists, and historiographers.

Network Deduction and Induction with AntConc

A deductive approach analyzes the contexts in which certain key terms identify the methods and methodologies that are used to address transnational women's suffrage in McCutcheon's cartoons. For example, the terms I associate with rhetorical, archival, and historiographical work based on scholarship mentioned in my introduction to this article include not only explicit references to "method," "methods," "methodology," and "methodologies," but also "rhetoric," "rhetorical," "analysis," "analyze," "archive," "archival," "archivist," "history," "historiography," "historiographical," "research," and "researcher." In this special issue, each writer's choice of methods and methodologies also relates to certain subjects of research and certain artifacts s/he may have selected for analysis, and so the contexts in which keywords referencing transnational women's suffrage and cartoons are found may also offer insight into different researchers' assumptions. Relevant context terms include "transnational," "transatlantic," "women," "suffrage," "suffragist," "suffragists," "cartoon," "cartoons," "image," "images," "frame," "frames," "panel," "panels," "visual," and "visuals." This list of keywords did not spring whole from my mind. I chose these subject-related terms based on my understanding of the key lines of scholarly inquiry outlined in this special issue and previously addressed during presentations on the McCutcheon Transatlantic Suffrage Cartoon Collection (MTSCC) at the 2013 Feminisms and Rhetorics conference. Additionally, I include singular, plural, noun, and adjectival forms in order to identify the largest number of methodological and subject-related contexts possible.

In general, I chose what I thought were the broadest encapsulations of the scholarly work being done, and the most productively contentious. In feminist rhetorical historiography, multiple definitions about of terms like *feminism*, *rhetoric*, *history*, and *archive*—indeed, defining and contextualizing these terms figures largely in questions for which feminist rhetorical historiography continues to seek answers—and the terms themselves are often the linguistic points of reference for these definitions. Similarly, while, we see multiple approaches to answering these questions, terms such as *research*, *method*, and *methodology*

are commonly employed to categorize these approaches. The stated or implied goal of research in general seems to be to make (or remake) meaning within a particular context, and so *analysis* is often used—across disciplines—to iden- tify one or more points along the meaning-making continuum. Further, while research in rhetoric and composition studies often uses *analysis*, *reading*, and *interpretation* synonymously, I chose to include *reading* and not *interpretation* because I thought *reading* might get more directly at the methodological pro- cess though which scholarly interpretations can result.

In addition to the sets of terms I outline above, the term "comics" seemed a likely linguistic marker for McCutcheon's cartoons, given that they are analytical focal points for the first five essays in this issue. One defining visual characteris- tic of *comics* is the order or sequence of its panels. However, since many of the cartoons included in the archive and analyzed in the first five essays in this issue are single-panel cartoons, "panel" becomes a more useful visual descriptor for the cartoons than "sequence." I also included "frame" in my list of key terms be- cause I thought it could function simultaneously as a visual rhetorical synonym for *panel* and as a linguistic marker for a panel's visual rhetorical function(s).

Similarly, I thought "suffragist" could function as both adjectival descriptor of the political movement and linguistic marker of individuals involved in the movement. Unlike "suffragette," *suffragist* does not gender the participants, and while women did form the largest contingent of Suffrage workers, I wanted to leave open the opportunity to identify suffragist work across gender(s). In hindsight, I realize this choice to forgo *suffragette* was guided by my own fem- inist orientation toward the derogatory connotation implied by the "-ette" suf- fix, despite its historical use in describing the movement's participants in Great Britain. Surely, had I asked the editors or other contributors of this special issue to deductively generate their own lists of keywords, they would have produced lists different from mine based on the degree to which our scholarly training, interests, and expertise might vary.

While this deductive approach can help scholars understand the signifi- cance of keywords they *assume* to be representative of certain methods, meth- odologies, subjects, and objects, an inductive approach can serve to validate that significance. The extent to which our scholarship shares methodological approaches suggests that these methodological intersections can used to visu- alize the McCutcheon Archive as an interpretive network. Identifying the list of most commonly used words in these first five essays, and comparing this list to my deductively generated lists of key terms, provides a better sense of the rela- tive significance of an initial set of key terms for doing research into the MTSCC.[1] Further, focusing on the keywords that appear in all five scholarly texts, as well as the deductively and inductively generated lists, will give us the opportunity

to identify the extent to which our scholarship actually shares methods and methodologies.

Network Visualization with AntConc and ManyEyes

While keyword frequencies give us some indication as to which words are significant, understanding how and why they are significant requires a more involved process of "assaying" (Royster and Kirsch 16). Creating and analyzing key word concordances is one way to do this. Bridging computer science, artificial intelligence, and linguistics, Key Word in Context (KWIC) is a method of natural language processing that indexes concordances, or co-incidences of keywords and words within an established proximity of those keywords in a specified textual corpus. More specifically, KWIC concordances index specified words, along with those words preceding and/or following a specified word, thereby identifying the specific linguistic contexts in which identified terms are used. Using AntConc, a free digital concordance tool that allows me to adjust the number of words shown before and after an identified term, I created concordance indexes for each of my key terms. Given the small size of my corpus (five journal article rough drafts), this also involved close reading as a method through which I categorized individual references associated with each of the key terms. Figure 1 shows an example of a concordance index
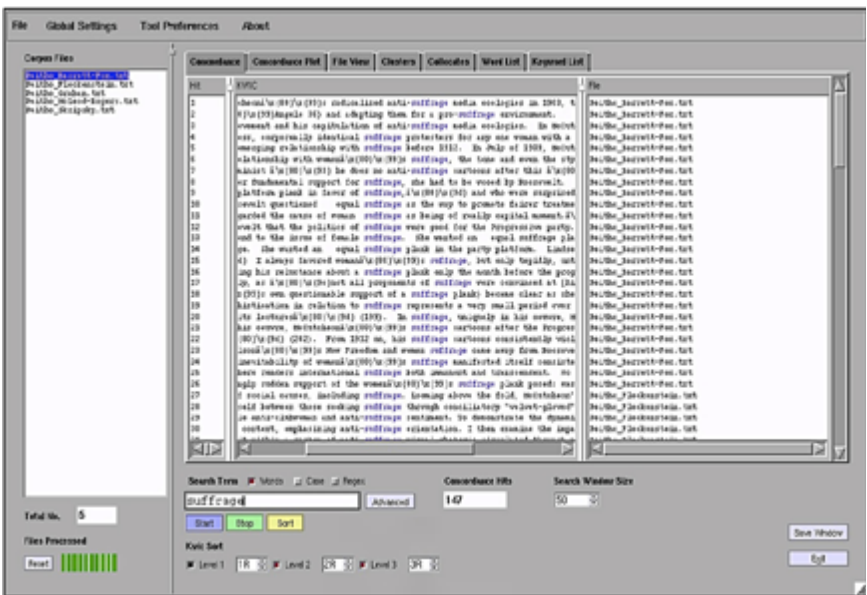

Figure 1. "Feminist" KWIC in AntConc

for the term *suffrage* generated using AntConc, offering ample evidence with which to establish the significance of individual instances of a key term. This index shows us every instance in which the word *suffrage* was used in each of the rough drafts of the first five essays in this issue, as well as the first fifty characters preceding and following each instance of *suffrage*. For example, the tenth indexed instance of *suffrage* reads "both genders. Yet Teddy Roosevelt questioned equal suffrage as the way to promote fairer treatment of women." This tells us that in Jason Barrett-Fox 's rough draft, he addresses former President Roosevelt's perspective on the level of fairness in offering women the same voting rights as men, a perspective that suggests an intersection of presidential politics and personal ethics. In contrast, identifying the contexts of other indexed instances of a key term would require a larger character radius. AntConc's view reveals up to one-thousand characters before and after a key word's appearance, and its index lists keyword instances in order of appearance, creating possibilities to identify the extent to which an author's use of a key term changes over the course of her draft.

Word trees can also be used to visually render concordance indexes, and the insight these trees offer into a key word's context results from how instances of key words are grouped together, rather than for the contexts of individual instances of a key word. In a concordance word tree, each concordance is grouped into like concordances based on the character or word immediately following the key term. Figure 2 depicts a word tree for *suffrage* generated

Figure 2. "Suffrage" KWIC in ManyEyes

using Many Eyes, another open-source data mining and visualization tool, illustrates this function. Unlike AntConc, we can only see the words following an identified term, which limits the visible contexts for individual terms. However, ManyEyes does allow us to organize these concordances by the most-to-least used words or characters directly following the identified keyword. In Figure 2, we see that the word *cartoon* creating the largest branch off of *suffrage*. This means of all the words to follow *suffrage* in all of the rough drafts of the first five essays in this issue, *cartoon* appears directly after it more than any other word. This is not surprising since suffrage cartoons are the focus of this issue. If we move further down the branches, past two punctuation marks (a comma and a period), we see that "visual" is the next most common word to follow *suffrage*. And of the words to follow *suffrage visual*, "rhetoric" is the most common. Again, this is not surprising given the focus of this issue. However, if we look at the words following *suffrage visual rhetoric*, as seen in Figure 3, what begins to emerge is some sense of how one of Kristie S. Fleckenstein defines *visual rhetoric* in relation to *suffrage*. If "suffrage visual rhetoric circu-
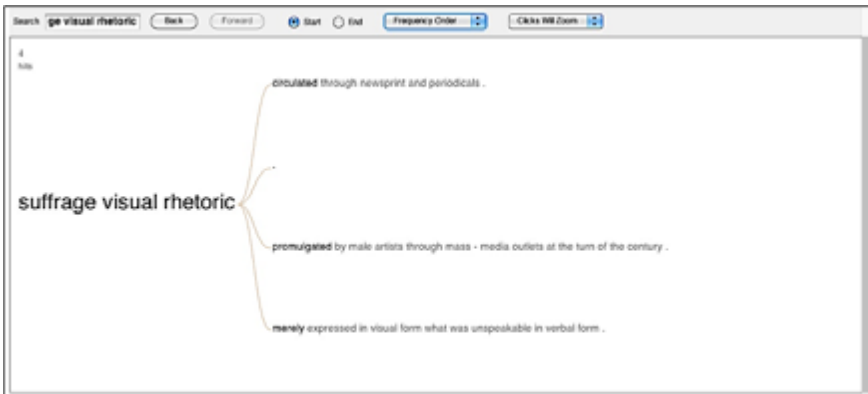

Figure 3. "Visual Rhetoric" Branch of "Suffrage

lated through newsprint and periodicals," then visual rhetoric has a material existence (Fleckenstein 16, this issue). If "suffrage visual rhetoric [was] promulgated by male artists through mass-media outlets at the turn of the century," then visual rhetoric's material existence can also be gendered, mediated, and historicized. And if "suffrage visual rhetoric merely expressed in visual form what was unspeakable in verbal form," then visual rhetorical communication is both similar to and distinct from verbal communication. ManyEyes' word trees, therefore, offer us one way to quickly categorize a keyword's contexts in ways that may reveal larger patterns of meaning.

Articulated as a comprehensive approach, then, keyword analysis and visualization involves three distinct stages to the scholarship on McCutcheon's digital archive. First, one would deductively generating key terms associated with each researcher's methods, and inductively identify the words used most frequently in all five texts using open-source textual analysis software (such as AntConc). Then, one would identify overlap between the deductively and inductively-generated lists of key terms using open source data analysis and visualization software (including AntConc and Many Eyes) to identify the contexts in which this list of overlapping keywords is used. Finally, one would reflect on the potential significance of shared methodological approaches to McCutcheon's suffrage cartoons for the MTSCC in particular, and for feminist archival and historiographic methods more generally, in turn considering new key terms to generate.

Inductive Keyword Frequency and Deductive Significance

There were 135 words common to all five scholarly texts. Not surprisingly, this list includes articles, prepositions, relative pronouns, conjunctions, subordinating conjunctions, and to be verbs, none of which, on their own, offer much insight into the methods and methodologies of the scholarly texts analyzed. After removing those words, I was left with a total of 100 key terms common to all five texts, a convenient number for noticing several patterns. Of this number, the largest portion, 14, appear to identify some aspect of the methods and/or methodologies employed, and 13 appear to identify some aspect of the subject of transnational women's suffrage. The smallest number, 5, appear to identify the objects of analysis—or, the cartoons themselves. The bar charts shown in Figures 4, 5, and 6 itemize the terms related to methods and methodologies, transnational women's suffrage, and cartoons, which are all also organized from the least to greatest number of cumulative instances in all five texts. "I" and "we" are the two most frequent terms that appear to refer to some aspect of methods and/or methodologies, which suggests that in their rough drafts, the authors of the first five articles in this issue actively identify themselves as agents in their methodological processes. Of all 100 words in common across the first five essays, "McCutcheon" was the most frequently used, making his work a focal point for our exploration of transnational women's suffrage. "Cartoons" and "cartoon" appear much more frequently than any particular visual component of a cartoon, which also suggests that McCutcheon's cartoons are more often addressed as complete visual renderings than visual parts or aspects.

These charts also evidence my own assumptions about rhetoric and composition scholars' archival work. Archival work is a meaning-making process
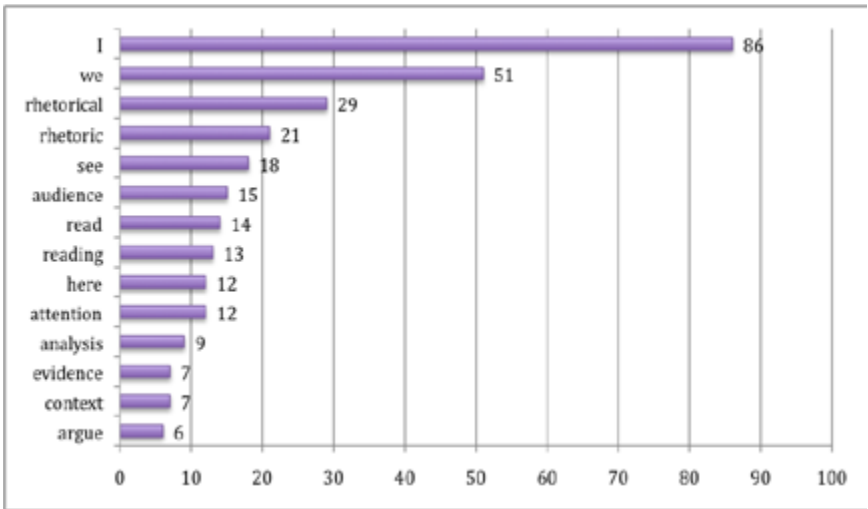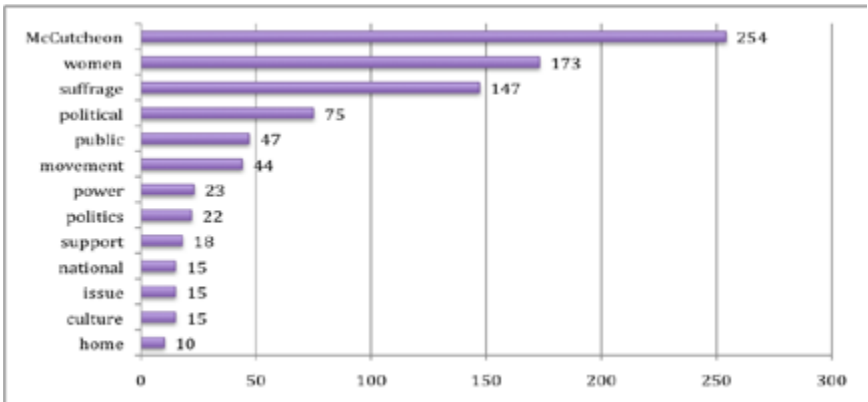
Figure 4. Methods and Methodologies

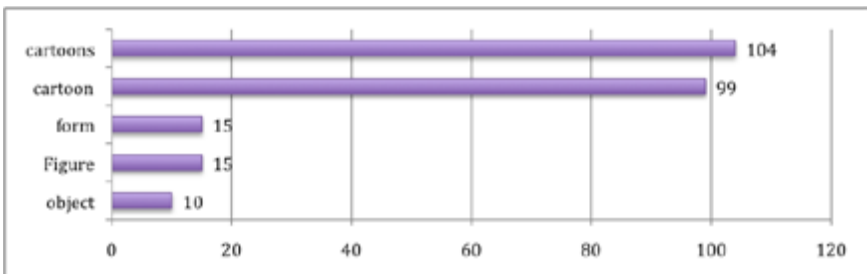
Figure 5. Transnational Women's Suffrage

Figure 6. Cartoons

that, as a rhetoric and composition scholar myself, I understand to be "rhetorical." Audiences are essential to rhetorical meaning making, and their meaning-making often results from one or more forms of "reading" or "analysis," i.e., paying "attention" to the "contexts" out of which meaning has and can be made. Also, as a feminist scholar, I am most interested in "cultural" and "political" contexts, which I assume to be aligned with the McCutcheon Suffrage Cartoon Digital Archive's framing of women's "suffrage" as a movement of "national" and transnational significance. In other words, my own scholarly positioning has deductively informed my selection and categorization of the words inductively identified as present in all five scholarly texts.

Methodological Indirection and Historically, Culturally, and Socially Situated Meaning

A comparison of the deductively and inductively generated lists reveals five shared keywords: "analysis," "women," "suffrage," "cartoon," and "cartoons," and the contexts in which "analysis" appeared did not as clearly indicate or suggest the methods and methodologies employed in each of the scholarly texts as the contexts in which "suffrage" and "cartoon" were used. This finding suggests that, for the rough drafts of the first five essays in this issue, strong relationships do exist between their methodological approaches and subjects. Also, because references to methodological approaches in the contexts for "suffrage" and "cartoon" are more indirect than direct, they exemplify Barbara L'Eplattenier's claim that methods are not often directly identified in rhetoric and composition's archival and historiographical scholarship (67).

Indirect references to methods and methodologies included in a researcher's identification of her subject matter, however, do not mean that she is not using specific methods and methodologies. Also, because my analysis visualized some of what was indirect, e.g. connections between subject matter and methodology, my analytical methods could be useful on a larger scale to continue bringing archival methodologies to the surface for strategic contemplation. For example, the linguistic contexts for "suffrage" evident in the concordance results appear to reinforce a prevalent assumption in rhetorical, archival, and historiographical work that the relationship between methodologies and analytical subjects is historically, culturally, and socially contextual. History itself is "discursive," can be recast via evolving "interfaces," and is the product of archival researchers' "desires…to mirror political and strategic use of" historical, cultural, and social conflict (Graban 84, this issue). So, while the McCutcheon Transatlantic Suffrage Cartoon Collection might visually render "methods" and "methodologies" as categories of user-interaction, "history," "culture," and "society" could visually represent some of the contexts in which these interactions occur.

The linguistic contexts in which "analysis" appears neatly summarize the overarching methodological approaches of each scholarly text analyzed, suggesting that both the term and work of "analysis" typifies methodological approaches to the digital archive of McCutcheon's suffrage cartoons and archival work in rhetoric and composition more generally. This suggestion creates a synonymous relationship between analysis and history—both of which are characterized in the above-mentioned keyword contexts as culturally, socially, and individually contingent methodologies for meaning-making. Thus, it is also possible for others, using their own methodological parameters, to consider the significance of the methodological approaches I identify using keyword analyses and visualizations. If we think about the MTSCC as an interactive network, then the indirection we see in the first five essays regarding methods and methodologies can be visually rendered as potential categories of user-interaction with the network.

The contexts in which "cartoon" appear also highlight the relationship between a researcher and her methodologies in somewhat active terms. Researchers have "expectations," recognize "irony," and empathetically "attach" metadata tags; also, we begin to see what forms of action these methods and methodologies take: cartoons are "read" and "explored" in order to "recognize" characters and identify rhetorical contexts such as the "irony . . . [of] a transnational" metadata tag or the cultural tensions of "British-German relations" (Graban 84 this issue). These contexts also begin to suggest that one goal of methodological action is to "determine" a cartoon's "publics ," i.e., identify who has engaged with these cartoons and to what purpose(s).

The other contexts in which "cartoon" appears offers additional insight into the methods and methodologies used to engage with these archival artifacts. Significantly, the context for many appearances of "cartoon" can be categorized as references to the cartoon's visual representation and/or rhetorical construction. A cartoon's visual rhetorical construction in the keyword contexts for "cartoon" appears to be defined primarily as a semiotic "code" or "visual vocabulary" in need of deciphering (Fleckenstein 29, this issue). A key feature of this deciphering process is the ability to identify semiotic over-simplifications in the form of "stock characters " or "stereotypes ." Once the code is broken, cartoons reveal their 'true' intentions: to "inform, reform, . . . amuse ," "invoke ," "intensif[y] ," and "work ." These intentions frame the cartoons themselves as meaning-making agents. In the McCutcheon Collection's interactive network, these codes can be visualized by enabling thematic hyperlinking, i.e. providing an option to create and position coded nodes, e.g. "stereotype" or "humor," within the network.

Action-oriented "Women"	
• in politics	• voters
• in domestic politics	• suffragists
• in society	• bustle agitatedly around the room
• in public life	• stampede toward his windows
• in reform	• travel, shift, and change
• in mobs demanding rights	• activists
• are uniting against war	• decide problems for the wage earner
• are urging him to recognize their civic are presence and participation	• Rarely ventured into this arena
• to join their cause	• achieve power
• to join in suffrage	• gain strength through suffrage
• to unite	• will sweep politics clean of any male presence
• to use liberty's torch	• cartooning for suffrage
• to attend university	• agitation imperial in its scope
• to cause trouble	• who seek such power
• to make the point	• who want votes
• are uniting against war	• who represent the ten suffrage states
• are urging him to recognize their civic presence and participation	• making history
• assembled to show a placid Emmeline Pankhurst "what we've done by orderly methods"	• discovered or guessed that they oppose suffrage

Figure 7. Action-oriented "Women"

Action-oriented "Suffrage"
• a dangerous movement
• a process deserving public attention and admiration
• acts of exposing perspectives that might be flattened
• as linked to foolishness and violence
• a way to promote fairer treatment of women in society
• -- the majority of Canadian suffragists disagreed that militancy was the way forward
• women from the inception of the woman suffrage movement incorporated visuals
• not all proponents of suffrage were convinced at [McCutcheon's] sudden conversion to their cause

Figure 8. Action-oriented "Suffrage"

Directions for Future Action

A closer look at other contexts in which "women" and "suffrage" were used reveals a methodological predisposition in the five scholarly texts analyzed toward action-oriented agents and agendas. This is not surprising, given that *women's suffrage* accounted for a complex political movement whose aim was tied to social change. However, what is provocative about this focus on action-oriented agendas and agents, is that it presents a contrast between actions and agents that are directly identified objects of analysis, and the methods and methodologies that are indirectly used to address these actions and agents. *Methods* are the actions we take to make meaning, and *methodologies* establish reasons for these actions. If as much time were devoted to identifying our methods and methodologies as to identifying the rhetorical significances of our objects of study—if we more often made methods and methodologies our objects of study—we might increase the possibilities for shared, connected, networked meaning-making.

Based on the small size of my corpus and the brief time frame it represents, my keyword frequency and concordance analyses can offer only a snapshot of the corpus's methodological interconnections. However, the same methods could also be applied to a larger corpus representing a longer period of time—for example, all previous issues of *Peitho*,[2] all drafts of a landmark text like Royster and Kirsch's *Feminist Rhetorical Practices* and the texts on which it draws, all accepted abstracts for every Feminisms and Rhetorics conference, the Coalition of Women Scholars in the History of Rhetoric and Composition keynote addresses at all past CCCCs,[3] or syllabi for all graduate-level research methods courses in rhetoric and composition—providing an opportunity to create a sequence of panels that tell us a story about how methodological approaches to feminist historiography have (not) changed over time. Although these analyses would not—and should not—be the only ways to strategically contemplate the past(s), present(s), and future(s) of feminist rhetorical historiography, as I hope my own analyses have shown, they are indeed productive ways.

Notes

1   Again, this assumes that the significance of a term correlates with the frequency of its use.

2   For example, Derek Mueller's analysis of citation frequencies during a 25-year period of *CCC*'s publication history sets a precedent for this type of study in rhetoric and composition.

3   Derek Mueller's word clouds—created from 35 years of CCCC Chairs' addresses—also sets a precedent for this type of study in rhetoric and composition.

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Postscript: Connecting Knowledges of the Suffrage Movement, Then and Now

Shirley K Rose

The project presented in this special issue has been a collaborative inquiry, cast from preexisting networks of disciplinary, professional, and collegial connections. It has also intentionally and reflectively made possible new networks, by developing a collective of researchers studying a small archive of transatlantic suffrage cartoons from multi-/inter-/cross-disciplinary perspectives: archival theory and practices, feminist rhetorical practices, visual rhetorics, digital technologies, and transatlantic/transnational cultural practices.

Overall, participants in this project have created a network of connections between the concerns of contemporary feminist rhetorical scholarship and a set of visual materials that had not received significant critical and scholarly attention in the century since they were originally created. As a result, the shared archive—constructed and made accessible to this group of scholars by means of digital technologies—serves as a catalyst for new feminist rhetorical scholarship, challenging project participants to think differently about the means by which they brought their multiple perspectives to bear on working with archival materials, and to think reflectively and intentionally about their motives and purposes as feminist historiographers as well. Examining the ways these connections have been created in this project's microcosm of feminist rhetorical scholarship may help us to understand the means by which to help develop and sustain such scholarship on a larger scale.

Midway through our process of reviewing this special issue, I interviewed our collaborators by telephone about their involvement in the project, their reasons for participating, and what they had learned. I was interested in knowing about this because I understand networks as connections that are *worked*—connections that are consciously constructed and attentively examined. I hoped that these informal interviews would allow me to identify and articulate some aspects of networking among feminist scholars that might not otherwise be evident or made explicit in the essays themselves. What I learned from conversations with each of the contributors helped Tarez and me to know what kinds of revisions we could suggest that might advantageously draw from or contribute to their other scholarly projects, increasing the likelihood of creating additional networked connections. Two main insights emerged from their discussion of participating in the project: first, the process of drafting while also accessing one another's work creates a dynamic interrelationship between the writers, their archived/archival subjects,

their critical questions, and each other, in turn influencing how they ultimately refined their own analytic methodologies; and second, an intentionally constructed (and de-constructed) network offers a clear and viable way for junior and senior scholars to gain access to one another's work in the making.

Learning New Methodologies

When I asked what originally drew them to respond to our call for participants in a 2013 Feminisms and Rhetorics conference panel, several participants said they were drawn by the possibility of being enabled to create connections between work in which they were already engaged and the work of the project we described. They related the project's focus both to an area of feminist scholarship in which they had already worked and to an area of feminist scholarship they wanted to develop, moving from familiar ground into new areas of study. For example, Kristie S. Fleckenstein made a connection between the McCutcheon newspaper cartoons and suffrage-related postcards with which she was already familiar, and thought that working with the McCutcheon Transatlantic Suffrage Cartoons Digital Archive would align with and expand her knowledge of the visual milieu of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Sarah L. Skripsky had already done scholarship on cultural change, suffrage, and the nationalist movement in Wales, working with text-heavy periodicals and examining fiction and poetry, but had done little with visuality and believed that "this project will help me grow" by developing an analytical vocabulary and theoretical understanding for working with visual materials. Oriana Gatta could see how the project would allow her to create links that would conjoin otherwise disparate research interests in cartoons, digital rhetorics, digital humanities, and rhetorical historiography, while Jaqueline McLeod Rogers saw an opportunity to use previously unfamiliar archival materials to create a new analytical lens for viewing materials with which she had already been working. She brought to the project knowledge of Canadian cartoons drawn by McCutcheon's contemporaries and wanted to explore how the concept of "transnational" could be used in examining cartoons.

Additionally, all of our contributors discussed how their participation in *networked* scholarship fit into the trajectories of their scholarly careers, which has given us some insights into the affordances and challenges of doing such work. More senior scholars were able to appreciate the way the network opened up new areas of inquiry that could sustain their interest over the long term. For example, Kristie welcomed the way her work on her essay further extended the scope of a large-scale study already underway, knowing that as a full professor she could afford for her involvement with the project to lead her into an area of study that would extend her time on a major scholarly project. Jaqueline recognized that her involvement had helped her to identify an area of study that could engage her scholarly interest over a long period. Jason Barrett-Fox, a

more junior scholar, was attracted to the project because it would align with a direction he had already set for her scholarship. McCutcheon's *Chicago Tribune* cartoons fit with Jason's choice of Chicago-based archives during the late 19th and early 20th centuries as a focus for his scholarly work and expected that negotiating the digital archive would anticipate the issues that will arise for him in future work with digitized materials.

In addition to being able to identify these relationships between the focal subject areas of their other scholarship and the work of this networked archive, participants discussed how the project was expanding their analytical toolkits, mentioning analytical approaches they were learning from one another or approaches they were learning on their own in the process of working on their individual contributions. Sarah brought her skills of narrative analysis to examine the rhetorical dynamics of fiction to give cartoons a different kind of reading than they receive from art historians or visual rhetoricians; as a result of her work for the project she has a greater familiarity with cartoons and more confidence about analyzing cartoons as a visual genre. Oriana's experience with data mining and research visualization gave her a chance to test out new software as well as build her "historiography muscles" by learning more about feminist rhetorical historiography in order to develop her own analytical tools.

Some participants described how working on a shared archive with other scholars had offered new insights into doing *archival* work, specifically. Jason noted how different it was for him to work on a project where participants are intentionally sharing information and resources and insights, inviting collective examination and discussion of a shared archive, rather than protecting its "assets" or saving it for oneself to mine independently. Understanding the networked archive as a *potentially renewable and renewing resource* was transformative. He described how the awareness that he was in the process of writing history with others increased his recognition of the intertextual networks that sustain his scholarship and helped him better understand feminist historiography as an "anti-linear dialogue" rather than a narrative of arguments refuting one another in succession. In email exchanges after the interview, Jason articulated how he had struggled to alter his own definitions of history and archive, and ultimately felt that the challenge of deconstructing a networked archive was, for him, more significantly a challenge of redefining one's own ethical commitments towards "archive."

Accessing Each Others' Work

Our contributors were also drawn by personal connections that existed, or that they hoped to develop, with other project participants. For some of the early-career participants, the networked project provided an infrastructure for establishing relationships between their work and that of more established

scholars. As a recent Ph.D. and new assistant professor, Sarah recognized that this project provided an opportunity to build her scholarly relationships beyond her graduate school cohort by participating in a strategically designed network. Oriana also mentioned that, as a Ph.D. student (who successfully defended her dissertation while this special issue was in progress), she wanted to work with more established scholars in addition to faculty she had studied with in her graduate program.

Project participants also talked about the ways they drew on other contributors' knowledges and skills to inform their own work. Many of these connections are explicitly noted in cross-referencing throughout this issue, but participants described additional ways they had drawn on each other's work. Sarah explained that she drew on Tarez's and Oriana's theorizing, and thought that Oriana's perspectives on data mining could be applied to many other forms of historiographic scholarship. Jason noted that he had reviewed the account of practical archival work I wrote with Sammie Morris for *Working in the Archives* and had also drawn from Tarez's *College English* essay on archival metadata. He used Kristie's notion of "visual media ecology" and found that Sarah's work on "macroplots" created a "narrative [he] could get behind." He further mentioned that he thought the data visualizations in Oriana's work were "beautiful to look at" and suggested that there could be an "aesthetic of historiography" implied in the patterns and designs resulting from data visualization methods when they are applied to analyses of scholarly texts.

Several project participants explicitly discussed both the challenges and benefits of engaging in networked scholarship. Sarah explained that she found it difficult to decide how much to revise her arguments in light of the other participants' work. She wasn't sure how much difference to highlight and how much synthesis with others' contributions was desirable and appropriate. Because the project implied a need to acknowledge one another's contributions and differences, the expectation of collaboration seemed more rigorous, but she had a sense of a moving target because there could be an endless process of rereading and rethinking in light of others' contributions. For us, this seems to get at a care issue for scholars planning a strategically networked project. As historiographers, we have a relatively good understanding of the conventions for when and how to articulate connections between previously published scholarship and our own; but when the relevant work is being simultaneously—and to some extent reciprocally—generated with our own, we need new strategies for narrating our collective discoveries and for acknowledging our interdependencies.

Jaqueline noted that it was "invigorating" to partner with others and that seeing what they had done with the same archival materials was like "getting her bearings with a compass." Oriana observed that while networked

scholarship takes more time, having a sense of one's role in a project makes the work easier, and that working together helps in understanding the impact of one's work more immediately by developing a sense of audience. Oriana also noted that she was drawn into the project after it had begun because she could see from the FemRhet 2013 conference panels she attended that the networking was richer when everyone had each other's work to draw on, approaching common materials from multiple perspectives. She recognized that this networking had enabled a very generative conversation among all of the conference session participants.

All of the contributors mentioned that their personal knowledge of Tarez or me or both of us was important to their participation in the project. Knowing our scholarly work and having had some kind of interpersonal interaction with us gave them confidence in working with us as editors. For example, Kristie and Tarez are departmental colleagues, while Jaqueline recalled receiving helpful advice from me on a journal article submission many years ago. These existing interpersonal connections, *and the prospect of developing them further in a strategically planned collaborative project* were an incentive to their participation. The choice of a digital archive as our project focus allowed this work to occur significantly and rapidly. Because our networked historiographic processes allowed equal value and weight to be given to all perspectives surrounding an archive, and because we have chosen to look upon the archive as reciprocal and as something that we are actively expanding even while we examine it, we are able to expand the notion of "archival agent" and simulate what we see as a genuinely "feminist" project.

Can our network be sustained and built further, perhaps with the aid of internet-based platforms and other new technologies, and what might be the benefits of doing so? We are eager to discover what more we might learn about *how feminist rhetorics develop and circulate*, *how feminist historiographical methods can inspire their own development*, and *how to re/define methodologies as "feminist"* if we approach digital and digitized archival materials not as limited resources to be (exhaustively) mined but as renewable sources for intellectual energies. We invite our readers to tell us how they can imagine connecting their own scholarly projects to the network we've begun to create here.

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Book Reviews

hooks, bell. *Writing Beyond Race: Living Theory and Practice.* New York: Routledge, 2012. Print.

Candace Epps-Robertson

Writing Beyond Race: Living Theory and Practice is both honest reflection and astute analysis of the continued persistence of white supremacy that pervades our culture. This book is a must read for those who find themselves working against a foe that continues to reshape and manifest itself. bell hooks writes this for those who participate in the struggle to identify and work towards the elimination of racism, sexism, and classism. She poignantly reaffirms what many of us know through our everyday lives, our work in the classroom, and our work with language; despite the circulating discourse of the post-racial, race lives.

hooks reminds us that even with the gains made in feminist theory and cultural criticism towards "moving beyond the barriers created by race, gender, class, sexuality, and/or religious differences" our theories have yet to catch up to our everyday lives. The gap between theory and practice persists: "We write more about theory than we do about practice. It has simply been easier to do theory than to put into real-life practice what we declare as the work of ending domination" (144). hooks does not deny that theory-making isn't a challenge as well, but instead suggests that "it was easier to name the problem and to deconstruct it, and yet it was hard to create theories that would help us build community, help us border cross with the intention of truly remaining connected in a space of difference long enough to be transformed" (2). This book of eighteen essays presents her "efforts to look at the ways race, gender, and class are written and talked about today" (7). Her aim is not only to call our attention to these conversations, but also to encourage us to imagine and enact transformations that might make it possible to "bond across differences" and "to think and write beyond the boundaries which keep us all overracialized" (8).

While conversations about the post-racial have happened since the initial election of President Barrack Obama, many of us know that this is just wishful (un)thinking. Race is present. Whether it be through the use of disrespectful mascots or the continued "us" and "them" discourse in the media that attempts to devalue and other us into division and paranoia, despite calls heralding our entrance into a post-racial world, our present reality and experiences continue to be grounded in racial constructs. It is also present in what

I call its "innocuous stealth state" where it almost slips past us if it weren't for that feeling that rises in the pits of our stomachs that tells us something here just isn't right. How do we move past race? What would that even look like? hooks offers a response that encourages us to both imagine and act. While each of the chapters is an individual essay and can be read or presented as such, three themes emerged across chapters that speak to the actions needed to move towards transformation: naming and defining, embracing solidarity, and writing beyond race.

We are living in an era where discussions about race and identity are difficult to have, both cross-racially and intra-racially, because of the politics of class and the steady resistance of some to admit that America is a country where, as hooks says, "white supremacist thinking and practice has been the political foundation undergirding all systems of domination based on skin color and ethnicity" (3-4). To *move beyond race* requires both acknowledgement and naming. To end the process of domination means that we must recognize the system that holds this all together. She acknowledges that while "the subjects of race, gender, and class are still talked about," her focus is to move conversations (and most importantly actions) towards work that will allow us to make real transformation because current conversations "are more and more divorced from discussions of ending biases in standpoint…" (7).

In "Racism: Naming What Hurts," we are reminded that until we can understand and identify racism and the power that it holds, we will do little to move past it. She argues that claims about the eradication of racism stem from an idea that many (white) Americans no longer see racism. As hooks explains, its not so much that whites would argue that racism doesn't exist, but that some might challenge the notion that it affects blacks more than anyone else and therefore is no longer "a meaningful threat to anyone's well-being" (10). hooks describes this as part of the attitude that perpetuates race. The second comes from a lack of coming to terms with America's racial history. The fact that America is a country founded on what she calls "white supremacist thinking" and that this ideology informs all of our lives but is neither a history, nor a concept, that many want to acknowledge (11). She implores us to name racism and to call it out, as the first step in moving past it towards "discussions of race and racism [that] would be based on a foundation of concrete reality" (12).

So what is our problem? Why can't we *all* see the system, name it, and move beyond? hooks believes that America's insistence on being "the most democratic nation in the world" is part of the reason. She reminds us that while it might be easy to see racism in other "non-democratic" nations we can't see this within ourselves. Her message here is strong and echoes in the chapters that follow: "As long as this nation absolutely refuses to accurately name

white supremacy then the roots of racism will remain strong" (13). In the wake of naming and acknowledgment, we will have shifted our perspective from the belief that race "has happened" or "only happens to *them*" and be able to understand the ways that it manifests in the lives of *everyone*. She also believes that this acknowledgement will allow us to more fully embrace diversity as we move past language that increases blaming and division.

Through the essay "Moving Past Blame: Embracing Diversity" hooks reminds us that while diversity is necessary for survival, the mere presence of difference does not challenge institutional racism. To embrace diversity means that we part from dualistic thinking that encourages the adversarial us/them paradigm, one of the primary obstacles to embracing diversity. The real transformation has to occur in our consciousness: "When we are more energized by the practice of blaming than we are by efforts to create transformation, we not only cannot find relief from suffering, we are creating the conditions that help keep us stuck in the status quo" (29). This perpetuates "dualistic thinking" (30) which continues to argue that there must always be "the oppressed and the oppressor, a victim and a victimizer," creating a culture of blame (30).

hooks continues her discussion on the work of embracing diversity with a warning about the dangers of thinking that one can "simply add color and stir." I found this particularly poignant for us in Rhetoric and Composition as an important reminder of how we might approach and reflect on our own practices of curriculum crafting to meet the needs of our student populations. hooks has this to say about program development and literacy: "Let us imagine that from the moment changing demographics became part of public awareness, public schools had created a curriculum that would require all students to learn Spanish, so that bilingual language skills would be acknowledged as a preferred norm. Then diversity would be affirmed" (28). This message is also relevant for the development of departments and workspaces as well. Indeed, we must build curricula and writing programs that welcome and respectfully utilize the experiences, epistemologies, languages, and literacies of the students in our classrooms. This calls for a kind of deep listening on the part of the instructors and administrators.

In addition to considering the place of literacy education and programs with regard to diversity, hooks puts forth a special message about the challenges women face with regard to embracing solidarity and talking about race: "When the issue of race is talked about in the United States it has always been seen as a contest between men" (39). She reminds us: "ultimately women do much of the hands-on work, as parents, as teachers, as cultural workers" (39). This is not to offer praise or blame for one group over the other, but instead to show that "as a consequence of this gendered work, women of all races teach white supremacist thought and practice" (39) and women of all colors,

as well as men, are responsible for the work it takes to change. Once we can acknowledge that white supremacist thought and practice are so entrenched in our cultures and communities, "we would all need to look at the ways we are accountably for continually creating and maintaining this system of domination" by looking at the roles that women play in perpetuating such a system (39). While the feminist movement has moved conversations about race to the forefront hooks suggests that a more critical examination of the relationships between women would show how patriarchy has transmitted a history of black and white women being "pitted against one another by dominator culture in ways that serve to maintain the status quo" (40). The replication of these relationships and perpetual circulation of only those types of stories thwart attempts at solidarity.

However, hooks believes that "small circles of the visionary feminist movement" have worked towards recognizing, naming, and resisting negative stereotypes mainstream culture has continued to push forward "sentimental notions of sisterhood" that don't allow us to unite and tackle racism (48-9). The sentimental notions that are replicated through pop culture generally do not recognize the complicated work that goes into sisterhood, nor do they present us with the types of solidarity necessary for political change. hooks' call for us to unite in solidarity and challenge white supremacy is not a romantic notion, but grounded in a call for action for both imagining and doing anti-racist work. Her analysis of race presents itself in pop culture moments, suggesting that our work not just be limited to one sphere. We need multiple occurrences of recognizing, naming, and working in solidarity towards troubling the single-story that we are often narrated.

hooks uses several essays to examine contemporary representations of race that continue to lack the depth and complication needed to name race, embrace diversity, and bring us towards solidarity. In "Help Wanted: Re-Imagining The Past" she analyzes how the book and subsequent film adaptation of *The Help* by Kathryn Stockett do little to reveal the story of race and racism in the Deep South. hooks writes: "Like the early sentimental novels her work resembles, she distorts, exaggerates, and generally misrepresents the lives of southern white women and black female domestics in order to create a world of female cruelty where sisterhood and solidarity triumph in the end" (58-59). In addition to simplifying the complicated histories and relationships between black and white women, the "re-positioning" of the story casts the civil rights movement as "a struggle that is entirely taking place between vicious unenlightened white women and exploited black female domestics" (59). hooks suggests that we be fearful of stories like *The Help* and others that reduce, simplify, and continue the same story because "they erase and deny the long and powerful history of the individual radical white women active in

the civil rights struggle" (68). While she acknowledges that historical fiction may not always be accurate, it is nonetheless possible that it can "indeed offer alternative and transformative visions" (70).

She offers a similar rigorous analysis of Manning Marable's Malcolm X biography in "Interrogating: The Reinvention of Malcolm X." She criticizes Marable's biography for its use of "gossipy speculation" (72). Citing claims that the biography would "tell all" and the coverage of the press that promised the book would "reveal the man behind the mask and expose to the world that Malcolm X was more trickster con artist than astute political observer" (77), hooks argues that portions of Marable's biography borders on sensationalism and further serves "the interest of imperialist white supremacist capitalist pa-triarch's continued racist/sexist assault on black masculinity" (80). The com-plexity of Malcolm X's life is lost to gossip and stories that seek to undermine his authority and power.

Following suit, her examination of Rebecca Skloot's *The Immortal Life of Henrietta Lacks* points to the need for self-reflection on the part of the author: "More often than not when works focus on race and gender are created with no attention given to whether the perspective are simply reproduced and re-inscribed" (83). hooks critiques Skloot's work for lacking depth and analysis of the role race played in the Lacks story: "By failing to offer a more complex interpretation, she falls into the trap of reinscribing simplistic notions of black identity" (84). This results in the creation of the stereotyped framing of Lacks "in the usual racist and sexist ways of 'seeing' black females—flirtatious and loose, lacking knowledge about their own body, and with little concern for what it takes to be a responsible mother" (84). hooks' critique points again to the importance of seeing and identifying the many ways that race seeps into stories that are seemingly "aware" or "progressive."

In two dialogues with filmmaker Gilda Sheppard, hooks describes the ways in which *Crash* (2004) and *Precious* (2009) fail to offer progressive takes on racism, despite claims from critics and directors that these films would push the envelope. Their conversations show that despite the intention of the filmmakers, there is still much work to be done to tell the real, messy, and complicated stories of race and hooks criticizes both for perpetuating the same stereotypes and images rather than challenging and disrupting them. hooks reflects that while *Crash* was regarded by many as a public narrative about racism, neither *Crash* nor *Precious* challenge stereotypes and instead reinforce many, specifically racial ones. hooks calls this "plantation culture," likening it to the days when slaves grew and maintained agriculture for white plantation owners, but were still fed slop or leftovers: "Ironically, today black folks with class privilege produce the slop and sell it back to us; if we so choose we too can be colonizers. *Precious* exemplifies this plantation culture—its

makers and marketers have been black folks" (125). Quite simply, these types of simplifications in books and films continue to perpetuate race.

The remaining essays in the book shift from close analysis to discussions on developing practice to support theory. hooks asks us to think about the ways bonding and true transformation can occur, all the while reiterating how difficult it can be to practice our theories: " Our silence about practice surfaced because no one really wanted to talk about the difficulties of bonding across differences, the breakdowns in communications, the disappointments, the betrayals" (143). For hooks, to embrace solidarity comes from active listening, allowing people to share their experiences, and honest reflection that allows for critical feedback. The final essays of this collection, "Writing Beyond Race," and "The Practice of Love," offer one of the most intriguing facets about hooks' life as activist, theorist, and intellectual. She offers reflection about what aspects of her work gain the most traction: "After writing and publishing more than twenty books, looking retrospectively at my writing careers, at my work as a feminist theorist and cultural critic, I can see that it is the writing that moves beyond race that receives little attention" (190). Her rationale for why this happens goes back to the importance of solidarity. By placing her work in categories that further deny the complexity of writing and working towards anti-racists theories and practices, she is reduced to being a critic but not an activist who seeks to move beyond what she has critiqued. Her ultimate desire is to not only theorize about ending racism, sexism, and classism, but to put actions to her words.

How do we move beyond race? To move past this moment and history hooks suggests that we think about and enact the "transformative power of love" as a means to "accept the fullness of our humanity, which then allows us to recognize the humanity of others" (198). It is through the recognition that ethnicity and color are "but one fragment of a holistic identity" (198) that we can "know ourselves beyond race, beyond the tenets of white supremacist logic" (198). For hooks, living in love is the only way to resist race and move beyond it: "Domination will never end as long as we are all taught to devalue love" (198). We would be well advised to heed this powerful call so we can continue to address the needs and complexities of our students, departments, and communities because, as hooks reminds us throughout this book, despite popular notions to the contrary, white supremacy continues to entrench itself and is becoming more pervasive. We must remain vigilant and not take for granted that the battle was only won in the past.

About the Author

Candace Epps-Robertson is an assistant professor in Michigan State University's Department of Writing, Rhetoric, and American Cultures. Her research examines the rhetorical practices and strategies of marginalized and oppressed groups. Currently, she working on a book-length project titled, "'We're Still Here!': The Prince Edward County Free School Association, 1963-1964," in which she argues that this school functioned as a counter rhetoric to the discourse of Massive Resistance. She has an article forthcoming in *Literacy in Composition Studies,* and an interview essay with Edward Peeples in *Reflections: A Journal of Public Rhetoric, Civic Writing, and Service Learning* (Spring 2014*).*

McMichael, Lonie. *Acceptable Prejudice? Fat, Rhetoric and Social Justice.* Pearlsong Press, Nashville TN. 2013.

Katie Manthey

The current discourse around excess human body fat is nothing short of alarming; it is often referred to as an "epidemic," and more frighteningly as a "war on fat" that needs to be "fought." Writing in 2009, fat studies scholar Elena Levy-Navarro explains that "bureaucrats and public officials draw on our own generalized fear and anxiety, warning us that the 'obesity epidemic' poses the greatest threat to the national security of the United States. U.S. Surgeon General Koop has repeatedly called it the 'terror within'" (992-3). Despite the cultural climate, there is currently dearth of publications about fat subjectivity from an explicitly feminist rhetorical angle. In feminist rhetorical circles, we are talking about bodies and perception through the work of collections such as *Rhetorical Bodies* and discussions of embodiment in the classroom (through scholars such as Will Banks and Jonathan Alexander). Well-known feminist (but not explicitly rhetorical) work such as Susan Bordo's *Unbearable Weight*, Naomi Wolf's *The Beauty Myth*, and Susie Orbach's *Fat is a Feminist Issue*, for some reason, haven't continued to generate a larger number of similar works. The time is ripe for critical discussions about how body fat carries rhetorical meaning. *Acceptable Prejudice? Fat, Rhetoric and Social Justice*, by Lonie McMichael (PhD in Technical Communication and author of *Talking Fat: Health vs. Persuasion in the War on Our Bodies*) offers an important starting point for a feminist conversation about body fat as a rhetorical subjectivity. McMichael's work is especially noteworthy because it was published through an independent publisher--Pearlsong Press--and intended for a general audience. This book is indicative of the current conversations about fat acceptance and is one of the only texts currently available that attempts to bring together fat, feminism, and rhetoric.

One of the primary goals of *Acceptable Prejudice* is simply to make the case that fat prejudice exists. While feminist rhetoricians may not need an extensive introduction to the notion of oppression (which the book provides over the first seven chapters and continues to tease out throughout the entire book), one of McMichael's strengths is her ability to draw attention to the fat body as a marginalized subjectivity. Citing Phul and Brownell, the author explains that "negative stereotypes include perceptions that obese people are mean, stupid, ugly, unhappy, less competent, sloppy, lazy, socially isolated, and lacking in self-discipline, motivations, and personal control" (340). She cites the medical community, the mainstream media, and corporate America as some

of the major players in perpetuating this ideology, but warns that "even progressives see a fat person as faulty rather than society as failing" (260). In order to further the argument that fat prejudice exists, McMichael contributes to work being done by other fat studies scholars, including Marilynn Wann, Esther Rothblum, and Sondra Solovay.

The "progressives" that McMichael references above include advocates for feminism and social justice (89). In the beginning of the book, McMichael states that one of her reasons for writing the book is "to hold feminist and social justice advocates who believe fat individuals do not deserve protection responsible for buying into the belief of the kierarchy…that fat is bad" (89). She goes on to explain that "fat prejudice is alive and well and being practiced on a daily basis by those who eschew all other forms of prejudice" (95). This idea runs throughout the book. In Chapter Seven, for example, she offers a subsection titled "Why Feminists Should Support Fat Acceptance" (515) where she explains that women are more affected by marketing campaigns about beauty and dieting than men, and alludes to the idea that there is often backlash from feminists in regards to fat acceptance (pointing to such popular websites as *Jezebel* and *Feministing* for examples). For me, McMichael's understanding of feminism at this juncture is too reductive. Her point that feminists should care about fat as a critical subjectivity (my words, not hers) displays an essentialist view of gender and a limited understanding of the feminist movement—specifically the contributions to intersectional feminism by scholars, including bell hooks, whose theories she uses almost exclusively to build her theoretical framework. While her point is valid—that feminists and other "progressives" should care about fat acceptance—she doesn't really outline what they can do differently, or acknowledge previous work in feminist studies, specifically about bodies.

The connection of fat and feminism to rhetorical studies is one of McMichael's greatest potential contributions. I condition that statement with the word "potential," because   McMichael's definition of rhetoric is limited. McMichael explains that, "I interpret rhetoric as persuasive acts of communication," referencing the work of Aristotle and Jack Selzer—surprisingly not the work of her favorite (and only) theorist, bell hooks. McMichael's work would have been strengthened by a more nuanced definition of rhetoric—specifically one that takes a cultural rhetorical angle. A cultural rhetorics approach might, for example, draw on the work of bell hooks as well as Gloria Anzaldua's *Borderlands*, and Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life* to show how bodies have and make meaning through and against systems of power. Another feminist/cultural rhetorics approach to fat might draw on theories of queerness and bodies, using such work as Jack Halberstam's *Queer Art of Failure*, Michael Warner's *The Trouble with Normal*, and Sara Ahmed's *Queer*

Phenomenology. These would highlight the ways that bodies resist conformity to systems of power and the risk and potential change that comes with living in a nonnormative body.

Despite McMichael's definition of rhetoric, she does do cultural rhetorical work in multiple places in her book; when, for example, she explains the idea that messages are "steeped in culture" and have rhetorical agency to transmit the current ideology about body size to people. She goes on to call for a paradigm shift, offering fat acceptance through the ideas of Health at Every Size as a way to do this.   McMichael also contributes to cultural rhetorical work when she addresses issues of intersectionality; fat is naturally an intersectional issue. McMichael explains that "fat prejudice is tied up with classism" (365) and explains that fat people are less likely to be hired and promoted. She also touches on the connections between race, gender, and fat oppression. In chapter 7, though, she explains her reluctance to really engage with intersectionality, explaining that it can become easy to "compare oppressions" (374):

I have walked a very fine line with this project, and I will apologize up front for any harm I may commit in writing this work. I have tried to be aware of issues involving other social justice movements…in the end, only individuals who experience the other types of oppression can truly tell me if I crossed the line…rather than looking at sexism or racism as either more or less horrific or appalling than fat prejudice, I have attempted to focus on the overall way in which oppression works, as observed by hooks (379-391).

I appreciate McMichael's forthrightness with her discomfort, but I feel like this needs to be discussed further; messy spaces of discomfort are often fertile ground for feminist work.

The areas where *Acceptable Prejudice* falls short are important for feminist rhetoricians because they are examples of how fat oppression is currently being discussed on the margins of academic culture. Despite some of the book's shortcomings, however, the author offers many contributions in this text that are very important for feminist rhetoricians to consider, including examining fat as a critical subjectivity and discussing the connections between rhetoric and fat oppression. McMichael's contributions help to continue to our conversations on the subject.

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Pederson, Isabel. *Ready to Wear: A Rhetoric of Wearable Computers and Reality-Shaping Media.* Anderson, South Carolina: Parlor Press, 2013.

Jill Anne Morris

Something unexpected happened as I was preparing to review Isabel Pederson's *Ready to Wear: A Rhetoric of Wearable Computers and Reality-Shaping Media*—I received an e-mail inviting me to buy Google Glass (at the time of this writing you still must register on the Glass Explorer's site and be "chosen" by some sort of randomization engine to receive a code that enables you to buy Glass) and within 48 hours my Chair, Dean, and University President had agreed to pay for a pair to be used in my Digital Writing course this spring. The technology discussed in *Ready to Wear* was suddenly less theoretical—I had four weeks or so to learn how to create augmented reality within a pre-written application for Glass so that I could teach my students how as well. My plan was to have them create augmented reality pop-ups that could be viewed on mobile devices, including Glass, for local museums.

While re-reading the text to prepare to write this review, I was interrupted by Glass letting me know that a news story was just published revealing that a 3-D printer for food will be released in the next year (Daileda) and then again to let me know about an incoming winter storm. I write from a place of experiencing the book at the same time I was trying to master a new technology that, while supposedly "natural," has a very different interface than those I was already adjusted to using. By juxtaposing the two, I will illuminate the strengths of the rhetoric of wearability that Pederson weaves as well as suggest places where real experience with these emerging technologies will likely augment her theories.

Although the title is *Ready to Wear,* not everything Pederson writes about is wearable technology (some is implanted and some simply carried). What all these devices do, however, is shift our reality in some way. She defines "reality shifting" as any technology that makes a claim to augment our real world with some virtual aspect—reality shifting devices are those in the business of creating augmented realities (2). Augmented realities are those wherein one "reality" is overlaid onto another—so a virtual reality world is somehow placed on top of what you are already seeing, feeling, smelling, etc. These technologies are different from those that come before them in many ways, with Pederson concentrating specifically on how they differ in the rhetorics that surround them from other technologies.

As such, *Ready to Wear* is not a book about the rhetoric created by wearable technology; instead, it is a text that analyzes the rhetoric that surrounds such technologies—especially those still in development. Pederson is interested in technologies like head-mounted displays (HDMs) and invisibility cloaks that existed in our social consciousness, movies, and writing long before they become a lived reality. The book really looks at the rhetoric surrounding these devices from what they are called and how they are written about, to how they are advertised and even imagined (in the case that they do not exist yet). What is missing is the rhetoric that the devices themselves create in the instances in which they actually exist (though of course in many cases this is because the devices were not available publicly at the time of the writing or may never be put into production—she is writing about the virtual rhetorics of virtual devices for overlaying virtual worlds).

To look at these devices and the multiple virtual dimensions created around them, Pederson borrows and defines a number of terms from Burke, Bolton and Grusin, and a handful of others. Because these devices are stuck in a state of becoming (for Pederson anyway—using a Glass while reading about it as an upcoming product was a bit of a surreal event), it would not be possible for her to look at them as devices already in the public's hands, so she focuses on their consciousness before production. To do so she first employs some of Burke's terms "...for 'order' (Rhetoric 183-89)—the 'positive,' 'dialectical,' and 'ultimate'—as a triad and relates them to key rhetorical events and instances that occur in the language of emergence surrounding inventions. Burke's triad exposes the transformative nature of rhetoric" (Pederson 19). "The positive" becomes important in that it creates and acts through naming—so it is important, for example, that we call an invisibility device a "cloak," and that our preconceptions of such devices have already been shaped by media as varied as children's literature (*Harry Potter* for instance) and science fiction.

With Burke as a firm foundation, Pederson explores concepts from other writers to further discuss how these technologies are positioned in western culture. Such technology does not particularly remediate old media again (as Grusin and Bolter argue much new media does), but instead is always looking to the future—and in that future we wear heads-up displays and can own invisibility cloaks. These devices are talked about now but will exist in the future. Furthermore, Pederson writes that the way we argue about these devices, the way we expect them, and the way that we seem to think of them as things that *will* exist one day has *premediated* them and caused them to always already exist in that future space in the ways we expect them to. From some of these other terms Pederson develops some of her own. For example:

I unite together these concepts—premediation, preemption, vision, and inevitability—to understand the rhetoric of reality-shifting media emergence.

I adopt the term *imminent* because it best characterizes the sense of looming closure inherent to the language of reality shifting. (*We will read people's minds. We will live forever. We will be invisible*.) Premediation implies a degree of forethought or will; *imminent* is more appropriate here because it suggests a blind march onward, an unquestioning belief that the future, already laid out, presupposes every act we perform. The rhetoric of imminence operates as an ultimate hierarchy that rhetors often use as a given that is simply accepted, a fallback position that is always already palatable to society when it comes to technology. *Ready to Wear* begins the process of unraveling this very assumption using rhetoric as the central method of disentanglement. (Pederson 27).

Chapter One also introduces the term *existenzmaximum*, a term developed by Paola Antonelli to relate the idea that tiny technologies (artifacts) can still have a "massive or fantastical benefit" (Pederson 33). She argues that existenzmaximum is tied up in the idea that mobility—mobile technology—is desirable in our society and the more mobile a technology it is the better it may be. There is a lot of existenzmaximum rhetoric throughout the book—nearly every device analyzed talks about how small, how mobile, and how life changing these technologies will be.

The first chapter discusses wearable head displays like Google Glass—which I was eager to read about having just received mine in the mail. Eye displays like Glass allow you to see a small computer screen at the same time as your normal visual field. Other head mounted displays (like one used by the military) are also discussed as well as, interestingly enough, digital tattoos. Digital tattoos in this case are those that are used in medical settings to monitor and display health information, but they are also available (if you have the money) as an implant that can display programmable pictures or as one that is only viewable through a cell phone or other mobile device. Yet another so-called digital tattoo runs on body heat and blood and works as a mobile device screen (Zyga).

Chapter Two focuses on invisibility cloaks and nanotechnology. Pederson is interested in why people are so accepting of invisibility technology—what does it mean to be invisible? Why would people need to be? Why is this technology (out of military usage) that we even need? Despite it not having much day-to-day usage, a dream of invisibility appears in human writings all the way back to Plato's *Republic* (Pederson 53). The idea of an invisibility cloak or clothing is so popular that a potential invisibility device was reposted and forwarded around the Internet in 2003. Since that time, several more cloaks and camouflage devices have been developed. To give an idea of the type of rhetorical detail that Pederson focuses on and finds interesting in this analysis, Pederson finds it interesting that we call these devices "cloaks," for example. Cloaks are always removable—so our cultural idea of what an invisibility device should be

is one that is easily removable, not something that could potentially become stuck to us or render us permanently unseeable.

On the other hand, other devices discussed in the chapter—like the Nokia Morph—are thoroughly and permanently transparent. The Morph is a transparent tablet-like device that is entirely screen, however it is special because it can also be folded into a phone or even bracelet that becomes virtually invisible. In this way we can study and consider the way that people want technology that is sleek, flexible, and also only visible when we want it to be (Pederson 56-7). The Morph was part of an art exhibit, and a thorough analysis of the rhetoric surrounding that exhibit is shared. Pederson finds great interest in the idea that visual rhetoric surrounds the stories we are already telling about invisible objects (73).

Chapter Three looks at devices that allow people to control computers and other devices with their brain. Implants are actually nothing new—but early brain implants for controlling computers were not very precise or advanced. Unlike the other devices discussed in Pederson's book, neuro devices are more useful for those that are differently-abled (instead of less abled), which makes their inclusion here important. Additionally, these are the devices that are the furthest away from us in terms of being available to the general public, but the ones that are heavily predicted in their rhetoric:

I use the concept of imminence to explain a deep-seated rhetoric that I see operating across the discourses surrounding reality-shifting media. Imminence reflects the certainty that technological changes are inevitable and that subjects have little or no agency in that process. The term imminence implies that something is going to happen. It is imminent. While premediation suggests some kind of forethought by another party (e.g., government or a commercial entity), imminence simply implies that an occurrence seems utterly inevitable. This seemingly total devotion to technological changes operates as an ultimate, indisputable order in the discourse surrounding reality-shifting media. (Pederson 80-1)

In this chapter we can see fear reflected in some of the rhetoric that surrounds these devices as some reviewers of them talk about "thought-police" and not wanting to have their every thought available to everyone (or anyone) else via technology. A proposed device for determining the emotions of people who step onto airplanes, for example, could be used to deter terrorism (though I have to wonder what sort of emotion the terrorist is meant to have—excitement? Fear? Nervousness? Plenty of nervous fliers exist already and there is no information available about how they would be differentiated from the terrorists).

In Chapter Four, Pederson discusses augmented memory devices—those meant to record every (or nearly so) moment of a person's life. These devices

(especially when paired with neurotechnology) suggest that our memory is imperfect and play towards the human need to reach perfection (Pederson 106-7). Interestingly enough, because the book was written before Glass was released into the Explorer program, Pederson considers memory devices as being separate from other heads up displays, even though Glass certainly combines both. Thus, instead of considering a real, available device for total recall she can only consider those in movies and development.

Glass, however, has all but exploded the debate over public surveillance and public/private computer-based memories. Glass allows anyone wearing one to take pictures just by winking, and videos are also easily accessible by touching the side or saying a command. I, myself, have taken several senseless videos and unintended pictures by flipping through its menus completely by accident. Glass's message boards for users are full of stories of people being stopped in public and asked to remove the device—this seems to happen in crowded places like the mall or even public transportation—and users being shamed for daring to wear a camera on their face. In a Seattle diner, anyone wearing Glass will be asked to leave (Hickey). Nearly everyone who has worn it in public has experienced another person coming up to them and asking for it to be removed, and some have even threatened lawsuits if any pictures of them were taken without their permission. On the other hand, wearing this display will also mean getting to talk to plenty of curious people who want to know about it, try it on, and play with it themselves—so all the attention is not negative.

However, what Glass reveals is just how uncomfortable that the public is with being constantly surveilled for the sake of someone else's memory archive. Pederson writes about how external memory will allow us to "remember" everything—even things we would normally forget—and it will certainly be useful for those with memory-based disabilities and folks who just enjoy having pictures and video of everything in their lives to hand. But much like the rhetoric that surrounds external memory devices regales them as an unadultered good, in only analyzing that rhetoric Pederson cannot touch the lived reality of the people who are early adopters and wearing this technology already—and being asked to remove it.

Chapter Five discusses the possibilities of our existing (and future) technology to enhance participatory culture. Drawing on the work of Henry Jenkins, Pederson shows how the iPod and iPhone were positioned to create the culture that Jenkins writes about and discusses the ways that their marketing campaigns encouraged this. Specifically, Canadians started a semi-viral campaign to get the iPhone's data plan cost reduced by one of Canada's major cell phone carriers. The capability of other devices to assist participatory culture are not as thoroughly discussed, however. One of the primary uses

that seems designed to be part of Glass, for example, is ones' ability to document easily almost any situation, and while that might be a problem for early adopters (such as the ones who report being told to take the device off) when it is more normal to wear strange glasses and a camera strapped to your face this will potentially become very useful for citizen journalism. In much the way that cell phone cameras transformed the number of pictures available for nearly any news event (and enable participants in online forums to do things like try to piece together pictures of an event like the Boston Marathon bombing to find the suspect—whether or not they are successful), wearables are likely to change the way that we view, record, share, and even investigate events. Not everyone agrees that more cameras are better, but these changes are *imminent*.

The *imminence* of augmented reality is what interests me about wearables. As I noted earlier, augmented reality generally refers to placing one reality over another—so if you are looking through your cell phone camera at a museum exhibit a text box might pop up that tells you more about the exhibit, gives you pictures of other related things, and might even let you click to learn more about the exhibit. In the coming terms my students will be building augmented reality exhibits for local museums and my campus. Some of them will work with Google Glass and some with cell phone technology—the choice will largely be with the student. Especially if cheaper displays can be bought without cameras, I can imagine these being of real use in museums—they are not very intrusive, can link lots of information to real world locations, and in Glass's case the speaker actually vibrates part of your skull to allow you to hear it so your audio tour will never interfere with anyone else's. Today if I wear Glass in public with the right App activated words in other languages will be translated for me (as well as simple signs in ASL), I will get tidbits of information about buildings that I pass and art on the walls of offices, and I can tag things in my immediate vicinity and share those tags with others. My students are developing games and museum exhibits (primarily through writing) that can be enjoyed by others with mobile devices. I might not have my hoverboard yet, but it is safe to say that I live in the "future" that Pederson writes about, complete with a new group of problems the likes of which I have never had to deal with before.

What I would like to see more of in *Ready to Wear*, though that would clearly be beyond the very clear boundaries of this text, is more research about the rhetoric produced by wearable devices. Perhaps my interest is guided by trying to learn to use a wearable and develop assignments for it at the same time as reading the text, but I wanted to shout: Wearables are here now—let's talk about what we can do with them! Despite that, *Ready to Wear* inhabits an interesting rhetorical space—studying rhetoric in the lull before these devices

are released. Instead of looking back upon historical rhetorics this book looks forward to future and current ones, but does not fall into a pattern of trying to make predictions about what the technology will do for us. Instead, Pederson carefully writes only of the rhetoric that already surrounds devices that do not yet (in many cases) exist in order to illuminate how our rhetoric shapes our technological futures.

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About the Author

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Gold, David and Catherine L. Hobbs, *Educating the New Southern Woman: Speech, Writing, and Race at the Public Women's Colleges, 1884-1945.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2014. Print.

Wendy Sharer

In *Educating the New Southern Woman,* David Gold and Catherine L. Hobbs expand historical scholarship on the rhetorical education provided for women at single-sex colleges in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Thus far, Gold and Hobbs explain, scholarship has focused largely on the rhetorical education provided for upper-class women at liberal arts colleges in the Northeastern US. More attention, Gold and Hobbs argue, needs to be paid to colleges that served other groups of women in other regions of the country. In response to this need, *Educating the New Southern Woman* focuses on eight state-supported women's colleges in the South: Alabama College for Women (now University of Montevallo), Florida State College for Women (now Florida State University), Georgia State College for Women (now Georgia College and State University), Mississippi State College for Women (now Mississippi University for Women) North Carolina College for Women (now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro), Oklahoma College for Women (now the University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma), Texas State College for Women (now Texas Woman's University), and Winthrop College (now Winthrop University).

Building on Gold's research at Texas Woman's University, which was published as a chapter of his 2008 book, *Rhetoric at the Margins: Revising the History of Writing Instruction in American Colleges, 1873-1947*, Gold and Hobbs trace the development of the southern public women's colleges, from the practical, vocational missions with which most of them were established, through their transformation into "hybrid institutions offering liberal arts, vocational education, and teacher training" (2), and into the era of coeducation following the Second World War. Throughout this history, the colleges are positioned within national trends in education, industry, politics, and economics. At the same time, Gold and Hobbs are careful to consider how local conditions varied across the region and to articulate how those variations affected the structure of rhetorical education at different institutions.

In Chapter One, Gold and Hobbs explore the historical and social contexts surrounding the origins of the schools. The understanding of Southern womanhood at the time resulted in mission statements and curricula that

were quite different from those at private Northeastern institutions, such as the Seven Sisters schools, with many of the southern schools gaining support from the state only after publicly issuing assurances that the institutions were, in the words of Mississippi College for Women president Richard W. Jones, "not teaching women to demand the 'rights' of men nor to invade the sphere of men" (27). Gold and Hobbs contend that, because faculty and administrators of these institutions "often had to contend with legislators, parents, and populaces with varying conceptions of the purposes of education and the proper public and professional roles of women," they frequently relied on traditional constructions of gender identity to promote their interests.

At the same time that administrators had to assure more conservative supporters that the schools were not intended to uproot gender norms, they also had to establish missions and design curricula in response to the very real economic needs of the women who would be their students. In the aftermath of the Civil War, many widows and orphaned daughters needed to support themselves: the women's colleges provided essential vocational training for these women. As the schools grew and gained accreditation (a process that was completed for all of the schools by 1925), however, they tended to distance themselves from the vocational focus of their original missions, although they continued to be centers for teacher preparation. The heyday for the public women's colleges, Gold and Hobbs explain, lasted through the first half of the twentieth century. In 1945, 276 institutions identified as "women's colleges," but, as more and more public institutions went coeducational, the number women's colleges dropped precipitously. Only forty-eight institutions identifying as "women's colleges" remained in 2009 (31).

Chapter Two explores writing instruction at the women's colleges, with a focus on how writing curricula—in conjunction with extracurricular opportunities for writing through debate socities, literary societies, and campus newspapers and literary journals—prepared women to present themselves publicly through their writing. Many faculty followed a "current-traditional" paradigm, emphasizing correctness and common "modes." Yet, Gold and Hobbs argue, writing instruction at a number of the colleges engaged issues of local and national importance and encouraged students to contribute to conversations within the college community and beyond. For example, William Dodd, who served as both English chair and dean of the college at Florida State College for Women, enacted a composition curriculum that blended a traditional focus on correctness with a focus on writing about "modern life" (45). Faculty, and presumably their students, sometimes struggled to meet both the goal of correctness and the goal of social engagement. Archival materials from the North Carolina College for Women, for example, suggest that, when a focus on contemporary public issues was folded into the composition sequence in the

1930s, the result was "a conceptual struggle to balance correctness of expression with belletristic literary analysis and expository meditations on topics of social import" (55).

Surprisingly, in Gold and Hobbs's discussions of writing instruction at North Carolina College for Women, no mention is made of Kelly Ritter's recent book, *To Know Her Own History: Writing at the Woman's College, 1943-1963* (Pittsburgh 2012), a study of writing instruction at that institution. While the time period of Ritter's study is later than that addressed in *Educating the New Southern Woman,* the historical spans of the two books do overlap by a few years. It may have been the case that *Educating the New Southern Woman* was already far along in the publication process at the time that Ritter's book became available. In any case, the two publications make interesting companion texts: Gold and Hobbs provide a useful background for Ritter's book, while Ritter productively extends the work of *Educating the New Southern Woman.*

In Chapter Three, Gold and Hobbs offer an overview of instruction in public speaking—both within and beyond the classroom—at the women's colleges. Training in public speaking derived largely from different systems of elocution that were popular at the time, particularly among women. Gold and Hobbs explain that, as elocution and "the speech arts" lost favor to more scientific study of language at elite male institutions such as Harvard, these rhetorical endeavors "became coded as 'feminine,'" a situation that enabled women's colleges to continue to offer coursework in them. Most influential in the early twentieth century was the "Delsarte System of Expression," a method of instruction that embodied Francois Delsarte's belief that "physical gesture reveals or corresponds to the movements of the soul; as such, gesture was central to communication" (65). Also popular at the women's colleges were Charles Wesley Emerson's system of elocution, as articulated in his book *The Evolution of Expression,* and Samuel Silas Curry's approach as detailed in his books *The Province of Expression* and *Foundations of Expression*. As was the case for written rhetorical forms, students at the women's colleges enhanced their abilities in spoken rhetoric through extracurricular activities. College life provided additional opportunities for women to practice and hone their public speaking skills outside of the classroom through, among other things, literary and debate societies, dramatic productions, and a variety of special events, a number of which were organized in collaboration with local women's associations.

In keeping with the vocational goals that were part of their missions, the eight women's colleges also provided students with industrial training. The initial structure and evolving shape of this training is the topic of Chapter 4. While more traditionally "female" endeavors (sewing, cooking, millinery, etc.) were the focus of practical training in the early years of the colleges, some

schools, such as Mississippi State College for Women, expanded vocational training to areas such as "telegraphy, phonography (an early form of stenography) and typewriting, bookkeeping, drawing, design, modeling, wood carving, needlework, repousse [decorative metalworking], leather working, photography, pharmacy, dressmaking, millinery, cooking, and printing" (91-92).

During the first two decades of the twentieth century most of the schools shifted focus from a broader vocational curriculum to a narrower focus on professional preparation for careers in teaching and clerical work, with both fields providing growing employment opportunities for women. Additionally, the study of "home economics" grew in popularity, in large part because, as Gold and Hobbs explain, federal funding became available for institutions to provide training in this field. Furthermore, the study of home economics allowed women to study subjects that otherwise might have been seen as outside of their purview. The idea of women studying chemistry and biology for the purpose of ensuring proper nutrition for their children was much more palatable for the public than the idea of women studying these subjects for careers in medicine, for instance.

In Chapter 4, Gold and Hobbs focus on both the rhetoric that school leaders used to advance the vocational education of Southern women and the role of rhetorical education within vocational curricula for women. Instruction in writing and speaking was important for future teachers, but it was also given substantial attention in other curricula, including home economics and business. A number of home economics graduates would go on to work as extension agents, thanks to the creation of the Agricultural Extension Service via the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. As extension agents, women would need to be able to create publications about and deliver home demonstrations on a variety of products and processes for farmers and their families. Women entering the business field as clerical workers would also need to know how to write effectively and communicate professionally within the workplace.

Chapter Five opens with the critical point that "the southern public colleges for women were founded in an era when, in both popular and scholarly parlance, to be 'southern' meant to be white" (109). Gold and Hobbs use the majority of the chapter to consider both complicity with and challenges to racist attitudes as evidenced in students' written and spoken rhetoric at the eight colleges. Drawing on campus publications and details about campus performances provided through the local press, Gold and Hobbs demonstrate that, through the 1910s, representations of African Americans in campus rhetoric were, if not "overtly hostile," certainly steeped in racial stereotypes. Student writings that include African American characters often present them in the "stock loyal servant role" (118); as dialect-speaking, nostalgic, former slaves, pining for life before the war (124); or as objects of ridicule in minstrel shows (121).

It was not until after the conclusion of World War I that attitudes toward race started to change: "Following World War I and especially into the 1920s and 1930s, student writing at some campuses began to exhibit both greater sympathy for African Americans as well as a greater intellectual understanding of the cause of black civil rights" (127). As examples, Gold and Hobbs provide student essays from different schools that discuss, among other things, the economic plight of ex-slaves, the power of black poetry, and the recognition of one's own racial prejudice. Gold and Hobbs attribute this shift in racial attitudes to several factors, including the study of Harlem Renaissance authors (in coursework as well as through extracurricular activities), the interracial work of the YWCA on campuses, and the offering of sociology and anthropology courses that attempted to address race in a scholarly context.

While trends and similarities are evident across campuses, differing economic histories, particularly the extent of each state's past reliance on slave labor, meant that campuses were not equally prepared to address racial difference. For instance, the Texas State College for Women permitted discussions of race relations on campus, in part because the state was not as embedded in the plantation history of other southern states, and thus, emotions regarding the "loss" of the old ways of life were not as powerful.

The book concludes with a reflection on the legacy left by the women's colleges, all of which have now become co-educational. Although the schools no longer exist in their original form, the questions that administrators and faculty struggled with remain highly relevant today. Those questions, as articulated by Gold and Hobbes, include, "How do we balance liberal arts with professional training? How do we devise appropriate curricula for our local campus constituencies? How do we negotiate with publics with views on education at variance with our own? And how do we find room for instruction in the forms of reading, writing *and* speaking that our students will need?" (140) The strategies these eight colleges used might help us to consider and address these questions more robustly today.

Educating the New Southern Woman enriches the history of rhetorical education in America by providing details from a region that has traditionally not been the focus of scholarship in the field. The book, too, offers up several important lessons and reminders for the field. One such reminder is that individuals who take up administrative roles can have a significant impact on the trajectory of rhetorical education at their institutions (and beyond). The nature of rhetorical education at these institutions was frequently determined by the administrative presence of key figures. As Gold and Hobbs explain, "Indeed, at those campuses in which administrators had formal connections to English, rhetorical instruction tended to be the most comprehensive and forward looking" (41). This observation is followed by examples of English faculty who served as administrators

(deans and/or presidents) and who promoted a rhetorical curriculum that "recognized the importance of balancing liberal arts and vocational education" (41). The power of individuals to advance a more comprehensive rhetorical education comes up at several other points in the book as well. For example, in discussing the strength of the public speaking curriculum at the Florida State College for Women at a time when the study of elocution at other Southern women's colleges was being subordinated to the study of literature within English Departments, Gold and Hobbs explain that "influential English chair and dean of the college, William Dodd…saw 'oral composition' as an important part of study in the discipline, believing that learning to tell a story, debate, and think on one's feet promoted students' resourcefulness and confidence…. He therefore encouraged the development of a speech program and departmental major" (80). The importance of powerful leaders and exemplars is also seen in the details that Gold and Hobbs provide about racial climates at different institutions. North Carolina College for Women, while certainly not fully embracing diversity, provided an environment where the subject was at least broached in a sometimes non-hostile manner, thanks in part to the work of prominent individuals at the school. Lula McIver, wife of NCCW founding president Charles Duncan McIver, invited a black male student from North Carolina A&T to board with her, suggesting that such co-existence between races (and genders) was appropriate. In addition, sociology professor Walter Clinton Jackson, who "had a scholarly interest in black culture and was publicly active in the Commission on Interracial Cooperation…taught the school's first sociology course in interracial relations…[and] sponsored interracial events, inviting singer Marian Anderson in 1935" (117).

The book also contributes valuable insight into rhetorical strategies that challenge the social order and that, although not bringing immediate and extensive change, help to pave the way for substantial future change. Justification of the study of chemistry and biology in the name of "home economics," for example, enabled many women to enter fields previously closed to them, even as it did little to challenge the division of men's and women's "spheres." Other examples of this kind of preparatory rhetorical work for social change are provided in Gold and Hobbs's discussion of race relations on the campuses. As discussed previously, NCCW professor Walter Clinton Jackson was instrumental in opening the classroom and the campus to considerations of race, yet he felt pressure to limit the inroads he had made, ultimately forbidding interracial meetings on campus after being chastised by school trustees for allowing such a meeting in 1937 (117). The stories of influential individuals, exemplified by faculty like Jackson, are ones of only partial success, but, as Gold and Hobbs point out, "the groundwork had been laid" (117), and that groundwork in part made it possible for the student newspaper at NCCW to support desegregation starting in 1952 (117).

The history told by Gold and Hobbs also highlights the influence of external groups—particularly women's organizations—in establishing and extending the education that students received. The first of the eight schools to be founded, Mississippi State College for Women, Gold and Hobbs explain, "largely set the pattern for the establishment of other southern public women's colleges, with various combinations of progressive educators and newspaper editors, populist farm-advocacy groups, and women's clubs and professional organizations joining together to lobby state legislatures to create hybrid industrial-liberal arts institutions designed to serve a broad range of female students" (26). Extracurricular collaborations with outside organizations, including the YWCA, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and various local clubs, provided special occasions—pageants, debates, and programs that included public readings of literature and storytelling—that became important venues for students to practice writing and speaking. These collaborations, and the book as a whole, remind readers of the importance of an expansive rhetorical education that blends instruction in reading, writing, and speaking and that takes place through formal, course-based instruction, through extracurricular groups and activities, and through cooperation with local citizens.

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Seigel, Marika. *The Rhetoric of Pregnancy.* Chicago: Chicago UP, 2014. Print.

Sarah R. Spangler

Like many women, upon finding out I was expecting, I promptly purchased several best-selling books on prenatal care. Early on this process, I was fortunate enough to have been guided toward texts aimed at empowering pregnant women rather than simply addressing the risks and concerns of pregnancy. This same goal of empowering women during pregnancy and childbirth permeates Marika Seigel's *The Rhetoric of Pregnancy*. In 183 pages, Seigel deconstructs some of the most influential pregnancy manuals of the twentieth century, beginning with early manuals such as *Expectant Motherhood: Its Supervision and Hygiene* (Ballantyne 1914) and *Prenatal Care* (West 1913), progressing to popular and still circulating late twentieth-century manuals and websites such as *What to Expect When You're Expecting* (Murkoff 1984)*, Pregnancy for Dummies* (Eddleman, Murray, and Stone 1999), and BabyCenter. com (1996), and concluding with a forward-looking examination of empowering manuals such as *Ina May's Guide to Childbirth* (Gaskin 2003). Seigel seeks to uncover dominant constructions of pregnancy and the pregnant body during this century by tracing how documentation on pregnancy has often dismissed women's experiential knowledge about their bodies. It has established a rhetoric that suggests pregnant bodies are unreliable, incapable, and risky and, therefore, need to be disciplined and supervised by medical institutions and technologies. To challenge this rhetoric and disrupt culturally engrained ideas about pregnancy, Seigel argues that users need "critical" access to the technologies of prenatal care in order "to cunningly negotiate, critique, or transform" those technologies (19).

The Rhetoric of Pregnancy is comprised of eight chapters and a conclusion. In the first two chapters, Seigel situates her work broadly within rhetorics of health care and explains her objective of examining pregnancy texts as instructional manuals that position pregnant women as novice users of prenatal systems and technologies. To do so, Seigel draws from feminist critiques of women's prenatal health care and medical intervention; rhetorical-cultural analysis, which analyzes the "possible rhetorical and material effects" of a text (22); and disciplinary rhetorics that emphasize the transformative power of certain discourses to shape, or discipline, embodied and material practices. Seigel combines these approaches with technical communication theory, more specifically, Stuart Hall's "articulation theory." This emphasizes how relationships between disparate entities can be established through a particular

link under certain and specific conditions, where, under differing circumstances, should the link be broken, those entities remain intact despite the absence of a relationship. Seigel joins Hall's articulation theory to Kenneth Burke's theory of piety, which asserts "piety as an organizing principle--a form of power" that is culturally and socially situated and systematized as "orientations that determine what people can or cannot say or do" (25). Articulation theory and the concept of piety form the framework for Seigel's analysis of how prenatal documentation has linked, or *articulated*, cultural pieties with the identity of pregnancy and has, in turn, shaped user needs, instructed women to discipline their bodies and conform to larger social systems, and encouraged risk management during pregnancy to ensure women produce "normal" babies.

In the body of the text, Seigel presents a series of case studies mostly focused on pregnancy manuals, but also comprised of letters, reports, papers, pamphlets, feminist and academic texts, magazines, and websites published between 1901 and the early 2000s. She charts how pregnancy documentation shifted from primarily system-centered, text/print-based instruction to user-centered, digital, and visually-driven information often suffused with commercial advertising. In Chapter Three, Seigel focuses primarily on *Expectant Motherhood: Its Supervision and Hygiene* (1914), which established several pieties still strongly associated with the identity of pregnancy including the fetus as central patient; the necessity of medically supervised prenatal care to ensure "normal" babies; and the notion that medically supervised births help manage "social, political, and environmental threats" (36). Seigel notes the preoccupation with normalcy in *Expectant Motherhood* and relates it to an underlying discourse of eugenics sustained in later pregnancy manuals. The systems of prenatal care outlined in this early manual were, Seigel explains, system-centered rather than user-centered, as the systems did not seek to accommodate the user (the pregnant woman); rather, they were designed to ensure national welfare and health and to provide information about the mechanisms of pregnancy to the systems' designers (doctors). Seigel describes *Expectant Motherhood* as an example of "system-constitutive" documentation, which must persuade users of the need for "the future establishment of a technological system, or adoption of a technology, as a solution to an ideological, political, or social problem" (41). In other words, before outlining instruction, *Expectant Motherhood* had to convince the reader of her non-expert status, the risks of pregnancy, and the corresponding need for expert medical advice and supervision.

In Chapter Four, Seigel first discusses the American "mothers of prenatal care" (51), Elizabeth Putnam and members of the Instructive District Nursing Association who sought to establish more user-centered systems of prenatal care that incorporated the piety that "pregnancy and childbirth were the

province of women and that they took place in domestic spaces" (52) and that recognized women possessed knowledge about their bodies, pregnancy, and childbirth. Seigel then examines *Prenatal Care* (1913), a system-constitutive document whose rhetoric shifted away from a user-centered approach to a rhetoric that reinforced the piety that pregnant bodies were "pathological" and "risky" (63), as evidenced by the text's emphasis on the fetus as central patient as well as an increased concern for producing normal babies and reducing infant mortality rates alongside a *decreased* concern for the health of mothers.

Chapter Five explores the increase in pregnancy manuals correlating with the baby boom era of post-World War II to the 1970s. These manuals, Seigel explains, moved from system-constitutive documentation to what Seigel calls system-maintaining documentation that works "to keep users engaged with a particular technology or system rather than to critique or change that system" (71). Seigel examines the system-maintaining manual A Doctor Discusses Pregnancy (Birch 1966), pointing out the manual's description of pregnancy as the pinnacle of womanhood and its assumption that users had accepted the cultural piety of medically managed prenatal care. Seigel also discusses system-disrupting documentation that provides users critical access to information by facilitating possibilities for transforming and critically engaging a system. Such system-disrupting documentation is illustrated in texts of the 1970s that join pregnancy to feminist discourses aimed at transforming rather than maintaining current systems of prenatal care. For example, in Women and Their Bodies: A Course (1970), Jane Pincus and Ruth Bell authored a chapter on pregnancy that disrupted cultural pieties of pregnancy by emphasizing the embodied experience of pregnancy and challenging the notion that pregnant bodies are "invisible," that expert knowledge derives only from doctors, and that "prenatal care can solve political and social problems" (75).

Despite such forward strides made in *Women and Their Bodies*, Seigel argues in Chapter Six that by the 1980s, the pregnant body had been firmly declared unreliable and had been defined in relation to environmental risks. Seigel focuses primarily on the best-selling What to Expect When You're Expecting (Murkoff 1984) as a seminal system-maintaining manual contextualized by a rhetoric of risk-management and organized around addressing the worries and anxieties women have about having normal babies. The 1980s, Seigel notes, is also a time where the rhetoric of fetal rights prevails, and pregnant bodies become even more politicized and scrutinized as sites of risk, as a new heightened awareness of "crack babies" and welfare dependence reveals pregnant bodies as "gendered, racialized, and class-marked" (96). Importantly, Seigel discusses the adverse effects on women resulting from the Reagan administration's privileging of industry and acceptance of industry-related environmental risks, which framed a message that individuals can minimize risk

to themselves through their own individual lifestyle choices. As such, risks stemming from larger social and global concerns were construed as individual issues, which shifted the responsibility of risk management away from institutions and onto pregnant women whose bodies were viewed as sites of risk that could be managed by women controlling their individual lifestyle choices. What to Expect, Seigel argues, reflects this notion of individual responsibility for risk management through documentation that essentially held the pregnant woman responsible for managing her body as a site of risk to ensure the development of a normal fetus.

The remaining two body chapters examine the shift toward user-friendly documentation characterized by "task orientation and a focus on readability" (107) as well as consumer-centered documentation that correlates pregnancy with consumption. In Chapter Seven, Seigel discusses Pregnancy for Dummies (1999), which, while an ostensibly user-friendly text, reasserts pregnant women as novice users in need of "dumbed down" expert knowledge about prenatal systems, placing pregnant women "in the awkward position of being both the system documented and the user of that system" (113) and suggesting they be mindful risk managers who "troubleshoot" their bodies (119). As Seigel argues, the *Pregnancy for Dummies* manual perpetuates cultural pieties that assume users, or pregnant women, accept their position as non-experts who must engage prenatal technologies to minimize risk during pregnancy. In *Pregnancy for Dummies,* risk management and troubleshooting are presented, in part, through descriptions of tests and procedures that are presented as "decontextualized system tasks that all users carry out in order to be pregnant" (117).

In Chapter Eight, Seigel discusses prenatal documentation that correlates pregnancy to consumption and commodifies the fetus and the pregnant experience through instruction and advice "saturated with advertising" (122). Seigel first discusses *Every Child Has the Right to Be Well Born*, a pregnancy manual published in 1927 that included instructions and information for pregnant women as well as advertisements related to pregnancy, child birthing, and child rearing. She then shifts to examining the website BabyCenter.com (1996), which, Seigel points out, functions as a resource for pregnant women but also targets advertisers in search of an audience to whom they can market products and from whom they can mine data. Seigel argues that BabyCenter.com reflects system-simulating documentation that emphasizes engagement with documentation and "encourages its users to consume virtual representations of pregnancy" that "in some ways displaces, or perhaps simulates, an embodied experience of pregnancy" (129). She notes, however, that the site provides at least some critical access marked by user debates and peripheral user communities founded on system-disrupting values and that exist separately

from the site's main spaces where expert advice appears. Seigel contends that while earlier analogue manuals such as *Every Child* featured advertisements by Johnson and Johnson, users were still managed by the medical institutions represented in the text but that, conversely, BabyCenter.com users are managed by "corporate supervision" to not just produce normal babies but more importantly to "produce fit consumers" (128).

In her conclusion, Seigel analyzes Ina May Gaskin's 2003 Ina May's Guide to Childbirth by employing Burke's concept of "perspective by incongruity" (145), which involves creating new pieties by locating impious associations within existing pieties "in order to affect a reorientation of sense and meaning" (145). Incongruity of perspective, says Seigel, allows Gaskin, a pioneering midwife and proponent of home/natural birth, to disrupt established pieties of pregnancy through documentation that provides users with critical access to a system of care that empowers women during their entire childbirth experience instead of stressing risk management during pregnancy. Seigel argues that Gaskin creates new pieties that view pregnant bodies as capable, reveal the risks of medical technologies, and value women's experiential knowledge about their bodies and childbirth. She accomplishes this by offering documentation on an alternative model of care that "disarticulate[s] pregnancy and the pregnant women from what Gaskin calls the 'techno-medical' model of care" (151), which insists women regularly engage medical technologies and risk management measures to produce normal babies. In effect, Gaskin rejoins pregnancy to "a woman-centered, humanistic, midwifery model of care" (151), one that empowers pregnant women by providing critical access to a system of care reflective of "feminist, woman-centered ideologies" (151). In closing, Seigel suggests methods for changing usability research, asserting that "in order to provide users with critical and transformative access to technological systems, documentation must make the articulations of those systems visible to users so that users can rearticulate systems rather than simply functionally to engage with them" (152).

In this work, Seigel makes several significant contributions to feminist and women's rhetorical studies. By tracing and deconstructing the rhetoric of women's prenatal health care, Seigel exposes how social and political institutions and technological systems have defined negative and faulty cultural perceptions of pregnant bodies as sites of social and political risk in need of surveillance. By examining how pregnancy manuals function rhetorically, Seigel exposes how this aspect of women's health care has been defined by social and political institutions and corporate entities that perpetuate a false message that women's bodies are incapable and that women's ways of knowing are inferior. And, by reading pregnancy manuals as culturally gendered texts, Seigel reveals how these manuals have functioned as part of a larger

technological system that has controlled and limited women's agency during pregnancy and dismissed women's experiential knowledge about themselves. However, despite the plethora of manuals that would have women believe these things about themselves, Seigel makes an important feminist move by calling attention to the existence of and possibility for future documentation that creates—or *recovers*— pieties that empower women through critical and transformative access to socially, politically, and technologically driven systems of prenatal care.

About the Author

Sarah R. Spangler is a doctoral student in the English Department at Old Dominion University. She researches how women and mother-academics perform gender online and the rhetorical processes associated with online self-presentation. She is also interested in community building in digital spaces as well as the pedagogical uses and implications of digital tools in the composition classroom. She has published chapters in *Emerging Pedagogies in the Networked Knowledge Society: Practices Integrating Social Media and Globalization* and in *Identity and Leadership in Virtual Communities: Establishing Credibility and Influence*. Her writing also appears in MediaCommons.