“TO FIX SCOUT HABITS IN OUR HEARTS AND HANDS”:

POSITIONALITY AND *ETHOS* IN GIRL SCOUTS OF THE USA DISCOURSE

FROM 1916-1921

by

ASHLEY ELIZABETH GELLERT

(Under the Direction of Belinda Stillion Southard)

ABSTRACT

The Girl Scouts of the USA (GSUSA) was founded in 1912 by Savannah native Juliette Gordon Low. Known today as one of the oldest youth organizations in the country, the GSUSA emerged during the Progressive Era a time when women were expected to adhere to restrictive gender roles even as new opportunities arose for them in the workplace and higher education. In order to give Girl Scouts the traditional Scout training that Boy Scouts received without jeopardizing their femininity or public support for the organization, Low had to negotiate the GSUSA’s training program with the Progressive Era context and girlhood norms. In this dissertation, I argue that this negotiation is manifest in three key artifacts from the GSUSA’s early years: the 1916 handbook *How Girls Can Help Their Country*, 1920 handbook *Scouting for Girls*, and its magazine *The Rally*/*The American Girl* from 1918-1921. Specifically, I argue that through this negotiation the GSUSA’s character training program helped Girl Scouts develop a character, or *ethos*, that respected Progressive Era norms while creating virtues and habits that provided girls with new opportunities for citizenship. The introduction establishes the rhetorical significance of

the GSUSA's discourse, the theoretical foundation for this dissertation, and explains how the theory will be applied in the case studies. Then, the three case studies evaluate the *ethos* Girl Scouts develop through the organization's discourse. I argue that Girl Scouts develop a caregiver *ethos* in the 1916 handbook, a Progressive Era pioneer *ethos* in the 1920 handbook, and demonstrate a "good citizen" *ethos* in *The Rally/The American Girl*. Finally, the conclusion begins by evaluating the contributions this dissertation makes to scholarship on Girl Scouts, *ethos* and positionality, and citizenship. It ends with an overview of how the *ethos* Girl Scouts developed across these artifacts reflected Low's vision for girls.

INDEX WORDS: rhetoric, Girl Scouts of the USA, *ethos*, positionality

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my Best Mom, Best Dad, and Best Brother.

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CHAPTER 1

EMERGENCE OF THE GSUSA, EARLY DISCOURSE, *ETHOS* AND POSITIONALITY

Introduction

On March 12, 1912, Savannah native Juliette Gordon Low founded the Girl Scouts of the USA (GSUSA), today one of the oldest youth organizations in the United States. The GSUSA is recognized as "the world's preeminent organization dedicated solely to girls" with more than two million current members.[1] Since 1912, 59 million girls have participated in the GSUSA.[2] Like the early youth organizations from which the GSUSA derives, its purpose has been to provide character training that prepares girls for their roles as adults and women. Character, the 1916 Girl Scout handbook reminds its readers, is developed through habits learned by living the Scout laws and earning proficiency badges, but these practices form habits that extend far beyond scouting activities. The handbook contends that "by selecting the right things to do and always doing them, we actually are making our destiny. Each one of us has her character made by her habits. Habits are repeated acts, and we may choose what our habits should be by choosing our acts."[3] Girl Scouting proposed to develop a character or *ethos* that shaped one's fate as a woman and adult.

The GSUSA emerged in the Progressive Era, a period from 1890-1920 characterized by widespread social and legal reform in response to industrialization, urbanization, and immigration.[4] Children of the Progressive Era endured great scrutiny from reformers who were concerned about their future as citizens and adults. These child welfare reformers worked to ensure the nation's future by regulating education, extracurriculars, leisure time, recreation,

social roles, and child-rearing practices.[5] Historian James Marten remarks that the Progressive Era "was the first time anyone had tried to shape and mold young Americans with quite so modern intentions and methods."[6]

A main catalyst for the regulation of children in this period was the recognition of adolescence as a distinct stage of life. In 1904, G. Stanley Hall, a psychology professor at Clark University, authored the book, *Adolescence,* which justified the importance of recognizing a stage of life between childhood and adulthood. Hall argued that "the years from about eight to twelve constitute an unique period of human life" in which children exercise more independence, live and work outside the home, and have more developed bodies.[7] As Hall put it, "adolescence is a new birth, for the higher and more completely human traits are now born."[8]

Children's preparation for adulthood was largely gendered. In his book on children in the Progressive Era, historian David I. MacLeod claims that "even as they extended real benefits, progressive reformers often reified and reinforced distinctions of gender, race, ethnicity, urban or rural residence, and social class."[9] This was true for girls whose preparation for womanhood began early on in life. MacLeod notes that girls' play, literature, labor in and outside the home, and participation in clubs trained them for conventional domestic roles as wives and mothers.[10] Girls played house, cared for dolls as if they were babies, started sewing circles with their friends, and shadowed their mothers to learn how to keep house.[11] He writes that even "classical novels of girlhood commonly centered on their struggle to learn and accept the constraints and responsibilities of growing up."[12]

Participation in girls' organizations also prepared girls for their adult roles. Although organizations tailored to young women pre-date the twentieth century, few attended to only girls before the turn of the century.[13] Helen Ferris, a pioneer of the girls' club movement, viewed their

purpose as character training and leaders as individuals who saw this as an "opportunity to develop their girls and to help them attain high standards of womanhood."[14] Although girls' organizations met on a weekly basis, Ferris stressed that "the Club life is not contained within the one or two hours a week of the meeting," but in activities that "become related vitally to the life of the girl," so that "the life of its members is, indeed, the life of the Club."[15] Here, Ferris echoes the hope of far-reaching influence that participation can have on members that the 1916 handbook expressed.

As character training outlets, girls' organizations had the ability to reposition girls in relation to their broader social contexts, and consequently shape the type of character and virtues girls were trained to habituate.[16] The GSUSA did so by transforming traditionally feminine virtues—such as self-sacrifice and nurture—and places—including the home and nature—into sites and characteristics of citizenship. In this dissertation, I argue that the GSUSA's early discourse repositioned girls in relation to the Progressive Era context, physical places they inhabited, and relationships with others in such a way that developed an expansive *ethos* for girls and created new opportunities for them as citizens. To accomplish this, I will evaluate three rhetorical artifacts from the GSUSA's early years: handbooks from 1916 and 1920, and the organization's magazine from 1918-1921.

Among the diverse topics treated in previous scholarship on the GSUSA are: biographical accounts of Low's life before and after she founded the organization,[17] historical accounts of girls' scouting movements in England and the United States,[18] studies of its relationship to girls' clubs and youth organizations in general,[19] explorations of the controversy regarding the effect of scouting on womanhood,[20] the effects of the outdoors and camping on girlhood,[21] and evaluations of the GSUSA's Americanization work as a response to concerns about immigration

and juvenile delinquency.[22] Additionally, scholars have studied how the GSUSA indoctrinated girls to standards of womanhood,[23] American girlhood,[24] and prepared girls for both domestic and progressive roles.[25] Broadly, this scholarship tends to claim that across its many eras of existence, the GSUSA's depictions of girlhood and girls' responsibilities reinforce the corresponding expectations for women's work, reigning concepts of the domestic sphere, and inevitable futures as wives and mothers.[26] Additionally, scholars focus predominantly on the organization's handbooks rather than other popular GSUSA discourse. Rebekah E. Revzin's work is an exception, as she briefly addresses the organization's magazine and Girl Scout fiction, but like others, she claims that GSUSA discourse has only prepared girls for strictly domestic roles.[27]

In what follows, I make the case for this project's unique contributions to rhetorical studies. I will first justify the rhetorical value of studying girlhood in general and the GSUSA in particular. Second, I will briefly recount how Low founded the organization, and explain why it is unique as compared to two other prominent girls' organizations from the early twentieth century. Third, I will review the relationships among *ethos*, location, community, and positionality, and explain how these concepts shape my research questions and study of the GSUSA discourse. Finally, I will provide chapter descriptions that chart the development of the dissertation.

Rhetorical Value of Girlhood and the GSUSA

For nearly fifty years, rhetorical studies scholars have been committed to studying women, their history, and rhetoric. Scholars who study women's rhetoric have recovered women's discourse,[28] identified women's unique rhetorical strategies,[29] evaluated women's rhetorical history,[30] cataloged feminist rhetorical theories and modes of criticism,[31] and

deliberated how to reconsider the history of the field in light of this new branch of scholarship.[32] Their collective efforts have revealed women's rich rhetorical traditions and demonstrated the importance of studying a once overlooked, influential group of people.

Compared to the scholarship in rhetorical studies on women's rhetoric, there is a dearth of scholarship on the discursive construction of girlhood and girls' rhetoric.[33] Sherrie Inness, an English professor, claims that such scholarship is valuable because girlhood shapes women's identities and roles as adults. More broadly, Inness notes that "a thorough understanding of girls and their culture is crucial to understanding our society and the place that women have in it."[34] Likewise, Henrietta Rix Wood stresses that "to fully comprehend the rhetorical aims and achievements of women…we need to understand their training and experiences as girls."[35] Wood acknowledges that, in some cases, early training leads girls to careers that influence local and national affairs. Thus, evaluating women's discourse and rhetorical strategies after females have reached adulthood provides an incomplete context for their rhetoric and its effects.

It is also important to study messages about girlhood independent of its influence on women's future rhetorical efforts because girlhood is itself a distinct gendered experience. Inness laments that "due to their youth and gender," girls are "relegated to an inferior place in American society because of the strength of the cultural stereotype that girls and their culture are insipid and insignificant, unworthy of close attention."[36] However, girls' status and gendered experiences are not givens. They are in part rhetorically constructed through discourse about girls, for girls, and by girls. It is thus important to evaluate how such discourse persuades institutions and individuals that serve as decision-makers in girls' lives and girls themselves to accept such a status. At the same time, it is also important to evaluate how certain rhetorics persuade girls to seek out experiences and roles that may provide them with new opportunities

beyond the cultural constraints of gender roles. Early GSUSA discourse provides an excellent opportunity to evaluate how one organization's rhetoric addressed such constraints by creating opportunities for girls that their parents and the public would ultimately support and encourage. Unlike the youth organizations from which it derived and also rivaled, the GSUSA's founding discourses tended to challenge girls' inferior social standing.

It seems likely that for Low, the motivation to found an organization that imagined expansive roles and futures for girls was due to her own adult struggles and her desire to help girls avoid these. As a girl, Low was trained to habituate the virtues of True Womanhood so that she could marry a successful man and have a family that she served as a homemaker.[37] Low's upbringing prepared her to become a wife and mother but left her unprepared when her life took an unexpected turn and she became a childless divorcée. Finding herself unprepared for a role outside the home, she wandered in search of a purpose for her life for a decade until she discovered Girl Scouting through a chance meeting with Boy Scout founder Sir Robert Baden-Powell.[38]

Englishman Robert Baden-Powell founded both the Boy Scouts in 1907 and its sister program, Girl Guides, in 1909 after girls expressed an interest in scouting. His justification for creating a separate organization was that character training should be gendered so that "in Guiding, girls would be taught to be women of character, just as Scouting inculcated healthy manliness for boys."[39] As Low's interest in scouting developed, she wanted to prepare girls for more than traditional domestic life. In her first Girl Guide troop in Scotland and the Girl Scout troops she later led in the United States, Low provided basic scout training—including how to tie knots, signal, and administer basic first aid—in addition to outdoor activities, sports, domestic training, and agricultural work that would help girls earn a living and contribute to their

communities.[40] According to Susan Miller, Girl Scouts consequently became the first organization that "sensed that girls might like to have an experience that matched a bit more closely what their brothers received."[41] The new training program that Low promoted did not train girls to be dependent on men but instead helped them become self-reliant by exposing them to scoutcraft, civic opportunities, and potential careers. In a speech at Mercer College, Low explained how scout training could inspire girls to enter particular career fields when they became adults. She argued,

> Scouting is the cradle of careers it is where careers are born. For instance a girl tries bandaging she finds she likes Red Cross work and she decides to study seriously and become a hospital nurse, or she is expert in signaling and the Morse code leads her to becoming a telegraph operator or she goes in for social serve and gets a government job.[42]

In 1913, just one year after Low started the first Girl Guide troop in the United States, she changed the organization's name to Girl Scouts to reflect the similarities she saw between her program and that of the Boy Scouts.[43] Charles Strickland reflects that "by seeking to make girls more independent and self-reliant, Low perhaps contributed in small part to helping later generations of women cope effectively with the kinds of difficulties which she herself had encountered at mid-life."[44]

By training girls for skills and futures that were not exclusively domestic, the GSUSA distinguished its character-training program from two other girls' organizations that were prominent at the time, the Girl Guides and Camp Fire Girls. The name "Girl Guides," as per Baden-Powell, simultaneously protected the masculinity that Boy Scouts promoted and reinforced girls' place in the home and submissive relationships with men.[45] Girl Guides were

trained for futures as "citizen-mothers," and the organization's name accordingly represented "girls' important, albeit behind-the-scenes, role of helping boys to develop their potential."[46] The Camp Fire Girls proposed a similar character-training program that solely addressed girls' domestic responsibilities and roles. Charlotte and Dr. Luther Gulick founded the Camp Fire Girls the year before the GSUSA as a sister organization to the Boy Scouts of America.[47] Its purpose, according to the Camp Fire Girls' handbook, was "to perpetuate the spiritual ideals of the home under the new conditions of a social community."[48] The organization believed that "woman is the conservator of the home" and that girls should learn how to be conservators so that they would be prepared for these duties once they became women.

Although early Girl Scout handbooks also emphasized the importance of domestic training and women's character as future homemakers, this was a response to Progressive Era girlhood norms and backlash over the organization's inclusion of Scout in its name. Specifically, the organization emphasized homemaking skills to ease some individuals' concerns about the similarities between Girl and Boy Scouts and the effect of scout training on girls' character.[49]

The focus of this dissertation is the character that the GSUSA trained Girl Scouts to develop and the way this character repositioned them in relation to the Progressive Era context, places they inhabited, and relationships with others. In order to evaluate how GSUSA discourse crafted Girl Scouts' character and place, it is necessary to turn to rhetorical studies scholarship on *ethos* and positionality.

Literature on *Ethos* and Location

The term *ethos* identifies one of the three modes of persuasion Aristotle discusses in *The Art of Rhetoric*. He deems *ethos* the most persuasive of the three because it allows a rhetor to demonstrate a favorable disposition toward the audience and, as a result, to shape the audience's

disposition toward the rhetor.[50] A rhetor develops *ethos* by demonstrating "common sense, virtue, and goodwill."[51] Common sense is the rhetor's ability to demonstrate practical reasoning, virtue is a moral quality that is widely regarded as good and praiseworthy, and goodwill is "wishing for someone what one thinks to be good things, for his sake and not for oneself, and being productive of these up to one's capacity."[52]

While contemporary *ethos* scholars acknowledge the foundational role of Aristotle's work, they are quick to point out limitations wrought by the context in which his ideas on *ethos* developed. Kathleen J. Ryan, Nancy Myers, and Rebecca Jones explain that the "classical concept of *ethos* was created and used, primarily, in a homogenous community among male orators in positions of power, whether in the context of law, politics, or public events and then taken up again by men over time in ways that continued to hinder if not halt women's abilities to speak and be heard."[53] Aristotle's definition of *ethos* thus cannot fully account for the unique rhetorical situations that women face. Given the limitations of the context from which Aristotle's theory of *ethos* derives, rhetorical scholars have explored how new contexts, perspectives, and theories can expand or at least nuance classical understanding.

Of particular importance for this project are scholarly efforts to evaluate the etymology of *ethos*, the relationship between location and *ethos*, and read *ethos* through feminist theories of social location and positionality. Arthur B. Miller points in the first direction in his exploration of the etymology of *ethos*, specifically the Greek word "ἦθος, [*eethos*]" meaning "character" as it relates to the earlier conjugate "ἔθος, [*ethos*]" meaning "habit."[54] The relationship of habit to character reflected in the shared stem "ἔθω (*etho*), 'to be accustomed, to be wont,'" suggests that, in Aristotle's world, character was developed through habits.[55] Miller explains that "the key word, *ethos*, means not only 'habit' but also 'custom'" and that "the basic denotation [of *eethos*]

is not character, but 'an accustomed place' and in the plural may refer to the 'haunts or abodes of animals'…or the 'abodes of men.'"[56] Secondary denotations of *eethos* include "'custom, usage…manners…'disposition, character'…'moral character'…'traits, characteristics.'"[57] Although Miller acknowledges that it is a "common sense observation that a man's habits are indicative of his character," one of his findings—the denotation of *eethos* as a "haunt" or "the abodes of men"—has been influential in contemporary scholarship that evaluates the relationship between *ethos* and location.[58]

S. Michael Halloran takes up Miller's etymological work when he evaluates the relationship between *ethos* and gathering places in education. He argues that scholars and teachers should consider how the "habitual gathering places" created by educators may shape a collective disciplinary *ethos* and that of individual students. Although Halloran's concern is with the habitual gathering places in which composition teachers work, it speaks to this project given that the GSUSA's informal education and training created similar group settings. An important recognition in Halloran's work is that while scholars can study *ethos* in both individual and collective forms, the product of the latter, as "the *ethos* of a particular type of person, or a professional group, or a culture, or an era in history," seems to have more bearing upon how *ethos* defines social roles.[59] The collective is important because the collective *ethos* of a group or culture can help a member of the collective develop their own *ethos*. Halloran demonstrates this through the example of the "professorial *ethos*." He writes that "If at an academic conference or colloquium I speak so with some authority, it is partly because I manage to look and sound the way professors are to look and sound; I make present some of the important aspects of what we can call 'the professorial *ethos*.'"[60]

This example illustrates two important features of Halloran's concept of *ethos*. First, *ethos* is developed through people's location in a particular place.[61] In gathering places, such as the academic settings in Halloran's examples, people simultaneously exhibit and learn how to habituate a particular type of *ethos*, such as the professorial *ethos* Halloran notes. Second, the collective *ethos* of a group sanctions the *ethos* of an individual who belongs to that group. When Halloran writes of managing to "look and sound the way that professors are supposed to look and sound," he implies this group to individual relationship by which *ethos* manifests "the virtues most valued by the culture to and for which one speaks."[62]

Halloran also regards education as "one of the most subtle and powerful" institutions that can shape an individual's *ethos* in multiform ways. Even "the way we structure the curriculum and the way we arrange the furniture in our classrooms…the clothing we wear at school and the books we select for our courses" can and do shape students' *ethos*.[63] Halloran's concern about the relationship of location and curriculum to *ethos* arose from a colleague's decision to teach his composition students only the technicalities of writing. He warns that "in directing students to write this way rather than that, we tell them in effect to be this sort of character rather than that. If we attend only to technical matters of correctness and style in the narrow sense, we in effect form our students as technicians."[64] In other words, a limited composition curriculum limits a student's *ethos* as a writer.

These complexities of *ethos* apply to fields and topics beyond composition and rhetoric. Michael J. Hyde, for instance, applies the spatial shaping of *ethos* more broadly to the discursive construction of gathering places. Hyde defines *ethos* as "the way discourse is used to transform space and time into 'dwelling places' (*ethos*; pl. *ethea*) where people can deliberate about and 'know together' (*con-scientia*) some matter of interest."[65] Like Miller and Halloran, he

acknowledges that dwelling places are "where a person's ethics and moral character take form and develop."[66] Unlike Halloran, Hyde explores how rhetorical strategies build those dwelling places. In order to study the *ethos* of rhetoric, a critic must attend to the "architecture of rhetoric," where arrangement forms the scaffolding and shape of the dwelling and the materials the rhetor uses—"tropes, figures, topics, arguments, narratives, emotions"—are the building blocks that construct a shared place for the rhetor and audience to inhabit.[67] The construction of a dwelling place is a process through which audiences become "situated or placed in relationship to things and others."[68]

Nedra Reynolds continues Hyde's exploration of discursive location, context, and *ethos* by acknowledging the plurality of locations from which *ethos* derives. Specifically, she evaluates how *ethos* is located in the negotiations between individual and community, speaker and writer, and the locations of the speaker and discourse within broader discursive and socio-political contexts. Reynolds cites Miller's work on the etymology of *ethos* and Halloran's work on the relationship between place and *ethos* as a justification to "reestablish *ethos* as a social act and as a product of a community's character."[69] Like Halloran, she argues that the individual's *ethos* is derived from a collective one that is "constructed" and "sanctioned" by a particular community.[70] She stresses that "an individual's *ethos* cannot be determined outside of the space in which it was created or without a sense of the cultural context."[71] The relationship between individual and communal *ethos* requires critics to evaluate the "negotiation or mediation between the rhetor and the community."[72]

Reynolds contends that this negotiation process is different for critics who study written versus spoken discourse since the traditional concept of *ethos* is derived from the study of spoken discourse. As a composition and rhetoric scholar, she recognizes both the foundational

value of traditional, oral *ethos* and its limitations when applied to the study of written discourse, but her purpose is to pursue a new concept of *ethos* that is unique to written discourse. In order to "maintain the spatial metaphor of *ethos*," she cites the "betweens" as the spaces where *ethos* is developed. She first introduces the "betweens" as a textual space where *ethos* is negotiated between the author's self in and outside of discourse and between the author and reader.[73] She later expands this definition of the "betweens" in application to the external contexts that Hyde references. Specifically, the "betweens" is the space amid disciplines, texts, contexts, and social positions where discourse and author are located. It is a "socially created space" that represents the placement of text and author in a greater discursive and social context.[74] A range of relationships need to be considered when evaluating the construction of the "betweens" since *ethos* is derived from a "negotiation or mediation between the rhetor and community."[75] This concept of the "betweens" recognizes that rhetors identify with multiple communities or groups, and encourages critics to imagine communities as numerous and varied.

Reynolds' description here supports the definition of *ethos* she has advanced with Susan Jarratt that *ethos* "theorizes the positionality inherent in rhetoric—the speaker having been created at a particular site within the contingencies of history and geography."[76] This understanding of positionality derives from the efforts of feminist scholar Linda Martín Alcoff to counter essentialist notions of women. Instead of evaluating a woman's identity from a set of innate attributes, positionality challenges critics to evaluate identity by understanding her placement within an external social and political matrix. Alcoff explains that "the external situation determines the person's relative position, just as the position of a pawn on a chessboard is considered safe or dangerous, powerful or weak, according to its relation to the other chess pieces."[77] With positionality, *ethos* becomes "a place from where meaning is constructed, rather

than simply the place where a meaning can be discovered" as in essentialist notions.[78] It also recognizes that because one's relation to social and political factors changes over time and in different settings, a woman's identity is "relative to a constantly shifting context, to a situation that includes a network of elements involving others, the objective economic conditions, cultural and political institutions, and ideologies."[79] By reading *ethos* as positionality, Jarratt and Reynolds stress the importance of studying how a rhetor and discourse's placement within a broader set of social factors can influence its construction. Additionally, this relationship between *ethos* and positionality encourages critics to consider the plurality of factors that contribute to a rhetor's and discourse's location. In Alcoff's chessboard analogy, a pawn's relation to all other pieces on the board, not just one other piece, determines its position. The same is true for a person and discourse's positions within greater social and discursive matrices.

Research Questions and Critical Method

This scholarly work on *ethos* informs my research questions and critical method for answering my questions. Broadly, this dissertation aims to answer three questions: 1) How does the positionality of the GSUSA discourse within broader social, historical, and discursive contexts influence the development of Girl Scouts' *ethos*?, 2) How does each artifact in particular shape a Girl Scout *ethos*, and 3) How does the *ethos* developed through each artifact create new opportunities for Girl Scouts as citizens?

Evaluating Discursive Positionality

To answer my first question regarding discursive positionality, I turn to Reynolds' work on the "betweens" as a form of positionality that can inform scholarship on *ethos* broadly and Girl Scout *ethos* in particular. Reynolds argues that it is important to consider how discourse and authors are located within broader contexts in order to evaluate the negotiation of *ethos* in

written texts. I will interpret the "betweens" that Girl Scout discourse occupies within a greater matrix of texts, history, and social contexts in part through a process that Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar refers to as reading context through the text. Gaonkar writes that textual critics can recognize the influence of contextual features on the text by "deciphering what is outside the text by charting what is inside the text."[80] Such a process allows close textual critics to keep the text as their primary focus without losing sight of the external factors that have influenced the development of a text and its message. Reading context through text is helpful for this project because the GSUSA discourse often positions itself in relation to important contextual events, issues, and discourse that could potentially be overlooked by studying the external context independent of the discourse. For example, nostalgia for a pioneer past and creating opportunities for children to live like pioneers at the turn of the century is crucial for evaluating the *ethos* developed in the 1920 handbook. However, these trends are not central to the emergence of girls' clubs in the Progressive Era and would thus be easy to overlook if a context narrative focused solely on girls' organizations and the history of the GSUSA apart from what is clearly outside the text.

In this dissertation, the process of evaluating the positionality of GSUSA discourse requires consideration of the rival youth organizations from which it derived, the emergence and regulation of girlhood, commemoration of women's traditional domestic roles at a time of great social upheaval in the Progressive Era, and changes in the ways that children were valued at the turn of the century. Reynolds explains that evaluating the betweens of discourse allows critics to identify its "intersections with others and the places they diverge, how they occupy positions and move in the betweens."[81] In other words, evaluating the GSUSA's discursive positionality will allow me to identify how the discourse affirms and subverts contextual and textual practices of

the time in which it was developed. This is a necessary first step to evaluating the positions created for Girl Scouts within the discourse and how these positions, and consequently *ethos*, provide new opportunities for girls.

Evaluating Girl Scout Positionality and Ethos

To answer my second question, I evaluate how each artifact positions Girl Scouts. This dissertation understands place to be both physical and conceptual, the latter referring to a positionality that individuals inhabit within the greater social context. Specifically, I analyze how Girl Scouts are positioned in physical places, in relation to objects found in those places, relationships with others, and the broader contexts in which the GSUSA discourse is situated, such as Progressive Era girlhood norms, the pioneer past, and World War I. Then I consider how these positionalities shape the virtues and habits that Girl Scouts are trained to develop as part of their *ethos*. My analysis of the early GSUSA discourse reveals a slightly different positionality and *ethos* in each artifact. This is because the artifacts are situated within different contexts (Progressive Era versus the pioneer past) and serve different purposes (education versus sharing accomplishments), thus developing a nuanced *ethos*.

Evaluating Ethos *and Girl Scouts' Citizenship*

To answer my third question, I evaluate how the habits and virtues Girl Scouts develop as part of their *ethos* enable them to sustain the welfare of the communities to which they belong. This concept of citizenship, grounded in participation in local public affairs, emerged during the Progressive Era. Prior to the turn of the twentieth century, a legal concept of citizenship, defined as formal political participation such as voting, was favored in American society and the education curriculum. Intellectuals and historians criticized this definition because it excluded marginalized groups—including white and Black women, immigrants, and children—from being

citizens.[82] Additionally, this focus on legal citizenship in history courses nationwide taught children to think of themselves as individuals instead of cooperative members of a shared community and reinforced limited forms of civic engagement reserved for adults.[83] The definition of citizen and citizenship had to change. John Dewey argued for a broader definition of citizenship in order to help students understand the multitude of ways that they are citizens in their everyday lives, country, and communities.[84]

The three GSUSA artifacts in this dissertation similarly reinforce a cultural concept of citizenship by encouraging girls to see themselves as members of communities in and outside their home, and training them to sustain the welfare of those communities. This focus on community welfare in GSUSA discourse is in part what makes the virtues Girl Scouts develop—including childcare, patriotism, and wilderness survival—virtuous. In other words, the skills they learn, virtues they develop, and places they inhabit all provide opportunities for Girl Scouts to fulfill their civic duty to their home, town, and country.

GSUSA Artifact Descriptions

Historian Tammy Proctor contends that Girl Scout discourse is valuable because it reveals how the organization and its teachings developed over time.[85] This applies to all three artifacts selected for this project: the 1916 handbook *How Girls Can Help Their Country,* the 1920 handbook *Scouting for Girls,* and *The Rally/The American Girl* magazine from 1918-1921. In what follows I will provide some background on the emergence and purpose of each artifact.

Early GSUSA leaders viewed the handbooks as the "cornerstone of the Girl Scout library" and vital resources for captains and Scouts alike who, by 1916, represented more than 5,000 members in patrols nationwide.[86] The handbook created a consistent curriculum for these disparate patrols. Captains used the handbook to plan patrol meetings just as Scouts used it to

learn how to develop habits that would help them earn proficiency badges and advance in rank.[87] The 1916 handbook marks a useful beginning from which to track the development of Girl Scouts' *ethos*. It was adapted by Low independently in an effort to Americanize the English handbook in ways suitable to United States' Girl Scouts.[88]

In 1918, work began on a new handbook.[89] It was published in 1920, the same year that Low resigned as president of the GSUSA.[90] Although preparation began while Low was still president, the organization developed the 1920 handbook without her help.[91] The 1920 edition provides detailed instructions, illustrations, and advice on topics that were absent or fleetingly addressed in previous editions. This robust instruction is in part the result of the contributions that experts and institutions provided. The Natural History Museum in New York City, for instance, provided illustrations of animals for a section on nature study and the Red Cross approved the first aid section.[92] Experts in the burgeoning domestic science movement, such as Sarah Arnold, the Dean of Simmons College, authored the section on home economics.[93] At 557 pages long, the 1920 edition was nearly three times as long as the 1916 edition.

The GSUSA's magazine debuted in 1917 to make communication more efficient among captains nationwide.[94] The magazine replaced letters previously sent to captains for this purpose. Originally titled *The Rally*, it was predominantly written for and read by captains, although articles addressing Girl Scouts also appeared at times. However, Girl Scouts' enthusiasm for Scouting articles led the magazine to shift its content and readership to Girl Scouts in August 1918. The magazine's editors encouraged Scouts to suggest features they would like to see and submit poems, songs, and letters about their Scouting activities for publication.[95]

Girl Scouts heeded the editors' call and soon special features for Scouts appeared, including the "Scribes' Corner" for letters about their contributions and "Scout Scrapbook"

devoted to the pictures and poems Girl Scouts submitted. By May 1920, the editors decided to officially turn the publication into a magazine "that all girls of scout age will enjoy."[96] The next month, *The Rally* became *The American Girl: A Magazine for Girl Scouts and Girls who Love Scouting*. As a source that complements the handbooks, which introduce the Scout Laws, motto, their interpretation, and the virtues and traits that Girl Scouts should live by, *The Rally* illustrates how the *ethē* crafted in these discourses were enacted in Girl Scouts' activities.

My analysis of the magazine will begin with the August 1918 issue of *The Rally* that announced this shift toward a Scout-based authorship and readership and end with the June 1921 issue that marks the one year anniversary of the magazine's name change and appeals to girls who were not yet Scouts. Because the magazine features Scout-authored discourse, it presents an opportunity to evaluate how Girl Scouts positioned themselves in different places and contexts, and shaped the *ethos* that they demonstrated through their activities.

Chapter Descriptions

This introduction establishes the theoretical foundation and reading strategy that guides my analysis of each GSUSA artifact. In chapter 2, I analyze the 1916 handbook, *How Girls Can Help Their Country*. I argue that the handbook crafts a caregiver *ethos* for Girl Scouts by negotiating the traditionally masculine scout training the GSUSA offered with the Progressive Era girlhood norms in which the organization was situated. This negotiation is reflected in Girl Scouts' positionality and the *ethos* the handbook trains them to develop. At times, the handbook's rhetoric reinforces gender roles by characterizing Girl Scouts as brave protectors of the home. They are positioned in the home, learning domestic skills such as cleaning and childcare, and performing their civic duty by protecting the home and family from dangers that jeopardize their well-being. Other times, the handbook's rhetoric creates new opportunities for

Girl Scouts by characterizing them as heroines outside the home. In these sections, Girl Scouts are positioned outside the home learning first aid and personal health skills, and performing their civic duty by protecting the community and its members from illness, injuries, and emergencies. This caregiver *ethos* transformed traditionally feminine places and virtues—such as the home and nurturing others—into sites and virtues of citizenship.

In chapter 3, I analyze the 1920 handbook, *Scouting for Girls*. I argue that the handbook crafts a Progressive Era pioneer *ethos* for Girl Scouts by situating its training program in the pioneer past and demonstrating the relevance of pioneer virtues for modern day girls. This *ethos* helped Girl Scouts discover new opportunities to be citizens of their homes and communities. The handbook contextualized its training in the pioneer past in an early section titled "Who are the Scouts?" and narratives about three girls—Sacajawea, Louisa Alcott, and Anna Shaw—that explained how these girls used pioneer virtues of self-reliance, vast skills, and a broad knowledgebase to be pioneers of the wilderness and civic affairs. The remaining sections of the handbook demonstrate how these pioneer virtues are relevant to Progressive Era girls by positioning Girl Scouts in the home, community, and wilderness, training them in a variety of skills, and helping them develop the virtues of resourcefulness, civic responsibility, and civic engagement.

In chapter 4, I analyze the *The Rally*/*The American Girl* magazine from 1918-1921. The magazine entries highlight three types of Scout activities: contributions during World War I and reconstruction, volunteerism in their communities, and hiking and camping adventures. I argue that the rhetorical features of these entries—including enumeration, *copia*, *chronos*, repetition, and accumulation—shaped Girl Scouts' "good citizen" *ethos* by rhetorically constructing their habits, the virtues they gained from these habits, and positioning Girl Scouts in relation to

broader Progressive Era social contexts. Specifically, entries about wartime contributions position Girl Scouts as soldiers and Uncle Sam's helpers, construct their habit of war service, and help them gain the virtue of patriotism as part of their character. Entries about volunteerism in the community position Girl Scouts in local organizations that assist residents and the homes of individuals in need. In these places, Girl Scouts develop the habit of community service and virtue of civic engagement. Finally, entries about their camping and hiking adventures position Girl Scouts in the wilderness, developing the habit of wilderness survival, and the virtue of self-reliance. Together, these habits and virtues contribute to the "good citizen" *ethos* that Girl Scouts demonstrate because they are able to sustain the welfare of soldiers at home and abroad, Americans at home during the war, members of their community, and their fellow Girl Scouts.

In chapter 5, the conclusion, I begin by reviewing the findings from each case study. Then, I evaluate the contributions this dissertation has made to scholarship on Girl Scouts, *ethos* and positionality, and citizenship. Finally, I reflect on how the *ethos* developed across all three GSUSA artifacts reflects Juliette Gordon Low's vision for girls.

[1] Mary Degenhardt and Judith Kirsch, *Girl Scout Collector's Guide: A History of Uniforms, Insignia, Publications, and Memorabilia* (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2005), xi.; "Facts about Girl Scouts," *Girl Scouts of the United States of America*, Girl Scouts of the United States of America, https://www.girlscouts.org/en/about-girl-scouts/who-we-are/facts.html.
[2] "Facts about Girl Scouts."
[3] Juliette Gordon Low, *How Girls Can Help Their Country* (New York: Girl Scouts, 1916), 12.
[4] J. Michael Hogan acknowledges that scholars across disciplines have struggled to identify common reform efforts that mark the Progressive Era. This is likely because reformers "advocated a wide variety of specific initiatives." Hogan explains that "Progressives disagreed over many specifics, but all sensed the need for fundamental reforms in response to rapid social change and unprecedented political challenges." J. Michael Hogan, "Introduction: Rhetoric and Reform in the Progressive Era," in *Rhetoric and Reform in the Progressive Era* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2003), x.
[5] Paula Fass, "Foreward," in *Children and Youth During the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era*, ed. James Marten (New York: New York University Press, 2014), vii.
[6] James Marten, introduction to *Children and Youth During the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era*, ed. James Marten (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 3.
[7] Granville Stanley Hall, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and its Relation to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1904), ix.
[8] Ibid.
[9] David I. MacLeod, *The Age of the Child: Children in America, 1890-1920* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998), 101.
[10] Ibid., 103, 123, 128.
[11] Ibid., 123. Miriam Formanek-Brunell notes that although girls and boys played with dolls as children, their style of play was influenced by gendered norms at the time. She writes that "Girls and boys often played with their dolls in socially prescribed ways. While girls pretended to be little mothers to their dolls, boys often assumed authoritative public roles such as doctor, preacher, and undertaker to sick, dying, and dead dolls." Miriam Formanek-Brunell, *Made to Play: Dolls and the Commercialization of American Girlhood, 1830-1930* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 30.
[12] MacLeod, 128.
[13] Ibid., 147. Helen Gilchrist Fudge notes that "prior to 1900 the organizations were largely those formed by certain ethnic groups with an interest in physical education or those which were philanthropic in nature." Helen Gilchrist Fudge, *Girls' Clubs of National Organization in the United States: Their Development and Present Status* (dissertation, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939), 55.
[14] Helen J. Ferris, *Girls' Clubs: Their Organization and Management* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1926), 10.
[15] Ibid., 270.
[16] Historically, concepts of womanhood have positioned women in different ways and toward different habits and virtues. Susan M. Cruea's efforts to chart these evolving ideals during the mid-nineteenth century Woman Movement illustrate this point. The correlation between women's position and character can be seen in the shift from the ideals of True Womanhood to

Real Womanhood, respectively before and after the Civil War. The ideal of True Womanhood positioned women within the home as inferior (mentally, emotionally, physically) in relation to men. Barbara Welter has argued that this position that true women occupied was related to four key virtues: "piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness." Although True Womanhood created an inferior position for women through the Civil War, after the war a new ideal image of womanhood emerged: Real Womanhood. Unlike True Womanhood, "Real Womanhood offered women 'a vision of themselves as biologically equal [to men] (rationally as well as emotionally) and in many cases markedly superior.'" Because women were no longer positioned as biologically and mentally inferior to men, they were free to develop new traits and virtues. Specifically, these women who conformed to the ideal image of Real Womanhood were active, educated, and self-reliant. Susan M. Cruea, "Changing Ideals of Womanhood During the Nineteenth-Century Woman Movement," *ATQ* 19, no. 3 (September 2005): 187-188, 191-192.; Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1966): 152.

[17] Stacy A. Cordery, *Juliette Gordon Low: The Remarkable Founder of the Girl Scouts* (New York: Penguin Group, 2012).; *Juliette Low and the Girl Scouts: The Story an American Woman 1860-1927,* ed. Anne Hyde Choate and Helen Ferris (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1928).; Gladys Denny Shultz and Daisy Gordon Lawrence, *Lady From Savannah: The Life of Juliette Gordon Low* (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1958).; Charles Strickland, "Juliette Low, the Girl Scouts, and the Role of American Women," in *Woman's Being, Woman's Place: Female Identity and Vocation in American History*, ed. Mary Kelley (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1979).

[18] Tammy M. Proctor, *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2002).

[19] Ferris.; Fudge.

[20] Mary Aickin Rothschild, "To Scout or To Guide? The Girl Scout-Boy Scout Controversy, 1912-1941," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 6, no. 3 (Autumn 1981): 115-121.

[21] Susan A. Miller, *Growing Girls: The Natural Origins of Girls' Organizations in America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007).; Leslie A. Paris, "The Adventures of Peanut and Bo: Summer Camps and Early-Twentieth-Century American Girlhood," *Journal of Women's History* 12, no. 4 (Winter 2001): 47-76.

[22] Leslie A. Hahner, "Practical Patriotism: Camp Fire Girls, Girl Scouts, and Americanization," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 5, no. 2 (June 2008): 113-134.; Laureen Tedesco, "Progressive Era Girl Scouts and the Immigrant: *Scouting for Girls* (1920) as a Handbook for American Girlhood, *Children's Literature Association* 31, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 346-368.

[23] Tedesco, "Progressive Era Girl Scouts and the Immigrant."

[24] Laureen Tedesco, "Making a Girl into a Scout: Americanizing Scouting for Girls," in *Delinquents and Debutantes: Twentieth-Century American Girls' Cultures*, ed. Sherrie A. Inness (New York: New York University Press, 1998): 19-39.

[25] Kathleen E. Denny, "Gender in Context, Content, and Approach: Comparing Gender Messages in Girl Scout and Boy Scout Handbooks," *Gender and Society* 25, no. 1 (February 2011): 27-47.; Rebekah E. Revzin, "American Girlhood in the Early Twentieth Century: The Ideology of Girl Scout Literature, 1913-1930," *Library Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (1998): 261-275.; Laureen Tedesco, "The Lost Manhood of the American Girl: A Dilemma in Early Twentieth-Century Girl Scouting," *Children's Folklore Review* 27 (2004-2005): 89-107.

[26] Two exceptions include Leslie Paris and Susan A. Miller's scholarship on the effects of camping and outdoor experiences on girlhood.
[27] Revzin, 265-270.
[28] Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak for Her: Volume II* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1989).; Shirley Wilson Logan, *We Are Coming: The Persuasive Discourse of Nineteenth-Century Black Women* (Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1999).; Shirley Wilson Logan, *With Pen and Voice: A Critical Anthology of Nineteenth-Century African American Women* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1995).
[29] Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak for Her: Volume I* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1989).; Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "The Rhetoric of Women's Liberation: An Oxymoron," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 59, no. 1 (1973): 74-86.; Bonnie J. Dow and Mari Boor Tonn, "'Feminine Style' and Political Judgment in the Rhetoric of Ann Richards," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 79, no. 3 (1993): 286-302.; Cheryl R. Jorgensen-Earp, "Maria W. Miller Stewart, 'Lecture Delivered at Franklin Hall' (21 September 1832)," *Voices of Democracy* 1 (2006): 15-42.; Shirley Wilson Logan, "Frances E.W. Harper, 'Woman's Political Future' (20 May 1893)," *Voices of Democracy* 1 (2006): 43-57.; Logan, *We Are Coming*.; Logan, *With Pen and Voice*.; Belinda A. Stillion Southard, *Militant Citizenship: Rhetorical Strategies of the National Woman's Party, 1913-1920* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2011).; Mary E. Triece, "Appealing to the 'Intelligent Worker': Rhetorical Reconstitution and the Influence of Firsthand Experience in the Rhetoric of Leonora O'Reilly," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (2003): 5-21.
[30] *Reclaiming Rhetorica: Women in the Rhetorical Tradition*, ed. Andrea A. Lunsford (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995).; Nan Johnson, "Reigning in the Court of Silence: Women and Rhetorical Space in Postbellum America," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 33, no. 3 (2000): 221-242.; *Shawn* J. Parry-Giles and Diane M. Blair, "The Rise of the Rhetorical First Lady: Politics, Gender Ideology, and Women's Voice, 1789-2002," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 5, no. 4 (2002): 565-600.
[31] Karen A. Foss, Sonja K. Foss, and Cindy L. Griffin, *Feminist Rhetorical Theories* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1999).; Sonja K. Foss and Cindy L. Griffin, "Beyond Persuasion: A Proposal for an Invitational Rhetoric," *Communication Monographs* 62, no. 1 (March 1995): 2-19.
[32] Barbara Biesecker, "Coming to Terms with Recent Attempts to Write Women into the History of Rhetoric," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 25, no. 2 (1992): 140-161.; Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "Biesecker Cannot Speak for Her Either," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 26, no. 2 (1993): 153-159.; Barbara Biesecker, "Negotiating with our Tradition: Reflecting Again (Without Apologies) on the Feminization of Rhetoric," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 26, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 236-241.; Susan C. Jarratt, "Speaking to the Past: Feminist Historiography in Rhetoric," in *Walking and Talking Feminist Rhetorics: Landmark Essays and Controversies*, ed. Lindal Buchanan and Kathleen J. Ryan (Anderson, SC: Parlor Press, 2010), 105-121.; Lisa Ede, Cheryl Glenn, and Andrea A. Lunsford, "Border Crossings: Intersections of Rhetoric and Feminism," in *Walking and Talking Feminist Rhetorics: Landmark Essays and Controversies*, ed. Lindal Buchanan and Kathleen J. Ryan (Anderson, SC: Parlor Press, 2010), 228-256.
[33] Exceptions include Leslie A. Hahner's work on the GSUSA and Camp Fire Girls and Lauren DeLaCruz's work on American Girl dolls and books about the dolls and puberty. Lauren De La Cruz, "Growing Up Girl: A Rhetoric of Restrained Empowerment in American Girl's Self-Help Books about Puberty," in *Gendered Identities: Critical Readings of Gender in Children's and*

Young Adult Literature, ed. Tricia Clasen and Holly Hassel (New York: Routledge, 2016).; Lauren De La Cruz, "Narrating Feminist Girlhoods: Rhetorical Constructions of Agency in American Girls' Historical Fiction," (presentation, National Communication Association annual convention, Las Vegas, NV, November 18-22, 2015).; Hahner.

[34] *Delinquents and Debutantes: Twentieth-Century American Girls' Cultures*, ed. Sherrie A. Inness (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 12.

[35] Henrietta Rix Wood, *Praising Girls: The Rhetoric of Young Women, 1895-1930* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2016), xi.

[36] *Delinquents and Debutantes: Twentieth-Century American Girls' Cultures*, 1.

[37] Charles Strickland, "Juliette Low, the Girl Scouts, and the Role of American Women," in *Woman's Being, Woman's Place: Female Identity and Vocation in American History*, ed. Mary Kelley (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1979), 253.

[38] Cordery, 168-180.

[39] Proctor, 7.

[40] Choate and Ferris, 84.

[41] Susan A. Miller, *Growing Girls*, 7.

[42] Juliette Gordon Low, "Macon Speech," Mercer College, June 1924.

[43] Edith D. Johnston, "Juliette Low Brings Girl Scouting to the United States," in *Juliette Low and the Girl Scouts: The Story an American Woman 1860-1927*, ed. Anne Hyde Choate and Helen Ferris (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1928), 109.

[44] Strickland, 260-261.

[45] Just four years later, when Low changed the organization's name to Girl Scouts, some Boy Scout officials were outraged because the appropriation of the Scout name challenged girls' place within the home and encroached on the teachings that Boy Scouts promoted. James E. West, Boy Scouts' Chief Executive, was perhaps the most outspoken. Mary Aickin Rothschild notes that West "firmly believed that scouting was only for men and boys, and that, at best, a woman's place was to guide," thus demonstrating the gendered significance of the organizations' original names. Rothschild, 118.; Rose Kerr, *The Story of The Girl Guides* (London: The Girl Guides Association, 1933), 34.

[46] Proctor, 36.; Susan A. Miller, 24.

[47] Strickland, 259.

[48] *The Book of the Camp Fire Girls* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1913), 7.

[49] At times, women rhetors have argued that new roles and opportunities for women would help them to become better wives and mothers as a way to generate public support for demands that would conflict with the traditional roles and duties of women. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell notes that both Mary Wollstonecraft and Emma Willard used this appeal. Likewise, Sally Schwager, an education historian, notes that a Republican Mother ideology—which maintained that woman should be "dedicated to the service of civic virtue; she educated her sons for it; she condemned and corrected her husband's lapses from it"—was used at times to justify women's education in the early republic. Campbell, *Volume II*, xi-xii.; Linda K. Kerber, "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment—An American Perspective," *American Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (Summer, 1976): 202.; Sally Schwager, "Educating Women in America," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 12, no. 2 (1987): 337-338, 340-342.; Emma Willard, "A Plan for Improving Female Education," (Middlebury: J.W. Copeland, 1819).; Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1792).

[50] Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric*, trans. H.C. Lawson-Tancred (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 1356a.
[51] Ibid., 1378a
[52] Ibid., 1381a.
[53] *Rethinking Ethos: A Feminist Ecological Approach to* Rhetoric, ed. Kathleen J. Ryan, Nancy Myers, and Rebecca Jones (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press), 5.
[54] Arthur B. Miller, "Aristotle on Habit (ἔθος) and Character (ἦθος): Implications for the *Rhetoric*," *Speech Monographs* 41 (November 1974): 309.
[55] Ibid., 309-310.
[56] Ibid., 310.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid., 309.
[59] S. Michael Halloran, "Aristotle's Concept of Ethos, or if Not His Somebody Else's," *Rhetoric Review* 1, no. 1 (September 1982): 62.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid., 60. For more scholarship on the relationship between *ethos* and discursive or physical location, see Risa Applegarth, "Genre, Location, and Mary Austin's Ethos," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (2011): 41-63.; Suzanne Bordelon, "Embodied Ethos and Rhetorical Accretion: Genevieve Stebbins and the Delsarte System of Expression," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 46, no. 2 (March-April 2016): 105-130.; Allison M. Prasch, "Toward a Rhetorical Theory of Deixis," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 102, no. 2 (May 2016): 166-193.
[62] Halloran., 60.
[63] Ibid., 63.
[64] Ibid., 61.
[65] Michael J. Hyde, "Introduction: Rhetorically We Dwell," in *The Ethos of Rhetoric* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2004), xii.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid., xxi.
[68] Ibid., xviii.
[69] Nedra Reynolds, "Ethos as Location: New Sites for Understanding Discursive Activity," *Rhetoric Review* 11, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 327.
[70] Ibid., 327.
[71] Ibid., 329.
[72] Ibid., 328.
[73] Ibid., 333.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid., 328.
[76] Susan C. Jarratt and Nedra Reynolds, "The Splitting Image: Contemporary Feminisms and the Ethics of ethos," in *Ethos: New Essays in Rhetorical and Critical Theory*, ed. James S. Baumlin and Tita French Baumlin (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1994), 47.
[77] Linda Martín Alcoff, "Cultural Feminism versus Post-Structuralism: The Identity Crisis in Feminist Theory," *Signs* 13, no. 3 (Spring 1988): 433.
[78] Ibid., 434.
[79] Ibid., 433.

[80] Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, "Epilogue. The Oratorical Text: The Enigma of Arrival," in *Texts in Context: Critical Dialogues on Significant Episodes in American Political Rhetoric*, ed. Michael C. Leff and Fred J. Kauffeld (Davis, CA: Hermagoras Press, 1989), 275.
[81] Reynolds, 333.
[82] Michelle Stacy, "Using High School Athletics to Teach Civic Values in the Progressive Era," *American Educational History Journal* 42, no. 2 (2015): 155.
[83] R. Freeman Butts, "Historical Perspective on Civic Education in the United States," in *Education for Responsible Citizenship: The Report of the National Task Force on Citizenship Education*, ed. B. Frank Brown (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1977): 49-50, 53.
[84] John Dewey, *Moral Principles in Education* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company: 1909), 9.; Julie A. Reuben, "Beyond Politics: Community Civics and the Redefinition of Citizenship in the Progressive Era," *History of Education Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (Winter 1997): 401.; Chara Haeussler Bohan, "Early Vanguards of Progressive Education: The Committee of Ten, the Committee of Seven, and Social Education," *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 19, no. 1 (Fall 2003): 74. The NEA offered a new definition of citizenship based on Dewey's arguments that focused on community welfare to help younger students recognize themselves as citizens of their communities and act upon that recognition to better the lives of their fellow residents. "Civic Education Circular No. 1," cited in *The Teaching of Community Civics* (Washington, D.C.: United States Bureau of Education, 1915) Bulletin no. 23, 11.
[85] Proctor, 101.
[86] Rothschild, 116.
[87] Johnston, 103.
[88] Degenhardt and Kirsch, 385.
[89] "The New Handbook at Last," *The Rally*, May 1920, 4.
[90] Proctor, 40.
[91] Degenhardt and Kirsch, 385.
[92] "New Official Handbook," *The Rally*, March 1920, 2.
[93] *Scouting for Girls*, 106-133.
[94] Degenhardt and Kirsch, 442.
[95] "The New Rally," *The Rally*. August 1918, 4.
[96] "News! News! News!," *The Rally*, May 1920, 3.

CHAPTER 2

CAREGIVER *ETHOS* IN THE 1916 GIRL SCOUT HANDBOOK

Introduction

In March 1912, Juliette Gordon Low returned home to Savannah from a trip to Europe. While there, a chance meeting with Boy Scout and Girl Guide founder Sir Robert Baden-Powell encouraged her to form her own Girl Guide troop in Scotland. Upon returning to the United States Low created a troop of sixteen girls, ages 11 to 13. With the help of Savannah naturalist Walter J. Hoxie, Low took her Girl Guides camping and taught them the Guide Laws, nature study, how to tie knots, administer first aid, and cook.[1] This first patrol's success motivated Low to expand the organization nationally. As part of this plan, she Americanized the English Girl Guide handbook she used with her first troops and changed the organization's name to Girl Scouts. Low's Savannah Girl Guides inspired these changes. They found some language and stories in the English handbook unfamiliar and felt that "the word 'guide' meant losing the excitement boys enjoyed."[2] With Baden-Powell's support, Low began the work that would make the Girl Scouts of the United States of America (GSUSA) the nation's most visible girls' organization.

Members of the GSUSA and its national board recognized how the organization's new name and character training program would shape girls' futures. Caroline Slade, a member of the national board, wrote in a February 1918 letter to Anne Hyde Choate, the GSUSA national vice president:

> The name 'Scout' expressed in a peculiarly adequate way the significance of the larger opportunities which are coming to us, and typifies the vigorous articulation in civic affairs which we anticipate for the coming generation of American women. At the same time the use of the prefix 'Girl' emphasizes the continuance of our responsibilities in the home, and the carrying over to its every task the high code of the scout.[3]

Slade's reflection is valuable for two reasons. First, it hints at the character that Girl Scouts developed. Second, it reveals how a period's norms for women contextualized the organization's ideals of girlhood and in turn, the organization's training goals and practices.

Although there were Girl Scout troops with members of different races, classes, and ableness, the GSUSA's membership was largely composed of middle-class white girls.[4] During the Progressive Era, children in middle-class families attended school through their teens and spent more time at home or in organized recreation after school than working-class and immigrant children.[5] As a result, white middle-class girls would have had both the time to participate in the GSUSA and money for uniforms and equipment. These girls were also less likely to face barriers to their participation—such as an inability to read, write, or perform training outlined in the handbook—that other girls might have.

The GSUSA was created to teach girls how to survive in the wilderness, be prepared, and serve their country as citizens. Girl Scouts' commitment to sustaining others' welfare reflects trends in the Progressive Era that recognized the community as a site for citizenship and children as citizens who could contribute to their community's welfare. Specifically, educational organizations and intellectuals argued that children, as citizens, could contribute to their local and national communities as family members, workers, and community residents.[6] Although the skills Girl Scouts learned—such as housekeeping and childcare—were domestic in nature, they

were able to use these skills to serve their fellow citizens in and outside the home. Thus, the GSUSA helped to imagine an expanded role for women even when they worked within the home.

Historian Linda Kerber argues that this negotiation between "female virtues" and "civic virtue" dates back to the late eighteenth-century, when women crafted the identity of the Republican Mother to ensure they had opportunities for civic engagement.[7] As Republican Mothers, women raised their sons with a knowledge of civic virtue and duty so that they would be prepared to sustain the nation's future when they became men.[8] This identity developed during a time shaped by the Revolutionary War, changes in women's education and literacy, and a burgeoning republican ideology that introduced important questions about citizenship into the national dialogue.[9] Although women predominantly existed in a "domestic circle," their role became valuable outside the home during the Revolutionary War when they provided food, shelter, money, and work for soldiers and the United States' military effort broadly.[10] During the war, women witnessed the opportunities for civic duty that their domestic work could offer and worked to sustain this civic engagement through the identity of the Republican Mother. Women drew upon the belief that the mother was "the custodian of civic morality" in her family who thus "had the power to direct the moral development of the male citizens of the Republic."[11] As Kerber states, if "the stability of the nation rested on the persistence of virtue among its citizens, then the creation of virtuous citizens was dependent on the presence of wives and mothers who were well informed, 'properly methodical,' and free of 'invidious and rancorous passions.'"[12] In other words, a woman's ability to be a Republican Mother depended upon the quality of her own character. Republican Motherhood would have a lasting effect on women's rhetoric and civic duty. Despite its limitations, Kerber stresses that "the language of Republican Motherhood

remains the most readily accepted…justification for women's political behavior" and has historically "justified women's absorption and participation in the civic culture."[13]

When writing the organization's handbook, Low also had to negotiate Girl Scouts' civic contributions with Progressive Era concepts of girlhood and womanhood. This negotiation was crucial because it ensured both girls' new roles as citizens who served their communities and public support for the organization. In order to explore this negotiation, it is necessary to evaluate how Low's rhetoric of American girlhood developed Girl Scouts' *ethos*. Contemporary *ethos* scholars Nedra Reynolds and Susan Jarratt argue that *ethos* "theorizes the positionality inherent in rhetoric—the speaker having been created at a particular site within the contingencies of history and geography."[14] This understanding of *ethos* encourages scholars to consider how discourse, rhetors, and audiences are placed within and shaped by the surrounding social context. Evaluating the relationship among character, context, and place is crucial given how the Progressive Era fostered ever-changing opportunities for girls and women in the home, community, school, and workplace. The GSUSA revealed the opportunities it imagined for girls in its handbook. The handbook has long been recognized as the "cornerstone of the Girl Scout library" because it provides both a consistent curriculum across troops and a clear vision of who the organization wanted girls to be. As this chapter will illustrate, the opportunities and *ethos* the GSUSA created for girls were a product of the Progressive Era social context, history of English and American youth organizations, and new chance for civic participation that women had in the early twentieth century.

Reading character through place and context derives from a broader branch of *ethos* scholarship that considers how a rhetor's location shapes their character. Arthur B. Miller's etymology of *ethos* serves as the foundation for much of this work. As Miller set out to evaluate

habit's relationship to character, he discovered a new translation of the Greek word "ἦθος, [*eethos*]," often translated as character.[15] He writes that "the basic denotation [of *eethos*] is not character, but 'an accustomed place' and in the plural may refer to the 'haunts or abodes of animals'…or the 'abodes of men.'"[16] Contrary to popular belief, he argues that character is a secondary denotation of *eethos*.[17] Miller's findings have pushed scholars to explore how location, in both a physical and conceptual sense, shapes character.

S. Michael Halloran explores the relationship between physical location and ethos. He interprets "the accustomed place" from Miller's work as "a habitual gathering place" and offers several examples that explain how a gathering place can shape the *ethos* of its inhabitants.[18] For Halloran, place shapes *ethos* in two ways: through the physical arrangement of materials and through expected patterns of behavior that a place can foster. A place's physical structure shapes *ethos* because it simultaneously shapes the way that people gather in that place, the experiences that they have, and the habits they develop. Halloran, writing as a composition and rhetoric teacher, encourages his readers and colleagues to consider how the arrangement of desks, books selected for study, and the type of curriculum used for a course construct students' habitual gathering places and, consequently, their *ethos* as students in different disciplines.[19] He uses the example of a college composition classroom that has been constructed to only teach students how to become technical writers and notes that this gathering place will leave students with a limited *ethos,* that of only a technician, because their gathering place has helped them develop a limited set of habits as writers.[20]

Habitual gathering places, like the college classroom in Halloran's example, are where people develop and exhibit particular forms of *ethos*. Through their engagement with curricula and textbooks, students developed a technical writer's *ethos* and exhibited this in their work.

Halloran also offers the example of academic gathering places to reinforce this. He writes that "a convention or a colloquium or a seminar is both an expression and a shaping of the professorial *ethos*. We continually teach ourselves what it is to be scholars."[21] Reflecting on his own experiences in these gathering places, Halloran notes that "if at an academic conference or colloquium I speak so with some authority, it is partly because I manage to look and sound the way that professors are supposed to look and sound. I make present some important aspects of what we can call 'the professorial *ethos*.'"[22] In both examples, that of the college classroom and conference setting, individuals who inhabit these gathering places develop and exhibit an *ethos* unique to that gathering place because the structure of that place encourages a unique set of habits among its inhabitants.

If physical places can shape *ethos*, Michael J. Hyde notes, so can the concepts of space that we create in speech. He defines *ethos* as "the way discourse is used to transform time and space into 'dwelling places' (*ethos*; pl. *ethea*) where people can deliberate about and 'know together' (*con-scientia*) some matter of interest."[23] Hyde agrees that these dwelling places shape the character of people who inhabit them, but argues that rhetorical strategies, and not material objects such as furniture and textbooks, create those places. In order to evaluate these rhetorical dwelling places, Hyde recommends that critics attend to "the architecture of rhetoric," or how the form and content of discourse create a place for rhetors and audiences to dwell together.[24]

Like Hyde, Nedra Reynolds offers a conceptual understanding of place. Her background as a composition, rhetoric, and feminist theorist informs her understanding of what it means to be "situated or placed in relationship to things and others."[25] Reynolds wants to maintain "the spatial and social emphases" of *ethos* in her evaluation of written discourse.[26] In order to do this, she argues that critics must attend to the ways that author and discourse are located in relation to

broader social contexts."[27] Like Halloran and Hyde, Reynolds stresses that "an individual's *ethos* cannot be determined outside of the space in which it was created or without a sense of the cultural context."[28] Reynolds' understanding of *ethos* reflects a feminist theory of positionality because both concepts challenge critics to consider how location and context shape rhetors' discursive representation.

Using a chessboard analogy, Linda Alcoff explains how context can shape an individual's position in a broader social structure. She writes that "the external situation determines the person's relative position, just as the position of a pawn on a chessboard is considered safe or dangerous, powerful or weak, according to its relation to the other chess pieces."[29] For Alcoff, the "external situation" is comprised of various factors including "others, the objective economic conditions, cultural and political institutions and ideologies."[30]

In what follows, I begin with a context narrative that situates the emergence of the GSUSA in the greater history of the scouting youth organizations from which it derived: the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. Here I evaluate how concerns about the nations' future and modern childhood inspired the creation of youth organizations and the character-training purposes they shared. Then I shift to an exploration of three Progressive Era girlhood norms: self-sacrifice, nurture, and preparation for womanhood. Specifically, I explore how these norms derived from dominant notions about girls' toys, play, and femininity.

Then, I turn my attention to the 1916 handbook to consider how Low's rhetoric of American girlhood negotiates the GSUSA's commitment to traditional, masculine Scout training and the Progressive Era context. First, I consider how Girl Scouts are positioned in the home—in general, and in relation to objects associated with housekeeping, cooking, and childcare in particular—and in relationships with individuals—such as children, the infirm, and men—who

cannot fulfill their own needs and depend upon Girl Scouts. Here I reveal how Girl Scouts' position at times reinforces gender roles of the Progressive Era and, at other times, reinforces the expansive role of the Scout.

Next, I evaluate how the context and positionality contribute to the development of a complex caregiver *ethos* that characterizes Girl Scouts as brave protectors of the home and heroines outside the home. Here I first examine how training Girl Scouts to habituate traditionally masculine skills of medical care and personal health prepares women to fulfill their civic duty to others outside the home as men did. Finally, I examine how training Girl Scouts to habituate skills such as cleanliness, childcare, and self-monitoring prepares girls to fulfill their civic duty in the home as wives and mothers do.

Emergence of Scouting Youth Organizations

Low's rhetoric of American girlhood must be contextualized within a historical narrative of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, founded in England by Sir Robert Baden-Powell. Low modeled the GSUSA's principles and training program after Baden-Powell's organizations. Like its predecessors, the GSUSA developed in response to fears about the effect of industrial, urban life on children. Each organization sought to better regulate children's behavior in this new environment by training them to habituate socially accepted character traits. To that end, each organization's handbook grounds its character-training program in appealing historical events and figures tailored to its readership. For the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides of England, Sir Baden-Powell represented these character traits. He was celebrated, among children and adults alike, at the turn of the century for his contributions to the British Army.

Baden-Powell joined the British Army when he turned 19 and spent the next 25 years working in India and as a spy in Germany and Russia before he became a hero of the Boer War

in Africa.[31] While in Africa, Baden-Powell published *Aids to Scouting for N.C.O.'s and Men*, a book that introduced games as a way to teach basic scouting principles he had learned during his military training, such as tracking, observing, and woodcraft.[32] When news of Baden-Powell's accomplishments reached England, boys began reading *Aids to Scouting*, excited about their hero's victories and eager to learn from him. Upon Baden-Powell's return to England in 1901 he began to develop his own boys' organization.[33] He drew upon his experiences from boyhood, the army, and scouting lessons abroad to develop the principles and training.[34]

Despite the militaristic overtones in Boy Scout discourse, Baden-Powell's goal was to cultivate model citizens, not soldiers. In a letter from February 5, 1916, Baden-Powell explained the relationship between scout training and the model citizen's character: "in the by-product of soldier-making the foundation of character given by the Scout training is found to be as valuable as it is in the making of citizens in other lines of life, whether civic, commercial, intellectual, or industrial."[35] Baden-Powell believed that boys could become good citizens if they were trained to be dutiful, obedient, disciplined, and resourceful. Boy Scouts were expected to play an active role in their training rather than merely absorb the handbook's teachings. In a letter from July 4, 1916, he argued that "Scout training is effected by encouraging the boy through his own enthusiasm to develop himself as an efficient citizen, to create his own character and his individual self-discipline, FROM WITHIN. This is EDUCATION…This replacing of the old-time instruction by self-education is the hinge on which the whole scheme turns."[36] Baden-Powell stressed that boys had to be self-motivated and strive to educate themselves in order for the training program to be successful.

Baden-Powell hoped that citizenship training would help preserve England's imperial power during a time when people feared this power was destined to wane.[37] His fears took root

after witnessing how ill prepared and unmotivated young working-class soldiers were during the Boer War. He blamed parents, particularly mothers, for not teaching children the value of citizenship. He also blamed modern commercial entertainment for recreation that failed to develop children's character. Historian David I. MacLeod addresses how Baden-Powell's concerns about class and England's future shaped his goals for the program:

> in a society where class distinctions were sharper and more blatant than in America, less blurred by ethnic and racial variety, Baden-Powell clearly intended Boy Scouting as an agency of class control. Through Scout badge work, he encouraged ambitions suited to working-class status: farming in the colonies, a steady trade, a place in the armed services—in these niches Boy Scouts would find security and serve the empire.[38]

For Baden-Powell and those who shared his fears, the Boy Scout program was a way to provide boys with meaningful recreation, citizen training, and character development.[39]

In 1907 Baden-Powell first introduced his Boy Scout program in a leaflet. Here he outlined the patrol system for Scouting and several major themes including tracking, woodcraft, and patriotism.[40] That same year he tested the program on 20 boys and discovered that they were eager to participate.[41] In 1908 he published the first Boy Scout handbook, *Scouting for Boys*, which was immediately popular among adolescent boys. The first handbook explained the 10 Boy Scout Laws, "Be Prepared" motto, encouraged boys to do a "good turn" daily, and offered the opportunity to earn eight badges. English and Comparative Literature scholar Michael Rosenthal argues that "the Scout Law remains the most explicitly didactic feature of the indoctrination that Scouting took as its mission, 'the foundation,' as Baden-Powell noted himself, 'on which the whole of Scout Training rests.'"[42] These ten laws taught Boy Scouts to be

honorable, loyal, useful to others, courteous, friendly, obedient, cheerful, thrifty, and pure. Put simply, the laws taught boys to develop the virtues of a respectable citizen.

R.D. Bezucha argues that Baden-Powell's military experiences and the historical figures referenced in *Scouting for Boys* were crucial to the Boy Scouts' success. He writes that:

> it was created by one of the most famous Britishers of his day—the 'Hero of Mafeking,' idolized by all his countrymen. It featured everything that was exciting to a British boy—adventures in the farthest outposts of the empire, in India and Africa. It challenged every boy to follow in the footsteps of famous British heroes—Nelson and Drake, Cook and Clive, Livingstone and Ross. It held high the chivalry of King Arthur and Richard the Lion-Hearted.[43]

Together, these figures illustrated the handbook's teaching, engaged its readership, and modeled how boys could live the Scout laws in their everyday lives. Additionally, the handbook taught boys to habituate Scout training through games that improved their memory, tracking abilities, geographical knowledge, and resourcefulness.[44] The handbook's stories, historical heroes, and games sparked boys' interest and motivated them to become accomplished Scouts. This self-motivation was crucial as the organization's success depended upon its members' investment and interest.

When he created the Boy Scouts, Baden-Powell's sole focus was boys' character. Although he had not intended to develop a training program for girls, he did mention them in his 1907 leaflet.[45] Just this mention was enough, as girls who read the leaflet wrote to Baden-Powell to express their interest in Scouting. In 1909 these girls publicized their interest when they attended a Boy Scout rally at London's Crystal Palace in uniform and marched alongside the Scouts. That same year, Baden-Powell created a girls' organization called the Girl Guides. He

asked his sister, Agnes, to lead the organization so as to provide it with "a feminine face." In 1916, Baden-Powell's wife, Olave, would assume leadership of the Girl Guides.[46]

From its inception, Girl Guides was designed to complement the Boy Scouts. Specifically, it served just girls, offered a different type of training program, and sought to help girls habituate gendered character traits. Rose Kerr, a pioneer of the Girl Guide movement, explains that Baden-Powell even resisted using the name Scout for the girls' organization because "from the very beginning he realized that to allow the girls to take the name of 'Scouts' would not only prejudice older people against their activities, but would also antagonise the Boy Scouts, who would resent their name being copied."[47] Whereas the name Boy Scouts derived from the militaristic practice of scouting, the name Girl Guide derived from "the famous corps of Guides in India who are 'distinguished for their general handiness and resourcefulness under difficulties, and their keenness and courage.'"[48] Even the organizations' names signified the distinct goals for boys and girls.

Like the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides sought to provide character training for girls. But the type of character differed because of their gender. Specifically, Girl Guides was designed to equip girls with the virtues they would need as future wives and mothers. Kerr cites a November 1909 issue of the Boy Scouts' *Headquarters Gazette* that explains the purpose of the Girl Guide program:

> The great qualification needed in the nation is 'character.' This cannot be taught in the collective training of schools, but depends, to a great extent, on the individual training given by the mother…If we want the future manhood of the country to be men of character which is the only guarantee for safety for the nation—it is essential in the first

> place that the mothers, and future wives (the guides of those men), should also be women of character.[49]

Women's character, in youth and motherhood, thus served to bolster men and boys' character. According to Baden-Powell, only "women of character" would be able to raise men with the physicality and civic responsibility needed to defend their country.[50] However, he believed that childcare was not an innate virtue, but one developed through training.[51] Girl Guides could thus bolster current and future generations of men with their knowledge of childcare, morality, and civic duty.

The Girl Guide handbook, *How Girls Can Build Up Their Empire*, prepared girls for these responsibilities by emphasizing childcare, first aid, cleanliness, and physical activity. Children's literature and culture scholar Michelle Smith argues that physical activity was deemed valuable in the early twentieth century for two reasons. First, it ensured that English youth were physically fit and prepared for wartime demands. Second, at the time it was thought that physical health promoted moral well-being.[52] As such, physical fitness could contribute to the fitness of a girl's character.

Although the Girl Guide and Boy Scout training programs shared many of the same principles—including the "Be Prepared" motto, Scout Promise, and laws—they were intended to shape boys and girls in different ways.[53] Historian Tammy Proctor notes that "Guides were taught to think of others, to be friends to those who were different from themselves, to obey authority, to be helpful and loyal, and to act with honor and integrity."[54] Whereas the organizations' shared principles prepared boys to be dutiful citizens, they prepared girls for their relationships with others.

The Girl Guide training program further reinforced the organization's different goals for its members. Specifically, Girl Guide officials tailored the scout training sections of the handbook to alleviate concerns from the parents and public that Guiding turned girls into tomboys.[55] Some of these changes included naming patrols after flowers instead of animals and renaming badges so that they appeared more feminine. For example, "'missioner' for boys became 'sick nurse' for girls."[56] Proctor argues that these changes assured parents that the organization was not "inculcating a 'lawless spirit' in girls" and appealed to its membership.[57]

In the beginning Girl Guides focused on preparation for domestic responsibilities because at that time girls' civic duties included raising the nation's future citizens and ensuring husbands' morality. This changed with the start of World War I. During wartime, boys and girls were expected to sustain the welfare of their country's military and resources at home. As a result, Girl Guides' civic duties now included making bandages, mending clothing, maintaining war cemeteries, entertaining wounded soldiers, and serving as messengers for government offices "such as the censorship bureau and MI5, the counterespionage bureau."[58] Girl Guides' commitment to serving their country led to a renewed interest in drills, Morse Code, first aid, and signaling.[59]

The war changed the public's and organization's attitude toward traditional scout training for girls. Historian Richard A. Voeltz explains that the war made it acceptable for them to receive scout training "without fear of bruising their femininity, or lessening the importance still placed on their role as future mothers."[60] Consequently, Girl Guides' perception of their usefulness changed during World War I. They saw themselves as patriots who contributed to the nation's war efforts on the home front, not just girls whose sole future was found in the home.

Despite their early differences, the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides sought to instill England's youth with a sense of duty, loyalty, and honor for their country, friendship and loyalty to their fellow members, and purpose in their lives. It was her shared commitment to these same values that drew Juliette Gordon Low to the organizations. A chance meeting and unexpected friendship with Sir Robert Baden-Powell would inspire Low to bring the English girls' organization to the United States.

Low was eager to find direction and purpose in her own life. As a woman raised to see marriage and motherhood as her future, divorce and the death of her estranged husband left Low unprepared to navigate a future outside the home. In 1906, one year after her husband's death, Low began to travel. She visited England, France, Scotland, India, Egypt, and Spain and returned to Savannah each winter to visit her family.[61] During a trip to England in the spring of 1911, Low met Baden-Powell at a lunch. He told her about the Boy Scouts' principles, purpose, and the new girls' organization that he had founded, the Girl Guides. Over the next few months, her friendship with Baden-Powell and interest in his work grew, so much so that in August 1911 she decided to form her own patrol.

This was not Low's first experience with girls' organizations. Stacy A. Cordery, one of Low's biographers, writes that Low had previously volunteered at a London working girls' club called Camberwell. This club was "part of a larger reform movement whose members sought to ameliorate the lives of urban working-class children."[62] She continued to visit the club during her trips to London. Cordery claims that the combination of her work at Camberwell and meeting Baden-Powell inspired Low to create her own Girl Guide patrol. Low's first patrol was comprised of seven girls from Glen Lyon, Scotland, where she had rented a home. In addition to educating the girls on the Girl Guide laws, Low taught them how to knit, cook, administer first

aid, signal, and camp. Perhaps most importantly, Low taught the girls how to raise chickens, make wool, and sell their goods so that they could earn a living.[63]

Invigorated by the success of her first troop, Low left Scotland for Savannah in hopes of introducing Americans to Girl Guiding. Her first troops in Savannah were successful, as were her early efforts to transform Girl Guiding into a national organization for American girls. Savannah girls were eager to join the organization because of the promise of outdoor recreation, uniforms, and badges. Low believed that other girls across the United States would share these sentiments. In order to popularize the organization, Low changed its name to Girl Scouts, Americanized the Girl Guide handbook, and created a national headquarters.[64] Low created her first handbook in 1913 with the help of Savannah naturalist Walter J. Hoxie and Baden-Powell's handbooks. This handbook included the same laws, "Be Prepared" motto, and some of the same training in scouting and domestic skills as the Boy Scout and Girl Guide programs. The handbook's popularity helped to increase the organization's membership. By 1915, the GSUSA boasted 5,000 members.[65]

United States' youth organizations like the GSUSA were celebrated because they preserved what child welfare advocate Florence Kelley deemed the "right to childhood." In 1905 Kelley argued that the preservation of childhood was "a vital concern of the nation" because the nation's future depended upon the moral upbringing of children who would become the next generation of citizens.[66] Youth organizations aided in this preservation by providing wholesome, safe recreation and character training to help children lead moral lives.[67] The "right to childhood" was important during the Progressive Era because people began to value children for their youthful innocence. Child welfare advocates sought to protect children from this new industrial, urban world that exposed children to gambling, smoking, drinking, labor, and movies

too mature for young audiences.[68] These new opportunities for recreation and character training in organizations like the GSUSA were fun. But most importantly, they also gave girls a sense of purpose.

Progressive Era Girlhood Norms

The 1916 handbook was published near the end of the Progressive Era and must be contextualized within this era's norms, in general and for girls specifically.[69] The Progressive Era witnessed the emergence of industrialization, urbanization, and, consequently, new public commercial entertainment that jeopardized morals and general well-being. Reformers known as child savers responded to these threats by fighting for child welfare, the preservation of children's right to childhood, and their development as citizens. To this end, they instated compulsory school laws, created adult-supervised places for organized play, and promoted the concept of a middle-class childhood that would protect children by keeping them at home and in school through their teens instead of in the workplace.[70] However, MacLeod contends that, "even as they extended real benefits, progressive reformers often reified and reinforced distinctions of gender, race, ethnicity, urban or rural residence, and social class."[71] These gendered reifications are reflected in Progressive Era girlhood norms of nurture and self-sacrifice that were thought to prepare girls for womanhood. Popular toys, play, and expectations of femininity at the time introduced girls to these norms.

Toys and play, both of which were influenced by Progressive Era values and childrearing practices, taught girls to nurture and prepare for the responsibilities of womanhood. The American toy industry gained prominence as the Progressive Era inculcated a new vision of childrearing—the sheltered middle-class childhood ideal which valued play and parental supervision in children's lives. Childhood historian Gary Cross has argued that "toys in different

times and places both imitate the adult world and protect children from its dangers and burdens."[72] In the early twentieth century, toys began to reflect the Progressive Era's commitment to science and efficiency in and outside the home. For example, erector sets and chemistry sets taught boys about science and experimentation. Dolls, dollhouses, pretend laundry equipment, and tea sets taught girls about mothering and home economics.[73] Through their engagement with these toys, girls prepared for the responsibilities of womanhood such as childcare, hosting parties, setting tables, and doing laundry.

Expectations about femininity also shaped Progressive Era girlhood norms and girls' behavior. American family and childhood historian Stephen A. Mintz argues that for members of the middle-class, "femininity was defined in terms of self-sacrifice and service."[74] This affected how girls' perceived their recreation, work, and responsibility. MacLeod notes that "even at play, girls frequently compromised with practicality and duty," as they did in the popular sewing circles of the time.[75] Girls' orientation toward duty can be seen in the results of an 1897 survey that asked boys and girls to first imagine planting a garden and selling their crop to earn money and then asked them what they would do with their money. Whereas boys replied that they would save their money, girls replied that they would give away their money.[76] Girls frequently used playtime to learn how to help others and playacted making sacrifices in the future.

Concerns about girls' femininity also shaped their participation in outdoor recreation that emerged in the Progressive Era. The creation of team sports, roller skates, and women's bicycles afforded girls outdoor recreation activities similar to boys. Although girls played team sports such as field hockey, basketball, and tennis, traditional feminine norms tempered the traditionally masculine features of athletics. As Mintz argues girls' sports were "inclusive rather than competitive," and they "tended to emphasize participation over victory and rhythmic grace

over strenuous physical activity."[77] Even in team sports, girls were expected to make sacrifices in play that were not expected of boys.

Positionality at Home and in Dependent Relationships

In light of this context, Low set out to Americanize the Girl Guides to the Girl Scouts. On one hand, "Scouts" denoted the more masculine traits of citizenship, physical fitness, and duty. The name also reflected Low's interest in shifting the purpose of the GSUSA towards civic duty. On the other hand, Low is a product of her context—one in which women were advancing as college-graduates and professionals, but were also tightly linked to the brand of United States nationalism that underwrote the Spanish American War and surged upon the precipice of America's entrance into World War I. This nationalism rested upon strict gender roles—if men were going to protect the nation, women had to be equipped to run the homes in their absence. This negotiation of the GSUSA training program and Progressive Era context can be seen in the way that the handbook rhetorically positions girls and the effect this positionality has on the character they are trained to develop.

The following analyzes how the handbook positions girls in such a way that enables them to perform their civic duties in and outside the home. Here, positionality refers to the way Girl Scouts are located in physical places, and in relation to particular objects, expected patterns of behavior, and cultural contexts that characterize these places. Like the boys in England, these American girls needed skills that could be used on the battlefield—dressing wounds, preventing disease, caring for the helpless. Unlike the boys in England, these girls would use their skills primarily in the home, reifying a gendered order necessary for United States nationalism to thrive. Specifically, I will reveal how Girls Scouts are not just positioned as girls in the handbook but as girls who had assumed their future placement as adult women in homes where they would

manage, clean, and care for their families. Notably, girls are placed in the home—in relation to objects and rooms associated with housekeeping and childcare—and in relationships with individuals who depend upon others to help fulfill their needs. This positionality reinforced both the handbook's claim that "every Girl Scout is as much a 'hussif' [housewife] as she is a girl" and the Progressive Era definition of citizenship that deemed supporting others' well-being as a civic duty.[78]

The sanitation section reinforces Progressive Era gender roles by positioning Girl Scouts in different rooms managing the care of the home. Each sanitation subsection places Girl Scouts in a new room. Specifically, the handbook directs them to rooms with windows, particularly bedrooms, when addressing ventilation, and the kitchen and larder when addressing cleanliness.[79] For example, girls are told, "at least one window on a staircase or landing should always be kept open, and also the larder and the closet windows."[80] Sometimes Girl Scouts are placed in relation to furniture in the home. At one point, the handbook instructs girls to "not let dust or rubbish collect anywhere, behind furniture, or pictures, under beds, or in cupboards."[81] Girls are only situated among rooms and things that need to be cleaned or that will ensure the home's cleanliness.

Similarly, the home life section predominantly positions Girl Scouts with objects associated with managing household chores such as cooking utensils, cleaning products, and laundry equipment.[82] Like the sanitation section, the home life section places girls in relation to new objects in the home in each subsection and gives instructions for how to clean, mend, or cook that object. For example, a passage titled "To Put Away Flannels" instructs girls to "first thoroughly air and beat them, then wrap up with cedar chips, refuse tobacco, or camphor, and wrap in newspapers, being careful to close every outlet to keep out moths."[83] Girl Scouts are

depicted performing numerous housekeeping chores such as cleaning furniture, pans, and floors, cooking in the kitchen for the family and the infirm, and mending clothes and tablecloths.[84] The home life section claims that Girl Scouts are housewives, not just girls, and positions them as such.

In addition to locating Girl Scouts in places and among objects that at once reify gender roles and allow for civic engagement at home, these same sections of the handbook—home life, sanitation, and first aid—also position them in dependent relationships with individuals who rely upon others to fulfill their needs, specifically children, the infirm, family members who share a home, and men. These relationships reinforce both Girl Scouts' ability to care for others as they would family members and their duty to do so.

The home life section reinforces Girl Scouts' duty to care for children by portraying children, particularly infants, as incapable of maintaining their own welfare. Here the handbook outlines how children rely upon Girl Scouts for proper hygiene, clothes, and nutrition to ensure "a little baby's health for life."[85] This section repeatedly notes how a baby's well-being is in Girl Scouts' hands and that babies depend upon the girls' ability to administer proper care. For example, the handbook warns that "baby does not know that fire will burn, or that water will drown one," before noting that Girl Scouts need to protect children from these dangers.[86]

Girl Scouts also have a duty to sustain others' health after major and minor injuries, and rescue them from life-threatening accidents such as drowning or falling through a frozen lake. The handbook reminds Girl Scouts that serious injuries can occur and that these individuals need the girls to save their lives in such situations. For example, the subsection titled "How to Stop Bleeding" warns Girl Scouts that a person with an arterial wound can die in just a few minutes if the girl does not realize that an artery has been cut and properly dress the wound.[87] The infirm

also depend on Girl Scouts to treat injuries in such a way that ensured healing and reduced the risk of infection. After noting that poorly dressed wounds can lead to "blood-poisoning or even death" the handbook reminds Girl Scouts to use sterile bandages, sterilize their own bandages in a pinch, and avoid touching open wounds with their bare hands because the infirm's immediate and future health depends on it.[88]

Girl Scouts are also responsible for using their thrift and cleanliness to preserve their family members' health, financial well-being, and happiness. In positioning girls as housewives, each Girl Scout becomes the person who attends to other family members' needs.[89] The handbook reinforces this role by repeatedly advising Girl Scouts to "do everything in their power to make and keep their homes healthy as well as happy."[90] The sanitation and home life sections instruct Girl Scouts to keep their homes clean, ventilated, filled with sunshine, and free from pests in order to maintain their family members' health. For example, the sanitation section notes that "SUNLIGHT is a great health-giver and disinfectant, and the more of it you have in your house the better…Cases of consumption are rare in dry, sunny houses."[91] Likewise, a subsection of home life titled "Home Cooking" teaches Girl Scouts to sustain their family's finances by preventing food waste while cooking and repurposing scraps.[92] Girl Scouts' position as housewife in the family is unique to the home. The handbook offers this advice to Girl Scouts: "When you come home from work or school turn your thoughts to those you love at home and try to see what you can do to lighten their burdens or cheer them."[93] Girl Scouts are thus only positioned in dependent familial relationships in their homes.

Unlike their other dependent relationships, Girl Scouts' relationships with men reinforce gender roles by claiming that women have a seemingly innate responsibility to positively influence men's character. A section titled "A Great Law of Life" declares that women's

responsibility derives from "one of the most fundamental laws of life…that, in the natural course of things, the influence of women over men is vastly greater than that of men over one another."[94] This section further explains that "there are two types of women—one kind that builds men up, and the other that pulls him down," categorizes Girl Scouts as the former, and claims that "there is no doubt as to where a Girl Scout should stand."[95] Girl Scouts' good character helps build up the character of the men in their lives, in and outside the girls' families. This is necessary because, according to the handbook, men rely upon Girl Scouts' morality.

Caregiver *Ethos*

Low's rhetoric of American girlhood crafts an *ethos* that similarly negotiates shifting gender roles, just as Girl Scouts' positionality does in the handbook. Broadly, the handbook crafts a caregiver *ethos* for Girl Scouts. As caregivers, Girl Scouts attend to others' needs instead of their own and work to sustain other's well-being. This caregiver *ethos*, however, is not purely domestic in nature. Rather, at times this caregiver *ethos* is depicted in a way that reflects the militaristic, independent, masculine qualities of the Scout. At other times, this *ethos* reinforces restrictive gender roles for women. These dual manifestations of the caregiver *ethos* represent Low's effort to expand opportunities and roles for girls while operating within the confines of the Progressive Era's concept of girlhood and womanhood. This section first demonstrates how the caregiver *ethos* reflects the masculine and militaristic qualities of the Scout by encouraging Girl Scouts to develop their skills in medical care, physical fitness, and physical preparedness. Specifically, the rhetoric in these handbook passages depict Girl Scouts as heroines outside the home. Then, this section illustrates how the caregiver *ethos* also reinforces restrictive gender codes of the Progressive Era by encouraging girls to develop skills in cleanliness, childcare, and

self-monitoring. The rhetoric in these handbook passages portrays domestic drudgery as civic duty by showing how Girl Scouts can be brave protectors of the home.

The first aid section fosters Girl Scouts heroic *ethos* by teaching them to treat injuries and respond to threats that jeopardize community members' well-being. Each entry in this section offers step-by-step instruction for responding to injuries and emergencies, such as broken bones, frostbite, and nose bleeds. For example, an entry on how to rescue someone who is drowning instructs them that "in the case of struggling, turn him on his back. Then grip his arms just above the elbows and raise them until they are at right angles to his body, and swim on the back."[96] The handbook also teaches girls how to best prevent accidents that could jeopardize the health of many, such as fires. In this entry, Girl Scouts are trained to safely use gas lamps and dispose of matches to prevent fires, smother a fire by cutting off its oxygen supplies, and organize a "bucket brigade" with other girls in their town.[97] The breadth of this first aid training enables Girl Scouts to be heroic in the face of danger by protecting the vitality of people who are injured or face life-threatening emergencies. What is more, the handbook claims that first aid training offered in the handbook and then sought out in "lectures, lessons, and demonstrations…eminently fits them for hospital work."[98] Learning first aid, then, has the potential to expand girls' roles and *ethos* by helping them obtain jobs outside the home and become independent wage earners while still acting as caregivers.

The handbook also reveals how monitoring their physical fitness and personal hygiene prepared girls to perform their civic duties of ensuring the vitality of "future generations" and others in emergencies. Physical fitness was valued in the early twentieth century because it prepared boys for the demands of war and enabled them to support their country.[99] Girls' ability to support their country rested on both their physical and moral fitness. A sub-section titled "Be

Strong" argues for a correlation between physical fitness and *ethos*. It tells Girl Scouts "the body and mind are very closely related. Things that are good for one are good for the other. A girl who develops a strong agile body, at the same time improves her brain. A girl with weak flabby muscles cannot have the strength of character that goes with normal physical power."[100] Given that girls were deemed responsible for raising the next generation of citizens, the "Health" subsection reminds Girl Scouts that "it is the duty of each one of us, both for our own sakes, and for the benefit of future generations, to perfect our physical frame."[101] Girls are instructed to monitor their physical development—their eyes, ears, and teeth and track their height, weight, and measurements—so that they could obtain an optimal state of physical well-being required to perform their civic duty.[102] The handbook's rhetoric on physical fitness situated girls' heroic caregiver *ethos* in a context of militaristic, masculine ideals and wartime nationalism.

The handbook demonstrates how a physically fit girl can be a hero to those in need with the story of Alice White, a sixteen-year-old teacher who rescued a twelve-year-old girl who had fallen through a frozen canal. The narrative begins with White venturing out onto the canal to help despite warnings from onlookers, falling through the ice during the rescue attempt, and breaking the ice from below "piece by piece" to save herself and the girl.[103] After White's harrowing story, the handbook then offers advice on how girls can perform exercises that will enable them to develop the physical strength needed for such heroism. Some of these exercises include running in place, stretching, and strength training.[104] White demonstrated a war-like heroism by risking her own life in order to save someone. Such an act likely would have been impossible, or even fatal, if White lacked the brute physical strength needed to rescue herself and another from the frozen water. The heroic caregiver *ethos* that Low crafts thus depends upon masculine traits of physical fitness and independence.

In other sections—namely home life, sanitation, and "A Great Law of Life"—the handbook's rhetoric crafts a different version of the caregiver *ethos* that reinforces strict gender roles. For example, the sanitation section fosters girls' *ethos* as brave protectors of the home by teaching them how to eliminate health hazards. Here, the home appears as a battlefront ridden with threats to the family's health that the Girl Scouts must fight. At one point, the handbook pits health hazards against Girl Scouts armed with cleaning tools when it claims that "nearly all the dangers to health in a house or room begin with a D, and these dangers or destroyers are: darkness, damp, dust, doubtful drinking water, defective drains. Against these destroyers, which bring debility, disease, and even death, the Scouts' defenses are: sunlight, fresh air, cleanliness."[105] Depicting typical household dirt and grime as destroyers makes them evil and dangerous. In order to fight back, the Girl Scouts will then have to be brave. Armed with the training this section offers, Girl Scouts will be prepared to fight these destroyers and, in doing so, protect their home, family members, and caregiver *ethos*. This section also pits Girl Scouts against pests, another type of health hazard. After declaring that "War must be waged against rats and mice, or they will multiply and loot everything," the sanitation section teaches Girl Scouts how to build their own mouse traps and block off mouseholes.[106] Once again, Girl Scouts must fight a destroyer to protect the health and happiness of their home. If they are successful in these small fights, then Girl Scouts will win the war with diseases that pests, clogged pipes, and stale air can breed, including consumption (better known as tuberculosis), diphtheria, and typhoid.[107] Saving their families from serious, often fatal, diseases allowed Girl Scouts to be the epitome of a caregiver and home protector. This manifestation of the caregiver *ethos* used visions of war and bravery to mask the restrictive gender roles that the handbook reinforces as a civic duty.

The home life section taught Girl Scouts to use their caregiver *ethos* to protect children during a time of high child mortality when many parents and caregivers were uninformed about threats to children's health, such as unpasteurized milk, inadequate nutrition, and the spread of disease.[108] Girl Scouts learned to properly clothe, feed, bathe, and care for ill infants. The childcare sub-section is one of the most developed parts of the entire handbook. Whereas other sections list advice in summary form, with only a sentence or two devoted to each topic, the childcare section devotes entire paragraphs to topics such as nutrition, babies' digestion, and checking vital signs. The handbook stresses the value of such protection when it claims that "a Scout with a knowledge of the needs of children, what to feed them on, and the rules for good health, may save many a baby."[109] Saving children also had a civic purpose. The handbook contends that childcare was the best way for Girl Scouts to protect the country's generations of future citizens.[110] Childcare is portrayed as girls' ultimate patriotic duty when the childcare subsection claims that "there is no way in which a girl can help her country better than by fitting herself to undertake the care of children. She should learn all she can about them, and take every opportunity of helping to look after these small Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts of the future."[111] This version of the caregiver *ethos* helped girls perceive mothers as patriots who not only protected children, but also the future of their nation.

As caregivers, Girl Scouts are also responsible for protecting the quality of men's character by monitoring their own character. "A Great Law of Life" stresses that constantly monitoring their actions is one of the greatest obstacles girls face when trying to help men. Specifically, the section argues that "she cannot do it unless she keeps a watch over her own faults and weaknesses so that the best of her is always in control."[112] Girl Scouts are expected to exhibit good moral character at all times, especially in the presence of men.[113] In addition to

monitoring their character, Girl Scouts must also monitor their desire. The same section warns that "the desire to be admired…stands in the way of their greatest strength and usefulness" because such desire "keeps them thinking about themselves instead of others. It is a form of bondage that makes them vain and self-conscious."[114] Self-monitoring tethers Girl Scouts to gender roles that deemed girls moral agents of civic virtue as women were for men, their families, and children.

When Girl Scouts successfully monitor their desires and maintain a good moral character, they are able to protect the character of men and boys in their lives. "A Great Law of Life" highlights the benefits of girls' self-monitoring, and consequences if they fail, for men: "many a boy has been strengthened in his character and his whole life made happier by the brave refusal of a girl to do wrong; while the opposite weakness has been the cause of endless misery and wretchedness."[115] The handbook characterizes women as moral leaders of men. Girl Scouts are expected to make morally sound choices in their lives because men appear intrinsically dependent upon women's character in all interactions. What is more, girls' character is also dependent upon how well they are able to support the men in their lives. This same section contends that "no Girl Scout or other honorable woman—whether old or young—could use her influence as a woman excepting to strengthen the characters and to support the honor of the men and boys with whom she comes in contact."[116] Girl Scouts are thus taught that they need to enact their gendered roles as moral leaders in order to sustain their *ethos* as caregivers and protectors of men's character.

Conclusion

I have argued that Low's rhetoric of girlhood in the 1916 handbook trained Girl Scouts to develop a caregiver *ethos* that both expanded girls' roles in relationships, the home, and the

community and tethered them to restrictive gender codes. The dual manifestation of the caregiver *ethos* is a product of Low's negotiation of traditionally masculine "Scout" skills outside the home and the Progressive Era context that created new opportunities for women while reinforcing gender roles. This negotiation can be seen in how the handbook rhetorically positions girls. At times, the handbook reinforces gender roles by positioning Girl Scouts in various rooms of the house, in relation to objects associated with household chores, and in dependent relationships with children and family members. At other times, the handbook positions Girl Scouts in relationships where they demonstrate a Scout-like civic duty to the infirm and men.

Just as Girl Scouts' positionality in the handbook negotiates shifting gender roles, so does the complex caregiver *ethos* that Low crafts. At times, this *ethos* is restrictive as it reifies women's role in the home and as wives and mothers. Specifically, Girl Scouts are characterized as brave protectors of the home in the home life, sanitation, and "A Great Law of Life" sections. Here Girl Scouts use their cleaning, childcare, and self-monitoring skills to fight household dangers that could jeopardize the well-being of families, home, and children. These passages promote a form of civic duty that is confined to the home and motherhood. At other times, the caregiver *ethos* expands Girl Scouts' role outside the home by characterizing them as heroines in the outdoors. The first aid and "Be Strong" sections teach Girl Scouts to habituate skills of medical care and personal health so that they can help people recover from major and minor injuries, protect their community from fires, and even rescue people from life-threatening emergencies. These passages promote a form of civic duty that is more masculine, militaristic, and independent in nature.

It was challenging for Low to create a scouting organization for girls that would not threaten Progressive Era notions of girlhood and womanhood. Historian Mary Aickin Rothschild

has noted that the organization grappled with how to "challenge the prevailing ideas of proper behavior and enlarge girls' spheres (especially in the area of physical fitness and outdoor survival) without weakening the ultimate fundamental goal of girls' growing up to be wives and mothers"[117] According to Rothschild, the GSUSA responded to this challenge by illustrating in its discourse that "the more wholesome experience and knowledge girls had, the better wives and mothers they would become."[118] Similar discursive choices have appeared in women's rhetoric throughout history. At times, women rhetors have argued that new roles and opportunities for women would help them become better wives and mothers. As a result, these rhetors generated public support for demands that conflicted with the traditional roles and duties of women.[119] By situating its training program in both traditional masculine notions of Scouting and Progressive Era values, concepts of girlhood, and women's futures, the GSUSA was able to expose girls to new opportunities in first aid, exercise, and physical activity without jeopardizing its growing membership, public support, and Progressive Era norms.

Professor of Childhood Studies Susan A. Miller argues that leaders of girls' youth organizations each had "a vision…of what kind of people girls were and who they wanted them to become."[120] Juliette Gordon Low shared her vision for girls in 1916 when she compared the purpose of the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts: "They aim to make better men, we to make better women. They are made better housewives if they are to remain in the home, for they are taught practical and useful things, or, if they have to go out in the world, they will learn self-reliance as well as being helped to a means of livelihood."[121] Low's vision for the organization and girls was complex. She saw opportunities for women both in and outside the home. Contemporary *ethos* scholars agree that "*ethos* can't be determined…without a sense of the cultural context" and that this context is always changing.[122] As the GSUSA and its national board members began to

recognize even more new opportunities for girls and women outside the home, the organization's handbooks would find a new context that continued fulfilling Low's vision for girls' present and future.

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[1] Paul M. Pressly, "Educating the Daughters of Savannah's Elite: The Pape School, the Girl Scouts, and the Progressive Movement," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 80, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 261.; Gladys Denny Shultz and Daisy Gordon Lawrence, *Lady From Savannah: The Life of Juliette Gordon Low* (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1958), 308.
[2] Stacy Cordery, *Juliette Gordon Low: The Remarkable Founder of the Girl Scouts* (New York: Penguin Group, 2012), 222.
[3] Mary Aickin Rothschild, "To Scout or To Guide? The Girl Scout-Boy Scout Controversy, 1912-1941," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 6, no. 3 (Autumn 1981): 119, footnote 20.
[4] Ibid., 116. Historian Tammy Proctor notes that Girl Guides, like Girl Scouts, were also mostly white, middle-class girls. This trend in girls' organization membership dates back to the early twentieth century, when outdoor organizations such as Organized Camping were created. Tammy M. Proctor, *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2009), 6.; Susan A. Miller, *Growing Girls: The Natural Origins of Girls' Organizations in America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 4.
[5] James Marten, *Childhood and Child Welfare in the Progressive Era: A Brief History with Documents* (New York: Bedford/St. Martin's: 2005), 17-19.
[6] John Dewey, *Moral Principles in Education* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company: 1909): 8. Christine Woyshner writes that women's organizations, particularly those included in the NEA's Department of Women's Organizations during the 1910s such as the PTA, General Federation of Women's Clubs, and Council of Jewish Women, shaped the development of community civics. She explains that, "for women's organizations, involvement in the local community was the pinnacle of citizenship" and that "the community civics program embodied the ideals of women's voluntary reform efforts, including attention to young children's civic growth and development, the emphasis on progressive pedagogy, and a valuing of community welfare." See Christine Woyshner, "Women's Associations and the Origins of the Social Studies: Volunteers, Professionals, and the Community Civics Curriculum, 1890-1920," *The International Journal of Social Education* 18, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2003-2004): 15-32.; Christine Woyshner, From Assimilation to Cultural Pluralism: The PTA and Civic Education, 1900-1950," in *Social Education in the Twentieth Century: Curriculum and Context for Citizenship*, ed. Christine Woyshner, Joseph Watras, and Margaret Smith Crocco (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2004), 93-109.
[7] Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 11.
[8] Ibid., 229.
[9] Ibid., xi-xii, 10-11, 7. Some of the questions that the growing republican ideology posed were "What does it mean to be a citizen? Who has a right to rule? Who ought to be content with being ruled?" Although these questions applied to men, not women, after assisting with the national war effort, women worked to situate themselves in the United States' political context. Kerber notes that after the war "an educated citizenry was expected to maintain the spirit of the law;

righteous mothers were asked to raise virtuous male citizens on whom the health of the Republic depended." Whereas women were previously excluded from educational opportunities before the war, after the war education and literacy were seen as tools that would help Republican Mothers sustain their sons' civic virtue.

[10] Ibid., 7, 8, xi-xii.

[11] Ibid., 11, 229.

[12] Ibid., 229.

[13] Ibid., 12, 283. Kerber addresses how Republican Motherhood became part of women's efforts to achieve social change and expand their social role: "It would be vulnerable to absorption in the domestic feminism of the Victorian period, to romanticization, even, in the 'cult of true womanhood.' It would be revived as a rallying point for twentieth-century Progressive women reformers, who saw their commitment to honest politics, efficient urban sanitation, and pure food and drug laws as an extension of their responsibilities as mothers."

Despite the opportunities that the notion and language of Republican Motherhood afforded women throughout history, it does have its limitations. Kerber explains that "it had no collective definition, provided no outlet for women to affect a real political decision," and helped a woman see that "she had a responsibility to the political scene, though was not active in it." Kerber, 11, 228.

[14] Susan C. Jarratt and Nedra Reynolds, "The Splitting Image: Contemporary Feminisms and the Ethics of ethos," in *Ethos: New Essays in Rhetorical and Critical Theory,* ed. James S. Baumlin and Tita French Baumlin (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1994), 47.

[15] Arthur B. Miller, "Aristotle on Habit (ἔθος) and Character (ἦθος): Implications for the *Rhetoric*," *Speech Monographs* 41 (November 1974): 309.

[16] Ibid., 310.

[17] Ibid.

[18] S. Michael Halloran, "Aristotle's Concept of Ethos, or if Not His Somebody Else's," *Rhetoric Review* 1, no. 1 (September 1982): 60.

[19] Halloran, 63.

[20] Ibid., 61.

[21] Ibid., 63.

[22] Ibid., 62.

[23] Michael J. Hyde, "Introduction: Rhetorically We Dwell," in *The Ethos of Rhetoric* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2004), xii.

[24] Ibid., xxi.

[25] Ibid., xviii.

[26] Nedra Reynolds, "Ethos as Location: New Sites for Understanding Discursive Activity," *Rhetoric Review* 11, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 327.

[27] Ibid., 326.

[28] Ibid., 329.

[29] Linda Martín Alcoff, "Cultural Feminism versus Post-Structuralism: The Identity Crisis in Feminist Theory," *Signs* 13, no. 3 (Spring 1988): 433.

[30] Ibid.

[31] R. D. Bezucha and Staff of the National council of Boy Scouts of America, *The Golden Anniversary Book of Scouting* (New York: Golden Press, 1959), 16-21.; David I. MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 134.

[32] MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy*, 134.; David C. Scott and Brendan Murphy, *The Scouting Party: Pioneering and Preservation, Progressivism and Preparedness in the Making of the Boy Scouts of America* (Dallas, TX: Red Honor Press, 2010), 66.
[33] When Baden-Powell returned to England, he was invited to share his military knowledge with Sir William Smith's organization the Boys' Brigade. He obliged, but when Smith proved resistant to criticism of the Boys' Brigade Baden-Powell knew that his only choice was to create a boys' organization of his own. Bezucha, 22.; MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy*, 134.
[34] Bezucha, 22.
[35] Sir Robert Baden-Powell letter to James E. West, February 5, 1916 published in Boy Scouts of America, *Handbook for Scoutmasters: A Manual of Leadership* (New York: Boy Scouts of America, 1922).
[36] Sir Robert Baden-Powell, letter, July 4, 1916 published in Boy Scouts of America, *Handbook for Scoutmasters*.
[37] Historian David I. MacLeod attributes concern about England's power to the "fear that Germany's growing power boded Britain's ruin and that China and Japan's would one day trample Europe under." MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy*, 136.
[38] Ibid., 137. Similarly, Rosenthal writes that "for Great Britain, concerned about the vulnerability of its vast empire and the specter of social unrest among its own laboring classes, it is even more apparent why a system of character training that claimed to address these national anxieties would be given the official sanction of a royal character." Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 129.
[39] Rosenthal, 120.; Bezucha, 35.
[40] MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy*, 134.
[41] Bezucha, 22.; MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy*, 134.
[42] Rosenthal, 124-125.
[43] Bezucha, 34.
[44] Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship* (London: Horace Cox, 1908).
[45] Proctor, *Scouting for Girls*, 6.
[46] Ibid., 9, 33.
[47] Ibid., 34.
[48] Rose Kerr, *The Story of The Girl Guides* (London: The Girl Guides Association, 1933), 35.
[49] Robert Baden-Powell, "Scheme for 'Girl Guides,'" *Headquarters Gazette* (November 1909), cited in Kerr, *The Story of The Girl Guides*, 29.
[50] Rosenthal, 120.; Bezucha, 35.
[51] Michelle Smith, "Be(ing) Prepared: Girl Guides, Colonial Life, and National Strength," *Limina* 12 (2006): 57.
[52] Ibid., 55.
[53] Proctor, *Scouting for Girls*, 12-13.; Smith, 54.
[54] Proctor, *Scouting for Girls*, 13.
[55] Kerr, 29.
[56] Tammy M. Proctor, *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2002), 24-25. Kerr writes that several new badges just for girls

were added to the Girl Guide handbook, including those for nursing sister, nurse, gymnast, tailor, artist, masseuse, telegraphist, and swimming. Kerr, 31-32.
[57] Proctor, *Scouting for Girls*, 12.
[58] Ibid., 26-28.
[59] The organization responded to its members' efforts during World War I by introducing a War Service badge that girls could earn after devoting 60 hours of service at a medical center, making clothing for troops, and working for the government "in farm work, dairy work, market gardening, light machinery for armaments." Ibid., 28.
[60] Richard A. Voeltz, "The Antidote to 'Khaki Fever'? The Expansion of the British Girl Guides during the First World War," *Journal of Contemporary History* vol. 27, no. 4 (October 1992): 629, footnote 6.
[61] Gladys Denny Shultz and Daisy Gordon Lawrence, *Lady From Savannah: The Life of Juliette Gordon Low* (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1958), 260, 263, 290.
[62] Cordery, 143.
[63] *Juliette Low and the Girl Scouts: The Story an American Woman 1860-1927*, ed. Anne Hyde Choate and Helen Ferris (New York: Doubleday Doran & Company, Inc., 1946), 84.; Cordery, 195-196.
[64] Cordery, 221.
[65] Rothschild, 116.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Florence Kelley, *Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1905), 3.
[68] Cordery, 210.
[69] Stacy A. Cordery clarifies Juliette Gordon Low's relationship to the Progressive Era. She explains that "Girl Scouting was one of many institutions attempting to assist youth during the Progressive Era. But Daisy Low and her organization were not consciously part of this larger movement. She neither knew reformers nor took much notice of their work, beyond initiating Girl Scout patrols at Hull House…She was in the reform movement but not part of it." Ibid., xi.
[70] Ronald Cohen, "Child-Saving and Progressivism, 1885-1915," in *American Childhood: A Research Guide and Historical Handbook*, ed. Joseph M. Hawes and N. Ray Hiner (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 292, 294.; Paula M. Fass, "Foreward," *Children and Youth in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, ed. James Marten (New York: New York University Press, 2014), vii.; MacLeod, *The Age of the Child*, 23.; Marten, 17-19.; Stephen A. Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 88-89, 173-175.; Viviana A. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 57, 96.
[71] David I. MacLeod, *The Age of the Child: Children in America, 1890-1920* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998), 101.
[72] Gary Cross, *Kids' Stuff: Toys and the Changing World of American Childhood* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 12.
[73] Ibid., 8, 25.; Miriam Formanek-Brunell, *Made to Play: Dolls and the Commercialization of American Girlhood, 1830-1930* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 30.; MacLeod, *The Age of the Child*, 123.; Mintz, 117.
[74] Mintz, 83.
[75] MacLeod, *The Age of the Child*, 123.
[76] Ibid., 137.

[77] Mintz, 194.
[78] Juliette Gordon Low, *How Girls Can Help Their Country* (New York: Girl Scouts, 1916), 106.
[79] Ibid., 94-97.
[80] Ibid., 94.
[81] Ibid., 96.
[82] Ibid., 106.
[83] Ibid., 115.
[84] Ibid., 106-116.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid., 116.
[87] Ibid., 129.
[88] Ibid., 128-129.
[89] Ibid., 106.
[90] Ibid., 94.
[91] Ibid., 96.
[92] Ibid., 109-114.
[93] Ibid., 11.
[94] Ibid., 9.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid., 123.
[97] Ibid., 121-122.
[98] Ibid., 120.
[99] Smith, 55.
[100] *How Girls Can Help Their Country*, 11.
[101] Ibid., 98. The correlation of girls' physical health and the wellbeing of future generations reflects fears about the country's ability to sustain white, native-born populations. During the Progressive Era, infant mortality rose and birth rates dropped as women began to work and socialize outside the home. These factors combined with the growing immigrant population in the United States led native-born Americans to fear what Leroy G. Dorsey calls a potential "race suicide." In order to alleviate these fears and ensure the race's future, childbirth became white women's civic responsibility. Leroy G. Dorsey, "Managing Women's Equality: Theodore Roosevelt, The Frontier Myth, and the Modern Woman," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 16, no. 3 (2013): 425.
[102] *How Girls Can Help Their Country*, 98-101.
[103] Ibid., 102-103.
[104] Ibid., 104-106.
[105] Ibid., 97.
[106] Ibid., 95.
[107] Ibid., 96, 97.
[108] MacLeod, *The Age of the Child*, 47-48.; John Spargo, *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915), 38-39.
[109] *How Girls Can Help Their Country*, 116.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid., 116.
[112] Ibid., 10.
[113] Ibid., 9.

[114] Ibid., 10.
[115] Ibid., 9, 10.
[116] Ibid., 9.
[117] Rothschild, 117.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Campbell, *Volume II*, xi-xii.; Kerber, 202.; Sally Schwager, "Educating Women in America," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 12, no. 2 (1987): 337-338, 340-342.
[120] Susan A. Miller, 13.
[121] Cordery, xi.
[122] Reynolds, 329.; Alcoff, 433.

CHAPTER 3

PROGRESSIVE ERA PIONEER *ETHOS* IN THE 1920 GIRL SCOUT HANDBOOK

Introduction

In 1918 the Girl Scouts of the USA (GSUSA) began work on a new edition of their handbook that would expand the organization's training program and solidify girls' role as citizens of the United States.[1] This was the first handbook that the organization authored after Juliette Gordon Low stepped down as GSUSA President.[2] For two years the organization worked with leaders in such fields as first aid, natural history, and home economics to accrue a "mass of new material, which has never before been offered to the Scouts."[3] In 1920 the new handbook was published. At over 500 pages long, it was almost three times as long as the 1916 edition and provided more thorough instruction for a greater variety of skills. Specifically, the 1920 edition boasted enriched training for camping, first aid, nature study, and home economics; photographs of animals, marine life, insects, and plants; and diagrams for how to tie knots, build fires, and take measurements for map-making. Some passages were excerpts from previously published material, such as the camping sections taken from *A Book on Camping and Woodcraft*, one of the many camping books written by Horace Kephart.[4] Others passages were authored exclusively for the GSUSA, such as the homemaking sections by Sarah Louise Arnold, Dean of Simmons College and director of the college's School of Home Economics.[5] As a result, the handbook offered new instruction for skills including camping, childcare, nature study, cooking, woodcraft, housekeeping, and public affairs.

The diverse skills, vast knowledge, and community interaction that girls were taught reflected the pioneer context in which their training was situated in the 1920 handbook. An early section titled "Who are the Scouts?" likened Girl Scouts to pioneers and situated their training in pioneer virtues of self-reliance, diverse skills, and a broad knowledgebase that helped pioneers survive the harsh conditions of the frontier. What is more, the remainder of the handbook demonstrated how Progressive Era girls could develop a pioneer *ethos* by inhabiting new places and roles in their communities. The 1920 handbook repeatedly placed Girl Scouts in the outdoors in addition to the home. Specifically, girls were located in the wilderness in sections devoted to camping, hiking, nature study, and woodcraft and in their local communities in sections devoted to public health and first aid. By inhabiting these new places, each Girl Scout learned to be "a pioneer in more ways than one."[6] They could survive the wilderness as the early settlers did and improve their communities.

The GSUSA's expansive training program reflected its concept of girls' citizenship. Historian Mary Aickin Rothschild claims that the GSUSA "fundamentally believed that their work to enlarge the experience of American girls would produce better, more active citizens and would strengthen the country."[7] The GSUSA's efforts mirrored a trend in Progressive Era education to define citizenship as the product of people's community engagement as opposed to whether they met voting criteria.[8] Educators argued that grounding history courses in the legal definition of citizenship prevented children from recognizing themselves as citizens because they were not yet old enough to vote.[9] Focusing on "community civics" instead allowed children to see themselves as citizens of numerous communities, including the home, neighborhood, city, school, religious organizations, workplace, and even parks where they played. As citizens, these

children would also learn about the contributions needed to sustain those community resources and others' welfare.[10]

The 1920 handbook similarly helped Girl Scouts see themselves as citizens of numerous communities by positioning them in a variety of places—including the home, wilderness, town, and community resources such as playgrounds—and training them to sustain the welfare of the people and animals who inhabited these places. The GSUSA celebrated the opportunities and information that the 1920 handbook offered girls in its magazine, *The Rally*. An article titled "The New Handbook at Last" deemed the 1920 edition "the corner-stone of our new Scout library" and stressed that "the helpful hints on Camping, First Aid, and Home Nursing must be of interest to all girls who expect to take a useful place in the world today."[11] Girl Scouts' usefulness and future were now tied to the many places girls inhabited and the people they supported there, rather than just the home and family.

This chapter argues that recontextualizing the GSUSA training program in the pioneer past helped Girl Scouts develop an *ethos* tied to their pioneer history, grounded in resourcefulness, civic responsibility, and civic engagement. These virtues and context consequently helped girls imagine themselves in new places—the community and wilderness—with new opportunities for civic participation. In order to evaluate Girl Scouts' new *ethos*, it is necessary to examine how the places and contexts in which they were positioned shaped the virtues they were taught to develop. Contemporary *ethos* scholar Nedra Reynolds argues that "an individual's *ethos* cannot be determined outside of the space in which it was created or without a sense of the cultural context."[12] Here, Reynolds emphasizes that both an individual's location in a physical place and their relationship to broader social and historical events can and do shape that individual's *ethos*. Reynolds and Susan C. Jarratt apply this concept of space and context to

their redefinition of *ethos*. Specifically, they argue that *ethos* "theorizes the positionality inherent in rhetoric—the speaker having been created at a particular site within the contingencies of history and geography."[13] Evaluating *ethos* with this definition in mind accounts for the implications of both the pioneer past and places where Girl Scouts were positioned throughout the 1920 handbook.

This chapter begins by reviewing the historical significance of the frontier and pioneers during the Progressive Era. Specifically, it briefly recounts the history of the frontier, how the simultaneous closing of the frontier and surge in industrialization made adults nostalgic for the pioneer past, and the growing interest in nature study and recreational camping as a way to reconnect with nature. Then, it considers how nature study and recreational camping became part of youth organizations like the GSUSA as a way to "manufacture wilderness," help children live like pioneers, and consequently develop pioneer virtues.[14]

Then, I turn to the discursive context developed in the 1920 handbook. This analysis begins with an exploration of the pioneer past, the new context for Girl Scout training, as depicted in the handbook. The handbook develops this discursive context in two ways. First, the "Who are the Scouts?" section introduces self-reliance and a breadth of skills—the latter a combination of historically feminine and masculine skills including cooking, housekeeping, nature study, and building fires—as norms by recounting the pioneer past. Second, these pioneer norms are applied to girls through three narratives. Specifically, the narratives introduce readers to Sacajawea, Louisa Alcott, and Anna Shaw whose lives respectively represent Scout, domestic, and pioneer training. Pioneer training is a culmination of domestic and Scouting skills and virtues.

With these historical and discursive contexts in mind, I then evaluate how the 1920 handbook positions Girl Scouts in a new place, the outdoors, depicted as their local community outside the home and the wilderness. Here I consider how Girl Scouts are positioned in relation to local businesses and government in their communities and in relation to nature and camps in the wilderness. Finally, I evaluate how the pioneer context and positionality in the outdoors encourage Girl Scouts to develop a Progressive Era pioneer *ethos*. First, I will analyze how the handbook represents resourcefulness in and outside the home, civic responsibility, and civic engagement as virtues. Then, I consider how the pioneer past girlhood norms are reflected in these virtues in a way that was practical for Progressive Era girls. The conclusion of this chapter assesses how the 1920 handbook teaches Girl Scouts to use all of the places they inhabit—the home, community, and wilderness—as outlets for citizenship.

History of the Frontier and Return to the Pioneer Past

The GSUSA was not alone in its efforts to expose children to the pioneer past in order to positively shape their character. During the Progressive Era, youth organization leaders, parents, educators, and child development psychologists argued that replicating early Americans' frontier experiences could counter the negative effects that modern, industrial society imposed on children. By both "manufacturing wilderness"—through camp sites constructed to limit children's access to modern day amenities—and offering nature study instruction, these groups sought to restore valued frontiersman traits in twentieth century children.[15] In order to evaluate the relationship between the pioneer past and Girl Scouts' character in the 1920 handbook, it is necessary to first understand why the frontier and pioneers were valued so greatly in the Progressive Era. This context narrative begins by exploring the history of the frontier line, how the frontier shaped Americans' character, and what the frontier and frontiersman's character

came to represent for Americans at key points in history, including the Progressive Era. Then, it turns to Progressive Era adults' simultaneous fear of industrial, modern society and longing for the pioneer past. Finally, with this history in mind, the narrative addresses how nature became valued in the Progressive Era through manufactured wilderness and nature study, and how these themes in youth organizations shaped children's character.

Beginning in 1790, the United States government used the Census to monitor the country's aggregate population and "frontier line" that distinguished places of untamed wilderness from settled parts of the country. Specifically, the Census Bureau defined "'unsettled' or frontier territory" as spaces inhabited by fewer than "two people per square mile."[16] Charting both the population distribution and density across the United States allowed the government to study how the frontier receded as a growing number of Americans migrated West.[17] The placement of the frontier line changed drastically over the next hundred years. Using its classification system for frontier and settled territory, the 1790 Census declared that the majority of the east coast—from New England to Georgia—was settled and that the frontier line lay just to the West of these states.[18] The 1890 Census notes how much the population's distribution changed in the last ten years: "Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlements that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line."[19] By 1890, the Midwest and parts of California, Washington, and Oregon were so densely populated that the frontier was deemed to no longer exist.[20]

Once the frontier "closed," it acquired greater significance for historians who recognized the correlation between this untamed wilderness and the "uniquely American" character that frontiersman developed.[21] One such historian was Frederick Jackson Turner. Galvanized by the

1890 Census report that the frontier had closed, Turner presented a paper titled "Significance of the Frontier in American History"—more commonly known as his Frontier Thesis—at the 1893 Annual Historical Association meeting.[22] According to Rhetorical Studies scholar Ronald H. Carpenter, this presentation was a chance for Turner "to prove that prairies produced more than corn and Populists."[23] His goal was to demonstrate that the frontier was worthy of historians' attention given its influence on American character, independence, and democracy.

Turner argued that the frontier was both "the distinguishing feature of American life" and the source of Americans' character.[24] Specifically, Turner claimed that westward migration allowed Americans to continuously encounter new frontiers as they moved into new, unsettled parts of the country. He deemed this a process of "perennial rebirth" where Americans repeatedly faced challenges of taming the wilderness of each subsequent frontier.[25] Turner explains that "the first frontier had to meet its Indian question, its question of the disposition of the public domain, of the means of intercourse with the older settlements, of the extension of political organization, of religious and educational activity. The settlement of these and similar questions for one frontier served as a guide for the next."[26] As Americans overcame these challenges, they developed the character traits for which the frontiersmen were revered, including self-reliance, resilience, initiative, resourcefulness, enthusiasm, a sense of adventure, strength, and cooperation.[27]

These pioneer character traits, and the way they developed on the frontier, gave Americans hope that they, too, could overcome the challenges they would face as the country grew and changed. Carpenter argues that the pioneer's staying power derives from Turner's characterization of this individual: "As vividly portrayed by Turner, a national hero emerged, one whose mythic character was capable of solving virtually any problem facing Americans, at

any time" including those that emerged during World War I, the Progressive Era, and the Great Depression.[28] During the Progressive Era, as the country acclimated to unprecedented industrial growth, media outlets likened industrial giants to the pioneers who migrated West in search of prosperity. Accordingly, Americans came to see "that many prominent captains of industry and corporate moguls were self-made men from frontier environments."[29] Although the frontier was no longer a tangible place, it remained a symbol that guided Americans' thought and identity.[30]

Once the frontier was declared closed, and the country began to experience the effects of rapid industrialization, Progressive Era adults longed for a tangible frontier and pioneer past that had historically represented wholesome American character and virtues. Childhood Studies scholar Susan A. Miller reflects that "native white Americans loved to recall a mythic national heritage symbolized by Jeffersonian yeoman farmers and resourceful pioneers" and "lamented the decline of such stalwart figures, and the closing of the frontier that had brought out the best in them."[31] These pioneers of the American West overcame the challenges of living in the untamed wilderness and were subsequently celebrated for their self-reliance, resourcefulness, resiliency, and confidence. The Progressive Era adults who longed for the pioneer past wanted their children to understand "the true greatness of the West" not only in knowledge but also in experience in hopes that these children would try to emulate these important frontier figures.[32]

As they longed for the opportunities of a pioneer past, Progressive Era parents, educators, and medical professionals also feared that features of modern, industrial life and the absence of a simpler time negatively affected children's character development. These fears extended to children across all classes, in and outside the home, and those who lived in cities and suburbs across the United States. Industrialization and subsequent urbanization had produced "moral dangers" to all youth.[33] As Historian Cristina De Luzio explains "girls and boys from across the

social spectrum now eagerly frequented the commercial dance halls, amusement parks, and movie theaters and adopted the risqué modes of fashion and style formerly associated with the working class and ethnic and racial minorities."[34] Child welfare reformers, youth leaders, and parents worried that exposure to public commercial entertainment and adult vices such as smoking, gambling, and drinking would corrupt youth and promote deviancy.

Although the home and school would seem to be safe havens in this industrial environment, parents and youth leaders worried that the regulation of children's lives and limited access to nature would be detrimental to children's character. The same measures meant to protect children—such as compulsory schooling, adult-supervised playground activities, youth organizations, and parental supervision at home through the teenage years—also limited their time for play.[35] Additionally, the country's growing industrialization and urbanization reduced children's access to green spaces for safe play in both cities and suburbs.[36] This was especially worrisome in crowded cities where congested homes, limited sanitation, and pollution from factories threatened children's health.[37]

These features of modernity were perceived to harm boys and girls in different ways. Boys were declared less masculine and self-reliant because of how much they depended on women at home and school.[38] Girls were characterized as "contended to sit in a stuffy schoolroom, flat-chested and sallow-skinned" as a result of their highly regulated lives.[39] Parents and youth leaders lamented the loss of "live girls" who "could climb a tree and pick huckleberries, as well as romp the fields and tramp the roads."[40] It seemed as though children could only attain the vitality, independence, and sense of adventure parents wanted for them if they had greater access to nature.

In order to give children greater access to nature and help them reclaim pioneer virtues, youth organizations incorporated two growing trends into their training: nature study and recreational camping. Although both trends pre-date the Progressive Era, they were popularized at the turn of the twentieth century in response to concerns about the ill effects of industrial life on people's physical, mental, and spiritual well-being.[41] The outdoors became a treasured place where people could rejuvenate, reconnect with God through nature, and rekindle the lifestyle and virtues of the pioneer.[42] This way of thinking about the outdoors reflects what Rhetorical Studies scholar Tiffany Lewis deems "the concept of the wilderness" or the Progressive Era phenomenon where natural "geographical places" such as mountains, rivers, and forests began to represent the frontier and a reprieve from industrial life.[43] Lewis explains that "Americans' recognition and admiration of the wilderness began in the cities as urban residents experienced the wilderness as a relief from city life and took more interest in outdoor pursuits."[44] This interest amplified during the twentieth century as Americans created new ways to experience and preserve the wilderness, including youth organizations, nature societies, and conservation groups.[45] Exploring the growing popularity and value of the wilderness, nature study, and recreational camping will contextualize their significance in youth organizations such as the GSUSA.

The nature study movement combined the Progressive Era's commitment to scientific exploration and the need to return to a simpler, pre-modern connection with the outdoors. Environmental historian Kevin C. Armitage explains that nature study "used instruction in basic natural history, such as plant identification, animal life histories, and school gardens to promote the skills needed to succeed in industrial life and to cultivate the spiritual life that modern life occluded."[46] Nature study advocates insisted that book learning alone could not help individuals develop these skills because books did not allow people to understand, seek out, or become

excited about the nature in their everyday lives the same way that experiential learning could. Instead, students of nature—children and adults alike—had to observe "nature under natural conditions" using their five senses.[47]

Nature study was both a hobby and formal classroom subject during the Progressive Era. Individuals could engage in nature study while on hikes, gardening, caring for animals, visiting national parks, and as participants in nature societies and clubs.[48] The popularity of nature study can be attributed in part to Americans' growing interest in and commitment to the wilderness during the Progressive Era. This interest extended into the classroom, too. Charles B. Scott, a nature study instructor at the New Normal School in New York, notes that nature study's emphasis on first-hand observation aligned with new goals of primary education that emerged in the Progressive Era. According to Scott, these goals include using "personal, individual investigation, as opposed to mere book-work, as a means of developing the powers of the pupils, training them to see and think and express for themselves."[49] Although teachers could receive training in nature study education in the 1870s, it was not until the early twentieth century that nature study became part of the school curriculum nationwide. By 1921, almost all states in the country taught nature study in schools.[50]

Armitage in part attributes the popularization of nature study in the classroom to the growing belief that "to thrive, children and nature needed each other."[51] Nature study turned children into "active citizens of the environment" who protected, conserved, and understood the reciprocal relationship that people had with nature.[52] Scott elaborates on how children develop a new relationship to nature through nature study:

> As he discovers how much he gets from nature, he realizes better that he owes something to the world about him. He protects what he once destroyed. He takes care of the flowers

> which before he trod upon. The birds are his friends. He is learning to love them as he understands how much they give to him. He is adapting himself to his physical environment; not merely appropriating, but giving in return.[53]

Nature study could expand children's sense of citizenship to include their duties to the environment around them and empower them as they realized the impact they could have even at a young age. In turn, nature thrived because of children's commitment to protecting it and its natural resources.

Youth organizations capitalized on the benefits of nature study by incorporating this instruction in their programs. Girl Scouts, Girl Guides, Boy Scouts, Girl Pioneers of America, and the Woodcraft Indians, to name a few, taught their members to build and maintain gardens, care for animals, can produce, hike, learn woodcraft, and observe and identify flowers, animals, and constellations.[54] Leaders and pioneers of the youth organization movement argued that such experiences in the outdoors gave children a greater appreciation for what nature provides—both basic resources and a sense of wonder—and virtues reminiscent of those that characterized the country's pioneers.[55] Children would develop these virtues—including "honor, physical courage, self-reliance, and spiritual harmony"— after fending for themselves in the outdoors and realizing the relationship they had to the natural world.[56]

In addition to nature study, recreational camping was also meant to instill pioneer virtues in children by helping them live outdoors in a frontier-inspired environment. Recreational camping for children emerged in response to two Progressive Era trends: the child welfare movement's effort to create places that fostered a middle-class childhood and gendered concerns about adolescent boys and girls. Like playgrounds and recreational centers, camps were designed

so that children could be children, have the freedom and space to play, and, for those who lived in cities, temporarily escape the congested streets and polluted air.[57]

By removing children from their homes, schools, and the popular public commercial entertainment of the time, camping was also deemed a solution to problems that plagued adolescent boys and girls. Youth organization leaders feared that too much time spent around women and indoors, at home and in school, jeopardized boys' developing masculinity.[58] American childhood historian Leslie Paris notes that the outdoors was perceived as "a masculine counterpoint to feminine influence in the home."[59] Youth leaders, including Robert Baden-Powell and Ernest Thompson Seton, who respectively founded the Boy Scouts and Woodcraft Indians, believed that they could restore boys' masculinity by returning them to the outdoors, teaching them to live off the land, and encouraging military drills at camp.[60] For girls, public commercial entertainment—such as amusement parks, movie theaters, and dance halls—posed a much greater risk than time spent at home.[61] According to Miller, "adults started to wonder if these new pastimes might contribute to the creation of a new girl—a self-aware individual who was more conscious of her own personal preferences and less willing to subjugate them to adult demands."[62] Girls' organizations, including the GSUSA and Camp Fire Girls, argued that the solution was to take girls into the outdoors, preferably for extended periods of time on camping trips. The benefits were twofold: separate girls from the modern conveniences perceived to create these problems and offer opportunities for "adventurous recreation" that would make them physically and mentally stronger in the modern world.[63]

Camps were designed to "facilitate the growth of girls into what they naturally were."[64] The more rustic the camp, the fewer modern-day conveniences, the better a camp was able to do its job. The rustic design and appearance of camps allowed them to serve as frontier substitutes

for Progressive Era children. Van Slyck refers to the design techniques used to create such a substitute as "manufacturing wilderness," which she defines as an effort to "turn back the clock, reversing the westward motion of the advancing frontier…and return the landscape to something that evoked its pristine form."[65] Camps manufactured wilderness by choosing locations set in the woods near water, providing campers with cots and tents for sleeping, and eliminating modern conveniences including appliances and lights.[66] As a result, campers were isolated from nearby towns and people and forced to fend for themselves much like the pioneers in the early frontier.

Camps resembled the frontier in both their physical and social construction. Specifically, girls got to have many of the same experiences that boys did at their camps just as pioneer girls and women did. Girls' opportunity to break free from the grip of prescribed gender roles and "live like boys" was perhaps most prominent among the Girl Scout camps of the early twentieth century.[67] Unlike other girls' organization camps that emphasized femininity and domesticity in the outdoors, Miller notes that the GSUSA "sensed that girls might like to have an experience that matched a bit more closely to what their brothers received."[68] Girl Scouts participated in many of the same activities as the Boy Scouts. They built fires, cooked their own meals, pitched tents, often slept outdoors, learned woodcraft and tracking, had nature study lessons, swam, and went on hikes.[69] During World War I, military training became acceptable for girls. As a result, Girl Scouts were taught the value of patriotism, and practiced signaling, marching, and drills just as the Boy Scouts did.[70]

Girl Scouts in particular were able to develop a pioneer *ethos* by living like the pioneers did in a place that resembled the frontier. Through their experiences at camp, Girl Scouts became self-reliant, courageous, determined, and resourceful.[71] While at camp, these girls "imagined themselves in the roles of pioneers" and were told "that their camping experiences would allow

them to channel the can-do spirit of the early settlers."[72] GSUSA administrators including Jane Deeter Rippin and Josephine Daskam Bacon, respectively the organization's Commissioner and Chairman of Publications, lauded Girl Scouts' opportunity to "reclaim their pioneer heritage" at camp and argued that it was the organization's responsibility to rekindle the virtues of pioneer women in Progressive Era girls.[73] The GSUSA was in part able to fulfill this responsibility with the publication of a new handbook in 1920 that devoted more badges, training, and advice to camping and nature study.

Pioneer Girlhood Norms

The handbook introduces two pioneer girlhood norms—self-reliance and resourcefulness—in the section "Who are the Scouts?"[74] This section recalls the necessity of pioneers' knowledge in the frontier, introduces scouts as exemplars of the pioneering spirit, lists the skills pioneers mastered, and acknowledges that Girl and Boy Scouts try to model these early scouts. "Who are the Scouts?" encourages Girl Scouts to maintain their self-reliance despite the modern temptation to surrender it. The famous slogan from the Kodak camera company "You press a button and we do the rest" is introduced to remind girls that the Progressive Era's modern conveniences—specifically, technology and customary assistance from skilled individuals—did not exist in the frontier that formed the American *ethos*.[75] The handbook stresses that "in those early pioneer days there was no button to press, as we all know, and nobody to 'do the rest.'"[76] Pioneers and Scouts had no choice but to rely upon themselves to survive on the frontier.

Pioneers' and Scouts' self-reliance is in part derived from their resourcefulness. The handbook claims that they "had to know a little about everything" and introduces their breadth of skills, roles, and ability to act quickly as evidence of their resourcefulness.[77] The handbook describes at length the pioneers' resourcefulness to reinforce the virtue of such breadth:

> They were explorers, hunters, campers, builders, fighters, settlers, and in an emergency, nurses and doctors combined. They could cook, they could sew, they could make and sail a canoe, they could support themselves indefinitely in the trackless woods, they knew all the animals and plants for miles around, they could guide themselves by the sun and stars, and finally, they were husky and hard as nails and always in the best of health and condition.[78]

The pioneers' knowledge was broad, encompassing both traditionally masculine skills such as camping, nature study, and woodcraft and traditionally feminine domestic skills such as nursing, cooking, and sewing. This resourcefulness was unique to the past because of the unpredictable, unsafe lives that pioneers led on the harsh frontier. Their lives are characterized as adventurous, "always on the edge of danger and new, unsuspected things," which makes their numerous skills and roles practical.[79] The handbook claims that pioneers' skills "have been entirely left out of our town-bred lives" implying a correlation between the norm of resourcefulness and the frontier.[80]

After recalling the pioneer past, the "Who are the Scouts?" section shifts its attention to the narratives of three honorary Girl Scouts who "lived the Laws," the founding principles of the GSUSA.[81] Each girl represents a particular role: Sacajawea (The Explorer), Louisa Alcott (The Homemaker), and Anna Shaw (The Pioneer). The early recollection of the pioneer past first introduces the norms of this time and the three narratives that follow apply those pioneer norms to girls. The narratives share two important features: they recount some of the skills and virtues these women manifested when they were girls, and they acknowledge the value of the girls' virtues and skills by connecting them to the GSUSA training offered in this edition. The girls' narratives respectively represent Scout, domestic, and pioneer training, the latter of which unites the skills and virtues of the characters—the Scout and homemaker—of the first two narratives.

These features are valuable because together they situate GSUSA training in the pioneer past and illustrate how girls can be pioneers.

Sacajawea's narrative exemplifies the value of outdoor wisdom and self-reliance. She is depicted as a sixteen-year-old scout whose knowledge of the woods, sun, stars, and map-making sustained Lewis and Clark's expedition in the early 1800s. Sacajawea was undaunted by the danger and extreme conditions that she, Lewis, and Clark experienced during their most challenging situations. The handbook notes that "from the Jefferson to the Yellowstone River she was the only guide they had; on her instinct for the right way, her reading of the sun, the stars and the trees, depended the lives of all of them."[82] Sacajawea's "great virtues of daring and endurance" render her a knowledgeable guide to Lewis and Clark, who depend upon her for survival.[83] Her scouting skills were so influential that the narrative attributes the expedition's success to her rather than Lewis and Clark.

> Toward the end of their expedition:
>
> most of those who remained decided to go down the Jefferson River in canoes; but Clark, still guided by the plucky Indian girl, persisted in fighting his way on pony back overland, and after a week of this journeying, crowded full of discomforts and dangers, she brought him out in triumph at the Yellowstone, where the river bursts out from the lower cañon [sic],—and the Great Northwest was opened up for all time![84]

Here the narrative creates an image of Clark struggling, uncomfortable, and dependent upon Sacajawea who, throughout the narrative, has been an unflappable and confident leader. The triumph in this scene is Sacajawea's, not Clark's. The narrative ends by reminding readers of the relationship between Sacajawea's virtues and scouting. It notes that "out-of-door wisdom and

self-reliance was the first great principle of Scouting" thus foreshadowing the value of scout training for Girl Scouts.[85]

Sacajawea's narrative is followed by the story of Louisa Alcott who represents the GSUSA domestic training program and thereby symbolizes the virtues of housekeeping for Girl Scouts through a narrative that recounts her efforts to sustain her family as a girl. Alcott is characterized as a little mother who supported her siblings and mother through her writing and housekeeping. When her father became incapable of supporting the family, she became its provider, and her writing career emerged from these responsibilities. For all practical purposes, she becomes the head of her family, assuming the roles of her father as breadwinner, and her mother by virtue of her housekeeping "faculty."[86]

Although housekeeping is still a key theme of the 1920 handbook, its virtue is not solely based upon Alcott's ability to help her family. Like Sacajawea, Alcott also faced emergencies during her childhood and had to learn how to treat bruises, make jelly and cake, and do laundry. These emergencies did not just threaten the comfort and happiness of her family that she, as head, was expected to preserve, but also Alcott's ability to devote her time to interests outside of the home. Unlike the domestic training in the 1916 handbook, designed to provide comfort and health to family members and children, this training is meant to make housekeeping more efficient so that girls have time to pursue their own interests. The narrative reminds its readers that they will "learn all about these things in a scientific, business-like way, in order to get it all done with the quickest, most efficient methods."[87] The 1920 handbook thus acknowledges a shift in the GSUSA's attitude to motherly care, service, and self-sacrifice.

Anna Shaw's girlhood in the final narrative reintroduces the pioneer norms of self-reliance and resourcefulness and applies them to girls' experiences. At the outset, the narrative

merges the virtues and skills of scout and mother by defining pioneers as "girls who had to have all the endurance of the young Bird Woman [Sacajawea] and yet keep up the traditions and the habits of the fine old home life of Louisa Alcott."[88] Anna Shaw is an exemplar pioneer because, as a girl, her family lived off the land, fought back against frontier dangers, and made their cabin a home by building furniture, doors, and windows. Her scouting and domestic skills are not tied to one physical location. Instead, they are useful to others in and outside the home. Shaw demonstrates scouting skills through her ability to make the journey to the Michigan frontier, fell trees, chop wood, build furniture, garden, and help dig a well.[89] She demonstrates domestic skills by building the comforts of a traditional home, serving her family through these efforts, and helping her brothers with their work. In these ways, Shaw, like the pioneers and Scouts introduced in the beginning of the "Who are the Scouts?" section demonstrates a breadth of skills and roles that are both traditionally feminine and masculine.

Shaw's narrative is the only one to move beyond the main character's girlhood to glimpse her adult life. Although her work as a Methodist minister and doctor are mentioned, the narrative devotes more time to her work as a suffragist. This shift away from the historical pioneer past of the frontier and toward the nearer past of the suffrage movement allows the handbook to characterize Shaw as a pioneer in a new way and introduce new pioneer norms for girls and women in the twentieth century. The handbook writes that:

> It is not surprising to learn that she grew up to be one of the women who earned the American girl her right to vote. A pioneer in more ways than one, this little carpenter and farmer and well-digger worked for the cause of woman's political equality as she had worked in the Michigan wilderness and helped on as much as any one woman the great

> revolution in people's ideas which makes it possible for women today to express their wishes directly as to how their country shall be governed.[90]

Shaw is not just a pioneer because she grew up cultivating the Michigan wilderness but also because she is a trailblazer for women's equality. Expanding the context of the pioneer past beyond the frontier and into social movements of the twentieth century introduces participation in civic affairs as a pioneer norm for trailblazers like Shaw and further establishes the relevance of the pioneer past for Progressive Era girls.

These historical and discursive contexts illustrate how children could reclaim pioneer virtues of the past by spending time outdoors, the value such virtues held for Progressive Era children and Girl Scouts, and the multiform ways people could be pioneers in the twentieth century. Together, they inform the following analysis of the handbook's rhetorical strategies that create Girl Scouts' *ethos* and positionality. Specifically, these contexts highlight the relationship between the outdoors and pioneers' *ethos* that is also found in the 1920 GSUSA handbook.

Positionality and Pioneer *Ethos* for Progressive Era Girls

In the 1920 handbook, Girl Scouts are positioned in the home, the outdoors, and in their communities, inhabiting these spaces in the multiform ways that pioneers like Anna Shaw did as people working to survive the harsh conditions of the wilderness. But they are also positioned as innovators engaged in public affairs. Positioning Girl Scouts in and outside of the home allowed Girl Scouts to imagine themselves with new opportunities for civic engagement. In this section, I first analyze how Girl Scouts' placement in the wilderness and home helps them become resourceful. Then I evaluate how moving outside the home to their familiar natural surroundings and community trains girls to develop a sense of civic responsibility. Finally, I argue that

inhabiting the wilderness, community, and home allows Girl Scouts to develop the virtue of civic engagement by working to sustain the welfare of people, local resources, and the environment.

Resourcefulness in the Wilderness and Home

The handbook trains Girl Scouts to be resourceful by positioning them in the wilderness learning survival skills and in the home observing housework. Both locations were significant for Girl Scouts who were taught how to emulate pioneers and apply their virtues to the modern world the girls inhabited. Like the pioneers, resourcefulness for Girl Scouts meant having a broad set of skills and being prepared to handle unexpected emergencies wherever they occurred. Positioning Girl Scouts in both the wilderness and home during their Scout training helped the girls develop the breadth of knowledge, diverse skills, and preparedness needed to be Progressive Era pioneers.

Sections devoted to camping, woodcraft, nature study, and map-making position Girl Scouts in the wilderness, describe this setting, and train them to develop survival skills that will help them be resourceful. The wilderness is described as far from home and its comforts, and full of potential threats.[91] Girl Scouts are advised to bring provisions, choose campsites wisely, and be prepared to build latrines and fires to fulfill their basic needs. These examples characterize the wilderness as isolated, expansive, and dangerous. In the wilderness Girl Scouts are positioned in relation to objects that provide their basic necessities when camping, hiking, and exploring. Girl Scouts are depicted using wood, kindling, and hatchets to build fires, grass and cornmeal to purify water, plants and trees as a source of food, and campfire smoke and flags to signal if they become lost. Like pioneers on the frontier, Girl Scouts use these objects to survive the wilderness.

The illustrations, instructions, explanations, definitions, and justifications found in each of these sections teach Girl Scouts resourcefulness by introducing survival skills to use when camping or hiking. Specifically, Girl Scouts learn how to build five types of cooking fires each of which is associated with a different type of food or meal preparation; eight ways to purify drinking water; the ranked fuel values of nearly 25 trees; more than 25 types of edible wild mushrooms and plants; definitions, treatment, and sometimes preventative advice for 40 major and minor injuries; and how and when to apply 15 types of bandages for different injuries and parts of the body. These examples illustrate that Girl Scouts "know a little of everything" about the natural world. This resourcefulness helps Girl Scouts learn how to use the natural world around them to meet their basic needs and survive.

The handbook also trains Girl Scouts to be resourceful in the home by positioning them in their homes as observers. The Home Maker section teaches them to think about familiar objects and chores such as kitchen appliances and meal preparation, not as givens, but as elements of home life for which they might one day be responsible. This same section positions Girl Scouts in the home not as housewives but as girls who imagine, observe, and learn about housework for the sake of becoming resourceful and earning merit badges.[92] The home where Girl Scouts are positioned is at times real and at other times imagined. When Girl Scouts observe the housekeeper at work, they are positioned in the physical homes where they live with their families. When the Home Maker section asks Girl Scouts to draw a home they are positioned in the made-up homes of their future as adult women. Even in these hand-drawn homes, Girl Scouts are positioned as girls not as housewives or housekeepers.

In both the real and imaged homes where Girl Scouts are positioned they develop resourcefulness through the breadth of skills they learn. Specifically, Girl Scouts learn how

kitchen appliances should work; 25 recipes for breakfast, lunch, and dinner; how to consider family preferences, nutrition, and budgets when planning meals; and daily routines for children under two. Their breadth of knowledge about how the home works helps them choose the best course of action when faced with a situation, such as how to cook for their family on a limited budget or structure an infant's day. Thus, resourcefulness is not just a virtue for the pioneer on the frontier, but also for the Progressive Era girl who lives in a world of modern conveniences.

Learning how to be resourceful in and outside the home ensures that Girl Scouts are prepared to handle expected and unexpected situations with ease, whether they are camping, furnishing a home, navigating the woods, or saving someone from drowning. The handbook's explanation of the GSUSA "Be Prepared" motto stresses that each skill and badge that they learn and earn has a greater purpose because it helps Girl Scouts become resourceful:

> A Girl Scout learns to swim, not only as an athletic accomplishment, but so that she can save life. She passes her simple tests in child care and home nursing and household efficiency in order to be ready for the big duties when they come…she makes a special point of woodcraft and camp lore, not only for the fun and satisfaction they bring in themselves, but because they are the best emergency course we have today.[93]

In order to truly be resourceful, Girl Scouts must learn how to do a little of everything and develop their knowledge of scouting and domestic skills. The passage also demonstrates how resourcefulness is virtuous because it enables Girl Scouts to help others at all times, whatever the circumstances.

Civic Responsibility in the Community

The handbook helps Girl Scouts develop the virtue of civic responsibility by positioning them in their geographic and material communities—specifically outdoor spaces within the

confines of their towns and establishments such as recreation centers—while training them to recognize their duty to help others, the environment, and their country. During the Progressive Era, the community became a site for children's citizenship. It held similar significance for Girl Scouts who learned the virtue of civic responsibility. By inhabiting their communities' geographic and material spaces Girl Scouts were able to learn about the reciprocal relationship between the community and its residents, how to ensure that the community provided resources to help residents thrive, and the value of protecting the environment.

Sections that address nature study and learning about the town characterize the geographical community as the space outside the home but still within the confines of Girl Scouts' hometowns. The nature study section depicts Girl Scouts walking in the woods, fields, marshes, swamps, and streams looking for flowers that bloom in different seasons, observing the relationship between plants and animals, and learning which plants have medicinal uses. Additionally, the section on The Out-of-Door Scout advises Girl Scouts to walk around outside looking for shops, street names, and displays as a means of practicing their observation skills. Girls who live in the country are encouraged to do the same, but with architectural and natural landmarks such as churches and trees.[94] In both instances, the outdoors is familiar, safe, close to home and its comforts.

The nature study section heightens Girl Scouts' awareness of their duty to conserve by teaching them about the interconnectedness of wildlife, the environment, and how everyone must contribute in order to protect these resources. In the introduction, the authors acknowledge that, although it is impossible to learn about all animals and plants, the purpose of the section is to help Girl Scouts recognize that "all life is related and that the humblest creature may be of the greatest importance to the welfare of the highest."[95]

The authors explain that conservation is a civic effort because unless all people are involved the outcome will be limited. The section reminds readers that "it would do little good…for one orchardist to cut out the blight from his pear-trees or the black-knot from his plum-trees, if his neighbors did not co-operate with him by ridding their orchards of these diseases."[96] Girl Scouts, as a group, thus must recognize that they are all accountable to the environment in order for them to effectively contribute to these conservation efforts. Because animals, plants, people, and the environment are all connected, giving back to nature allows Girl Scouts to give back to other things and people, too.

Girl Scouts also learn civic responsibility through their placement in the material community. At times, the handbook describes the communities in which Girl Scouts are positioned. The Public Health section offers the most complete, and perhaps idealistic, description of a community, particularly the features that it is expected to offer. Communities have a variety of public facilities for residents, including schools, playgrounds, athletic recreation, theaters, hospitals, clinics, and businesses. Additionally, they are maintained and structured in such a way as to ensure residents' optimal health. Buildings are ventilated and well lit, residents have access to clean water and safe food, there are proper sanitation systems and standards, and regulations for work days and workplaces.[97]

The handbook describes communities in an ideal manner, not because its authors think that all Girl Scouts live in such a place, but to help Girl Scouts envision the types of communities they should work to build if theirs fall short of the handbook's standards. Girl Scouts are positioned as citizens of their communities, ideal and otherwise, who evaluate the benefits of existing resources, identify others that would benefit residents, and determine how well these

resources abide by laws that regulate their operations. Additionally, Girl Scouts interact with community resources by helping to enforce local laws.

Sections on childcare, home economics, and public health further develop girls' training in civic responsibility. Specifically, they reveal how Girl Scouts' virtue of supporting others in the home prepares them to contribute to their communities and country through municipal housekeeping as adults. The child nurse and home economic sections claim that caring for a home and children are the best ways for Girl Scouts to help their country.[98] However, Girl Scouts learn that this is because the care provided in the home translates to care for others in their larger communities. The end of the home economics section stresses that "learning to take care of one's own home is a good beginning, if one is to share in providing good conditions for the neighborhood."[99] The handbook references this care for the neighborhood as "municipal or neighborhood housekeeping" and declares that it is a "responsibility which all share together."[100]

As explained in the section on public health, Girl Scouts can transfer these home skills and sense of responsibility to their communities by educating themselves on local public health laws, determining how well the community meets its residents' needs, and then voting to ensure that those needs are met. Such community needs include designated places for recreation and play, medical clinics, uncontaminated food and water, reasonable workdays, and health standards that limit the spread of disease. Girl Scouts are positioned as responsible for the public health of their communities for two reasons: because of their civic duty to vote on matters of public concern and the assumption that women have a genuine interest in all children's well-being. The handbook summarizes these claims when it states that "a Girl scout who has given the matter a little thought and study is going to make a good citizen later on, and will be certain to have her

advice asked—and taken—in the matter of making her town healthy and happy."[101] Civic responsibility is thus the first step toward civic engagement.

Civic Engagement in the Home, Community, and Outdoors

The handbook demonstrates how Girl Scouts who are positioned in the home, community, and outdoors can act on their civic responsibility to develop the virtue of civic engagement. Girl Scouts are taught to see themselves as citizens of the places they inhabit and groups to which they belong, including the home, neighborhood, school, community, and environment. As citizens, it is the girls' duty to sustain the welfare of others who inhabit these places, the community institutions and services from which they benefit, and the broader ecosystem in which they exist. The handbook teaches Girl Scouts to demonstrate their civic engagement by enforcing local laws, joining social organizations that help sustain others' welfare, and applying their skills to benefit the environment and country.

The public health section illustrates how Girl Scouts could improve the health of their material communities even before they can vote. Readers are asked to imagine "if every troop of Girl Scouts knew the health laws of their town, *and helped to get them obeyed*, there would be a wonderful lessening of epidemics and a wonderful advance in the health and beauty of our towns."[102] By educating themselves on the current public health laws instead of fighting to change them, Girl Scouts can find opportunities to engage in municipal housekeeping even as girls.

The most notable illustration of civic engagement, however, appears in the section devoted to the proficiency tests required for certain badges. These tests require Girl Scouts to learn responsibility by acting it out. In order to earn a Merit Badge, Girl Scouts must pass a multi-part test. The handbook stresses that earning a badge does not make a Girl Scout "a

finished expert in the subject."[103] Rather, it demonstrates an interest, knowledge, and ability to "present some practical proofs of her knowledge, so that a competent examiner can see that she has not simply 'crammed it up' from a book."[104] This last part is especially important because "doing, not talking or writing is the principle of the Girl Scouts."[105] Nine badges allow Girl Scouts to demonstrate how they would act on their civic responsibility in order to become involved with their community, its residents, agriculture, and environment.

The Citizen and Health Guardian badges require Girl Scouts to develop their knowledge of local government and community facilities, then act upon that knowledge by evaluating how well a community meets it residents' needs, how they could improve local government, and how Girl Scouts are uniquely prepared to help these government facilities. For the Citizen badge Girl Scouts must understand the relationship between local government's actions and residents' comfort at home, voting procedures, and local government employees' responsibilities.[106] Similarly, for the Health Guardian badge, Girl Scouts must evaluate their communities' recreational and health facilities, explain how these facilities aid residents, and identify why local government should be required to provide such resources.[107] Girl Scouts use their knowledge of local government operations to become engaged in community life by choosing a political party, explaining how they would work to pass a new law, identifying the government employees they would turn to for help, and describing how they could work with resources such as hospitals and school nurse offices.

The proficiency test for the Health Guardian badge also requires Girl Scouts to consider how they can improve life in their community. Specifically, two questions ask Girl Scouts to evaluate the type of medical care provided in hospitals and schools and determine how they could contribute their services to these institutions.[108] These questions require Girl Scouts to find

manageable ways that they can contribute to and improve the well-being of the community and its residents even though they are still girls. The knowledge that they develop through the other parts of these proficiency tests enables them to answer these questions and use their knowledge in ways that have tangible effects on their towns.

The Home Nurse, Swimmer, and First Aide badges require Girl Scouts to demonstrate their ability to sustain others' welfare in emergencies in and outside the home. Having to physically perform these actions, and practicing in order to pass the proficiency tests, helps Girl Scouts develop the virtue of civic engagement. The Home Nurse badge asks Girl Scouts to show how to care for the infirm and prevent the spread of disease.[109] To earn the Swimmer badge Girl Scouts must rescue someone who is drowning and perform CPR.[110] Finally, the First Aide badge requires Girl Scouts to bandage different parts of the body and provide appropriate treatment for several minor and life-threatening injuries.[111]

Girl Scouts also develop the virtue of civic engagement in the outdoors by sustaining conservation efforts and local agriculture. In order to earn the Bee Keeper, Gardener, Dairy Maid, and Farmer badges Girl Scouts must demonstrate their ability to raise and care for animals, insects, and plants. Each badge provides specific responsibilities that Girl Scouts must have in order to pass each proficiency test. For example, the Dairy Maid test instructs Girl Scouts to "take entire care of a cow and the milk of one cow for one month, keeping a record of quantity of each milking" and asks them to explain "the rules for feeding, watering, and pasturing cows."[112] The Farmer and Bee Keeper tests also require Girl Scouts to raise and care for animals and insects and, for the Bee Keeper badge, prepare honey.[113] The detailed instructions provided in each test illustrate the thorough, thoughtful engagement Girl Scouts must have with local agriculture in order to earn these badges.

The Bird Hunter badge teaches Girl Scouts that they must act on their responsibility to preserve the welfare of animals and the environment. Unlike the local civic engagement that previous badges foster, the Bird Hunter badge requires Girl Scouts to participate in large-scale conservation efforts by joining the Audubon Society, explaining its work, understanding the cruelty done to waterbirds for the sake of fashion, identifying bird sanctuaries, and explaining their necessity.[114] The badge provides an opportunity for civic engagement that other badges' proficiency tests do not since some, like the Zoologist badge, only require Girl Scouts to know about, not support, animal sanctuaries.[115] The Bird Hunter proficiency test helps Girl Scouts develop the virtue of civic engagement on a national level and helps them understand the value of this virtue for animals and the ecosystem.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how contextualizing Girl Scout training in the pioneer past helped girls develop an *ethos* that allowed them to imagine themselves as citizens of their homes and communities. Specifically, the pioneer past as depicted in the 1920 handbook's "Who are the Scouts?" section and narratives about Sacajawea, Louisa Alcott, and Anna Shaw stresses how virtues of self-reliance, vast skills, and a broad knowledgebase allowed girls to be pioneers in the wilderness and in their communities. The handbook made these pioneer virtues relevant to Progressive Era girls by positioning these girls in numerous places—in the home, community, public resources, and the wilderness—to show how modern-day girls could similarly develop a wide breadth of skills through their Girl Scout training. As a result, Girl Scouts are encouraged to develop a Progressive Era pioneer *ethos* that emphasizes resourcefulness, civic responsibility, and civic engagement.

This *ethos* also acknowledges that Progressive Era girls did inhabit places, and have aspirations, beyond the home. The 1920 handbook's training encouraged girls to think about how these places could serve as outlets for their citizenship. After learning about local laws, community resources, and services in the public health section, Girl Scouts could better support their fellow residents' welfare. After learning about the environment, how to care for it, and the animals that inhabit it, Girl Scouts could preserve these natural resources. After learning how to survive in the wilderness, make their own maps, build fires, and cook their own food in the camping section, Girl scouts could be resourceful and provide for themselves and their fellow troop members.

In a 1924 speech at Mercer College, Juliette Gordon Low stressed that Scout training could shape girls' futures in addition to their present. She argued that "Scouting is the cradle of careers it is where careers are born. For instance a girl tries bandaging she finds she likes Red Cross work and she decides to study seriously and become a hospital nurse, or she is expert in signaling and the Morse code leads her to becoming a telegraph operator or she goes in for social service and gets a government job."[116] The breadth of knowledge that the 1920 handbook provides ensures that Girl Scouts have these influential opportunities during their girlhood that can open doors for them as women and allow them to continue demonstrating their work as citizens through adulthood.

[1] "The New Handbook at Last," *The Rally* 3, no. 8 (May 1920), 4. This issue of *The Rally*, the GSUSA's magazine, featured excerpts of the new handbook for girls eagerly awaiting its publication.

[2] Tammy Proctor writes that "Low willingly gave up her active position as President in 1920 and refused all other positions except the honorary role as 'The Founder.'" Although no longer formally involved with the GSUSA, "Low continued to work for Girl Scouting for the rest of her life, but in a more behind-the-scenes way" as she promoted international Scouting. Tammy Proctor, *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts*. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2009), 40-41.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Kephart, a former librarian, spent most of his life exploring North Carolina's mountains and eventually "emerged as a recognized authority on the cultural and natural history of the region." He is the author of numerous articles and several handbooks on camping and survival in the outdoors. Kephart's greatest achievement was contributing to the development of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, where a mountain was named after him. "Horace Kephart: Biography," *Horace Kephart: Revealing an Enigma, West Chester University Library*, 2005, https://www.wcu.edu/library/digitalcollections/kephart/biography/biography.htm.

[5] In addition to her work at Simmons College, Arnold served as President of the American Home Economics Association, worked as a lecturer under Herbert Hoover when he was the Secretary of the Food Administration, and became GSUSA's president in 1925 following a "lifelong interest" in the organization. "Guide to the Sarah Louise Arnold papers, 1889-1954," *Simmons Library*, June 1998, http://beatleyweb.simmons.edu/collectionguides/ManuscriptsCollection/MS064.html.

Other contributors to the 1920 handbook include pioneering surgeons and doctors, the latter of whom created a diphtheria antibody and curbed the spread of tuberculosis; an artist and architectural critic; educators from Columbia University's Teacher's College who taught courses in nursing, scouting, and recreation leadership; Arnold's colleagues from Simmons College's School of Home Economics; leaders of the Woodcraft League of America; curators from the American Natural History Museum's Public Education Department; and a herpetologist who worked at the museum and several New York Zoos. "News of the Hospital Field," *The Modern Hospital* 8 (January 1917): 46., "Behind the Frieze-Hermann Michael Biggs (1859-1923)," *London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine*, http://www.lshtm.ac.uk/library/archives/history/frieze/biggs.html., Allen Hazard and Janet O'Dea, *Images of America: Mission Hills* (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015): 9., Patricia D'Antonio, *American Nursing: A History of Knowledge, Authority, and the Meaning of Work* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010)., R. Louise McManus, "Isabel M. Stewart—Foremost Researcher," *Nursing Research* vol. 11 (Winter 1962)., *Columbia University Bulletin of Information: Summer Session Announcement* (New York: Columbia University, 1918): xii., Josephine Daskam Bacon, "Preface," *Scouting for Girls*, 1., "Raymond L. Ditmars," *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Volume X* (New York: James T. White & Company, 1900), 452.

[6] *Scouting for Girls: Official Handbook of the Girl Scouts* (New York: Girl Scouts, Inc., 1920), 26.

[7] Mary Aickin Rothschild, "To Scout or To Guide? The Girl Scout-Boy Scout Controversy, 1912-1941," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 6, no. 3 (Autumn 1981), 121.

[8] Education scholar Chara Haeussler Bohan refers to this change as a shift from a legal definition of citizenship to a cultural one. She explains the benefits of such a shift when she writes that "by emphasizing the cultural concept of citizenship rather than a narrow legal conception, groups such as women, blacks, and children, who traditionally had not possessed political rights, such as voting, were included" as citizens. Chara Haeussler Bohan, "Early Vanguards of Progressive Education: The Committee of Ten, the Committee of Seven, and Social Education," *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 19, no. 1 (Fall 2003): 74.
[9] John Dewey, *Moral Principles in Education* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company: 1909): 8-9.; R. Freeman Butts, "Historical Perspective on Civic Education in the United States," in *Education for Responsible Citizenship: The Report of the National Task Force on Citizenship Education*, ed. B. Frank Brown (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1977): 57.
[10] Education historian and former Columbia University education professor R. Freeman Butts explains that this change to community civics because educators argued "that political affairs nearest home are the most important and should be considered first." Former member of the United States' Department of Education and education professional Thomas Jesse Jones argued that in order to learn about their communities, children would take field trips to local public institutions and "study all manner of social efforts to improve mankind" including public health resources, recreation, and housing. Butts, 57.; Thomas Jesse Jones, "Statement of Chairman of the Committee on Social Studies" in *Preliminary Statements by Chairmen of Committees of the Commission of the National Education Association on The Reorganization of Secondary Education"* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913):19.
[11] "The New Handbook at Last."
[12] Nedra Reynolds, "*Ethos* as Location: New Sites for Understanding Discursive Activity," *Rhetoric Review* 11, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 329.
[13] Susan C. Jarratt and Nedra Reynolds, "The Splitting Image: Contemporary Feminisms and the Ethics of *Ethos*," in *Ethos: New Essays in Rhetorical and Critical Theory*, ed. James S. Baumlin and Tita French Baumlin (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1994), 47.
[14] Abigail Van Slyck defines "manufacturing wilderness" as an effort to "turn back the clock, reversing the westward motion of the advancing frontier…and return the landscape to something that evoked its pristine form." Abigail A. Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1960* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 4.
[15]Ibid., 25.; Susan A. Miller, *Growing Girls: The Natural Origins of Girls' Organizations in America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 4-8.; Leslie Paris, *Children's Nature: The Rise of the American Summer Camp* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 11, 17-18, 29.; Kevin C. Armitage, "'The Child is Born a Naturalist': Nature Study, Woodcraft Indians, and the Theory of Recapitulation," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 6, no. 1 (2007): 44-56.
[16] This classification system was also used to determine the type of work or industry found throughout different parts of the country. For example, "2-6 inhabitants to a square mile…indicates a population mainly occupied with the grazing industry or a widely scattered farming population." By contrast, "45-90 inhabitants to a square mile" indicated growing industrial work. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890. Part I.—Population* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1892), xlvi.**;** "Following the Frontier Line, 1790-1890," United States Census Bureau, September 6, 2012,

https://www.census.gov/dataviz/visualizations/001/508.php#:~:text=In%201890%2C%20the%20Superintendent%20of,previous%20100%20years%20was%20complete.

[17] The introduction to the 1890 Census states that although it's impossible to know the exact number of people who migrated West, "some idea of it may be obtained from the fact that in 1880, out of 22,000,000 persons born in the Atlantic states, over 3,000,000 were found living in other states, entirely to the westward." The Census also notes a variety of reasons for westward migration, including search for better mining and agricultural opportunities. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890. Part I.—Population*, xxxix-xliii.

[18] Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890. Part I.—Population*, xlv.

[19] Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890. Part I.—Population*, xlviii.

[20] Statistics illustrate the significant population growth in specific Western states by showing how much the population grew during the last ten years. For example, it notes that "Idaho has increased its population 158.77 per cent" and that Oregon saw its population grow by "79.53 per cent during the last decade." Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890. Part I.—Population*, xliii.

[21] Vanessa B. Beasley, *You, the People: American National Identity in Presidential Rhetoric* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2004), 31.; Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 4.

[22] Ronald H. Carpenter, "Frederick Jackson Turner and the Rhetorical Impact of the Frontier Thesis," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 63, no. 2 (1977): 117, 119-120. Carpenter notes that Turner presented his Frontier Thesis at a conference that was "part of a 'World's Congress of Historians and Historical Students,' held in conjunction with the 'World's Columbian Exposition' commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of America's discovery.

[23] Ibid., 120.

[24] Frederick Jackson Turner, "Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at the Forty-First Annual Meeting Held December 14, 1893* (Madison, WI: Democrat Printing Company, 1894): 80.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid., 87. Although Turner does see Westward expansion as a "perennial rebirth" of the frontier and its challenges, he recognizes that not all frontiers pose the same challenges to their settlers. Specifically, he acknowledges factors that have influenced people's experiences on the frontier at different points in history, including railroads that led people to different wildernesses and how some frontiers are settled for agriculture and others for mining. Ibid., 88.

[27] Ibid., 111-112. Ronald H. Carpenter notes that Turner's characterization of the frontiersman was a product of his style, particularly his use of "antithesis, alliteration, and parallel repetitions" to craft "vivid character portrayals" in his Frontier Thesis. Turner's correspondence with Theodore Roosevelt and experience at conferences inspired his commitment to characterization and style. In one letter that Carpenter cites, Roosevelt writes that his "aim is especially to show who the frontiersmen were and what they did, as they gradually conquered the west." Additionally, Turner saw style as a way to provide the verbal illustrations he found missing in many people's presentations during the 1888 American Historical Association conference. Carpenter, 121-125.

[28] Carpenter, 125.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Vanessa B. Beasley argues that the frontier's significance is part of a "characterization of American identity" that she calls "an American yearning." This form of identity is derived from "the sense of a deep relationship between the American people and their land." She further explains that Turner influenced this form of identity because his "vision of a new land created a new type of men." Beasley, 29. 31-32.
[31] Miller, 6-7.
[32] Carpenter, 127-128.
[33] Elliott West, *Growing Up in Twentieth-Century America: A History and Reference Guide* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 18.; Miller, 2.
[34] DeLuzio, 147.
[35] David I. MacLeod, *The Age of the Child: Children in America, 1890-1920* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998), 4.; Van Slyck, xxiii.; Paris, 8, 29.; Armitage, "'The Child is Born a Naturalist,'" 46, 51, 56, 61.
[36] Abigail A. Van Slyck argues that even suburbs "offered none of the character-building opportunities increasingly associated with the American frontier," including "confronting the untamed elements of the natural environment…and bringing the land under cultivation through force of will and hard physical labor." Van Slyck, xxii.
[37] Paris, 29.; West, 17.; Marten, 7.
[38] Armitage, "'The Child is Born a Naturalist,'" 51 and 61.; Van Slyck, 10.; West, 17.
[39] Armitage, "'The Child is Born a Naturalist,'" 66.
[40] Ibid., 65-66.
[41] Kevin C. Armitage, *The Nature Study Movement: The Forgotten Popularizer of America's Conservation Ethic* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2009), 4.; Paris, 49.
[42] West, 18-19.; Miller, 4, 29.; Charles B. Scott, *Nature-Study and the Child* (Boston, MA: D.C. Heath & Co., Publishers, 1901), 100, 120.
[43] Tiffany Lewis, "The Mountaineering and Wilderness Rhetorics of Washington Woman Suffragists," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 21, no. 2 (2019): 283.
[44] Ibid., 283-284.
[45] Ibid., 283, 284.
[46] Armitage, *The Nature Study Movement*, 3.
[47] Ibid., 17-25.; Scott, 97-98. Armitage provides an example of what this method of observation looks like in practice. Specifically, he cites the "fish method" that Louis Agassiz, a Harvard professor, used while educating teachers in the practice of nature study. Agassiz gave each teacher a fish and instructed them to spend a week learning everything they could about it using only their five senses. Some of Agassiz's students felt that they could learn plenty in one day, but began to develop more questions about the fish's scales, its dietary habits, and its body structure as the week continued. Armitage, *The Nature Study Movement*, 15-16.
[48] Armitage, "'The Child is Born a Naturalist,'" 47.; Miller, 3. Miller notes that women were active participants in nature study opportunities. She argues that "women were comfortable in nature largely because they viewed the landscape as a balanced environment that could both enhance a reverent aesthetic and serve as a test of fortitude." Tiffany Lewis agrees, stressing that women's outdoor activities "exemplified their physical independence and their mental freedom." In the wilderness, women were able to escape the gendered roles and expectations that governed

their lives. Few wore traditional clothing—such as long, heavy skirts—in the wilderness, for example, so that they could move more freely.

Although breaking free from gender constraints could be viewed negatively at home and in the local community, this was not true in the wilderness. Lewis explains that the wilderness provided women freedom without jeopardizing their femininity because "the wilderness was associated with the ideals of purity, faith, and morality, which were traditional ideals of U.S. womanhood." Miller, 86.; Lewis, 298-300.

[49] Scott, 107-108.

[50] Armitage, *The Nature Study Movement*, 4.

[51] Ibid., 5.

[52] Ibid., 3.

[53] Scott, 126-127.

[54] Van Slyck, 23-25.

[55] Helen J. Ferris, *Girls' Clubs: Their Organization and Management* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1926), 223-224.; Miller, 5, 7.

[56] Armitage, "'The Child is Born a Naturalist,'" 56.

[57] Van Slyck, xx-xxii.

[58] David I. MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 137.; Armitage, "'The Child is Born a Naturalist,'" 61.; Van Slyck, 9-10.;

[59] Paris, 46.

[60] Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 120.;; R. D. Bezucha and Staff of the National council of Boy Scouts of America, *The Golden Anniversary Book of Scouting* (New York: Golden Press, 1959), 35.; Armitage, "'The Child is Born a Naturalist,'" 55-60.

[61] DeLuzio, 147.

[62] Miller, 2.

[63] Miller cites Josephine Daskam Bacon, the GSUSA's Chairman of Publications, who argued that camping could counter the harm modern life had caused girls: "Scouting takes girls out into the open, 'hikes' with them, teaches them every sort of woodcraft, camping, swimming…that the elevators and gas ranges and electric lights of civilization are causing to be lost out of the race…or our pioneering mothers—and the Girl Scouts are putting them back." Miller, 2, 5-6, 7.; Paris, 26, 48.

[64] Miller, 92.

[65] Van Slyck, 4.

[66] Ibid., 11, 14.; Miller, 7, 73, 83.

[67] Paris, 46.; Proctor, 54-55.

[68] Miller, 7.

[69] Proctor, 54.; Van Slyck, 11.; Miller 7.; Ferris, 242.

[70] Paris, 56.

[71] Proctor, 54.; Miller 6-7.; Paris, 18.

[72] Proctor, 54.; Miller, 6.

[73]Miller, 6-7.

[74] "Who are the Scout" is the handbook's fourth section. It appears immediately after the foundational GSUSA material, including the organization's history, principles, and structure.

[75] Ibid., 17.

[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid., 17-18.
[79] Ibid., 18.
[80] Ibid., 17.
[81] Ibid., 21.
[82] Ibid., 22.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid., 23.
[86] Ibid., 24.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid., 25.
[89] Ibid., 25-26.
[90] Ibid., 26.
[91] Ibid., 280-312, 313-372, 476-484.
[92] Although the Homemaker section describes how to furnish a home, complete household chores, and cook different recipes for each meal of the day, this section rarely claims that Girl Scouts are responsible for this work. Instead, it repeatedly notes that these are a housekeeper's responsibility and that Girl Scouts' responsibility is to simply pay attention and observe the housekeeper at work. Any mention of Girl Scouts performing household chores is in the context of passing proficiency tests and earning badges.
[93] Ibid., 3.
[94] Ibid., 42-43.
[95] Ibid., 375.
[96] Ibid., 377.
[97] Ibid., 254-257.
[98] Ibid., 106, 157.
[99] Ibid., 125.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid., 255.
[102] Ibid., 256-257. Emphasis in original.
[103] Ibid., 498.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid., 504.
[107] Ibid., 516.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid., 519.
[110] Ibid., 530.
[111] Ibid., 512.
[112] Ibid., 507.
[113] Ibid., 500, 510-511.
[114] Ibid., 500-501.
[115] Ibid., 531-533.
[116] Juliette Gordon Low, "Macon Speech," Mercer College, June 1924.

CHAPTER 4

"GOOD CITIZENS" IN *THE RALLY* AND *THE AMERICAN GIRL*, 1918-1921

Introduction

In October 1917, the Girl Scouts of the USA (GSUSA) debuted its magazine, *The Rally*.[1] The magazine emerged as a means of easy, effective communication between the organization and its more than 500 troops nationwide. The debut issue was twelve pages long and mailed for free to "every registered captain and volunteer."[2] As "the regular means of official communication to captains," early issues of *The Rally* provided very little information that appealed to Girl Scouts whose captains would allow them to read the magazine.[3] This changed over time because of the positive feedback the magazine received whenever the Girls Scouts were mentioned.[4] After seeing Girl Scouts' enthusiasm for *The Rally*, the GSUSA began to tailor the magazine's content to Girl Scouts instead of captains. From its debut issue, the magazine's editors encouraged Girl Scouts to submit reports of troop activities, suggestions for new material, and pictures from their Scouting activities.[5] Girl Scouts eagerly responded with requests for serial fiction, more news on troop activities, party ideas, and longer issues, all of which the magazine honored.[6] In May 1920, the magazine changed its name to *The American Girl* in an effort to appeal to all girls, not just Girl Scouts. An advertisement titled "News! News! News!" explains the reason behind the name change: "Every Scout is an American girl—the very finest kind of American girl—and all the other thousands of girls who, we hope, are going to enjoy our magazine with us are American girls, too."[7] In June 2020, the GSUSA published the first issue of *The American Girl*.[8]

The magazine was a unique publication for two reasons. First, it offered insight into the Girl Scouts' voluntary service and activities. Although the handbooks outline a training program and suggest activities, they do not illuminate girls' lived experiences using their Scout training. By highlighting the activities girls performed and how they responded to crises, including World War I, the 1918 flu epidemic, and concerns about infant health, the magazine reveals how Girl Scouts applied their training to real-life situations. Second, the magazine offered a channel for Girl Scouts' voices. Specifically, the magazine published Girl Scouts' letters, poems, and songs about their activities as well as party ideas.[9] This Scout-authored discourse revealed how the girls saw themselves as Scouts, citizens of their communities and country, and Progressive Era girls. The magazine thus provides an opportunity to analyze how Girl Scouts viewed themselves and their own positions in the greater context of the Progressive Era.

These magazine entries reveal that the girls wrote about three types of activities: war service, community service, and Scout training while hiking and camping. In all of these activities, Girl Scouts worked to sustain the welfare others including soldiers at home and abroad, their fellow town residents, and members of their Girl Scout troops. As such, the Girl Scouts embodied the characteristics of the Progressive Era "good citizen," defined as "a person who habitually conducts himself with proper regard for the welfare of the communities of which he is a member, and who is active and intelligent in his cooperation with his fellow members to that end."[10] The "good citizen" reflects Progressive Era educators' shift from a legal to a participatory concept of citizenship.[11] This focus on community citizenship was also part of girls' organization training programs in the twentieth century. Helen Ferris, a pioneer of the girls' organization movement, argued that it was vital for girls to be active members of their communities because "the most live and worth-while Girls' Clubs to-day have a vision of service

through some constructive work."[12] She explained that "every time a girl is brought into direct contact with movements of this kind, a forward step is taken in her education: not only is her sense of responsibility awakened, but she is also shown channels through which she can work wisely and in which her efforts will be most effective."[13] Thus, Girl Scouts' honed their knowledge of how to best support others' welfare each time they acted as "good citizens."

This chapter argues that discursive features—enumeration of specific actions, quantification, *chronos*, repetition, *copia*, and accumulation of details—rhetorically construct Girl Scouts' habits of war service, community service, and Scout training; expose the virtues girls developed through these habits; and reveal how the girls positioned themselves within the greater social context of the Progressive Era. Together, Girl Scouts' habits, positionality, and virtues compose the *ethos* they developed through lived experiences as citizens of their communities. The remainder of this introduction provides a sketch of the magazine's prominent rhetorical features, how they invoke contemporary theories of *ethos*, and how the chapter's analysis unfolds.

Because the accounts of Girl Scouts' activities are extremely detailed, this chapter's analysis draws upon the rhetorical power of accumulation of detail, passage of time, and sheer quantities of physical tasks performed. Details include names of the local and national organizations Girls Scouts supported through volunteering and donations; tasks performed for doctors and nurses during the flu epidemic; daily schedules at camp; and steps they took to provide basic needs in the wilderness. Many of the accounts recall activities performed over a period of time. These entries mention which activities were performed during particular months or in the past, present, and those planned for the future. Additionally, the Girl Scouts quantify their contributions including, to name a few, the amount of money raised, community service

performed, posters distributed, and barrels of peach pits and nut shells collected to make carbon filters for soldiers' gas masks. Some entries even include commentary on the Girl Scouts' efforts from the GSUSA, organizations, and individuals they aided to show how others perceived the Scouts' work.

These rhetorical features are among the many factors that construct the *ethos* of Girl Scouts. Contemporary *ethos* scholars encourage critics to evaluate the relationship among habit, place, and *ethos* in order to account for the numerous factors that can and do shape a rhetor's character. These scholars agree that *ethos* is developed through habituation, or the process of performing the same action until it becomes second-nature.[14] S. Michael Halloran explains the relationship of habituation to virtue and *ethos* when he writes that "to achieve courage, an aspect of *ethos*, I must act courageously over and over again until it becomes quite natural for me to act in a courageous fashion. When I have the habit of courage, I have the virtue of courage as part of my character."[15] This example highlights the importance of repetition and accumulation of similar actions in developing a habit.[16] Arthur B. Miller argues that *ethos* is most persuasive when a rhetor can demonstrate how their character derives from habit because an audience is more likely to trust a speaker who conveys a "pattern of moral virtue" than "occasional" virtue.[17] He defines habit as "a continuing action with a history" and stresses that the rhetor must show that he acted in a virtuous way over a "sufficient period of time" in order "to communicate that his actions...are typically and habitually" virtuous.[18]

Miller's etymology of *ethos* reveals the role that place plays in the relationship between *ethos* and habit. He notes that the Greek word for habit, ἔθος (*ethos*), is defined as "habit and custom" and that the "basic denotation" of character (ἦθος) *eethos* is "an accustomed place," or "the abodes of men."[19] The secondary denotations for *eethos* include "character" and "traits."[20]

Miller notes that in Aristotle's time, "the abodes of men" was the *polis* which he defines as "the social/political environment in which persons are trained in virtuous, habitual conduct—the environment in which a person's character (*eethos*) is formed."[21] His findings have inspired scholars to continue exploring how place shapes the habits and thus *ethos* that individuals develop.

Contemporary *ethos* scholars have shown how Miller's idea of place can be both a physical setting and a person's position in a greater social context. Halloran points in this first direction when he evaluates the relationship between *ethos* and "habitual gathering places" or physical locations where people "shar[e] experiences and ideas."[22] He offers examples of academic gathering places—a conference and classroom—to illustrate how the location, arrangement of objects, and even curriculum shape *ethos* by influencing how people gather together and the type of habits they develop.[23] He argues that "if at an academic conference or colloquium I speak so with some authority, it is partly because I manage to look and sound the way professors are supposed to look and sound; I make present some important aspects of what we can call 'the professorial *ethos*.'"[24] Halloran's example illustrates how gathering places are where people simultaneously develop and demonstrate their character. The communities that gather in these settings—here, scholars—have a collective *ethos* that constructs and sanctions the habits individuals learn and demonstrate.

Just as the physical places people occupy shape their *ethos*, so do the more abstract locations people occupy in broader social and political contexts. In this vein of *ethos* scholarship, critics such as Nedra Reynolds agree that "an individual's *ethos* cannot be determined outside of the space in which it was created."[25] However, as a composition and rhetoric scholar Reynolds wants to expand the way critics evaluate the "spatial and social aspects" of *ethos* beyond

physical settings.[26] Specifically, she encourages critics to attend to the rhetorical strategies that reveal "where and how texts and their writers are located" in a "social matrix" of other texts, current events, history, and politics.[27] With Susan C. Jarrett, Reynolds uses this new concept of space to define *ethos* as that which "theorizes the positionality inherent in rhetoric—the speaker having been created at a particular site within the contingencies of history and geography."[28]

Habits, placement in physical locations, and positionality in the twentieth century's social matrix all shape the *ethos* that Girl Scouts demonstrate in *The Rally*. As Girl Scouts develop their habits, they simultaneously position themselves in physical locations—such as the community and home—and in the greater social context of the Progressive Era. It is necessary to consider the relationship among habit, place, and *ethos* to truly understand the significance of Girl Scouts' "good citizen" *ethos*.

In what follows, I examine how Girl Scouts demonstrate their *ethos* as citizens of their communities by rhetorically constructing their habits of war service, community service, and Scout training, and their position in physical settings and the greater context of the Progressive Era. In order to evaluate the Girl Scouts' habits in each section, I analyze the rhetorical features of the magazine entries, including enumeration of specific activities, accumulation of details, *chronos*, quantification, and repetition. Together, these features illustrate how their activities form habits, or "a continuing action with a history."[29] Then, I will evaluate Girl Scouts' positionality through their descriptions of the physical settings they inhabit and perceptions of their relation to contextual events.

I begin with an analysis of magazine entries on war service. This section opens with a context narrative about how Americans responded to the threats that World War I posed in order to sustain the welfare of themselves, soldiers, and allied nations. Then, I turn to entries on Girl

Scouts' war service where I analyze how Girl Scouts positioned themselves as soldiers and Uncle Sam's helpers, developed the habit of war service, and consequently, virtues of patriotism and sacrifice as part of their character. Next, I shift my attention to the magazine's entries on community service. Here I begin with a context narrative about how children became recognized as citizens. Then I turn to the entries and analyze how Girl Scouts positioned themselves in organizations that supported residents' welfare, developed the habit of community service, and the virtue of civic engagement. Finally, I analyze the magazine's entries on Girl Scouts' hiking and camping adventures. This section begins with a context narrative about the value of outdoor recreation for children during the Progressive Era. Then I turn to the magazine entries to evaluate how the Girl Scouts positioned themselves in the wilderness as "good Scouts," developed the habit of wilderness survival, and finally the virtue of self-reliance as part of their character.

Girl Scouts' War Service

In the magazine Girl Scouts recount their extensive war service during and after World War I. Their contributions included monetary donations to organizations such as the Salvation Army, Jewish Welfare Organization, and Red Cross;[30] volunteering with the Red Cross through its membership and rubber drives; sewing bandages and garments for soldiers;[31] supplying clothes, dolls, and money to French refugees and children; adopting French orphans;[32] collecting peach pits and nut shells that would become activated charcoal filters for gas masks;[33] donating gun wipes, books, records, playing cards, and tobacco for soldiers;[34] marching in local parades;[35] participating in food conservation at home;[36] and selling war savings stamps, thrift stamps, and liberty bonds.[37]

Through these activities, Girl Scouts came to see themselves as soldiers and Uncle Sam's helpers who helped win the war. Additionally, these entries rhetorically construct a habit of war

service by enumerating their contributions and emphasizing the accumulation and history of their service. As a result, Girl Scouts demonstrate that patriotism and sacrifice are part of their character. In order to understand the significance of their contributions, it is necessary to first recall the threats that the United States faced during World War I and how Americans responded to those threats to sustain the welfare of their fellow citizens at home and abroad.

World War I Context

On April 2, 1917, when President Woodrow Wilson declared war on Germany, he called the United States' entry into war a fight "for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself free."[38] Although not everyone was eligible to fight in the war overseas, Americans were able and eager to contribute to the fight at home. Each act of war service was vital to help support the war, the soldiers fighting in it, relief efforts, and the people who remained in the United States for its duration. Four types of service in particular—selling or buying stamps and bonds, Red Cross volunteerism, collecting materials for gas masks, and food conservation—supported war initiatives that, as history shows, had the most widespread effect on the war's outcome and morale at home. The history of these war service contributions reinforces this.

Individuals who sold liberty bonds, war savings stamps, and thrift stamps helped fund the war. Hugh Rockoff, an economics professor, notes that the United States government funded the war through a combination of taxes and loans, the latter of which derived from the sales of bonds and stamps.[39] Although a single Liberty Bond could cost $50, stamps were as cheap as 25 cents, allowing Americans from all classes to help fund the war.[40] Advertisements and publicity tours

for the stamps and bonds featured famous movie stars, patriotic imagery, and calls for Americans to sacrifice luxury in order to purchase stamps and bonds.[41] By the end of World War I, the United States had used more than $18 billion from bond sales and more than $800 million from stamp sales to fund the war.[42]

Once the war had been funded, soldiers soon needed medical assistance and basic needs such as warmer clothes. The Red Cross offered substantial assistance to soldiers during this time by equipping hospitals and ambulance services with doctors, nurses, and supplies and providing healthcare for veterans once the war ended.[43] For the first three years of World War I, only adults were members of the Red Cross. This changed when girls, although not official members, helped their mothers knit clothing for soldiers. Red Cross leaders recognized the potential that children had to contribute to the organization.[44] The Junior Red Cross emerged as an opportunity to teach children "that they were an active and responsible part of the whole world's life" in both "the emergencies of war and…the emergencies of peace."[45] A *Red Cross Bulletin* published in 1919 claimed that members' commitment to sewing and knitting soldiers' clothes was "one of the war-time activities of the Red Cross which has been of very great value to the American soldiers' and sailors."[46]

Although the Red Cross sustained soldiers' health and basic needs, the greatest threat to their well-being emerged in a new form of weaponry, chemical warfare, created by the Germans. During World War I, the Germans introduced four different types of gas used to debilitate and kill their enemies.[47] Scientists searched for a gas mask that would protect soldiers as the death toll from these gases climbed to 90,000.[48] James Bert Garner ultimately created an effective mask that used activated charcoal to filter the gas from the air that soldiers breathed.[49] Garner used peach pits and walnut shells to make the charcoal for this mask that many wore, including

soldiers, "artillery horses, pack mules, liaison dogs, and…the civilian inhabitants in the back of the battle lines."[50] Soon, national organizations like the Red Cross, issued calls for Americans to collect peach pits and walnut shells and donate them to the government to create a continuous supply of activated charcoal.[51]

Perhaps the greatest act of service during World War I was the regulation of food conservation and production that allowed the United States to ensure that its people, and Allied nations abroad, had a sufficient food supply in the face of German trade blockades that prevented food from reaching the countries at war. Historian Rose Hayden-Smith contends that "possibly more than any other aspect of wartime mobilization, the activities related to food production (including gardening) and distribution touched American lives on a daily basis during World War I."[52] President Wilson and Food Administrator Herbert Hoover urged every American to conserve food by reducing their consumption of certain items, substituting ingredients, such as corn, for wheat products, and limiting food waste. Additionally, Hoover encouraged Americans to increase the production of food by starting gardens in their homes and communities.[53] The combination of these efforts "resulted in a 15% reduction in domestic food consumption without rationing" meaning that between 1918 and 1919 the United States "furnished 18,500,000 tons of food to the Allies."[54]

During the war, Americans made sacrifices to fund the war, looked for opportunities to conserve and grow their own food, and devoted their time to hunting for resources—such as tin foil and peach pits—that would support soldiers abroad. Adults were not alone in these efforts. Children, including those in youth organizations such as the GSUSA, were active participants as well. They viewed their contributions as "real work" that helped win the war.[55] This context

reinforces the significance of Girl Scouts' war service and provides insight into the habits, positions, and virtues rhetorically constructed in *The Rally*.

Girl Scouts' Positionality in World War I

Poems, letters, and picture captions about Girl Scouts' war service position them as soldiers and Uncle Sam's helpers. At times, their contributions are declared examples of the girls "doing their soldiering in this war."[56] Several entries call upon Girl Scouts to enlist by participating in war service or donating to the United War Fund. For example, an article titled "Our Own Win the War Page" claims that girls who collect tin foil and rubber "enlist with the salvage service" and encourages them to envision their homes as "war plants."[57] The most detailed description of a Girl Scout's position as a soldier appeared in a poem by Beatrice Prior titled "My Victory Garden." She wrote:

> With spade and hoe I now march on
> As bravely as can be.
> March right into my own back yard
> To honor Victory.
>
> I spade and rake and hoe the soil,
> Then plant the seeds with care.
> I work from early morn 'til Night
> It's work I do declare.
>
> But Victory I celebrate,
> War Gardens helped us fight,

To leave these noble gardens bare
Would be a mournful sight.

And so I planted in my yard
some corn, potatoes, beans,
And lettuce, onions, peas and squash,
Some cauliflower and greens.

Now in my back yard one may see
A garden Oh, so fine.
Perhaps you'll make a garden too,
As soon as you've seen mine.[58]

Beatrice envisions herself as a soldier. She characterizes her movement toward the garden as marching, not walking, and her demeanor as brave which makes her appear as though she is going to fight somewhere dangerous, like a war. These characterizations make her spade and hoe seem more like weapons than garden tools. Beatrice's appearance as a soldier and her impression of gardening as a sort of combat make her appear patriotic. Additionally, Beatrice captures the significant correlation between service at home, specifically her back yard, and the successful war oversees when she claims that "War Gardens helped us fight." Like the article that referred to the home as a war plant, the physical locations that Girl Scouts inhabit acquire a new significance when the girls are positioned in these places as soldiers.

Girl Scouts also repeatedly position themselves as Uncle Sam's helpers. Given that "Uncle Sam is the personal, humanized embodiment of the United States," Girl Scouts' efforts to support him also represent their efforts to support the country during World War I.[59] They write that they helped Uncle Sam by being thrifty, conserving food, buying and selling stamps and bonds, responding to his calls for help, and reacting to his needs for financial support for the war.[60] For example, Girl Scouts in Iowa City, Iowa write that they made their own uniforms "since we could save about half the cost and thus help Uncle Sam more."[61] Similarly, one girl recalled 1918 as "the year when Uncle Sam needed all the food that every foot of land could produce, and the Norwood campers were dedicated to the patriotic task of coaxing crops from this 'wild acre.'"[62] When reflecting on their war service, Girl Scouts, GSUSA leaders, and girls' mothers acknowledge how they have been useful to Uncle Sam.[63] By positioning themselves as Uncle Sam's helpers and soldiers, Girl Scouts revealed the active role they played in supporting their country and helping to win the war. Girl Scouts' positionality during the war and reconstruction shaped the habit of war service and virtue of patriotism they developed as part of their character.

War Service: Habits and Virtues

If Aristotle is correct that "the virtues we acquire by doing the acts," then it is necessary for the Girl Scouts to address their actions in order to demonstrate their *ethos*.[64] Girl Scouts and leaders enumerated their wartime contributions, which constituted their war service habits. Desiderius Erasmus argues that enumeration is one method of creating *copia*, "the abundant style."[65] *Copia* is formed through both a "richness in subject matter" or content and "richness in expression" or style.[66] Enumeration creates rich subject matter because it represents "the division of the whole into its parts," or the elaboration of an idea that could have been "expressed in brief

and general terms."[67] Erasmus recommends that rhetors enumerate by introducing the whole idea at the beginning of the sentence, then listing out the individual parts that comprise the whole.[68] This type of syntax is more commonly known as a loose or right-branching sentence.[69] The magazine entries create *copia* through enumeration in right-branching sentences. Instead of briefly stating that Girl Scouts were active war servants, most letters recount the specific fundraisers, donations of money and clothing, and work with local organizations that Girl Scouts performed. The entries begin by stating that they will recount some of the girls' war service activities, then offer lengthy accounts of their contributions. In October 1918, *The Rally*'s editors report that a Cincinnati troop:

> made sixteen complete layettes for French orphans, each layette consisting of a dress, cap, petticoat, shirt, pair of stockings, pair of booties and six squares. They have also pasted paper dolls on muslin and cut them out, thus providing pleasure for the lonely little girls. They have made numberless scrapbooks for hospitals, and besides this have sent 700 puzzles to the Special Aid Society of New York…They have made good use of their knowledge of cooking by providing cookies for soldiers.[70]

Similarly, the same issue offers a report from an Indiana Scout Captain who shares that:

> The girls have sold over $1,000 in War Saving Stamps and Thrift Stamps. We sent over 450 paper dolls to Columbus, Ohio, to be sent abroad to little children…We mailed 107 magazines to the boys…The first voted at the meeting last night to purchase 500 blanks for the next Liberty Loan Campaign. Tonight the girls will march in a big parade for the Women's National Council of Defense, acting as a Guard of Honor for the mothers of the boys. Now the next big thing we have a rally and entertainment underway…at which time the girls will be given their merit badges and war medals. All persons will be asked

> to bring tobacco as an admission fee…the tobacco will be turned over to the Soldiers and Sailors Association to be sent as a Christmas gift to our boys from the Girl Scouts.[71]

Both passages draw readers' attention to the numerous activities that comprise the girls' war service. Dividing the whole of war service into its specific parts allows Girl Scouts to show the actions they have performed to develop both the habit of war service and virtue of patriotism.

Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca argue that "evoking details" through enumeration is associated with "the technique of accumulating, of insisting."[72] This accumulation, or abundance, of details is another manifestation of *copia*. Debra Hawhee argues that accumulation, or *accumulatio*, represents "a weighty materiality, a piling up of stuff" that can reveal to the reader "a dazzling spectacle of a seeming infinite variety of words and of things."[73] She continues to explore the effect of *accumulatio*, explaining that "there can be a breathtaking quality to the sheer density of things, and that quality is pronounced when the accumulated things are varied."[74] By enumerating specific acts of war service, the magazine entries reveal the abundant contributions Girl Scouts offered. Each sentence introduces a new war service that Girl Scouts have performed. The "sheer density" of war service acts illustrate how Girl Scouts began to habituate these actions by repeatedly performing them. As the sentences form paragraphs, examples of their war service accumulate and show how Girl Scouts have, over and over again, worked to assist the United States and allied countries during the war and reconstruction. A letter from a Kansas Scout Captain illustrates this. She writes that her troop:

> Collected for Soldiers' Library, 1,000 volumes; distributed 2,500 Liberty Bonds and posters and took part in a pageant for the Third Liberty Loan; sold Thrift Stamps and made a record in inducing people to start Thrift Stamp cards; distributed cards and

> announcements for the Y.W.C.A.; sold Fourth Liberty Bonds to the amount of $3,000; subscribed $175 to Victory Girls' Fund for United War Workers; collected 386 'Slacker' phonograph records; made 40 scrap books for soldiers hospitals; knitted 10 sweaters, 8 pairs socks, wristlets, 4 helmets and 12 comforts.[75]

This Scout Captain shares seven different war service contributions that the Girl Scouts have performed. Although the contributions vary, all are united under a broader category of war service. There is a density to the Girl Scouts' contributions, too, throughout the entry as more contributions build upon each other. Through this accumulation, the Captain demonstrates how Girl Scouts have "performed a number of good actions, all of the same kind" repeatedly, one of the key elements of habituation.[76]

Girl Scouts show how, over time, this process of habituation helped them develop a habit of war service by situating their actions in a progression of time, thereby establishing what Miller calls "a continuing action with a history."[77] This progression of time is what John E. Smith refers to as *chronos*, which encourages critics to attend to "time as measure, the quantity of duration, the length of periodicity."[78] Smith argues that there are three components of *chronos*: change, measure, and order. Change accounts for the movement of time, how an event "lasts through or requires a stretch of time." Measure refers to the amount of "elapsed time" or quantity of time that has passed. Order highlights a progression of events in a sequence so that there is a distinct "before" and "after."[79] *Chronos* is valuable because it allows critics to identify "an essential grid upon which the processes of nature and of the historical order can be plotted and to that extent understood."[80] Evaluating how these three elements of *chronos* manifest in recollections of Girl Scouts' war service establishes these actions as habits that occurred repeatedly over a sufficient time period. At the beginning of each sentence, before the specific war service contribution is

mentioned, verb tenses and words that reference particular times situate each contribution in the past, present, or future. These verb tenses establish the order of war service contributions and change, or movement, of time as the tenses change. For example, some sentences begin "We made" and situate an action in the past, whereas others begin "We are making" or "tonight" and situate an action in the present. Still other sentences anticipate future action, beginning with phrases such as "the next big thing." Sometimes, all contributions are situated in the past. For example, a Long Island troop secretary reports:

> We marched in public send-offs, sold tickets, sold Thrift stamps…We decorated autos to carry people to a Red Cross garden fête and acted as guides. We worked at Red Cross rooms making comfort bags, supplies, and refugee work. We furnished an outfit for Belgium babies. We sold Liberty Bonds during the Third drive. We gave a Flag Drill in church…We pledged and sent in $100 for the War Work Fund.[81]

Here, all sentences begin with past tense verbs, effectively plotting a history of events that Girl Scouts have performed. The Girl Scouts in this Kansas troop both prove that they were good war servants and establish a history of war service in this Kansas troop. These repeated actions over time show how the Girl Scouts have developed a habit of war service.

Other times, contributions are situated in a progression of time, from past to present or past to present to future. This change in time creates a clear order for the Girl Scouts' war service. The Indiana Scout Captain's report is one of the best examples. She writes that:

> The girls have sold over $1,000 in War Saving Stamps and Thrift Stamps. We sent over 450 paper dolls to Columbus, Ohio, to be sent abroad to little children…We mailed 107 magazines to the boys…The first voted at the meeting last night to purchase 500 blanks for the next Liberty Loan Campaign. Tonight the girls will march in a big parade for the

> Women's National Council of Defense, acting as a Guard of Honor for the mothers of the boys. Now the next big thing we have a rally and entertainment underway…at which time the girls will be given their merit badges and war medals. All persons will be asked to bring tobacco as an admission fee…the tobacco will be turned over to the Soldiers and Sailors Association to be sent as a Christmas gift to our boys from the Girl Scouts.[82]

Here, the verb tenses and words that signify time change over this passage to show that their service "lasts through…a stretch of time."[83] In other words, these Indiana girls have both a history of war service and future opportunities to perform these same actions. Both passages show how across time and troops, individual troops and Girl Scouts at large, have developed a consistent pattern of war service, thus crystallizing the habit of war service.

This habit of war service helped them develop the virtue of patriotism as part of their character. Girl Scouts' war service is patriotic because of the relationship between their work in the local communities and the welfare they were able to sustain in the country and for soldiers, orphans, and refugees abroad. By purchasing and selling stamps and bonds to help the United States fund its entry into World War I, supporting soldiers' morale and basic need of warm clothing, and participating in food conservation efforts Girl Scouts acted as members of national and international communities. Girl Scouts saw themselves as patriots who were eager and compelled to support their country's wartime efforts. Esther M. Dorrovner wrote "Service is our watchword. Every member is a 'Victory Girl,' and all have contributed to the Red Cross and other organizations. We have not stood still when Uncle Sam called for money. If we could not all buy Liberty Bonds we solicited sales."[84] Girl Scouts also referred to themselves as "Live Wires in all of the War Work which could be done by them."[85] Their war service sustained two institutions that served the nation: the government and the military. Both institutions protected

the basic needs and freedoms of Americans at home and worked to do the same for people in crisis abroad. During World War I, these basic needs and freedoms included democracy, liberty, peace, safety, and food supply for Americans and Allies in particular and the world in general.

Historically, war service has been an opportunity for marginalized groups to demonstrate their worthiness as citizens. This was true for white women, black men and women, and Native Americans during World War I.[86] Lynn Dumenil stresses that women "across the class and racial divide" were active war servants whose contributions "were vital to war mobilization."[87] These women argued that their service warranted "equal citizenship" with white men once the war ended.[88] Girl Scouts illustrate how their war service is patriotic, evidence of their role as citizens, and virtuous by repeatedly sharing how sacrifice made their war service possible and showing a correlation between the quantity of their contributions and the effect these had on the war and reconstruction.

Girl Scouts' sacrifice made their war service possible because it allowed them to "produce advantages" for soldiers instead of themselves.[89] An article that encourages Girl Scouts to donate to the United War Fund defines sacrifice as "doing without, so that someone else—a soldier—may have instead" and explains how Girl Scouts can do without entertainment, such as movies, in order to save money to donate to the fund.[90] Girl Scouts' letters demonstrate how their sacrifices allowed them to aid United States and allied soldiers, organizations such as the Red Cross, and their country. They note how they "gave up" and "deprived themselves" of candy, soda, ice cream, and movies in order to raise money for tobacco funds for soldiers and support their country's wartime efforts.[91] Some Girl Scouts sacrificed much more than entertainment and sweets. A troop from Alexandria, Pennsylvania reported that it had earned money to purchase uniforms but instead "invested their savings in Stamps" to help fund the war.[92] Likewise, a troop

in Calhoun, Georgia wrote that their summer camp coincided with a Liberty Loan campaign and that they "felt that we must buy a Bond even if we gave up our camp."[93] Girl Scouts consistently gave up their own wants in order to support soldiers' morale and the country's ability to fund the war. Sacrifice for the country's greater good is part of how people perform citizenship. Richard Dagger argues that citizens must "recognize that they are members of the public who share an interest in producing the public good" and that, at times, the "public good" is produced through individuals' sacrifices.[94] He explains that "if people can see that their interests as individuals frequently coincide with the public interest, either in the short or the long term, then they will find it in their interest to act as responsible citizens who must occasionally make sacrifices in order to promote the common good."[95] The types of sacrifices Girl Scouts made demonstrates their recognition that the "public good," here, funding and winning the war, would only be possible if everyone sacrificed their wants for the country's greater good.

War service helped Girl Scouts sustain the country's wartime effort. Girl Scouts show a correlation between the quantity of their contributions and the effect these had on the war and reconstruction. This correlation is first introduced in the poem "Ten Little Thrift Stamps—And More" by Olive E. Briggs. The poem shares the experience of purchasing thrift stamps and pasting them into a booklet. With each stanza, the number of thrift stamps grows and so does the effect that the stamps have on helping the United States fight the war. Briggs writes:

> One little Thrift Stamp, pasted in a
>
> book,
>
> Has a sort of lonely and solitary
>
> look.

Two little Thrift Stamps, pasted
side by side,
Starts a pleasant thrill of pa
-triotic pride

Three little Thrift Stamps—now
you've just begun
To help your Uncle Samuel to help
lick the Hun.

Four little Thrift Stamps, just a
dollar down,
Enough to buy a shot or two to dent
a German Crown.

Six little Thrift Stamps, count 'em
now by two's;
They'll help to make you certain the
Kaiser's going to lose.

Eight little Thrift Stamps, you'll
never feel the tax,
They may stop the Teuton army and

turn it in its tracks.

Ten little Thrift Stamps and half a
dozen more,
If everybody'd get them, we soon
would end this war.[96]

To this scout, the number of thrift stamps a person purchases directly effects how well the United States army is able to fight and defeat the German army. The greater the quantity of thrift stamps, the greater a person's contributions to the war. Although one stamp has no direct effect on the war, four stamps are enough to purchase ammunition and eight stamps can stop an army's advancement. Additionally, a person's patriotism grows with the number of stamps. No doubt, this patriotism is coupled with the nativism and xenophobia that most World War I propaganda preyed upon and amplified. Thus, to this scout, with two stamps someone may begin to experience a "little thrill of patriotic pride" and with three stamps the individual is directly supporting Uncle Sam's quest to "lick the Hun." Sacrifice at the home and war fronts constituted the "good citizen" who wanted victory for America.

Quantifying wartime contributions, then, can denote how Girl Scouts sustained their country's wartime efforts and the well-being of soldiers, United States citizens, and citizens of allied countries. In their letters, Girl Scouts reference the amount of money they donated to the Red Cross, relief organizations such as the Belgian Civil and Military Relief, French orphans and European children, war funds in the United States such as the Hoover Fund and Victory Girls Fund, and the sale of war savings stamps, thrift stamps, and liberty bonds;[97] the number of magazines, puzzles, scrapbooks, and records they donated for soldiers;[98] sweaters, socks,

surgical dressings, and layettes they knitted for soldiers and French orphans;[99] toys and clothes sent to children abroad;[100] how many French orphans they adopted or supported;[101] quarts and jars of food they canned;[102] peach pits and nut shells collected and corresponding number of gas masks that would be outfitted with carbon filters;[103] rubber collected or subscriptions raised during Red Cross drives;[104] and posters distributed through towns for the food administration and Liberty Loan campaigns.[105] Quantifying all of these contributions, down to the cent or individual peach pit, highlights the magnitude of Girl Scouts' contributions to the war and, more specifically, work to sustain the well-being of those affected by it at home and abroad. Like the thrift stamps in Briggs' poem, these quantities serve as evidence of Girl Scouts' patriotism and ability to "produce advantages" for others during and after the war.

The rhetorical features present in accounts of Girl Scouts' war service—enumeration, *copia*, *accumulatio,* and *chronos*—reveal the abundance of contributions Girl Scouts made during World War I, reinforce the weight of these contributions as they accrue in each entry, and establish a habit, over a progression of time, to show the lasting effect of Girl Scouts' service on their character. Specifically, from the habit of war service, Girl Scouts developed the virtue of patriotism. Patriotism was virtuous because it allowed Girl Scouts to sustain the welfare of their country, soldiers, and citizens at home. What is more, Girl Scouts emphasize how sacrifice—historically a key feature of citizenship—made their service possible.

Girl Scouts' Community Service

Girl Scouts also served their local communities by supporting organizations, institutions, and individuals in need. Examples of their service include volunteering at local hospitals, the Visiting Nurses Association, and Red Cross chapters during the Spanish flu epidemic;[106] donating time and goods to local infant and child welfare events, including baby and child

welfare weeks, baby clinics, and day nurseries;[107] and donating money to milk and ice funds and local child welfare agencies.[108] As they detail their community service, Girl Scouts' position themselves working with organizations that sustain others' welfare. For example, Girl Scouts stocked a store that mothers would visit during Baby Week, helped mothers find baby clinics, and volunteered at these clinics.[109] They also worked directly with individuals to provide them with food, money, and shelter and boost morale during times of hardship or illness.[110]

These same entries rhetorically construct Girl Scout's habit of service by listing and accumulating acts over a period of time using a progression of dates when service was performed. This habit of community service engrained the virtue of civic engagement as part of the girls' character. Girl Scouts' community service and civic engagement reflects a broader Progressive Era trend of experiential civic education that taught children to be active participants in their towns. In order to understand the value of Girl Scouts' community service, it is necessary to explore how the community became a site for children's citizenship.

Community Citizenship Context

The community became a site for citizenship during the Progressive Era as the scope of civic education and definition of citizenship changed. During the nineteenth century, civic education addressed the "machinery of government"—major political documents such as the Constitution and Declaration, branches of government, and laws—in a recitation-style of pedagogy that left little room for reflection on the relationship among government practices, social issues, and students' lives.[111] This curriculum was based on a legal concept of citizenship that focused on an individual's ability to vote and obey laws.[112] Such a narrow definition of citizenship made it difficult for children, women, African Americans, Native Americans, and immigrants to see themselves as citizens.[113] Progressive Era education professionals feared that

this curriculum and its focus on legal citizenship prepared students to be historians rather than citizens, left them ill prepared to engage in the civic life of their communities and nation, and foreclosed children's opportunities for citizenship. They sought a curriculum that would provide practical application to students' lives, embrace an expansive concept of citizenship, and teach elementary school students to act as citizens of their communities.[114]

Philosopher and education reformer John Dewey stressed that a new civic education curriculum needed to provide students with experiential learning in order to truly address the various ways that children, as citizens, could contribute to their local and national communities as family members, workers, and residents.[115] He argued that "the only way to prepare for social life is to engage in social life. To form habits of social usefulness and serviceableness apart from any direct social need and motive, apart from any existing social situation, is, to the letter, teaching the child to swim by going through motions outside of the water."[116] Dewey maintained that participating in civic life would help children develop an "interest in community welfare" and, eventually "the moral habit" of sustaining life and order in their communities.[117]

Dewey's writing on the moral purpose of education shaped two organizations that transformed the civic education curriculum: the National Education Association (NEA) and the American Historical Association (AHA).[118] Both organizations created committees to study civic education curriculum in schools nationwide and, in their findings, argued that such education should be available to younger students because of its potential to teach them how to become citizens in their daily lives.[119] The NEA was the first organization to introduce a new form of civic education, community civics, in its report *The Teaching of Community Civics.* The purpose of community civics was

> to help the child to know his community—not merely a lot of facts about it, but the meaning of his community life, what it does for him and how it does it (especially through the channels of government), what the community has a right to expect from him, and how he may fulfill his obligation, meanwhile cultivating in him the essential qualities and habits of good citizenship.[120]

The Teaching of Community Civics ushered in a new era of civic education tailored to younger students, focused on "community welfare," and promoted a participatory concept of citizenship. Former member of the United States' Department of Education Thomas Jesse Jones argued that in order to learn about community welfare, children would take field trips to local public institutions—including playgrounds, city hall, and hospitals—and learn how the city provides the resources they use in their homes, such as "electricity, water, sewage, and telephone."[121] Such experiential learning taught students to understand the reciprocal nature of their relationship to community services as residents and citizens of their communities, "namely the home, the school, the playground, the church, the city, the State, the Nation."[122]

For the NEA and community civics advocates, student citizens worked in the community with social agencies and individuals in order to ensure the welfare of their communities and fellow residents. The community was a material place, composed of homes, institutions, and businesses, shaped by the social structure of citizenship in the Progressive Era. The experiential learning that community civics encouraged shaped children's behavior in the community so that participating in the community's welfare became a way for children to enact the principles of citizenship in their youth to prepare them for the responsibilities that they would have as adult citizens.

The community served a similar purpose for Girl Scouts who spent time working with local institutions and community resources. Through their community service, Girl Scouts learned how to sustain others' welfare, the correlation between the community's well-being and the quality of resources provided, and the importance of supporting the institutions that supported them. The magazine entries about these activities reveal how Girl Scouts saw themselves in their communities, the habits they developed there, and the virtue of civic engagement that they learned.

Girl Scouts' Positionality in their Communities

In the magazine, Girl Scouts position themselves in physical locations known for serving others and places where individuals in need require help. When Girl Scouts describe themselves inhabiting these places, they focus on how they go out of their way to support others in need. When recalling how her troop delivered groceries to a family every Thanksgiving, one Girl Scout wrote "The house where the poor family lived was quite a distance from our settlement, the weather was far from pleasant, as there was a steady downpour of rain, but the three girls who carried the huge basket went gladly, as we wanted these poor people to have as happy and as plentiful a Thanksgiving as the heart could wish."[123] These Girl Scouts inhabited their communities by seeking out the people in need and finding opportunities to serve them. By inhabiting these places, Girl Scouts learned how to help others in myriad ways through their community service. These locations, then, shape the *ethos* that Girl Scouts develop while visiting them. Specifically, Girl Scouts situate themselves in places where they performed community service when describing their activities. Some of these places include hospitals, Visiting Nurse Associations, animal refuges, the Red Cross, playgrounds, soup kitchens, and children's hospitals.[124] All of these locations are community resources known for sustaining residents'

welfare. Additionally, all serve residents in different ways, whether that is providing medical care or a safe space to play.

Community Service: Habits and Virtue

Girl Scouts' position in the community shaped the habits and virtues they developed as they served their fellow residents. The magazine entries enumerate the girls' contributions by elaborating on the individual activities that comprise their greater community service habit. Specifically, Girl Scouts enumerate the specific activities they have performed in right-branching sentences that allow the examples of service to build upon each other through the entry. An example of this is when Mrs. Charles W. Haden, a GSUSA publicity chairman, elaborately enumerates Tennessee Girl Scouts' service, including:

> Visiting the sick and shut-ins, carrying gifts of cheer and lending their own cordial personality which enhances the value of the simplest offering. One troop is providing all necessary clothing for one small orphan and meeting other expenses for its benefit. Another troop is giving a sand pile to the Tennessee Children's Home, accompanied with a shower of small buckets and shade. Another troop is taking an active part in the clean-up work of the city, while others are engaged in beautifying the vacant lot next to the Y.W.C.A building, with vines and flowers. Some are growing flowers to take to the hospitals while others are devoting their services to the needs of their own neighborhoods, and caring for small children who need such attention.[125]

Entries like Mrs. Haden's break down the greater act of community service into the smaller acts that comprise this service to show the specific ways Girl Scouts have acted. This enumeration, and the specific details that each example provides, draws the reader's attention to the *copia* of service they have performed.

By enumerating specific examples, evidence of the Girl Scouts' community service accumulates in these entries, illustrating how Girl Scouts rhetorically habituate these actions by repeatedly performing them. This process of habituation can be seen in both lists and letters that address a single service activity in great detail. In lists, like Mrs. Haden's aforementioned one, each sentence introduces a new service activity that Girl Scouts have performed. The accumulation and density of activities in the list show that Girl Scouts have served their communities over and over again, completing a process of rhetorical habituation necessary for character development. This process can also be seen in the accumulation of single service activities reported across magazine entries. For example, the two entries below recount Girl Scouts contributions to a child welfare campaign and a hospital during the flu epidemic, respectively:

> Girl Scouts were the first to aid in the child welfare campaign through their contribution of $500 to the milk and ice fund this summer. They were asked if they would like to continue the work so well begun by making a house-to-house canvass to locate the sick children and the babies yet un-weighed, and they enthusiastically agreed to assist in this manner.[126]

> 70 Girl Scouts were the first to be called on to prepare the huge Civic Association buildings for an emergency hospital, and they worked like Trojans all day Sunday, September 29. Since then they have been on duty in details every day from six in the morning until nine at night, and have been at the beck and call of everyone who wanted something done.[127]

Both entries highlight the accumulation of small actions that made each larger, significant act of service possible. The types of services noted here—canvassing a community to ensure infants' health and preparing an emergency hospital—are impressive. The accumulation of the actions that made these major acts of service possible emphasizes the extensive work that Girl Scouts undertook. What is more, the accumulation of service reveals that Girl Scouts as a whole have repeatedly performed acts of community service, even if a troop only reports one action. This is because the mentions of service accumulate across magazine entries. Together, the lists and single accounts of service show that Girl Scouts have developed a pattern of community service. Girl Scouts' first-hand experiences of working in the community, learning about how different organizations sustained residents' welfare, and enacting a reciprocal relationship with their community demonstrate that they were good citizens.

These entries highlight the progression of time, or *chronos*, for Girl Scouts' activities to reveal how the girls developed a habit of community service. The girls' actions are first situated in the past— through the use of past tense verbs or months and dates that have passed—to create a history of service. Once this history is established, the girls' actions are situated in the present or future—through present tense verbs or months and dates that are current or to come—to demonstrate a continuing action of service to their communities. For example, a Lyford, Texas Captain reports that:

> Our first public service was given on Memorial Day, 1920. Early in September a supper was cooked by the Scouts and served to the new teachers in our public school as a sign of welcome from the organization…Christmas carols were sung at dawn on Christmas morning before some of the village homes. In January a Girl Scout musicale will be given and in February a sing-song.[128]

These tenses show both the progression of time and allow readers to measure the amount of time Girl Scouts have devoted to community service, both of which highlight the patterns of community service that extend for almost an entire calendar year. Together, the rhetorical construction of *chronos* and habit taught children to be committed to civic engagement in their communities.

Sometimes the entries construct a habit of service by extending the duration of Girl Scouts' service from present training to their future responsibilities as women, such as voting and holding local political roles.[129] For example, Marguerite L. Smith, a Girl Scout, Captain, and college student who served as a New York Assemblyman, makes this connection between the present and future in a letter she wrote for the magazine.[130] After explaining that her Red Cross work during the war led to her nomination, she writes:

> All of our Scouting activities prepare us to serve. We never know just where or when we will be called upon, but our range is so large that we are able to act in any capacity…In fact the wider our preparation, the greater is our scope of activity, the more lines of work we are able to fill satisfactorily…Scouts, if you live up to your Ten Laws, live up to your Promise, live up to your Motto, and never fail to hold on to that desire to serve others, forgetting yourself in service, you are preparing to enter the field of Politics, if you so desire.[131]

Smith acknowledges that the longer a history of community service is, the more likely it will lead to new futures and roles for women once they become adults. Girl Scouts, like Smith, who enter local politics demonstrate a continuing commitment to community service and fellow residents. What is more, such a habit leads not just to a pattern of behavior but also careers where Girl Scouts' service can have an even greater effect.

The entries also emphasize the frequency of their volunteerism during the Spanish flu epidemic to reinforce that Girl Scouts maintained a habit of community service during times of crisis.[132] Arthur B. Miller argues that it is necessary for rhetors to demonstrate a pattern of moral behavior despite the personal or period challenges they may face.[133] Girl Scouts do just this when they focus on their service during the flu epidemic, demonstrating a habit that withstood threats to their health and that of their families and communities. Entries that recount Girl Scouts' service during the epidemic often quantify the hours that they volunteered and the frequency of their service. For example, they note that "Six Scouts faithfully reported at an improvised hospital for canteen duty every morning at 7:30,"[134] "three groups of scouts were detailed every day to carry nourishment" to families where no one was well enough to cook,[135] and how "SAVANNAH provided Scouts fourteen to sixteen hours a day in the influenza soup kitchens."[136] Mentioning that Girl Scouts volunteered on a daily basis and for more than half of each day demonstrates that Girl Scouts maintained their habit of community service during a time of crisis and great need. Girl Scouts sacrificed their time in order to be good citizens who sustained the public's welfare.

This habit of community service helped Girl Scouts develop the virtue of civic engagement as part of their character. Entries use repetition to show how their community service is evidence of this virtue, specifically repeating how Girl Scouts are valuable and useful to the community; that they are "called upon" by organizations, leaders, and community institutions; and the significance of their contributions when noting their monetary donations. Additionally, entries repeatedly characterize Girl Scouts as valuable because their community service sustains the community and residents' welfare. Community and Girl Scout figures such as physicians, GSUSA leaders, and Red Cross administrators deem Girl Scouts and their

contributions "immensely valuable" and "a community asset."[137] These individuals cite Girl Scouts' work during the flu epidemic and municipal housekeeping as evidence of their value to the community. For example, an article about New Bedford Girl Scouts' work during the flu epidemic notes that "One head physician says that they are immensely valuable" because they "answered telephone calls all day, thus releasing a trained woman to care for the sick. It was found by the authorities in charge that her services were so valuable that she will be kept there during the epidemic."[138] Likewise, a letter shares how Girl Scouts created a rooftop garden on a settlement house so that the "children of the city" would have a special place to play.[139] In the letter, the father of "a little hunchback girl who was a cripple" who played in the garden daily offers his gratitude.[140] He said "with much emotion, 'I am thankful for such a garden. It is where my little girl belongs away from the dirt of the city, high up among the birds and flowers. There is no trouble there.'"[141] Both individuals reiterate that Girl Scouts are valuable because their service allows them to sustain residents' health and morale.

Girl Scouts were also repeatedly called upon to perform services that would support the good of the citizenry, in particular the welfare of the local residents and resources. Girl Scouts "were asked," "called upon," and "chosen" to assist in local welfare events.[142] Groups such as the Red Cross, child welfare committees and institutions, and service organizations sought the Girl Scouts' support.[143] These groups frequently trusted Girl Scouts to perform such services that would sustain others' health, safety, and morale.[144] That these groups repeatedly sought out Girl Scouts' assistance demonstrates their belief that girls are capable of supporting their towns' welfare at-large. Girl Scouts' repeated acceptance of these calls to action demonstrates their willingness to fulfill their duty to the towns in which they live.

Letters repeat how their service affected community and residents' welfare to emphasize the virtue of the girls' community service. Specifically, Girl Scouts frequently explain the significance of their service for the people or cause they sought to help after naming the activities they performed. For example, a reprinted article from the *Pittsburgh Sun* notes that girls' monetary donation to a milk and ice fund would "help give life and health to the little ones."[145] Similarly, a Columbus, Ohio patrol leader notes that her Scouts' donations to mothers and children in need on Christmas Eve "made several families happy."[146] Highlighting the relationship between their service and others' welfare allows Girl Scouts to emphasize the aspects of people's welfare that they successfully supported, including health, morale, and vitality.

By enumerating and accumulating specific activities in entries devoted to community welfare work, the magazine demonstrates the *copia* of community service that Girl Scouts provided to organizations, institutions, and individuals in need. Each sentence or phrase added a new type of service activity the girls performed and also situated these actions in a particular time, such as a month or the past, present, or future. Collectively, these times reveal the history, or *chronos*, of Girl Scouts' community service in such a way that demonstrated how these actions had become habits. Through their habit of community service, Girl Scouts not only developed the virtue of civic engagement but also the type of first-hand experiences sustaining others' welfare that characterized civic education during the Progressive Era.

Girl Scouts' Hiking and Camping Adventures

When Girl Scouts were not serving their communities at home and abroad, they were often attending summer Girl Scout camps and hiking in the areas that surrounded their towns. Almost all of their outdoor experiences occurred in the woods or mountains, near lakes and

beaches, and apart from the populated areas of town.[147] At camp, Girl Scouts typically lived in tents; had the responsibility of building fires, cooking their own food, and fetching water from nearby streams; swam; and learned about nature study through firsthand experiences with plants and animals.[148] During their hikes, Girl Scouts had many of the same experiences, such as cooking over open fires, tracking animal prints, and playing Scout games.[149]

Throughout these entries, Girl Scouts are positioned in the wilderness as "good Scouts" who try to live like the pioneers did. As they recall their hiking and camping experiences, the girls rhetorically construct their habit of wilderness survival by accumulating outdoor survival training and creating a pattern of outdoor experiences over time. Together, their positionality and habit help them develop the virtue of self-reliance as part of their character. Camping and hiking were invaluable to Girl Scouts. In the wilderness, girls learned traditional scouting skills such as map-making and how to build shelter, earned nature study and pioneer badges, and escaped the gender restrictions of the twentieth century.[150] The history of how summer camps emerged, the growing popularity of girls' camps, and unique opportunities they offered reinforce the significance of girls' outdoor experiences.

Girls' Summer Camps Context

Like the other unique spaces for children that emerged during the Progressive Era—including playgrounds, hospitals, and recreation centers—children's summer camps were "threaded with hopes and aspirations for children, as well as the dreams and fears of adults."[151] Parents and child welfare advocates feared that the absence of a frontier and emergence of industrialized cities in the twentieth century would be detrimental to children's character.[152] Nature was already viewed as a place where adults could "protect, amuse, and educate children within a supervised, age-appropriate environment" and children could experience "a simpler way

of life."[153] Progressive Era adults hoped that camps would give children the chance to reconnect with nature, escape the congested cities that exposed children to adult vices, and allow them to develop the revered virtues of pioneers by living in the outdoors.[154]

Originally summer camps were only available to white middle-class boys. The first summer camps were created in the 1880s for boys whose time outdoors would serve as a "masculine counterpoint to feminine influence in the home" that children experienced because the middle-class sheltered childhood ideal advocated greater maternal influence through the teen years.[155] This changed at the turn of the twentieth century when several private summer camps for white middle-class girls emerged. Women opened these camps in order to provide girls with outdoor experiences like boys had. However, these early girls' camps were more "homey and civilized," offering buildings and cots, instead of pitched tents, for girls to sleep and eat in.[156]

Girls' camps were popularized in 1910 when newly formed girls' youth organizations—such as the Camp Fire Girls—argued that "girls were entitled to adventurous recreation" just as boys were. By 1915 the United States boasted over 100 girls' camps, both privately owned and sponsored by youth organizations such as the Camp Fire Girls and Girl Scouts.[157] These camps provided girls the opportunity to distance themselves from the home and the gendered restrictions on their activities, dress, and behavior often associated with it. For example, Luther Gulick, founder of the Camp Fire Girls and an early private girls' camp, recalled how girls would remove their skirts and wear just their bloomers once they arrived at their campsites allowing for freer movement and exploration in the woods.[158] Although some summer camp advocates claimed that camp could serve the same purpose for girls as boys—namely increased health and strength—others "explicitly tied participation in outdoor life to older ideologies of maternal devotion and domestic inclination, justifying female vigor as a means to enrich childbearing and

nurturing capabilities" or a woman's ability to be a friend to her future husband and sons because of their shared camp experiences.[159]

By contrast, Girl Scout camps provided girls with camping experiences similar to that of Boy Scouts by emphasizing the same type of traditional scoutcraft such as tying knots and signaling, having girls sleep in tents, and, during World War I, teaching girls military drills.[160] Even Juliette Gordon Low's first Girl Scout troop in 1912 provided girls the chance to camp like boys did as they "swam, cooked for themselves along the Savannah River, and slept on the sand."[161] A 1920 GSUSA camp manual, *Campward Ho!*, stresses that the purpose of camping was to teach Girl Scouts to be prepared by continuing their scout training outdoors. The manual notes that "there should be but one interest on the part of each camper and that is *to be a Scout*, not only in looks but in thought and deed."[162] As a result of their Scout training, Girl Scouts learned to be self-reliant just as the Boy Scouts did. Summer camps were the perfect place for girls to be Scouts because girls had opportunities for firsthand nature study, swimming, and hiking that they might not have had at home.[163] As Leslie Paris puts it, the GSUSA recognized "the gendering of adventure as constructed, not biological."[164] This recognition is what allowed the GSUSA to help girls experience an "alternative world of frontier challenges" at camp.[165]

Girl Scouts recount their outdoor adventures in great detail through the letters, poems, and pictures published in the organization's magazine. They describe their campsites, where they hiked, the types of fires they built to prepare meals, badges earned, and training received. Together, the magazine's entries reveal how Girl Scouts positioned themselves in the wilderness, developed the habit of wilderness survival, and how this habit helped them gain the virtue of self-reliance.

Girl Scouts' Positionality in the Outdoors

Entries about hiking and camping experiences position Girl Scouts in the wilderness. Girl Scouts' descriptions of their campsites and hiking destinations illustrate that the wilderness is secluded, often surrounded by mountains and woods, filled with animals but not people other than the girls' troops.[166] Despite their isolation from others and modern conveniences, the wilderness is not a scary place but one that the girls describe with a sense of excitement and wonder.[167] One letter describes the campsite before sharing the girls' daily schedule: "Camp was situated in the very midst of mountains…All around us were wonderful mountain trails and canons [sic] to explore, rocks to climb, and icy-cold streams, excellent for water fights on warm days."[168] The wilderness is thus a place for exploration, fun, and opportunities to learn about nature in its own environment.

In the wilderness Girl Scouts position themselves as "good scouts" who do things the "real Scout way."[169] For example, Girl Scouts who looked forward to a camping trip wrote "we will sleep on the ground in good Scout style."[170] Another entry about a hike noted that "they usually take a lunch with them, cooking over a fire in true Scout fashion."[171] An article titled "Hiking and Camping: Practical Hints for Scout Camps and Campers" offers an in-depth description of a "good Scout" after declaring that:

> There must be something wrong with a girl who does not like to hike and camp. She is not likely to make a good scout. Besides the wonder which she feels for the plants and animals about her, and the stars in the Heavens above, she gains independence from her ability to help herself, and the feeling of well-being from the pure air she breathes, the sun baths, and the exercise.[172]

Together, these entries position the "good Scout" fending for herself in the wilderness, longing to be at camp, getting by with limited resources, and rejecting modern conveniences in favor of "roughing it" in the outdoors. In essence, the "good Scout" tries to live like pioneers once did.

Hiking and Camping: Habits and Virtue

The magazine's camping and hiking entries enumerate the activities that comprise Girl Scouts' daily camp schedule and the highlights of their hiking trips, including the route they took and how they used Scouting skills. These details highlight the outdoor skills training that girls received and how they used this training to take care of themselves in the wilderness. Some of these daily camp schedules provide an hourly breakdown of girls' activities, bookended with reveille, a wake-up call, and taps to signal lights out.[173] The middle of the day is often filled with Scout training such as nature study, hikes, swimming, and signaling. For example, a letter from the Scouts of Colorado Springs thoroughly enumerates the daily schedule at Camp Vigil:

> The camp was conducted in the military fashion and the schedule of the day included reveille at 6:30, calisthenics at 7 o'clock, flag raising and a recital of the scout promise and laws at 7:25 followed by breakfast. From 8 to 9 o'clock was our clean-up period when kitchen police, wood and ground squads were all hard at work. At 9 o'clock we had inspection which was followed by classes in Signaling and Nature Study until lunch at 12:30. The afternoons were usually spent in bathing or hiking. After supper a baseball game was always staged followed by games and stories around a huge camp fire until Tattoo which sounded at 9 o'clock. At 9:30, Taps, lights had to be out and the camp quiet.[174]

Other accounts of daily schedules offer specific times for reveille and taps, with detailed lists of the Scout training girls received. For example, one letter recounts Fall River, Massachusetts Girl

Scouts' experience at camp, noting the times of their morning wake up call, assembly, chores, and flag raising before enumerating their training "in knot-tying, semaphore, wig-wag and radio signaling, swimming, rowing and life-saving."[175] Similarly, Leona A. Maxim, a Camp Director in Paoli, Pennsylvania lists the Scout training that "filled up much of the time" such as "hikes for studying Nature, for making maps and trails, for learning to cook out of doors and to build various kinds of fires."[176] Enumerating the individual lessons and experiences that comprised Girl Scouts' outdoor adventures emphasizes the extensive training that Girl Scouts received at camp. In other words, the focus is not on camping or hiking but wilderness survival training.

Similarly, most hiking entries provide detailed accounts of the girls' hikes. They list information about when or where the girls began their hike, the distance hiked, the route they took, transportation used if necessary, what they cooked and how they prepared their food, and any Scouting skills that they demonstrated.[177] Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca argue that specific, concrete details such as "the time and place of an action" are rhetorically significant because they "give an impression of actuality."[178] Not only do the experiences recounted with specific details feel more real to the reader, but "the more specific the terms, the sharper the image they conjure up."[179] A Connecticut troop Lieutenant incorporates many of these concrete details in her account of a hike. She writes:

> The other day we went on a hike to Sherwoods Island, starting from the library and proceeding up the turnpike, across by the "Rocky Road," down Hill's Point Road to the point, where we toasted frankfurters and ate our luncheon. One of the girls very proudly lit the fire with one match. We played 'Scout Seeks Scout,' which everyone found thrilling to the superlative degree, and a few other games. On the way home we practiced several marching manoeuvres [sic].[180]

Enumerating the individual actions that comprise their hikes draws readers' attention to how far from home and its conveniences the Girl Scouts traveled, the actions they took to fend for themselves, and how they provided themselves and their troop members with basic needs of food or shelter. The specific, concrete details throughout give readers the impression that Girl Scouts had to survive in the wilderness because of how far from home and familiar surroundings they were.

These examples of Scout skills in the outdoors accumulate over time to show how Girl Scouts rhetorically construct a habit of outdoor survival by repeatedly receiving instruction in outdoor skill training at camp and demonstrating their survival skills on hikes. Most camping entries offer several types of training that Girl Scouts received at camp.[181] The variety of training offered grows with the successive addition of each new daily schedule reported in the magazine. This accumulation, or "weighty piling up," of skills shows how extensive and impressive Girl Scouts' knowledge of wilderness survival is and that they learned these skills over and over again during their camping trips.[182] Hawhee argues that the purpose of accumulation was, historically, "preserving and nurturing life and—by extension—knowledge through and about life. It was a heaping up of stuff for a larger purpose, a growth, be it sheer display of wealth, a better understanding of the world, the establishment of social networks, or in Erasmus's case for the sake of future eloquence."[183] The individual skills that accumulate across the magazine's entries serve the larger purpose of teaching the Girl Scouts how to survive in the wilderness using just what supplies they have with them and what they can find in nature. Their habit of wilderness training allowed Girl Scouts to survive and thrive on camping and hiking trips.

This accumulation of skills across the camping entries also demonstrates how Girl Scouts rhetorically habituated the skill of wilderness survival. Specifically, skills such as swimming,

signaling, nature study, and cooking outdoors are mentioned in most camping entries. The accumulation of these individual skills shows that Girl Scouts as a whole are repeatedly instructed in these skills during their time at camp. Both the individual entries and recurrent skills across entries show that Girl Scouts have developed a pattern of training in wilderness survival skills.

The magazine emphasizes that the girls' Scout training was repeated every day to reveal how they developed a habit of wilderness survival during their camping trips. Entries that provide girls' camping schedule repeatedly characterize the schedule as a "daily program" or "daily routine" and acknowledge that the same activities were repeated "each day" or "each morning."[184] These entries also note that camping trips lasted from one to three weeks.[185] Together, these rhetorical features of *chronos* and repetition reveal the frequency with which Girl Scouts learned wilderness survival skills during camping trips. This allows readers to measure the time devoted to training to determine how much Girl Scouts learned during these experiences. By receiving Scout training every day, the entries establish "a continuing action with a history" of wilderness survival training over the course of each girl's camping experience.

The accumulation in hiking entries shows how Girl Scouts rhetorically habituate wilderness survival by repeatedly demonstrating their endurance, navigation, fire-building, and outdoor cooking skills. This demonstration of skills recurs across the hiking entries, illustrating how Girl Scouts have performed these survival skills over and over again while in the wilderness. Unlike the camping entries that repeatedly reference the girls' instruction in Scouting skills, the magazine's hiking entries only reference the actions that they have performed, revealing that Girl Scouts have already mastered these skills. Girl Scouts' experiential learning in

the outdoors thus creates a pattern of wilderness survival that allows them to fend for themselves in the wilderness.

Additionally, the hiking entries make implicit references to past and future hikes to illustrate how Girl Scouts have developed a habit of wilderness survival. Sometimes entries imply that hiking experiences have happened before to show that Girl Scouts have a history of hiking. For example, Margaret McCray notes that she and her fellow Scouts ate "beans again" and are "sick of" this food, implying that they have a history of hikes where they eat beans.[186] Other entries implicitly reference the future, referring to the hike recounted as "the first hike of the season" or asking "When do we go again?" after recounting a hiking trip, to show that hiking is "a continuing action" for the Girl Scouts.[187]

Girl Scouts' habit of wilderness survival training allows them to develop the virtue of self-reliance. Narratives throughout the camping and hiking entries show how Girl Scouts relied upon their own capabilities to rescue themselves and others from dangerous situations in the outdoors and repeatedly reinforce how Girl Scouts took responsibility for providing their own basic needs while in the wilderness. These entries narrate how Girl Scouts escaped dangerous situations by relying upon their wilderness training to show how they sustained others' safety. Each narrative first introduces the dangerous situation Girl Scouts faced, then explains how they used their training, and finally reflects on the positive outcome that this training provided. An Indiana Girl Scout uses this narrative structure to recall how her survival skills saved her and two friends when they became stranded on an island after a dinner picnic. After realizing that their boat, the Maple Leaf, had drifted far away from the island, Q.W. writes that:

> My friends were frightened as they thought we should have to stay all night without shelter or water. I told them I would have help in a few minutes, and here is where my

> Scout training was useful. A young man who had formerly been in the Navy as a signalman was staying with us at Pass-a-Grille. I drew his attention with my Scout whistle, which I always carried, and using the Morse code I signaled: 'Boat adrift; send help.' He signaled back: 'Help coming.' In a few minutes the launch called 'The Judge' arrived, guided by the White Indian of Pass-a-Grille. He took us aboard and we then raced to the drifting 'Maple Leaf,' and reached it just as it floated into the Gulf…My Scout training thus saved us from a rather dangerous night on a lonely island.[188]

The narrative form of this entry emphasizes the causal relationship between a Girl Scout's wilderness training and the ability to sustain her safety and alleviate others' fear in dangerous situations. This causal relationship reinforces the real-world application and value of Scout training. Specifically, wilderness training enables Girl Scouts to face and overcome unexpected dangers or situations in the outdoors, where they are often separated from the people and resources who would typically assist them, by relying upon their own abilities and knowledge.

The magazine illustrates how self-reliance is virtuous because it enables the girls to sustain their well-being and others' while separated from modern conveniences. For example, a June 1920 article, "All Day Hikes," notes that "When they got to the spot they had chosen for their camp they built their fires, trying to do it in a truly scout fashion with only one match and were quite successful."[189] Similarly, a January 1921 article, "Two Districts Combine for Hike," reports that Girl Scouts "cooked their own supper and toasted marshmallows at the Devil's Pool and returned after dark by the sole light of their own flash lights."[190] In both passages, Girl Scouts demonstrate their mastery of navigation, outdoor cooking, and fire-building skills that allow them to provide basic needs for themselves and their fellow Scouts.

Enumerating the specific, concrete moments—including lessons they learned and times devoted to different activities—of their hikes and camping trips allowed the magazine entries to demonstrate the *copia* of survival training they received and skills they mastered. By mentioning the timing of their lessons at camp, Girl Scouts demonstrated the duration and frequency of their training. Together, these features revealed how Girl Scouts habituated wilderness survival skills and developed the virtue of self-reliance by fending for themselves.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the rhetorical features of the GSUSA's magazine entries—including enumeration, accumulation, *copia*, quantification, repetition, and *chronos*—shape the *ethos* that Girl Scouts demonstrated through their Scouting activities. These discursive features rhetorically construct Girl Scouts' habits of war service, community service, and wilderness survival; the virtues they developed through these habits; and reveal how Girl Scouts position themselves in different physical settings and within the broader Progressive Era context. Together, Girl Scouts' habits, virtues, and positionality shape the *ethos* that they developed and demonstrated through the activities recounted in the magazine.

When recounting their contributions during World War I and the reconstruction that followed, Girl Scouts positioned themselves as Uncle Sam's helpers and soldiers who fought and tried to win the war through their contributions at home. Through their habit of war service, Girl Scouts developed the virtue of patriotism because they helped sustain the United States' ability to fund the war, soldiers' morale abroad, and Americans' need for food and conservation at home. As the Girl Scouts recalled their volunteerism during the flu epidemic of 1918, with local families in need, and organizations such as hospitals, children's homes, and milk and ice associations, Girl Scouts positioned themselves in places throughout the community, including

local organizations and the homes of families in need. Through this habit of community service, Girl Scouts gained the virtue of civic engagement because they sustained the welfare of community residents' health, safety, and happiness. Finally, as the Girl Scouts detailed their camping and hiking adventures, they positioned themselves in the wilderness as "good Scouts" who fended for themselves, lived like pioneers, and loved to be outdoors. Through these adventures, Girl Scouts developed both the habit of wilderness survival and the virtue of self-reliance, the latter of which helped them provide basic needs for themselves and Scouts when away from home and its modern conveniences.

The magazine's accounts of girls' lived experiences as Scouts reveal how Girl Scouts saw themselves as members of different communities—in their hometowns, the nation, and the GSUSA—and how they acted together to sustain the welfare of these communities in general and their individual members in particular. Girl Scouts did not see themselves as mere children, but as engaged citizens who understood the reciprocal relationship between citizens and their communities, and acted upon this understanding to make a difference in others' lives. By highlighting Girl Scouts' lived experiences and giving these girls a voice, the magazine demonstrated to its readers the opportunities for citizenship that awaited girls in the places where they lived, worked, learned, and played.

[1] *The Rally* 1, no. 1 (October 1917), 4.
[2] The magazine remained free for a year, after which there was an annual subscription rate of $1. Mary Degenhardt and Judith Kirsch, *Girl Scout Collector's Guide: A History of Uniforms, Insignia, Publications, and Memorabilia* (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2005), 441-442.
[3] Ibid., 442.
[4] Ibid., 443.; Do You Like The Rally this Month?," *The Rally* 2, no. 6 (March 1919), 2.
[5] "The Rally Wants Reporters," *The Rally* 1, no. 1 (October 1917), 9.; "Photographs Wanted," *The Rally* 1, no. 11 (August 1918), 5.
[6] *The Rally* 3, no. 5 (February 1920), 2.
[7] "News! News! News!," *The Rally* 3, no. 8 (May 1920), page 3.
[8] *The American Girl* 3, no. 9 (June 1920).
[9] The magazine also published letters and articles written by Captains and its editors.
[10] J. Lynn Barnard, F.W. Carrier, Arthur William Dunn, and Clarence D. Kingsley, *The Teaching of Community Civics*, (Washington, D.C.: Washington Government Printing Office, 1915): 9.
[11] Michelle Stacy, "Using High School Athletics to Teach Civic Values in the Progressive Era," *American Educational History Journal* 42, no. 2 (2015): 155-156.
[12] Helen Ferris, *Girls' Clubs, Their Organization, and Management* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, 1926), 195.
[13] Ibid.
[14] S. Michael Halloran, "Aristotle's Concept of *Ethos*, or if Not His Somebody Else's," *Rhetoric Review* 1, no. 1 (September 1982).; Nedra Reynolds, "*Ethos* as Location: New Sites for Understanding Discursive Activity," *Rhetoric Review* 11, no. 2 (Spring 1993).; Arthur B. Miller, "Aristotle on Habit (ἔθος) and Character (ἦθος): Implications for the *Rhetoric*," *Speech Monographs* 41 (November 1974).
[15] Halloran, 61.
[16]In *The Rhetoric,* Aristotle stresses that accumulation of actions can contribute to an individual's character. He writes that if someone is able to "produce a number of good actions, all of the same kind, and people will think that they must have been intended, and that they prove the good quality of the man who did them." Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric*, trans. H.C. Lawson-Tancred (New York: Penguin Books, 2004),1367b.
[17] Miller, "Aristotle on Habit (ἔθος) and Character (ἦθος): Implications for the *Rhetoric*," 316, 314.
[18] Ibid., 315, 316.
[19] Ibid., 309, 310
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid., 311.
[22] Halloran, 60.
[23] Ibid., 62, 63.
[24] Ibid., 62.
[25] Reynolds, 329.
[26] Ibid., 327.
[27] Ibid., 333.

[28] Susan C. Jarratt and Nedra Reynolds, "The Splitting Image: Contemporary Feminisms and the Ethics of *ethos*," in *Ethos: New Essays in Rhetorical and Critical Theory*, ed. James S. Baumlin and Tita French Baumlin (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1994), 47.
[29] Miller, "Aristotle on Habit (ἔθος) and Character (ἦθος): Implications for the *Rhetoric*," 315.
[30] Girl Scouts also donated to the Hoover European Relief Fund, Jewish War Sufferers Organization, and home defense equipment fund. Their donations ranged from $3 to $115. C.L.S., "Attica, NY," *The Rally* 1, no. 11 (August 1918), 7.; "Bolivar, PA," *The Rally* 2, no. 12 (September 1919), 13.; "Brooklyn, NY," *The Rally* 3, no. 1 (October 1919), 12.; F.T.E., "Lincoln, MA," *The Rally* 3, no. 6 (March 1920), 14.; "Brooklyn, NY," *The American Girl* 4, no. 9 (June 1921), 12.
[31] Their letters and scrapbook entries note Girl Scouts' impressive contributions to the Red Cross, including 246 pounds of collected rubber, 30 hours of volunteerism per member each month, more than 200 knitted garments for soldiers, and fundraisers that amounted to donations of $100 and $2,350.25. Mrs. W.P.L., Captain, "Tampa, Fl.," *The Rally* 1, no. 12 (September 1918), 6.; "San Francisco," *The Rally* 1, no. 12 (September 1918), 6.; "Purchase, N.Y.," *The Rally* 2, no. 1 (October 1918), 5.; "Bowling Green," *The Rally* 2, no. 1 (October 1918), 10.; J.S., "Win the War," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 12.; "Dobbs Ferry, NY," *The Rally* 2, no. 4 (January 1919), 13.; S.H.C., Secretary, "Greenport, L.I.," *The Rally* 2, no. 7 (April 1919), 10.; "A Scout Frolic," *The Rally* 2, no. 7 (April 1919), 3.; E.H.R., Captain "Thistle Troop," *The Rally* 2, no. 7 (April 1919), 7.; "Bowling Green," *The Rally* 2, no. 9 (June 1919), 10.; "Mt. Vernon, N.Y.," *The Rally* 2, no. 9 (June 1919), 12.; A.S.D., "Hanover, PA," *The Rally* 2, no. 9 (June 1919), 4.; "Naples, N.Y.," *The Rally* 3, no. 1 (October 1919), 12.; F.T.E., 14.; G.P.C., "Lyford, TX," *The American Girl* 4, no. 4 (January 1921), 12.; "East Winthrop, ME," *The American Girl* 4, no. 4 (January 1921), 12.
[32] Although Girl Scouts repeatedly use the phrase "adopt French orphans" it appears to be a sponsorship, where the Girl Scouts raise money and then support one orphan. In one letter, a Scout Captain wrote that her troop raised money hoping to adopt one orphan but accumulated enough donations to adopt two. Adopting orphans is thus similar to a sponsorship program through an organization like Save the Children. Mrs. L.B.H., "Augusta, Maine," *The Rally* 2, no. 9 (June 1919), 12. "Philadelphia Scouts Raise Big Fund for Organization Work," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 15.; "Hartford, CT," *The Rally* 1, no. 11 (August 1918), 7.; F.W., "Bowling Green," 12.; "San Diego," *The Rally* 2, no. 11 (June 1919), 12.; J.M., Scribe, "Pleasantville, NY," *The Rally* 3, no. 7 (April 1920), 14.; B.P., "New York City," *The American Girl* 3, no. 11 (August 1920), 14.; "Boston," *The American Girl* 4, no. 5 (February 1921), 12.; S.W.P., "Wauwatosa, WI," *The American Girl* 4, no. 6 (March 1921), 12.
[33] Girl Scouts reportedly collected thousands of peach pits, some up to 12,950 of them. The Scout Scrapbook from March 1919 included a picture titled "Peach Pit Champions" that featured Girl Scouts from Washington, D.C., all under the age of 13, standing next to baskets full of peach pits. "Augusta, ME," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 14.; "The Times, D.C.," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 15.; "Toledo," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 15.; "Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.," *The Rally* 2, no. 4 (January 1919), 13.; "Cincinnati, OH," *The Rally* 2, no. 4 (January 1919), 13.; "Savannah, GA," *The Rally* 2, no. 4 (January 1919), 13.; "Peach Pit Champions," *The Rally* 2, no. 6 (March 1919).; "Naples, NY," *The Rally* 3, no. 1 (October 1919), 12.
[34] "Hartford, CT," 7.; "Auburn, PA," *The Rally* 1, no. 12 (September 1918), 7.; C.R.T., Captain, "Hammond, Indiana," *The Rally* 2, no. 1 (October 1918), 6.; "Savannah, GA," 13.; "Saginaw,

S.W., Michigan," *The Rally* 2, no. 7 (April 1919), 10.; A.L.M., Oklahoma City, OK," *The American Girl* 3, no. 9 (June 1920), 14.

[35] M.M., "Altoona, PA," *The Rally* 1, no. 11 (August 1918), 7.; "Auburn, PA," 7.

[36] Girl Scouts also served in the Land Army, where they tended to plants and livestock at larger farms, and volunteered at the Food Administration. "Hartford, CT," 7.; "Geneva, Ohio," *The Rally* 1, no. 12 (September 1918), 6.; "Yonkers," *The Rally* 2, no. 2 (November 1918), 10.; "Iowa City, Iowa," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 14.; "The Times, Buffalo, NY, September 14," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 14.; "Toledo," 15.; "The Herald, Boston, October 6," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 16.; "Unusual Scouts," *The Rally* 2, no. 6 (March 1919).; E.H.R., Captain, 7.; Beatrice Prior, "My Victory Garden," 2, no. 9 (June 1919), 4.

[37] Some Girl Scouts raised as much as $65,200 from the sales of thrift and war savings stamps and $9,550 from the sales of Liberty Bonds. M.M., 7.; "San Francisco," 6.; Mrs. W.P.L., 6.; "Hammond, Indiana," *The Rally* 2, no. 1 (October 1918), 6.; "Dormant, PA," *The Rally* 2, no. 2 (November 1918), 10.; "Philadelphia Scouts Raise Big Fund for Organization Work," 15.; "Dobbs Ferry, NY," 13.; "Cincinnati, OH," 13.; "Savannah, GA," 13.; "Unusual Scouts."; S.C.H., 10.; E.H.R., Captain, 7.; S.W.P., 12.

[38] Michael Howard, *The First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).; Woodrow Wilson, "Address to a Joint Session of Congress Requesting a Declaration of War Against Germany," April 2, 1917, *The American Presidency Project* http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=65366.

[39] The government planned to cover one-third of the war's cost with taxes and two-thirds of the cost with borrowing from liberty loans. Hugh Rockoff, "Until it's Over, Over There: The US Economy in World War I," in *The Economics of World War I,* ed. Stephen Broadberry and Mark Harrison, (310-343) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 321.

[40] Jerry W. Markham, *A Financial History of the United States, Volume II: From J.P. Morgan to the Institutional Investor (1900-1970)* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.), 77.; Rockoff, 327.

[41] Richard Sutch, "Liberty Bonds: April 1917-September 1918," on *Federal Reserve History,* December 4, 2015. https://www.federalreservehistory.org/essays/liberty_bonds.; Rockoff, 321.

[42] Markham, 76, 77.

[43] "A Brief History of the American Red Cross," *American Red Cross,* 2-3. It is unclear if the Girl Scouts volunteered with the Junior Red Cross as only the name Red Cross appears in their letters and scrapbook entries.

[44] Davison, 92.

[45] Ibid., 93.; "Juniors Find Much to Do," *The Red Cross Bulletin* 3, no. 2 (January 6, 1919): 1.

[46] The bulletin also notes the impressive amount of clothing that Red Cross members made for soldiers: "in the seventeen months preceding the signing of the armistice, more than ten million knitted articles were turned out by the Red Cross chapters of the country." "The Suspension of Knitting," *The Red Cross Bulletin* 3, no. 2 (January 6, 1919): 3.

[47] Francis A. March and Richard J. Beamish, *History of the World War: An Authentic Narrative of the World's Greatest War Including the Treaty of Peace and the League of Nations' Covenant* (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston, Company, 1919), 225.

[48] Brian Resnick, "What America Looked Like: Collecting Peach Pits for WWI Gas Masks," *The Atlantic* (February 1, 2012), https://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2012/02/what-america-looked-like-collecting-peach-pits-for-wwi-gas-masks/252294/.

[49] Resnick.

[50] March and Beamish, 225.
[51] Resnick.
[52] Rose Hayden-Smith, *Sowing the Seeds of Victory: American Gardening Programs of World War I* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, Inc., Publishers, 2014), 5.
[53] Maxcy Robson Dickson, *The Food Front in World War I* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1944), 14-22.
[54] "United States Food Administration," *Cornell University Albert R. Mann Library*, 2006, http://exhibits.mannlib.cornell.edu/meatlesswheatless/meatless-wheatless.php?content=two.
[55] "Wheaton, Ill.," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 10.
[56] B. McM., Captain, "From the *Enterprise*, Fallbrook, Cal., August 20, *The Rally* 2, no. 1 (October 1918), 7.
[57] "Our Own Win-The-War Page," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 12.; "What the United War Fund Means to Girl Scouts," *The Rally* 2, no. 2 (November 1918), 2.
[58] Prior, 4.
[59] Alton Ketchum, *Uncle Sam: The Man and the Legend* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1975), 9.
[60] R.S.E., Captain, "Iowa City, Iowa," *The Rally* 1, no. 11 (August 1918), 7.; "Wayne, Pennsylvania," *The Rally* 1, no. 12 (September 1918), 16.; "Camp Gardeners," *The Rally* 2, no. 10 (July 1919), 11.; Olive E. Briggs, "Ten Little Thrift Stamps—And More," *The Rally* 2, no. 1 (October 1918), 4.; "Philadelphia Scouts Raise Big Fund for Organization Work," 15.; "Unusual Scouts." *The Rally* 2, no. 6 (March 1919).; Mabel Kessler, "Troop 81," *The Rally* 2, no. 7 (April 1919), 12.; Esther M. Dorrovner, "Troop 30—Christodoro House," *The Rally* 2, no. 7 (April 1919), 12.
[61] R.S.E., Captain, 7.
[62] Camp Gardeners," 11.
[63] Ruth M. Stern, "What My Mother Thinks About the Girl Scouts," *The Rally* 2, no. 11 (August 1919), 4.; "An important message from our National President," *The American Girl* 4, no. 6 (March 1921), 19.
[64] Aristotle, *The Nichomachean Ethics*, 35.
[65] Desiderius Erasmus, *Copia: Foundations of the Abundant Style*, in *The Rhetorical Tradition: Readings from Classical Times to the Present, Second Edition*, ed. Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg, (New York: Bedford/St. Martin's: 2001), 597.
[66] Ibid., 598.
[67] Chaïm Perelman, *The Realm of Rhetoric*, trans. William Kluback (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1982), 37.
[68] Erasmus, 610.
[69] George Campbell, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1834), 353. Campbell defines a loose sentence as "a complex sentence, that is not a period." A period is "a complex sentence, wherein the meaning remains suspended till the whole is finished." The *Oxford English Dictionary* offers detailed definitions for both left-branching, or period, sentences and right-branching, or loose, sentences. A left-branching sentence is "characterized by dependents which successively precede their heads ["the principle clause of a sentence or statement"] (and which, in a parse tree representing the connection between main and subordinate units, branch successively towards the left." By contrast, a right-branching sentence is "characterized by dependents which successively follow their heads (and which, in a parse tree representing the connection between main and subordinate units, branch successively towards the right." Michael Leff and Ebony Utley examine the effect of period and loose sentences in

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "Letter from Birmingham Jail." They write that a period or left-branching sentence "suspends the completion of the sentence as a meaningful unit until the end" whereas the right-branching sentence "does not suspend meaning as does the periodic sentence King uses." Campbell, 352.; *Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd ed (2016), "Left-branching."; *Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd ed (2016), "Right-branching."; Michael Leff and Ebony A. Utley, "Instrumental and Constitutive Rhetoric in Martin Luther King Jr.'s 'Letter from Birmingham Jail," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 7, no. 1 (2004), 44-46.

[70] "Visitors to The Rally Office," *The Rally* 2, no. 1 (October 1918), 7.

[71] C.R.T., Captain, 6.

[72] Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation*, trans. John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969), 145.

[73] Debra Hawhee, *Rhetoric in Tooth and Claw: Animals, Language, Sensation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 135.

[74] Ibid., 137.

[75] Mrs. W.G.F., "Hutchinson, Kansas," *The Rally* 2, no. 6 (March 1919), 12. According to an October 1918 article, "Our Own Win-The-War Page" "a slacker record is one in which you have grown tired of playing and which now lies idle instead of providing entertainment where it is most needed—among our boys in the service." "Our Own Win-The-War Page: Three Ways in Which Girl Scouts Can Help," *The Rally* 2, no. 1 (October 1918), 12.

[76] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, trans. W. Rhys Roberts (New York: Random House Inc., 1954), 1367b 21-27, quoted in Miller, "Aristotle on Habit (ἔθος) and Character (ἦθος): Implications for the *Rhetoric*," 315.

[77] Miller, "Aristotle on Habit (ἔθος) and Character (ἦθος): Implications for the *Rhetoric*," 315.

[78] John E. Smith, "Time and Qualitative Time" in *Rhetoric and Kairos: Essays in History, Theory, and Praxis*, ed. Phillip Sipiora and James S. Baumlin (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002), 47.

[79] Ibid., 49.

[80] Ibid.

[81] S.C.H., Secretary, 10.

[82] C.R.T., Captain, 6.

[83] Smith, 49.

[84] Dorrovner, 12.

[85] E.R., "Brooklyn, NY," (October 1919), 12.

[86] Lynn Dumenil, *The Second Line of Defense: American Women and World War I* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).; Thomas Anthony Britten, *American Indians in World War I: At Home and At War* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997).

[87] Dumenil, 2.

[88] Dumenil argues that "the war did not create these women's commitment to activism, but because it focused attention on questions of citizenship, patriotic service, and democratic rights, it did offer them a particularly auspicious time to make a claim for an enlarged sense of citizenship." Such a claim "became an important part of the final drive for woman suffrage and the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920." African American and Native American men also argued that their war service warranted full citizenship. Thomas Anthony Britten stresses that both groups enlisted "to defend their country, prove their loyalty, gain social status, and improve economic mobility." He argues that "the wartime sacrifices of the 'first Americans'

went a long way toward convincing non-Indians that Native Americans were worthy of respect, equal rights and citizenship, and that they were capable of playing an important role in American society." Similarly, he cites Emmett J. Scott, "an African American and a special assistant to the secretary of war," who "noted that black soldiers realized that they could not be in a position to demand their rights unless they fully performed their duties as American citizens. Through military service, therefore, blacks fought indirectly for justice in the courts, better schools, the abolition of Jim Crow laws, fair wages, and improved housing." Dumenil, 1-2, 6, 15, 62.; Britten, 117, 115.

[89] Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric*, trans. H.C. Lawson-Tancred (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 1366a.

[90] "What the United War Fund Means to Girl Scouts," 2.

[91] "Philadelphia Scouts Raise Big Fund for Organization Work," 15.; "A Step, a Word, a Smile," *The Rally* 1, no. 12 (September 1918), 13.; M.M, Captain, "Altoona, Pennsylvania," *The Rally* 1, no. 11 (August 1918), 7.; Grace Berkley, "Whipping the Kaiser," *The Rally* 2, no. 4 (January 1919), 15. Some entries simply note that contributions, specifically monetary donations to the Hoover Fund, were a product of sacrifice. "Donations to the Hoover Fund," *The American Girl* 4, no. 6 (March 1921), 26.; "Donations to the Hoover Fund," *The American Girl* 4, no. 8 (May 1921), 28.; "Donations to the Hoover Fund," *The American Girl* 4, no. 9 (June 1921), 26, 28-29.

[92] "Philadelphia Scouts Raise Big Fund for Organization Work," 15.

[93] J.McD., "Calhoun, Georgia," *The Rally* 2, no. 7 (April 1919), 10.

[94] Richard Dagger, *Civic Virtues: Rights, Citizenship, and Republican Liberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 100.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Briggs, 4.

[97] Mrs. L.R., Captain, "San Francisco, Cal.," *The Rally* 1, no. 12 (September 1918), 7.**;** "From the *Herald*, Boston, Mass., August 25," quoted in "News to Note," *The Rally* 1, no. 12 (September 1918), 15.**;** E.H.L., Captain, "Dormont, PA," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 10.**;** W.R., "Northumberland, PA," *The Rally* 2, no. 7 (April 1919), 10.**;** E.R., 12.**;** V.W., Reporter, "Bronxville, New York," *The Rally* 2, no. 11 (August 1919), 2.**;** E.B., "Glen Ridge, NJ," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 10.**;** "A Step, a Word, a Smile," 13.**;** Frances Clark, "European Relief," *The American Girl* 4, no. 8 (May 1921), 18.**;** R.E.N., Local Director, "Our First Victory Girls," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 16.**;** Mrs. W.G.F., 12.**;** S.C.H., Secretary, 10.**;** Charlotte Kissell, "Scouting News From Colorado Springs," *The Rally* 3, no. 2 (November 1919), 3.**;** "Donations to the Hoover Fund," (March 1921), 26.; "Donations to the Hoover Fund," (May 1921), 28.; "Donations to the Hoover Fund," (June 1921), 26, 28-29.**;** C.R.T., Captain, 6.**;** "Brooklyn, New York," *The Rally* 2, no. 1 (October 1918), 7.**;** M.H.P., Captain, "Manheim, PA," *The Rally* 2, no. 1 (October 1918), 7.**;** "From the Public Ledger," quoted in "News to Note," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 15.; "From the *Herald* Boston, Mass., October 6," quoted in "News to Note," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 16.; "Cincinnati, O.," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 13.; "Liberty Loan Report Postponed," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 15.; "Annual Convention of the Girl Scouts," *The Rally* 3, no. 6 (March 1920), 10.

[98] C.R.T., Captain, 6.; W.R., "Northumberland, PA," 10.; "Visitors to The Rally Office," 7.; Mrs. W.G.F., 12.

[99] "A Step, a Word, a Smile," 13.; "Visitors to The Rally Office," 7.; "From the Public Ledger," 15.; "Cincinnati, O.," 13.; Mrs. W.G.F., 12.; E.H.R., Captain, 7.

[100] C.R.T., Captain, 6.; "Visitors to The Rally Office," 7.; A.S.D., Local Director, 4.
[101] "From the Public Ledger," 15.; Secretary of Troop 1, "New Haven, Conn.," *The Rally* 3, no. 8 (May 1920), 14.
[102] "Wayne, Pennsylvania," 16.; E.H.R., Captain, 7.; "Annual Convention of the Girl Scouts," 10.; "From the *Herald* Boston, Mass., October 6," 16.
[103] "From the *Times* Washington, D.C., September 20," quoted in "News to Note," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 15.; "News to Note," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 15.; "Cincinnati, O.," 13.; "Peach Pit Champions"; "Naples, NY," 12.
[104] F.M.W., Captain, "Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.," 13.; A.S.D., Local Director, 4.
[105] "From the Public Ledger," 15.; Mrs. W.G.F., 12.
[106] "Girl Scouts of New Bedford Meet Emergency," *The Rally* 2, no. 2 (November 1918), 14.; "Philadelphia, PA," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 14.; "News Notes," *The Rally* 2, no. 2 (November 1918), 14.; "San Francisco, Cal.," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 14.; "Dobbs Ferry, NY," 13.; "Bowling Green, OH," *The Rally* 2, no. 2 (November 1918), 11.; W.R., "Northumberland, PA,"10.; M.N., Captain, "Swansea, Mass.," *The Rally* 2, no. 11 (August 1919), 2.; "Girl Scouts in Action," *The Rally* 3, no. 6 (March 1920), 11.; "Scouts Help During Influenza Epidemic," *The Rally* 3, no. 6 (March 1920), 12.

The flu epidemic plagued the U.S. from 1918-1919. During this year, 550,000 Americans died from the flu, a death toll ten times greater than that of American casualties in World War I. The flu was dangerous, not only because of how quickly it spread, but also because the United States experienced a shortage of hospital space and medical professionals since "about 50,000 doctors and 20,000 nurses ha[d] gone into military service." National and local public health agencies soon issued calls demanding that all willing and courageous individuals, with or without medical training, join the "flu duty" if they had not already. Gary Gernhart, "A Forgotten Enemy: PHS's Fight against the 1918 Influenza Pandemic," *Public Health Reports* 114, no. 6 (November-December 1999): 559.; "Medical Men Tour Influenza Wards," *New York Times* (October 14, 1918), p. 24.; Alfred W. Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 81.; "Asks Experts' Aid to Check Epidemic," *New York Times* (October 13, 1918), pg. 18.
[107] "New York," *The Rally* 2, no. 7 (April 1919), 10.; "Bronx, NY," *The Rally* 3, no. 1 (October 1919), 5.; "Cincinnati, OH," *The Rally* 3, no. 3 (December 1919), 12.; "New Haven, CT," *The American Girl* 3, no. 9 (June 1920), 7.; "Colorado Springs," *The American Girl* 4, no. 8 (May 1921), 12.

Baby weeks and infant health clinics were created to ensure that infants received proper every day care. These resources educated caregivers, including mothers and siblings, gave working mothers a safe environment for their children while they were away from home, provided them with basic childcare items, and offered free medical visits to ensure proper healthcare during illness. Infant welfare resources were vital during the Progressive Era given the high infant mortality rates caused by contaminated milk, infants left in the care of siblings, and a lack of widely disseminated information on proper childcare practices. By educating siblings and mothers and providing free childcare, healthcare, and milk, these resources sought to reduce mortality rates and create a cooperative commitment to infant welfare in communities nationwide. *Baby-Week Campaigns: Suggestions for Communities of Various Sizes* 5, no. 15 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor Children's Bureau, 1915): 7, 9-10, 46.; *Baby-Week Campaigns (Revised Edition)* 5, no. 15 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor Children's Bureau, 1917): 29.; Elizabeth Rose, *A Mother's Job: The History of Day Care, 1890-*

1960 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 24.; J.W. Kerr, "Data Regarding Operations of Infants' Milk Depots in the United States in 1910," *Public Health Reports (1896-1970)* 26, no. 33 (Aug. 18, 1911): 1229, 1236.; Elliott West, *Growing Up in Twentieth-Century America: A History and Reference Guide* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 63-64.; David I. MacLeod, *The Age of the Child: Children in America, 1890-1920* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998), 42, 48.; Elizabeth Rose, "Little Mothers," *Girlhood in America: An Encyclopedia Volume 2,* ed. Miriam Forman-Brunell (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC CLIO, 2001), 431.

[108] "Girl Scouts and Milk Fund," *Pittsburgh Chronicle-Telegraph* in *The American Girl* 3, no. 11 (August 1920), 14.; S.E.B., "Lexington, Mass." *The Rally* 3, no. 2 (November 1919), 4.

[109] Mrs. W.P.L., Captain, 6.; "Bowling Green," *The Rally* 2, no. 2 (November 1918), 10.

[110] H.L.W., Captain, "Congers, NY," *The Rally* 4, no. 3 (December 1920), 16.; J.M., Scribe, 14.; S.B., "Decatur, IL," *The American Girl* 3, no. 9 (June 1920), 14.; "Carnegie, PA," *Pittsburgh Dispatch* in *The American Girl* 3, no. 11 (August 1920), 14.; "Tulsa, OK," *The American Girl* 4, no. 5 (February 1921), 12.; B.D., "Lexington, VA," *The American Girl* 4, no. 1 (October 1920), 14.; "Champion, MI," *The American Girl* 4, no. 6 (March 1921), 12.; "Oil City, PA," *The American Girl* 4, no. 9 (June 1921), 23.; Jennie Boardman, "A Little Bit of Christmas," *The Rally* 2, no. 6 (March 1919), 6., W.S., Captain, "Philadelphia, PA," *The Rally* 3, no. 6 (March 1920), 4.; "Riverhead, NY," *The Rally* 4, no. 4 (January 1921), 13.; Mrs. W.P.L., Captain, 6.; "Hammond, Indiana," *The Rally* 2, no. 1 (October 1918), 6.; "Iowa City, Iowa," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 14.; "Newington Home for Crippled Children," *The Rally* 2, no. 11 (August 1919), 12.; J.M., Scribe, 14.; Unionville, CT," *The American Girl* 3, no. 10 (July 1920), 14.; "Riverhead, NY," *The Rally* 4, no. 4 (January 1921), 13.; "Brooklyn, NY," (June 1921), 21.; H.L.W., Captain, 16.; J.M., Scribe, 14.; S.B., 14.; "Carnegie, PA," 14.

[111] Julie A. Reuben, "Beyond Politics: Community Civics and the Redefinition of Citizenship in the Progressive Era," *History of Education Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (Winter 1997): 404.; R. Freeman Butts, "Historical Perspective on Civic Education in the United States," in *Education for Responsible Citizenship: The Report of the National Task Force on Citizenship Education*, ed. B. Frank Brown (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1977): 53, 57.

[112] Chara Haeussler Bohan, "Early Vanguards of Progressive Education: The Committee of Ten, the Committee of Seven, and Social Education," *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 19, no. 1 (Fall 2003): 74.

[113] Ibid., Stacy, 155-156.

[114] Haeussler Bohan, 82-82, 91.; Butts, 57.

[115] John Dewey, *Moral Principles in Education* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company: 1909), 8-9.

[116] Ibid., 14.

[117] Ibid., 17.

[118] Haeussler Bohan, 80.

[119] Ibid., 83, 91.

[120] "Civic Education Circular No. 1," cited in *The Teaching of Community Civics* (Washington, D.C.: United States Bureau of Education, 1915) Bulletin no. 23, 11.

[121] Thomas Jesse Jones, "Statement of Chairman of the Committee on Social Studies" in *Preliminary Statements by Chairmen of Committees of the Commission of the National Education Association on The Reorganization of Secondary Education"* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913): 18-19

[122] Ibid., 19.
[123] S.N., "From Troop 16," *The Rally* 3, no. 3 (December 1919), 10.
[124] "Norwood Girl Scouts," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 14.; M.N., Captain, 2.; Mrs. R.J.L., Captain, "Memphis, Tenn.," *The Rally* 3, no. 5 (February 1920), 5.; "Busy? Yes Indeed!," *The Rally* 3, no. 5 (February 1920), 6.; "Helping Out," *The Rally* 3, no. 5 (February 1920), 7.; "Girl Scouts in Action," 11.; "Scouts Help During Influenza Epidemic," 12.; H.L.W., 16.
[125] "Nashville, Tenn.," *The American Girl* 3, no. 12 (September 1920), 7.
[126] "From the *Journal*, Atlanta, GA," quoted in "News to Note," *The Rally* 1, no. 12 (September 1918), 15.
[127] "Norwood Girl Scouts," 14.
[128] G.P.C., 12.
[129] Josephine Daskam Bacon, "The Girl Scout's Thanksgiving," *The Rally* 3, no. 2 (November 1919), 1.; "The Tea-Kettle Drive," *The Rally* 3, no. 4 (January 1920), 11.; "Read What Mr. Hoover Thinks of the Girl Scouts," *The American Girl* 3, no. 10 (July 1920), 3.; "Action," ed. Nancy B. Waddell, *The American Girl* 4, no. 1 (October 1920), 8.; "Citizen Badge," *The American Girl* 4, no. 6 (March 1921), 4.
[130] "A Girl Scout Captain in Politics," *The American Girl* 4, no. 2 (November 1920), 5.
[131] Marguerite L. Smith, "Scouting and Politics," *The American Girl* 4, no. 2 (November 1920), 5.
[132] John Smith identifies several questions that critics can answer by studying *chronos*, including how frequently an activity or event occurs over a period of time. John E. Smith, 47.
[133] Miller, "Aristotle on Habit (ἕθος) and Character (ἦθος): Implications for the *Rhetoric*," 316.
[134] M.N., Captain, 2.
[135] W.R., "Northumberland, PA," 10.
[136] "Girl Scouts in Action," 11.
[137] "Girl Scouts of New Bedford Meet Emergency," (December 1918), 14.; "Girl Scouts in Action," 11.; Mrs. Selden Bacon, "The Girl Scouts as a Community Asset," *The Rally* 3, no. 6 (March 1920), 17.; M.C., "Buffalo, N.Y.," *The American Girl* 3, no. 10 (July 1920), 14.; "Nashville, Tenn.," 7.
[138] "Girl Scouts of New Bedford Meet Emergency," (December 1918), 14.
[139] Ruth E. Cumnock, "A Roof Garden!," *The American Girl* 4, no. 7 (April 1921), 19.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid.
[142] "From the *Journal*, Atlanta, GA," 15.; H.L.W., 16.; "Cross at Crossings Campaign," *The Rally* 3, no. 3 (December 1919), 6.; "Norwood Girl Scouts," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 14.; "Busy? Yes Indeed!," 6.; "Girl Scouts in Action," *The Rally* 3, no. 6 (March 1920), 17.; "Girl Scouts Aid Lifesaving," Ed. Marjorie Edgar, *The Rally* 3, no 7 (April 1920), 6.
[143] "Busy? Yes Indeed!," 6.; Mrs. F.L.A., Captain, "Bowling Green, Ohio," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 11.; "Official Announcement," *The Rally* 3, no. 5 (February 1920), 2.; "Do a Good Turn," *The American Girl* 4, no. 9 (June 1921), 18.; "From the *Journal*, Atlanta, GA," 15.; S.E.B., 4.; H.L.W., Captain, 16.; "Cross at Crossings Campaign," 6.; "Helping Out," 7.; "Girl Scouts in Action," *The Rally* 3, no. 6 (March 1920), 17.; "The Tea-Kettle Drive," 11.; "Norwood Girl Scouts," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 14.; "Scout Service," *The Rally* 3, no. 4 (January 1920), 5.; "Scouting Activities in Minnesota," ed. Marjorie Edgar, *The American Girl* 3, no. 12 (September 1920), 11.

[144] Girl Scouts performed such activities as constructing an emergency hospital during the flu epidemic, helping the Red Cross create Girl Scout life saving corps, starting Girl Scout troops at children's hospitals, and expanding the scope of the Red Cross's message to "assist in keeping alive both the Red Cross and things for which it stands" after the war. "Norwood Girl Scouts," *The Rally* 2, no. 3 (December 1918), 14.; "Girl Scouts Aid Lifesaving," 6.; H.L.W., Captain, 16.; "Official Announcement," 2.

[145] "From the *Sun*, Pittsburgh, PA," quoted in "News to Note," *The Rally* 1, no. 12 (September 1918), 15.

[146] M.H., Patrol Leader, "Columbus, Ohio," *The Rally* 3, no. 6 (March 1920), 19.

[147] Kissell, 3.; Margaret McCray, "Hike! Hike! On[e] the Hard Turned Pike Till We Strike Hundred and Four," *The Rally* 3, no. 5 (February 1920), 6.; "A Bully Adventure," *The Rally* 3, no. 6 (March 1920), 4.; "All Day Hikes," Ed. Birdsall Otis Edey, *The American Girl* 3, no. 9 (June 1920), 13.; Captain E.G., "Our Visit to the Sawmill," *The American Girl* 3, no. 9 (June 1920), 19.; Helene Basquin, "A Summer Experience," *The American Girl* 3, no. 12 (September 1920), 6.; "Camp,: Ed. Agnes Donaldson, *The American Girl* 3, no. 12 (September 1920), 8.; "Salisbury, Maryland," *The American Girl* 4, no. 5 (March 1921), 20.; "Early Spring Spots," *The American Girl* 4, no. 5 (March 1921).

[148] Leona A. Maxim, "The Camp at Paoli," *The Rally* 3, no. 1 (October 1919), 8.; "Fall River, Mass.," *The Rally* 3, no. 1 (October 1919), 12.; Kissell, 3.; The Scribe, "Weston, Mass.," *The Rally* 3, no. 7 (April 1920), 5.; Lucille Presser, "Arrawana Troop Camping," *The Rally* 3, no. 7 (April 1920), 5.; "Wallace, Idaho," *The American Girl* 3, no. 11 (August 1920), 9.; E.H., "Hawaiian Girl Scouts," *The American Girl* 3, no. 11 (August 1920), 15.; "Camp," 8.; "San Diego, Calif.," *The American Girl* 3, no. 12 (September 1920), 14.; Mrs. N.B., "Lafayette, Ind.," *The American Girl* 4, no. 1 (October 1920), 14.; A.R., "The Watkinsville and Vidalia Girl Scout Camp," *The American Girl* 4, no. 8 (May 1921), 22.; G.E. MacL., "O-So-Ah Cabin," *The American Girl* 4, no. 8 (May 1921), 28.

[149] Grace May Billings, Scribe, "Mother and Daughter Hike," *The Rally* 2, no. 11 (August 1919), 5.; H.B., Secretary, "San Francisco, Calif.," *The Rally* 2, no. 11 (August 1919), 16.; Corporal, "An Out-of-Door Dinner," *The Rally* 3, no. 2 (November 1919), 4.; McCray, 6.; "A Wonderful Day," *The Rally* 3, no. 5 (February 1920), 8.; "Elmore, Ohio," *The Rally* 3, no. 6 (March 1920), 5.; E.F., "Eliot, Maine," *The Rally* 3, no. 7 (April 1920), 4.; "An Overnight's Hike," *The Rally* 3, no. 7 (April 1920), 12.; Bas quin, 6.; G.E. McL., "An Overnight Hike," *The American Girl* 3, no. 12 (September 1920), 7.

[150] Billings, 5.; M.E., Local Director, "Minneapolis, Minn.," *The Rally* 2, no. 11 (August 1919), 10.; N.B.W., Local Director, "San Diego, California," *The Rally* 2, no. 11 (August 1919), 12.; H.B., 16.; "Fall River, Mass." 12.; Bacon, 1.; Kissell, 3.; "Bicycle Hike," *The Rally* 3, no. 3 (December 1919), 6.; Marjorie Edgar, "Winter Sports," *The Rally* 3, no. 6 (March 1920), 9.; The Scribe, 5.; Presser, 5.; "Minneapolis Troop News," Ed. Marjorie Edgar, *The American Girl* 3, no. 9 (June 1920), 6.; Captain E.G., 19.; "Wallace, Idaho," 14.; E.H., 15.; "Camp," 8.; "Camp Memories," Ed. Nancy B. Waddell, *The American Girl* 3, no. 12 (September 1920), 9.; G.E. MacL., 28.

[151] Abigail A. Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1960* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xxi.

[152] Paris, *Children's Nature*, 8.; Leslie Paris, "The Adventures of Peanut and Bo: Summer Camps and Early-Twentieth-Century American Girlhood," *Journal of Women's History* 12, no. 4 (Winter 1001): 48.; Van Slyck, xxii.

[153] Paris, *Children's Nature*, 21, 9.; Paris, "The Adventures of Peanut and Bo," 52.
[154] Paris, *Children's Nature*, 9, 17-18, 21, 9.; Paris, "The Adventures of Peanut and Bo," 52.; Miller, *Growing Girls*, 8.; Proctor, *Scouting for Girls*, 2.; Van Slyck, xxiii, xxiv. Leslie Paris argues that the creation of summer camps bears a striking resemblance to the actions of America's pioneers. She writes, in regard to one of the earliest summer camps, that "to discover and take possession of an island…was to lay claim to one of the central parables of American history: the story of virtuous pioneers, guided by manifest destiny, who forged new communities on virgin land."
[155] Paris, "The Adventures of Peanut and Bo," 52.; Paris, *Children's Nature*, 46.
[156] Paris, *Children's Nature*, 49.
[157] Ibid., 48-49.
[158] Miller, *Growing Girls*, 71.
[159] Paris, *Children's Nature*, 50.; Van Slyck, 19.
[160] Van Slyck and Miller have noted that World War I made military training a key element of Girl Scouts' camping experiences because militaristic elements such as camp layouts, drills, inspection, standing at attention, a rigid daily schedule, marching, and signaling were perceived to teach girls discipline and "thus preparing them (in a generic way) for their patriotic duties." Miller explains military training during World War I "as the starting point of a syllogism that equated martial skills with civic duty, and civic duty with civic rights." Additionally, Van Slyck argues that "by organizing highly visible demonstrations of female patriotism, they helped the war effort while building greater awareness of their programs." Van Slyck, xxiv, 18-19.; Miller, *Growing Girls*, 56.

Girl Scouts' documentation of their camping experiences does include some references to militaristic activities and structure, such as marching, drills, and an hourly schedule that they were expected to follow. However, Girl Scouts only make mere mention of these militaristic qualities and focus more heavily on their experiences in the outdoors, the excitement of sleeping outdoors and cooking over a campfire, and their wonder in exploring the natural world around them. Because of this, I have attended to the outdoor experiences they had at camp and on hikes.
[161] Paris, *Children's Nature*, 52.
[162] *Campward Ho!: A Manual for Girl Scout Camps* (New York: McGraw Phillips Printing Co, Inc., 1920), 22, 25-26.
[163] Ibid., 26
[164] Paris, *Children's Nature*, 52.
[165] Proctor writes that "frontiers took all kinds of forms, some of them the pioneer American past or the edges of the British Empire, some of them the fictional frontiers of Edwardian authors." For example, she cites a group of Girl Guides at camp who named their tent "Never Never Land," pretended that they were pirates, and took on the roles of characters such as Captain Hook, Smee, and Tinker Bell. Interestingly, Girl Guides "became boys and pirates and fantasy creatures instead of Wendy, "the little girl who became the surrogate mother in Barrie's story." Proctor, *Scouting for Girls*, 54.
[166] N.B.W., 12.; Kissell, 3.; B.D., "Our Plans for the New Year," *The Rally* 3, no. 4 (January 1920), 4.; McCray, 6.; Edgar, "Winter Sports," 9.; Edey, 13.; Captain E.G., "Our Visit to the Sawmill," 19.; Donaldson, 8.; "Salisbury, Maryland," 20.
[167] Billings, Scribe, 5.; Bacon, 1.; "Bicycle Hike," 6.; McCray, 6.; "Long Pond Camp," *The Rally* 3, no. 7 (April 1920), 7.; E.V. Tennyson, "Hikes," *The Rally* 3, no. 7 (April 1920), 4.; E.F., 4.; Presser, 5.; G.E. McL., 7.; Donaldson, 8.; "Camp Memories," 9.; "Columbia, S.C.," *The*

American Girl 4, no. 1 (October 1920), 14.; "O Pioneers," *The American Girl* 4, no. 7 (April 1921), 20.; "Jolly Days…Camp with Girl Scouts," *The American Girl* 4, no. 8 (May 1921).; A.R., 22.; G.E. MacL., 28.
[168] Donaldson, 8.
[169] N.B.W., 13.; "Bicycle Hike," 6.; "Elmore, Ohio," 5.; Caroline Lewis, "Camp Suggestions," *The Rally* 3, no. 7 (April 1920), 3.; Tennyson, 4.; Edey, 13.; L.M.K., "Baltimore, MD," *The American Girl* 4, no. 7 (April 1921), 12.; "Our Camp," *The American Girl* 4, no. 8 (May 1921), 19.
[170] N.B.W., 12.
[171] "Elmore, Ohio," 5.
[172] "Hiking and Camping: Practical Hints for Scout Camps and Campers," *The Rally* 2, no. 8 (May 1919), 1.
[173] Helen Louise Gould, "Camping," *The Rally* 2, no. 8 (May 1919), 5.; Leona A. Maxim, Camp Director, "The Camp at Paoli," *The Rally* 3, no. 1 (October 1919), 8.; "Fall River, Mass.," 12.; Kissell, 3.; "The Scribe," 5.; Presser, 5,; "Camp," 9.; E.H., 15.; Donaldson, 8.; "San Diego, Calif.," 14.; Mrs. N.B., 14.; J.S., M.E., and G.B., "St. Louis, MO," *The American Girl* 4, no. 3 (December 1920), 7.; A.R. 22.
[174] Kissell, 3.
[175] "Fall River, Mass.," 12.
[176] Maxim, 8.
[177] Billings, 5.; H.B., 16.; Corporal, 4.; "Westport, Conn.," *The Rally* 3, no. 3 (December 1919), 12.; McCray, 6.; "A Wonderful Day," 8.; "An Overnight's Hike," 12.; Edey, 13.; Captain, E.G., 19.; Basquin, 6.; G.E. McL., 7.; H.A., "Detroit, Mich., Troop No. 5," *The American Girl* 4, no. 4 (January 1921), 12.
[178] Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, 147.
[179] Ibid.
[180] "Westport, Conn.," 12.
[181] Gould, 5.; Maxim, 8.; "Fall River, Mass.," 12.; Kissell, 3.; "The Scribe," 5.; Presser, 5,; E.H., 15.; Donaldson, 8.; "San Diego, Calif.," 14.; Mrs. N.B., 14.; A.R. 22.; G.E. MacL., 28.
[182] Hawhee, 135.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Gould, 5.; Maxim, 8.; "Camp," 9.; Donaldson, 8.; "San Diego, Calif.," 14.;
[185] Maxim, 8.; "Fall River, Mass.," 12.; Kissell, 3.; The Scribe, 5.; E.H., 15.; Donaldson, 8.; Mrs. N.B., 14.; A.R., 22.; G.E. MacL., 28.
[186] McCray, 6.
[187] H.B., 16.; "Bicycle Hike," 6.; McCray, 6.
[188] Q.W., "Marooned on Pine Key," *The American Girl* 4, no. 5 (February 1921), 12.
[189] Edey, 13.
[190] "Two Districts Combine for Hike," Ed. Frances Clark, *The American Girl* 4, no. 4 (January 1921), 19.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Introduction

In an article published in the *Journal of Education,* Abby Porter Leland, former National Director of the GSUSA, addressed the value of Girl Scout training for girls as children and future women. She argued that the GSUSA provided "training for vigorous responsible womanhood and loyal, intelligent citizenship" because "every activity tends to train her as a member of a goup [sic], responsible to a larger group, to the home, to the community, and to the nation."[1] Leland explained how the GSUSA's training accomplished this through their engagement with local organizations, individuals in need, and the reciprocal relationship between community individuals and resources. Such civic responsibility and participation would "increase and strengthen steadily during the girl's entire scouting experience, and their influence inevitably carries over into adult life. The active Girl Scout of today is the vigorous, clear-visioned, well-informed civic leader of tomorrow."[2]

The GSUSA's commitment to service, citizenship, nature study, and camping also appealed to women who had devoted their lives to serving and sustaining the world and people around them. First Lady Lou Henry Hoover was one such woman. Hoover met Juliette Gordon Low while working with the Food Relief program in England during World War I.[3] Hoover felt an immediate connection to the GSUSA program because of her lifelong love of the outdoors, history of service in women's clubs and the programs her husband, Herbert Hoover, established through the Food Administration. She believed that "a woman who does nothing more than keep

house in the modern world 'is lazy.'"[4] In 1917, Low asked Hoover to become Girl Scout Commissioner in Washington, D.C., a position intended to fill a leadership void that emerged once the GSUSA moved its headquarters from the nation's capital to New York City. Hoover agreed and after serving this role for just a few months, was elected as the organization's Second Vice President in October 1917.[5] She remained an active leader in the GSUSA until her death in 1944, serving as a "troop leader before and during her stay in the White House," GSUSA president for two terms, and chairperson of the board of directors.[6] Hoover was also instrumental in shaping the Girl Scout training program and encouraging First Lady Edith Wilson to become the first Honorary President of the GSUSA during Woodrow Wilson's tenure in the White House, a position that first ladies have held ever since.[7]

Sustaining a training program that would have such a lasting effect was not without its challenges during the Progressive Era, a time characterized by both new opportunities for women and a reification of restrictive gender roles. Girls faced many of the same challenges as women. Although they were able to attend school and play some of the same sports as boys, girls' chores were typically limited to the home, their play and sports lacked physicality and competition, and their toys were designed to prepare them for their future responsibilities as wives and mothers.[8] Historian Mary Aickin Rothschild notes how Juliette Gordon Low navigated these challenges through the GSUSA's early years. She argues that "the Girl Scout program from its inception attempted to tread the uneasy path between the distinct worlds of boys and girls. The leaders did not want simply to incorporate the Boy Scout program whole, yet to make a program which would be unquestionably 'suitable' for girls would be 'boring' and 'unscoutlike.'"[9] Low and the GSUSA had to negotiate their training program with the Progressive Era context and girlhood

norms. This negotiation was crucial in order to maintain public support for the GSUSA, and sustain both girls' femininity and the organization's vision for girls' citizenship.

In this dissertation, I have analyzed how this negotiation is manifest in the organization's handbooks from 1916 and 1920 and its magazine from 1918-1921. Through its discourse, the GSUSA's rhetoric of American girlhood transformed traditionally feminine places—such as the home—and virtues—including caregiving, nurturing, and self-sacrificing—into sites and characteristics of citizenship. Specifically, this dissertation has revealed how the GSUSA positioned Girl Scouts—in relation to the broader Progressive Era social and historical contexts, physical places they inhabited, and relationships with others—in such ways that helped girls develop an expansive *ethos* and discover new opportunities for civic participation. The conclusion will begin by reviewing the three case studies and their findings. Then, it will evaluate the contributions this project has made to scholarship on Girl Scouts, *ethos* and positionality, and the rhetorical construction of children's citizenship.

Ethos and Positionality in Early GSUSA Discourse

This project's second chapter analyzed the 1916 handbook, *How Girls Can Help Their Country*. This is the first edition that Low published after Americanizing the English Girl Guide handbook. I argued that Low negotiated Progressive Era concepts of girlhood with her vision for girls' civic role to create a complex positionality and caregiver *ethos* for Girl Scouts. Progressive Era girlhood norms are manifest in the 1916 handbook as domestic skills inside the home, such as housekeeping and childcare. At times, Girl Scouts' positionality and *ethos* reified Progressive Era girlhood norms—such as self-sacrifice and nurture—by tying girls to restrictive gender codes. Specifically, sections about home life, sanitation, and "A Great Law of Life" depict Girl Scouts as brave protectors of the home. In these sections Girl Scouts are positioned in the home,

caring for family members and their living spaces. The skills that girls learn in these sections—how to clean, care for children, and monitor their health—allowed Girl Scouts to protect the family and home from dangers, such as disease and dirt, that could make them ill. By sustaining their family's well-being and the safety of the home, Girl Scouts performed the same type of home-based civic duty that Republican mothers did in the early nineteenth century.

Other times, Girl Scouts' positionality and *ethos* expanded their roles in relationships, the home, and community. Specifically, the first aid and "Be Strong" sections depict Girl Scouts as heroines outside the home, positioning them in the community caring for the infirm and men through their skills of medical care and personal health. In these sections, Girl Scouts perform their civic duty by sustaining the broader community's welfare. For example, they help people recover from injuries, keep their community safe, and rescue people in emergency situations such as falling through an ice-covered lake. By maintaining the girls' place within the home and creating new opportunities for girls to nurture others outside the home, Low expanded Girl Scouts' civic opportunities without threatening girls' femininity, Progressive Era girlhood norms, or girls' futures as wives and mothers.

The third chapter analyzed the 1920 handbook, *Scouting for Girls*. This was the first handbook that the GSUSA published after Low stepped down as president. The new edition featured contributions from experts in a variety of fields such as nature study and first aid; offered more thorough instruction in camping, nature study, and home economics; and contextualized GSUSA training in the pioneer past. I argued that contextualizing their training in the pioneer past helped Girl Scouts develop a Progressive Era pioneer *ethos* that taught them to be citizens of their homes and communities. Specifically, the handbook develops the pioneer past and shows its value to girls in the "Who are the Scouts?" section and narratives about Sacajawea,

Louisa Alcott, and Anna Shaw. These sections reveal how girls used virtues learned on the frontier—self-reliance, vast skills, and a broad knowledgebase—to be pioneers of the wilderness and community reform.

The handbook demonstrated how Progressive Era girls could attain these pioneer virtues by positioning Girl Scouts in the home, community, and wilderness and teaching them an impressive breadth of skills, including nature study, home economics, first aid, childcare, woodcraft, and public affairs. As a result, Girl Scouts developed the virtues of resourcefulness, civic responsibility, and civic engagement. They learned how to be citizens of the wilderness and community by sustaining the welfare of the people, animals, and resources located in both places. The 1920 handbook taught girls that the places they regularly inhabited in and outside the home could be outlets for citizenship. In doing so, the GSUSA recognized that Progressive Era girls spent time in and had aspirations beyond the home.

The fourth chapter evaluated the GSUSA's magazine, specifically issues published from 1918 to 1921. When *The Rally* debuted in October 1917 it was a means of efficient communication among captains nationwide. However, the organization began to tailor its content to Girl Scouts after learning of their enthusiasm for articles about Scouting activities. By 1918, *The Rally* had declared itself a publication for Girl Scouts. The three-year span of issues studied in this chapter captures the first issue of *The Rally* that was exclusively tailored to Girl Scouts and one year after the magazine changed its name to *The American Girl* to declare its commitment to serving all American girls. The magazine's entries highlight three types of Girl Scout activities: contributions to World War I and reconstruction, volunteerism in their hometowns, and adventures in hiking and camping.

I argued that the rhetorical features of these magazine entries—specifically, enumeration of specific activities, *copia*, quantification, repetition, *chronos*, and accumulation of details—shaped the "good citizen" *ethos* Girl Scouts demonstrated through these Scouting activities. In this chapter, I argued that, together, these features shaped the *ethos* Girl Scouts developed by rhetorically constructing their habits of war service, community service, and wilderness survival; revealing the virtues developed through these habits; and illuminating how Girl Scouts positioned themselves in physical settings and in relation to the broader Progressive Era social context. Together, the habits and virtues Girl Scouts developed allowed them to sustain the welfare of others, from soldiers at home and abroad to fellow town residents, and even members of their Girl Scout troops. As a result, Girl Scouts demonstrated the *ethos* of the Progressive Era "good citizen," or a "a person who habitually conducts himself with proper regard for the welfare of the communities of which he [sic] is a member, and who is active and intelligent in his cooperation with his fellow members to that end."[10]

Specifically, the entries about Girl Scouts' contributions during World War I positioned them as soldiers who helped win the war and Uncle Sam's helpers, and revealed how they developed the habit of war service through their abundant, repeated acts to support the war and reconstruction. Through the habit of war service, Girl Scouts developed the virtue of patriotism. The entries reveal that patriotism was virtuous because the Girl Scouts sustained the United States' war efforts, soldiers' welfare and morale, and Americans at home through food conservation. Entries about Girl Scouts' volunteerism in towns positioned them in places that sustained residents' welfare or where people received help such as the Red Cross, animal refuges, and the homes of individuals in need. Here, Girl Scouts developed the habit of community service through repeated acts of volunteerism performed over a period of time. From

their community service, Girl Scouts gained the virtue of civic engagement as part of their character. Specifically, they learned how to sustain others' welfare in myriad ways and demonstrated their ability to do this. Finally, entries about Girl Scouts' camping and hiking adventures positioned Girl Scouts in the wilderness as "Good Scouts" who lived outdoors like the pioneers did. Through the frequent training they received at camp and abundance of skills learned in the outdoors, Girl Scouts developed the habit of wilderness survival and virtue of self-reliance. Self-reliant Girl Scouts provided basic needs for themselves and fellow Scouts when away from home and its modern conveniences. Collectively, these habits, positionalities, and virtues helped Girl Scouts become engaged citizens of the places where they lived, worked, learned, and played.

The GSUSA, like the other youth organizations that emerged during the Progressive Era, was known for its character training program. Through its early discourse, the organization trained Girl Scouts to develop the virtues and skills required for active, engaged citizenship, including sacrifice, civic responsibility, patriotism, and civic engagement. As a result, Girl Scouts used their training within the organization not only to advance in rank, but also to improve the quality of life for the people in their troops, homes, towns, and nation; preserve natural resources; and sustain the community resources that supported residents' well-being.

Scholarly Contributions

This dissertation offers a new way of thinking about the type of girlhood and character Girl Scouts were trained to develop through their membership in the GSUSA. Previous GSUSA scholarship tends to claim that the organization's discourse constructs girlhood in such a way that reifies expectations for women and their responsibilities in the times those discourses were published.[11] However, this project has identified ways that the GSUSA challenged Progressive

Era girlhood norms and girls' presumed futures as wives and mothers. Specifically, the GSUSA demonstrated how girls' norms and responsibilities could also present and expand upon opportunities for citizenship. Girl Scouts self-sacrificed, but doing so allowed them to fund World War I and support soldiers abroad. Girl Scouts cleaned and cared for children not just because these were women's responsibilities, but because they could protect the home from threats that would jeopardize the family's welfare. By challenging these norms, the GSUSA constructed a new type of girlhood for its members, one in which Girl Scouts were brave protectors, heroines, pioneers, soldiers, and citizens.

Additionally, GSUSA scholarship tends to focus on the organization's handbooks.[12] This project expands scholarly consideration of GSUSA discourse by attending to the organization's magazine. The magazine's rhetorical significance is twofold. First, it provides accounts of the Girl Scouts' activities, or girls' lived experiences in the organization's early years. Although the handbooks offer valuable insight into the organization's training program, the collective aspect of girls working, learning, and living together is missing. Second, the magazine gave Girl Scouts a voice. From its inception, *The Rally* requested and published photographs and Scout-authored poems, songs, letters, and party ideas. Thus, the magazine provides a unique opportunity to evaluate how Girl Scouts saw themselves as members of their communities and country, the activities they pursued, and adventures they had in the outdoors. English scholar Sherrie Inness argues that girlhood is a social construction built from discourse written about girls, by adults and girls.[13] Evaluating both the handbooks and magazine offers a well-rounded insight into the type of girlhood that the GSUSA constructed.

Evaluating the relationship among context, girlhood norms, and *ethos* was crucial for this project. Together, these elements helped identify how discursive and extra-discursive contexts

shaped girls' positionality in the text and, consequently, the *ethos* Girl Scouts were trained to develop. What is more, exploring Progressive Era contextual themes illuminated how the GSUSA discourse negotiated girlhood norms with new opportunities for civic participation. Contemporary *ethos* scholars stress the value of considering a broader cultural context when evaluating a rhetor's *ethos* because this context sanctions the *ethos* an individual develops. One such scholar, Nedra Reynolds, argues that "an individual's *ethos* cannot be determined outside of the space in which it was created or without a sense of the cultural context."[14] Because this project is situated at the intersection of rhetorical studies and girls' studies, the concept of "cultural context" had to expand. Therefore, in addition to the Progressive Era's historical context this dissertation also considered how this era's girls' culture shaped, and was shaped by, the *ethos* that the GSUSA crafted for its members. Inness defines girls' culture as the texts and objects, manufactured for girls by both girls and adults, that "served to socialize girls in specific gendered ways."[15] Some examples of the building blocks of girls' culture include "books, television shows, magazines, dolls, [and] toys."[16] Inness argues that girls' culture helps critics evaluate how girlhood is socially constructed and how to better "understand our society and the place women have in it."[17] This project has expanded the traditional extra-discursive features studied when evaluating context. In addition to evaluating historical events, key players, fears, and hopes, this project has also considered how toys, play, activities girls participate in, and discourses about girls by adults and girls shaped the unique social, historical context in which girls were situated during the Progressive Era. These additional features provide more insight into the cultural context unique to girls during different periods of time, what constitutes a period's girls' culture, and how this culture shapes girls' positionality in discourse and the *ethos* they are trained to develop. Rhetorical studies scholar S. Michael Halloran has argued that "to

have *ethos* is to manifest the virtues most valued by the culture to and for which one speaks."[18] The culture "to and for which" girls communicate is comprised not just of a historical context, but also the complex girls' culture that they helped to create. Thus, it was beneficial to read "cultural context" through both rhetorical studies and girls' studies lenses.

Rhetorical studies scholars have evaluated how marginalized groups, such as women, demonstrated their worthiness as citizens and found unique ways to enact citizenship when they were denied participation in its legal forms, such as voting.[19] However, this scholarship has predominantly analyzed adults' citizenship.[20] This project expands citizenship scholarship by studying the rhetorical strategies used to craft children's citizenship. Inness argues that girls' marginalization is a product of the way they are "relegated to an inferior place in American society because of the strength of the cultural stereotype that girls and their culture are insipid and insignificant, unworthy of close attention."[21] Additionally, the common characteristics of girls that Inness identifies—including how "they have relatively little social power; they cannot vote; they are typically dependent on their parents"—emphasize the ways in which girls are excluded from traditional, legal citizenship practices unlike most adults.[22] This dissertation has shown the numerous ways that Progressive Era children, specifically Girl Scouts, demonstrated their citizenship. Specifically, these case studies reveal how seemingly ordinary everyday occurrences can be opportunities for children's citizenship, including opening windows to ventilate a home, cleaning, monitoring one's personal health, caring for animals, and gardening. The GSUSA magazine in particular illustrates the significant contributions girls made to national civic efforts to sustain Americans' welfare at home and abroad during World War I, the flu epidemic, and infant mortality crisis. Studying children's citizenship is valuable because it illuminates new modes of citizenship, extends scholarly exploration into how marginalized

groups demonstrate their worthiness as citizens, and expands our understanding of who can be a citizen and what constitutes citizenship.

Juliette Gordon Low's Vision for Girls

In 1919, Juliette Gordon Low argued that the purpose of the GSUSA's training program reflected "the undeclared desire in every adolescent girl's heart."[23] She continued to explain that the GSUSA was designed: "'to promote the virtues of womanhood by training girls to recognize their obligations to God and country, to prepare for duties devolving upon women in the home, in society and the State, and to guide them in ways conducive to personal honor and the public good'; in other words, to train girls for citizenship in the broadest sense."[24] Low believed that girls wanted to be recognized as citizens, not just of the home, but also of the Progressive Era culture and country in which they lived. What is more, she recognized that the opportunities girls had during adolescence could, and would, shape their futures as women. The "virtues of womanhood" that Low mentions in her 1919 article represent the new opportunities that women began to have as a result of industrialization, the emergence of cities and new jobs, and education at colleges.

From the very first troop Low established in Savannah, Georgia in 1912, she sought out opportunities for girls that would teach them to become active citizens and self-reliant young women who cared for their homes, selves, communities, and the environment. Low's vision continued to guide the GSUSA even after she stepped down as president and helped girls grow into brave protectors, heroines, Scouts, and citizens.

[1] Abby Porter Leland, "Scouting Education for Girls," *The Journal of Education* 90, 8 (September 1, 1919): 206.
[2] Ibid., 206-207.
[3] "Lou Henry Hoover—Guiding Force to Girl Scouting," *The Washington Star* (Washington, D.C.), May 25, 1955, 1.
[4] Anne Beiser Allen, *An Independent Woman: The Life of Lou Henry Hoover* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 3, 89, 90.
[5] Ibid., 89, 90.
[6] "Lou Henry Hoover—Guiding Force to Girl Scouting," 1.
[7] Allen, 90.
[8] Gary Cross, *Kids' Stuff: Toys and the Changing World of American Childhood* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 8, 25.; Miriam Formanek-Brunell, *Made to Play: Dolls and the Commercialization of American Girlhood, 1830-1930* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 30.; David I. MacLeod, *The Age of the Child: Children in America, 1890-1920* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998), 12.; Stephen A. Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 82-85.
[9] Mary Aickin Rothschild, "To Scout or To Guide? The Girl Scout-Boy Scout Controversy, 1912-1941," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 6, no. 3 (Autumn 1981): 117.
[10] J. Lynn Barnard, F.W. Carrier, Arthur William Dunn, and Clarence D. Kingsley, *The Teaching of Community Civics*, (Washington, D.C.: Washington Government Printing Office, 1915): 9.
[11] Tammy M. Proctor, *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2002).; Rothschild,; Leslie A. Hahner, "Practical Patriotism: Camp Fire Girls, Girl Scouts, and Americanization," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 5, no. 2 (June 2008): 113-134.; Laureen Tedesco, "Progressive Era Girl Scouts and the Immigrant: *Scouting for Girls* (1920) as a Handbook for American Girlhood, *Children's Literature Association* 31, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 346-368.; Laureen Tedesco, "Making a Girl into a Scout: Americanizing Scouting for Girls," in *Delinquents and Debutantes: Twentieth-Century American Girls' Cultures*, ed. Sherrie A. Inness (New York: New York University Press, 1998): 19-39.; Kathleen E. Denny, "Gender in Context, Content, and Approach: Comparing Gender Messages in Girl Scout and Boy Scout Handbooks," *Gender and Society* 25, no. 1 (February 2011): 27-47.; Rebekah E. Revzin, "American Girlhood in the Early Twentieth Century: The Ideology of Girl Scout Literature, 1913-1930," *Library Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (1998): 261-275.; Laureen Tedesco, "The Lost Manhood of the American Girl: A Dilemma in Early Twentieth-Century Girl Scouting," *Children's Folklore Review* 27 (2004-2005): 89-107.
[12] Rebekah E. Revzin is an exception because she briefly addresses the organization's magazine and Girl Scout fiction. Rebekah E. Revzin, "American Girlhood in the Early Twentieth Century: The Ideology of Girl Scout Literature, 1913-1930," *Library Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (1998): 261-275.
[13] *Delinquents and Debutantes: Twentieth-Century American Girls' Cultures*, ed. Sherrie A. Inness (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 3-4.
[14] Nedra Reynolds, "Ethos as Location: New Sites for Understanding Discursive Activity," *Rhetoric Review* 11, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 329.
[15] Inness, 3, 4.
[16] Ibid., 3.
[17] Ibid., 12.

[18] S. Michael Halloran, "Aristotle's Concept of Ethos, or if Not His Somebody Else's," *Rhetoric Review* 1, no. 1 (September 1982): 60.
[19] Key voices in this conversation include, but are not limited to, Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak for Her: Volume II* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1989).; Shirley Wilson Logan, *We Are Coming: The Persuasive Discourse of Nineteenth-Century Black Women* (Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1999).; Angela G. Ray, "Rhetorical Ritual of Citizenship: Women's Voting as Public Performance, 1868-1875" *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 93, no. 1 (2007): 1-26.; Maegan Parker, "Desiring Citizenship: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Wells/Willard Controversy," *Women's Studies in Communication* 31, no. 1 (2008): 56-78.; Susan Zaeske, "Signatures of Citizenship: The Rhetoric of Women's Antislavery Petitions," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 88, no. 2 (2002): 147-168.
[20] An exception is Leslie Hahner's work on Americanization among girls' youth organizations. Leslie A. Hahner, "Practical Patriotism: Camp Fire Girls, Girl Scouts, and Americanization," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 5, no. 2 (June 2008): 113-134.
[21] Inness, 1.
[22] Ibid., 3.
[23] Juliette Low, "Girl Scouts as an Educational Force," *Bulletin* no. 33 (1919), Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, 3.
[24] Ibid.

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