Articles

Layered Feminist Historiography: Composing Multivocal Stories Through Material Annotation Practices

Grace Wetzel

This article shows how the annotation practices in an archival text entitled *Progress and Achievement: A History of the Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs: 1893-1931* anticipate key feminist rhetorical research commitments and in doing so present a unique pedagogical approach to creating multivocal stories in the writing classroom: layered feminist historiography. I define layered feminist historiography as a research and composing practice that utilizes aggregated layers to construct a multivocal narrative about the past. Such an approach invites students to (re)construct a history through material engagement and exciting DIY annotation practices. This article shares outcomes of a layered historiography assignment in a writing-intensive women's rhetorical history course. Through a qualitative analysis of projects and written reflections, I show that DIY material annotation yields valuable skills for students.

In her keynote address at the 2018 Conference of the Rhetoric Society of America, Andrea A. Lunsford—referencing Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie—underscored the dangers of monolithic stories about people, cultures, and history. Lunsford encouraged listeners to thus pursue "narrative justice" by striving "to create and sustain just narratives that are invitational, inclusive, expansive, and playful" ("RSA at 50: (Re)Inventing Stories").[1] This article shares one pedagogical approach to creating such multitudinous stories in the writing classroom: layered feminist historiography. I define layered feminist historiography as a research and composing practice that utilizes aggregated layers to construct a multivocal narrative about the past. Such an approach invites students to (re)construct a history through material engagement and exciting DIY (Do-It-Yourself) annotation practices. Importantly, this pedagogical approach has been inspired by a dynamic archival text entitled *Progress and Achievement: A History of the Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs: 1893-1931* that adopted similar practices many decades ago.

Published in 1932, *Progress and Achievement: A History of the Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs* narrates the formation and growth of this

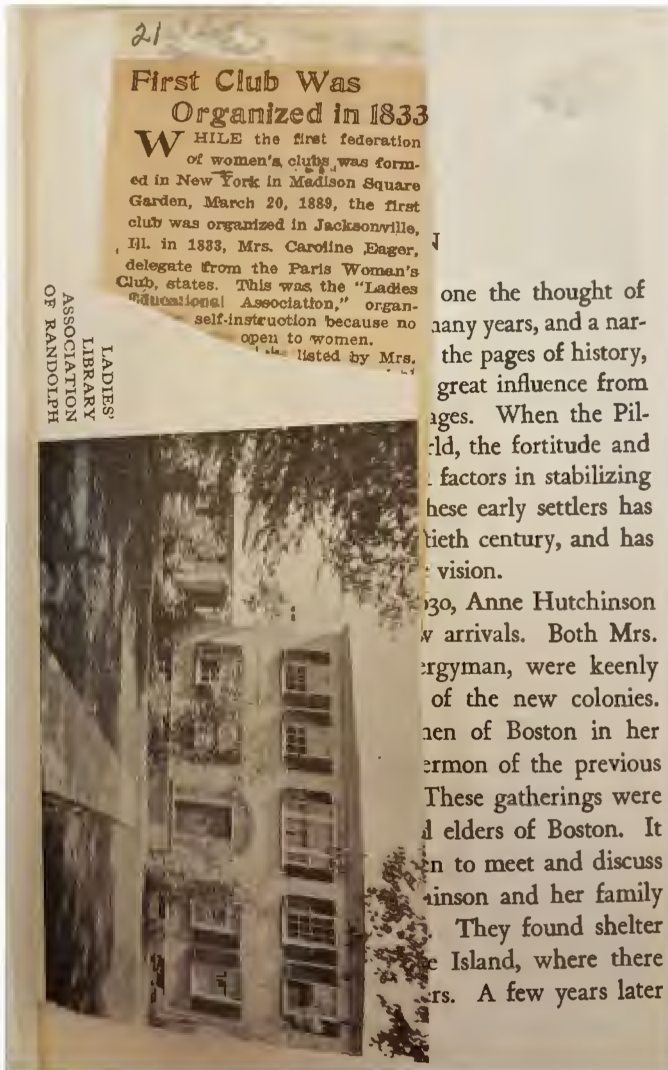
influential constellation of women's clubs. The specific copy I analyze—housed in the rare books collection at The Huntington Library—contains abundant layers of clippings, photographs, and other materials that are pasted and otherwise inserted into the original text. In total, there are approximately fifty such annotations layered across the volume (some pages feature one layer; other pages feature several layers while still others remain unannotated). Such layers and their arrangement enrich, expand, unsettle, and otherwise complicate the original text, adding intricate new dimensions to the story of the Massachusetts Federation. Put differently, the volume's trove of historical complexities and various angles of vision reflect how layered annotation can work to resist "a single story" in favor of more "multivocal, multifocal, multimedia, multiethnic"[2] understandings (Adichie "Single Story"; Lunsford "RSA at 50"). This resonates strongly with Lunsford's affirmation of "multiple rhetorics" in her pioneering *Reclaiming Rhetorica* and also with important feminist rhetorical research practices and values as more recently outlined by Jacqueline Jones Royster and Gesa E. Kirsch (Lunsford "Reclaiming" 6).

In this article, I show how the layered annotation in *Progress and Achievement* anticipates key feminist rhetorical research commitments and in doing so presents a unique pedagogical application with valuable benefits for writing students. I first examine how the layers in *Progress and Achievement* enable a polyphonic narrative about the past: one that diversifies the original story in ways that resemble the commitments of feminist rhetorical research. I contextualize this exploration in relation to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scrapbooks as well as modern feminist zines, both of which point to the volume's place in a long-standing tradition of material engagement for the purposes of active historical participation and (re)construction. Second, I discuss how *Progress and Achievement* inspired my implementation of a layered historiography assignment in a women's rhetorical history course. Through a qualitative analysis of student projects and written reflection papers, I show that material annotation yields dynamic multimodal composing skills, rhetorical facility, and archival/research capacities. These outcomes result from a DIY application of feminist rhetorical research values such as embracing complexity and "multiplicities," illuminating excluded histories and voices, and resisting closure (Royster and Kirsch 90). Such skills are significant in preparing our students not only to compose flexibly and innovatively, but to tell stories with openness, attentiveness, and nuance in a world where this is greatly needed. Finally, this article concludes by asserting the value of opportunities to see archival research subjects as both scholarly forerunners and pedagogical mentors.

Layered Feminist Historiography: Embracing "Multiplicities" through Material Engagement

Progress and Achievement: A History of the Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs: 1893-1931 was published during a period in which clubwomen's federations were prevalent at both a state and national level—as were histories about them.[3] This particular volume charts the Federation's "early history," founding ideals, growth, achievements, and various administrations (viii-ix). Authored by a History Committee comprised of Mrs. Walter A. Hall, Mrs. Joseph S. Leach, and Mrs. Frederick G. Smith, it draws from club scrapbooks, oral testimony, record books and manuals, and a prior written account to tell this story. The authors express "hope [that] this small volume will find a place in the libraries of clubs and individual club women, and give each reader inspiration to carry on the ideals of our founders" (ix).

Notably, one copy of this volume found a unique "place" in the hands of someone—likely a future Massachusetts clubwoman[4]—who (probably during the 1950s[5] or over the years leading up to this time) extends, unsettles, and enriches the original record composed by Hall, Leach, and Smith. In doing so, this rhetor performs what I term layered feminist historiography.[6] Figures 1, 2, and 3 (from the opening of the first section, "Organization") illustrates this polyphonic approach to history.



21

First Club Was
Organized in 1833

WHILE the first federation of women's clubs was formed in New York in Madison Square Garden, March 20, 1889, the first club was organized in Jacksonville, Ill. in 1833, Mrs. Caroline Eager, delegate from the Paris Woman's Club, states. This was the "Ladies Educational Association," organ- self-instruction because no open to women. listed by Mrs.

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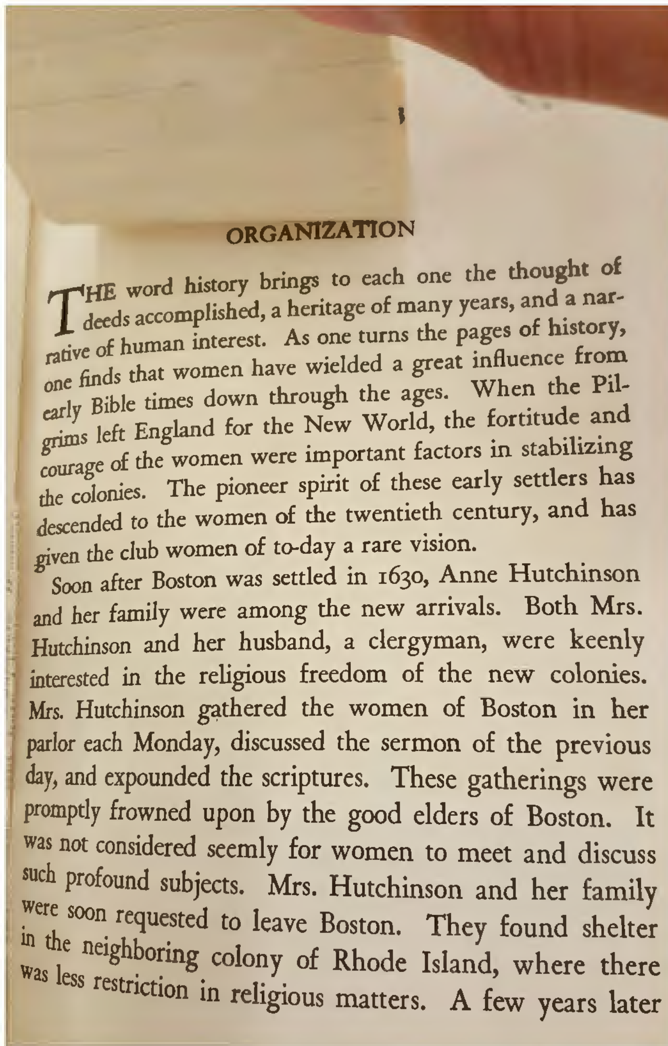
Figure 1. 637450, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Readers encounter the annotated opening page of the "Organization" section featuring a newspaper clipping and photographic reprint (figure 1), the original text (figure 2), and additional prefatory clippings on the adjacent page (figure 3). The immediate effect of such an arrangement signals that history is not neatly available for our access and processing. Indeed, this layout disrupts the tidy printed paragraphs and professional document design of the published book: history instead appears as a polyphonic layering of parts.


ORGANIZATION

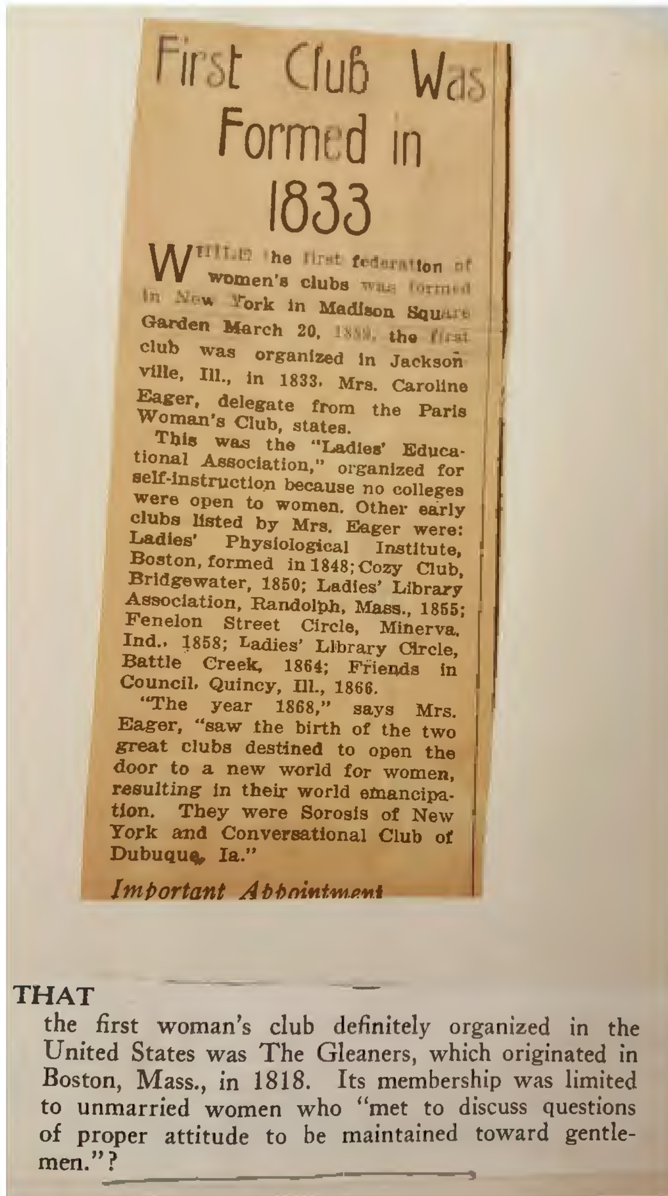
THE word history brings to each one the thought of deeds accomplished, a heritage of many years, and a narrative of human interest. As one turns the pages of history, one finds that women have wielded a great influence from early Bible times down through the ages. When the Pilgrims left England for the New World, the fortitude and courage of the women were important factors in stabilizing the colonies. The pioneer spirit of these early settlers has descended to the women of the twentieth century, and has given the club women of to-day a rare vision.

Soon after Boston was settled in 1630, Anne Hutchinson and her family were among the new arrivals. Both Mrs. Hutchinson and her husband, a clergyman, were keenly interested in the religious freedom of the new colonies. Mrs. Hutchinson gathered the women of Boston in her parlor each Monday, discussed the sermon of the previous day, and expounded the scriptures. These gatherings were promptly frowned upon by the good elders of Boston. It was not considered seemly for women to meet and discuss such profound subjects. Mrs. Hutchinson and her family were soon requested to leave Boston. They found shelter in the neighboring colony of Rhode Island, where there was less restriction in religious matters. A few years later

Figure 2. 637450, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

These layering practices may be classified amongst dynamic forms of material engagement such as scrapbooks, collage, zines, and other "'maker' activities" that involve a DIY "emphasis on 'doing'" (Ratto and Boler 5, 18). Of these, layered annotation most clearly resembles scrapbooks. Exceedingly popular in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries, particularly, scrapbooks enabled people "from all classes and backgrounds, and with surprisingly diverse educations" to purposefully compile newspaper clippings and other materials in order to "'write' a book with scissors" (Garvey 10, 27). Clubwomen actively participated in such practices. As Amy Mecklenburg-Faenger

observes, for instance, "[s]crapbooks were one of the primary ways in which women's organizations in the Progressive Era could perpetuate and preserve a history of their own making" (142).



First Club Was Formed in 1833

WHILE the first federation of women's clubs was formed in New York in Madison Square Garden March 20, 1889, the first club was organized in Jacksonville, Ill., in 1833. Mrs. Caroline Eager, delegate from the Paris Woman's Club, states.

This was the "Ladies' Educational Association," organized for self-instruction because no colleges were open to women. Other early clubs listed by Mrs. Eager were: Ladies' Physiological Institute, Boston, formed in 1848; Cozy Club, Bridgewater, 1850; Ladies' Library Association, Randolph, Mass., 1855; Fenelon Street Circle, Minerva, Ind., 1858; Ladies' Library Circle, Battle Creek, 1864; Friends in Council, Quincy, Ill., 1866.

"The year 1868," says Mrs. Eager, "saw the birth of the two great clubs destined to open the door to a new world for women, resulting in their world emancipation. They were Sorosis of New York and Conversational Club of Dubuque, Ia."

Important Appointment

THAT

the first woman's club definitely organized in the United States was The Gleaners, which originated in Boston, Mass., in 1818. Its membership was limited to unmarried women who "met to discuss questions of proper attitude to be maintained toward gentlemen."?

Figure 3. 637450, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

The scrapbooks assembled by such clubwomen and their contemporaries constructed "meaning out of disparate materials" and thus strongly resemble the richly layered *Progress and Achievement* (Garvey 131). An important differentiating feature, however, involves the relationship between the layers and the book onto which they are mapped. According to Ellen Gruber Garvey in *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance*, scrapbook makers used blank books or more often "reused and pasted over books": "[t]he volumes they obliterated ranged from outdated school textbooks and government reports to used business, farm, and plantation ledgers" (208, 52). Mecklenburg-Faenger similarly notes of scrapbooks made by Progressive-Era women's organizations that while "some have beautifully bound and embossed covers, others are compiled in ledgers meant for business accounting, and some are even made from unwanted books" (142).

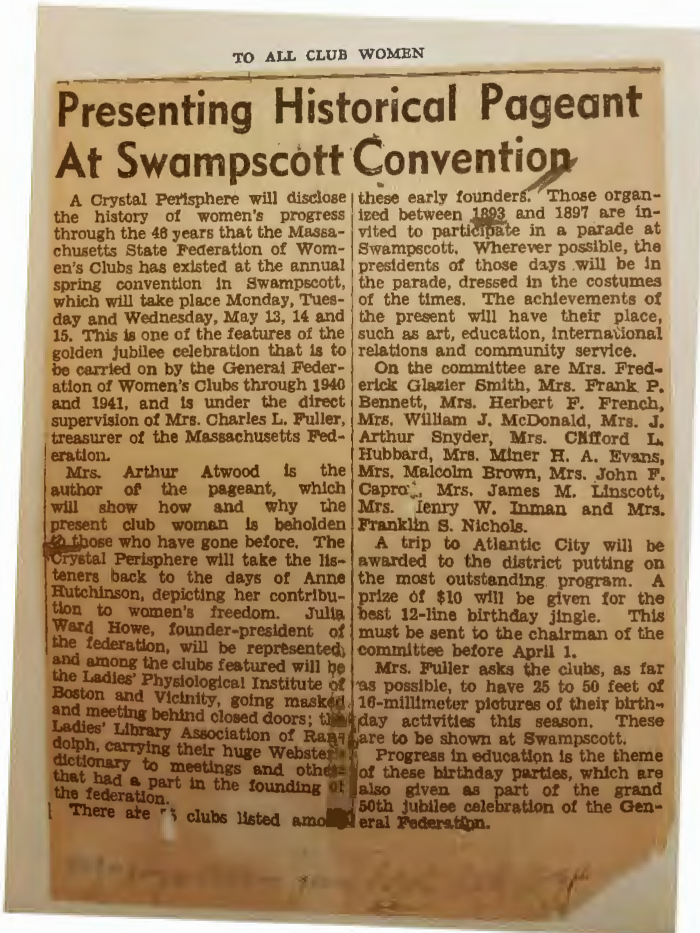
In contrast, the annotated *Progress and Achievement* does not "obliterat[e]" or *replace* the contents of an "unwanted" book. Nor does the rhetor employ a blank or unrelated book. Rather, the relationship between *Progress and Achievement* and its layers is dialogic in terms of the specific, ongoing interplay among the original text, the periodical clippings, and the illustrations. Such interplay is visually evident in the rhetor's pasting strategy in figure 1, in which only the top edge of the clipping is fixed to the book; a photograph is then inserted (not pasted) atop. The outcome is significant. One can lift, flip, and look both at and beneath these layers to access a more multidimensional narrative about the past.

Layered feminist historiography thus anticipates key aspects of "strategic contemplation" as described by Royster and Kirsch in *Feminist Rhetorical Practices*. Specifically, the rhetor "generat[es] . . . thick descriptions" that "mak[e] the nature of the multiplicities clearer . . . rather than trying to simplify or oversimplify them" (90). Consider, for example, the adjacent placement of two clippings that identify different origin points for the first U.S. woman's club (figure 3). They read:

> *Top*: the first [woman's] club was organized in Jacksonville, Ill., in 1833 . . . This was the "Ladies' Educational Association," organized for self-instruction because no colleges were open to women.
>
> *Bottom*: the first woman's club definitely organized in the United States was The Gleaners, which originated in Boston, Mass., in 1818. Its membership was limited to unmarried women who "met to discuss questions of proper attitude to be maintained toward gentlemen."?

The original text by Hall, Leach, and Smith meanwhile traces the woman's club movement to seventeenth-century Anne Hutchinson and her weekly religious gatherings of women. "We like to call her our first American club woman," they write, "and feel that the little group she gathered about her was the nucleus of the women's clubs we enjoy to-day" (4). These three different origin stories together position "multiplicities" as inherent to history (and history writing). Multiplicity is both visually present through material arrangement and reinforced by reading the different narratives.[7] Together, they provide various vantage points that encourage readers "to resist coming to firmly set conclusions too quickly"—to swap out binoculars in favor of assorted lines of vision (Royster and Kirsch 90).

Another noteworthy annotation is layered over the book's dedication:



TO ALL CLUB WOMEN

Presenting Historical Pageant At Swampscott Convention

A Crystal Perisphere will disclose the history of women's progress through the 48 years that the Massachusetts State Federation of Women's Clubs has existed at the annual spring convention in Swampscott, which will take place Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, May 13, 14 and 15. This is one of the features of the golden jubilee celebration that is to be carried on by the General Federation of Women's Clubs through 1940 and 1941, and is under the direct supervision of Mrs. Charles L. Fuller, treasurer of the Massachusetts Federation.

Mrs. Arthur Atwood is the author of the pageant, which will show how and why the present club woman is beholden to those who have gone before. The Crystal Perisphere will take the listeners back to the days of Anne Hutchinson, depicting her contribution to women's freedom. Julia Ward Howe, founder-president of the federation, will be represented, and among the clubs featured will be the Ladies' Physiological Institute of Boston and Vicinity, going masked and meeting behind closed doors; the Ladies' Library Association of Randolph, carrying their huge Webster's dictionary to meetings and others that had a part in the founding of the federation.

There are [illegible] clubs listed among these early founders. Those organized between 1893 and 1897 are invited to participate in a parade at Swampscott. Wherever possible, the presidents of those days will be in the parade, dressed in the costumes of the times. The achievements of the present will have their place, such as art, education, international relations and community service.

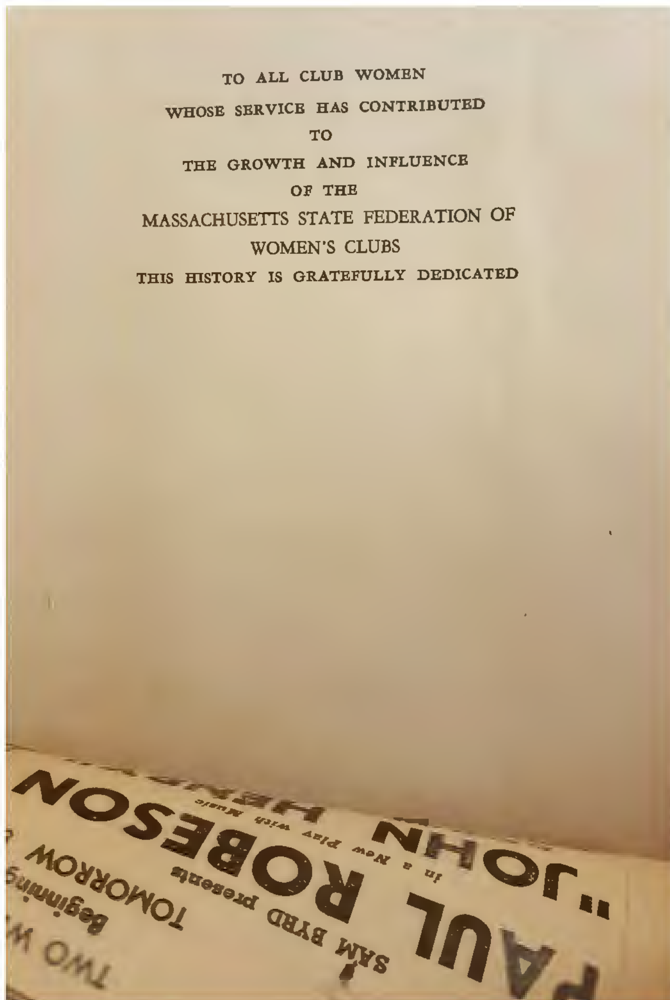
On the committee are Mrs. Frederick Glazier Smith, Mrs. Frank P. Bennett, Mrs. Herbert F. French, Mrs. William J. McDonald, Mrs. J. Arthur Snyder, Mrs. Clifford L. Hubbard, Mrs. Miner H. A. Evans, Mrs. Malcolm Brown, Mrs. John F. Capro[illegible], Mrs. James M. Linscott, Mrs. Henry W. Inman and Mrs. Franklin S. Nichols.

A trip to Atlantic City will be awarded to the district putting on the most outstanding program. A prize of $10 will be given for the best 12-line birthday jingle. This must be sent to the chairman of the committee before April 1.

Mrs. Fuller asks the clubs, as far as possible, to have 25 to 50 feet of 16-millimeter pictures of their birthday activities this season. These are to be shown at Swampscott.

Progress in education is the theme of these birthday parties, which are also given as part of the grand 50th jubilee celebration of the General Federation.

Figure 4. 637450, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.



TO ALL CLUB WOMEN
WHOSE SERVICE HAS CONTRIBUTED
TO
THE GROWTH AND INFLUENCE
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS STATE FEDERATION OF
WOMEN'S CLUBS
THIS HISTORY IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED

Figure 5. 637450, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

The dedication (figure 5) honors the service of past Massachusetts club-women; the article (figure 4) meanwhile announces a historical pageant also designed to pay tribute to past Massachusetts Federation members. This pageant—held eight years after *Progress and Achievement*'s publication and representative of a genre that was "wildly popular in America" during the earlier half of the twentieth-century (White 513)—acknowledged influential leaders while portraying early emerging clubs such as the Ladies' Library Association of Randolph.

Two takeaways are key here. First, this rhetor's layering practices seem clearly strategic. She appears to be working deliberately and mindfully—

evidenced by the strong resonance between the book's dedication ("[t]o all clubwomen whose service has contributed to the growth and influence of the Massachusetts State Federation") and the pageant's articulated purpose ("show[ing] how and why the present club woman is beholden to those who have gone before"). The rhetor thereby works in dialogue with the text—here taking up its strains and deepening its resonances—while also acknowledging multiplicities by featuring different origin stories several pages later.

Second, the rhetor introduces new ways of seeing. Specifically, the placement of visuals throughout the text supplies a valuable new sensory dimension. The inserted photograph of the Ladies' Library Association of Randolph (figure 1), for instance, interacts with both the original history as well as the pageant clipping. While the former describes the purpose of the Library Association ("to furnish library books to the women of the community") the latter contributes written imagery of these clubwomen "carrying their huge Webster's dictionary to meetings" (Hall, Leach, and Smith 5). One can thus picture the Randolph clubwomen in the photograph's scene—walking up the pathway to the large colonial house for a meeting with "their huge Webster's dictionary." The photograph in this way animates both the book's description and the clipping's written imagery.

Overall, the rhetor who annotated *Progress and Achievement* orchestrates materially dynamic and textured dialogue with the original record while also shaping new meanings. These DIY practices share notable similarities with contemporary feminist zines. Described by Alison Piepmeier as "self-produced and anti-corporate" booklets by girls and women, zines creatively assemble various cultural materials and are capable of "releas[ing] meanings that challenge, contradict, and go beyond the cultural materials themselves" ("Girl Zines" 2, 11). Their commonly "raw cut-and-paste style" and "multilayered" representations are in fact suggestive of the "multiplicities" that characterize *Progress and Achievement*—signaling how both zines and innovative works like *Progress and Achievement* comprise "part of a significant trend" of participatory media (including scrapbooks) in women's and feminist history (Licona 2; Piepmeier, "Girl Zines" 19; Piepmeier, "Feminism and Zines" 161-62).

This is not to claim that the annotated volume is free of power asymmetries. One is the clear erasure of African American clubwomen's rhetorical practices. This is especially evident when—despite its "multiplicities"—the annotated *Progress and Achievement* (like the original) neglects African American women's achievements in charting the origins and development of women's clubs. Yet this annotated text, in a different respect, helps to diversify perspectives represented in the original volume. This occurs through the rhetor's integration of layers that reveal the influential rhetorical practices of Native American club leader Roberta Campbell Lawson.

In *Feminist Rhetorical Practices*, Royster and Kirsch observe "a growing commitment to shift rhetorical studies away from traditional, imperialist perspectives of rhetorical performance and knowledge to a more democratic and more inclusive one" (111). *Progress and Achievement* offers budding evidence of this commitment at work many years ago. Inserted into the conclusion, we find clippings about State Federation presidents whose service postdated the book's publication. Among those presidents inserted via annotation is Mrs. Herbert F. French, whose picture is flanked by several layers about Native American rhetor and former General Federation president Roberta Campbell Lawson:

THE BOSTON HERALD, S

bs to Discuss I

FEBRUARY, 1941

Mrs. Roberta Campbell Lawson

The passing of Mrs. Roberta Campbell
Lawson, Past President of the General Fed-
's Clubs, at Tulsa, Okla-
er 31, 1940, brought sad-
nse of loss to clubwomen

in Oklahoma, Mrs. Law-
erested herself in women's
anizations, serving as Re-
r of the Daughters of the
on, Director in the Okla-
ical Society, a member of
Art Association, a trustee
of Tulsa and for sixteen
the Board of Regents of
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Mrs. Lawson was also
n music, and was the au-
lusic Programs" and the
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poised, efficient, fair, un-
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rld in paying tribute to

. Herbert F. French

1942 Mrs Herbert F. French 1944

hed musician, collecting
ng Indian songs and chants
ng them in costume.
(Copyright, 1938.)

Figure 6. 637450, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

THE BOSTON HERALD, S

bs to Discuss I

Most notable clubwo
Roberta Campbell La
dent of the General F
the distinguished gue
setts State Federation
and will be a speaker
an expert on Indian

FEBRUARY, 1941

Mrs. Roberta Campbell Lawson

The passing of Mrs. Roberta Campbell Lawson, Past President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, at Tulsa, Oklahoma, on December 31, 1940, brought sadness and a deep sense of loss to clubwomen in Massachuestts.

Born and bred in Oklahoma, Mrs. Lawson early in life interested herself in women's clubs and civic organizations, serving as Regent of her chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Director in the Oklahoma State Historical Society, a member of the Board of Tulsa Art Association, a trustee of the University of Tulsa and, for sixteen years a member of the Board of Regents of the Oklahoma College for Women, prior to her Presidency of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Mrs. Lawson was also greatly interested in music, and was the author of "Indian Music Programs" and the compiler of a collection of Delaware Tribal songs.

Generous, well-poised, efficient, fair, unselfish, a friend, a humanitarian, a woman of diplomacy, sound judgment and business ability, she was a shining light to others along life's road.

Massachusetts joins with clubwomen throughout the world in paying tribute to her memory.

MRS. HERBERT F. FRENCH

Figure 7. 637450, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

bs to Discuss

Most notable clubwoman in the world
**Roberta Campbell Lawson of Tulsa, Okla
dent of the General Federation of Wom
the distinguished guests at the mid-wi
setts State Federation of Women's Clubs
and will be a speaker. She is the "Indi
an expert on Indian music, and is vis
international a**

**Granddaughter Of Indi
Chief Is Club Lea**

By LEMUEL F. PARTON

NEW YORK—Indian and
tish ancestry no doubt conten
mastery in the comely perso
Mrs. Roberta Campbell La
president of the General Fede
of Women's Clubs. The Indian
She submits to the Preside
federation plan by which we
spend our way out of the "
sion:" The women propos
originate and lead a mass move
to loosen purse strings and dis
age penny-pinching.

Mrs. Lawson's grandfather
Charles Journeycake, the last
of the Delawares. He emi
from Kansas to Indian Territor
his eight daughters. One of
Emma Journeycake, marri
young Scot, Argyll Campbe
had arrived in the territory
as clerk of the Osage tribe.
Lawson is their daughter.

Grave, dark, statuesque,
Lawson is proud of her fam
and has spent much time and
in tracing its branches. In
Tulsa residence she has three
rooms filled with one of the
collections of Indian art and
craft in America.

She organized the first
club in Tulsa and has been
in federation affairs since 19
was president of the Oklahom
eration from 1917 to 1919 and
eral federation director from
to 1922, and was elected
in June, 1935.

Figure 8. 637450, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

The photograph of French (figure 6) appears alongside a 1941 memorial she composed for Lawson. French observes that "Mrs. Lawson was . . . greatly interested in music, and was the author of the 'Indian Music Programs' and the compiler of a collection of Delaware Tribal songs." Deeming Lawson "a shining light to others," French concludes by expressing: "Massachusetts joins with clubwomen throughout the world in paying tribute to her memory." These "glimpses" into the life and rhetorical practices of a Native American rhetor who led the three million member General Federation of Women's Clubs from 1935-1938 deepen as readers peel back the layers (Royster and

Kirsch 126; Sonneborn 131). Nestled behind this text is the article "Granddaughter of Indian Chief is Club Leader" by Lemuel F. Parton which notes: "Mrs. Lawson's grandfather was Charles Journeycake, the last chief of the Delawares" (figure 8). Readers then learn more about Lawson that helps "shift" Western-based conceptions of rhetorical significance (Royster and Kirsch 111):

> . . . Lawson is proud of her family tree and has spent much time and money in tracing its branches. In her Tulsa residence she has three large rooms filled with one of the finest collections of Indian art and handicraft in America. She organized the first women's club in Tulsa . . . She was president of the Oklahoma federation from 1917 to 1919 and General federation director from 1918 to 1922, and was elected national president in June, 1935. She is an accomplished musician, collecting and scoring Indian songs and chants and singing them in costume.

These words appear beside a large captioned picture of Lawson from *The Boston Herald*. Although partially obstructed, the caption visibly describes her as "an expert on Indian music." Altogether, these annotations situate Lawson's indigenous heritage as central to her rhetorical commitments. Ultimately, this reconstructed conclusion helps "shift the ground" of *Progress and Achievement*—expanding "our capacity to see and appreciate a different vista, and mak[ing] more room for human variety" (Royster and Kirsch 113). Having analyzed means by which *Progress and Achievement* anticipates today's feminist rhetorical practices and values, I now turn to a pedagogical application.

Pedagogical Application: The Beneficial Outcomes of Layered Feminist Historiography

The material engagement enriching *Progress and Achievement* offers a dynamic class application: a layered feminist historiography assignment. Layered feminist historiography adopts Kara Poe Alexander's call to "consider the numerous rhetorical possibilities of scrapbooks as a multimodal assignment" and moreover continues the work of feminist rhetoricians and other scholars who have recently employed "varied ways of teaching with archives" (Alexander 20; Hayden 134). As Wendy Hayden observes, scholars including Pamela VanHaitsma, Jessica Enoch and Jordynn Jack, and Tom Keegan and Kelly McElroy have lately "expanded archival research pedagogies to undergraduate students, inspiring us to think about the many ways we can incorporate archives into undergraduate instruction" (134). This article offers one new approach that builds on work by Duncan Koerber, who in the pages of this

journal discussed assigning personal narratives (accompanied by critical reflections) to illustrate the "epistemological challenges of doing history" (54). Layered feminist historiography similarly reveals to students "the inherent constructedness . . . involved in historical work"—but in this case by asking them to quite literally reconstruct a historical text or narrative (52). I argue that this assignment expands students' rhetorical capacities as well as their critical reading, multimodal composing, and archival/research skills through DIY annotation practices that inspire "invitational, inclusive, expansive, and playful" narratives (Lunsford "RSA at 50").

I implemented this layered feminist historiography assignment in a writing-intensive women's rhetorical history course taught during Spring 2018 and composed of both English majors and students from a range of other disciplines. Alongside other assignments such as response papers and a researched academic argument, the layered feminist historiography project contributed to these students' development as writers through a unique type of "multi-writing." Multi-writing, Robert Davis and Mark Shadle maintain, is a composing practice in which a wide range of sources and "multiple genres, disciplines, cultures, and media" merge together to permit "various information, mindsets, and ideas—as well as diverse methods of thinking and ways of expressing, arguing, and communicating—to question and deepen one another and together make a greater, but still dissonant, whole" (417, 432). Alexander has already observed that scrapbooks "fit into" this category of writing (1-2). Layered feminist historiography, too, is a form of such "multi-writing" premised on DIY dialogic interplay with the already published. It asks students to construct a dynamically "dissonant" text by way of material annotation practices that involve composing using multiple modes including the visual, spatial, and even haptic (touch).

To illustrate this unique form of composing, I acquainted students with the archival text that had inspired this assignment. Specifically, I projected images from *Progress and Achievement* (including figures 1, 2, and 6) onto the interactive whiteboard to model types of interplay and arrangement conducive to multi-layered composing. Images from *Progress and Achievement* were additionally featured on the assignment sheet, which tasked students with annotating a published history in order to write/revise history with layers. Students were instructed to

> [u]se the previously published history as a "base text." Then, add new dimensions to this history by annotating it with a diverse range of texts from both past and present (e.g., newspaper articles, photographs, press releases, book excerpts, speech excerpts, Tweets, etc.). Your job is to <u>build on, enrich, update, complicate, contextualize,</u>

> and even globalize the original document. Readers of your project should be able to lift, flip, and look both at *and beneath* your layers to access a rich multi-dimensional story. (*Note*: feel free to layer upon layer!) *Remember: you are not replacing the original text. You are interacting with it in revisionary ways.*

The assignment also included specific instructions "to make most—if not all—of the following rhetorical 'moves'":

- *Contextualize*: expand/deepen the context present in the base text.
- *Complicate*: demonstrate how the story (as told by the base text) is more complex and multi-dimensional than originally represented.
- *Update*: feature material that updates the base text—building from where it left off and drawing connections with the present.
- *Link*: highlight important (and perhaps underexplored) links between people, events, and/or locations.
- *Globalize/Diversify*: "shift the ground" of the original history by telling a more culturally and globally inclusive story (Royster and Kirsch 113).

Finally, students were required to compose a formal reflection paper explaining their base text choice and "what layers [they] selected, how [they] arranged them, and for what rhetorical purposes." Consistent with commitments among archival and feminist rhetorical researchers to acknowledge "positionality," the reflection paper also asked students to "contemplate [their] own situatedness" by considering biases or historical "blinders" that might have shaped their projects (Gaillet 41).

As students embarked on their work, they were supported by a university librarian who shared research strategies and overviewed relevant library databases and primary resource guides. Additionally, I assembled and distributed a related guide to useful archival collections and databases (including the Library of Congress digital collections, Harvard's digital collections, OAIster, ArchiveGrid, and newspapers.com). Students' composing processes were meanwhile supported by a lecture on multimodality and material engagement, a related concept review handout, and an assignment "checklist" (articulating expectations ranging from "proficiency in making effective rhetorical choices" to "a strong form/content relationship"). Freewrite reflections—along with peer reviews of projects-in-progress—also offered students ways to contemplate questions ranging from base text options to the rhetorical functions of potential annotations.

The resulting projects offer evidence that layered feminist historiography builds valuable multimodal composing skills, rhetorical skills, and archival/

research skills anchored in close and critical engagement with texts. Moreover, through DIY material annotation practices, students gain an opportunity to enact important feminist rhetorical research values such as embracing complexity and "multiplicities," illuminating excluded histories and voices, and resisting closure (Royster and Kirsch 90). Several examples, alongside students' written reflections, indicate how this process unfolded.

***

Two opening examples reflect students' attentive interaction with published histories for the purposes of spotlighting excluded histories or recovering new voices. Consistent with the rhetor's practices in *Progress and Achievement*, these students work in dialogue with their base texts while adding to them complexity and rich texture. The first project annotates a chapter from Robert J. Allison's *The American Revolution: A Concise History* published by Oxford University Press. This student aimed to highlight excluded histories through layers that reveal contradictions surrounding the Boston Tea Party. As she explains, this event "is idolized by many Americans as the epitome of revolution and freedom. However, which revolutions of the same period were silenced amongst the patriots cries for freedom?"[8] This is illustrated by the following example:

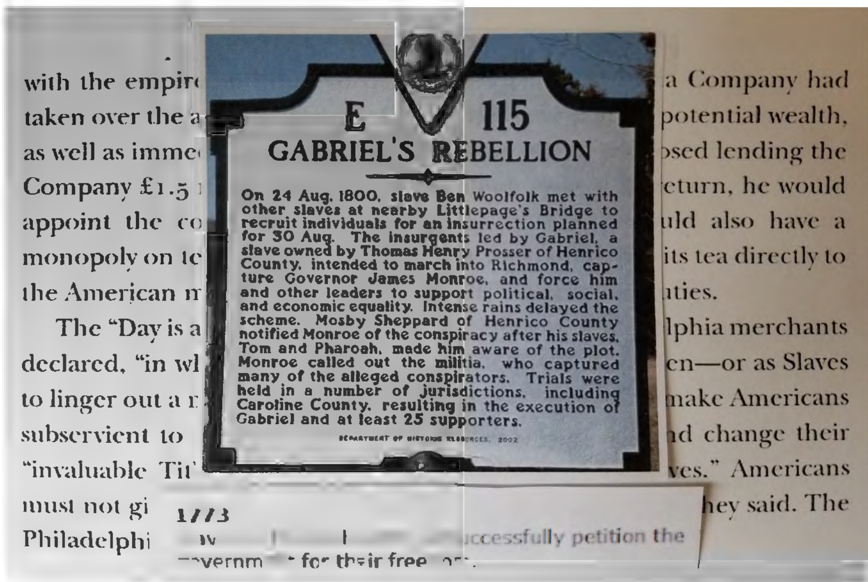


Figure 9.

The top layer describes Gabriel's Rebellion, an attempted 1800 slave revolt. The annotation below reads: "1773: Slaves in Massachusetts unsuccessfully petition the government for their freedom." This year notably coincides with the Boston Tea Party and resistance to the Tea Act by Philadelphia merchants who (as the base text recounts) resolved: "The 'Day is at length arrived . . . in which we must determine to live as Freemen—or as Slaves to linger out a miserable existence'" (Allison 16). This student thus underscores colonists' appropriation of the discourse of slavery to denounce the Tea Act. As she elaborates, "the words of the Philadelphia merchants relating the Tea Act to their slavery is juxtaposed with the actual enslaved people fighting for freedom and failing. Examples of this phenomenon include the rejection of the slaves of Massachusetts petition for freedom and . . . Gabriel's Rebellion."

A second contradiction is also illuminated later in her project: that "the rebelling colonists . . . use the image of people they oppress, the Native Americans" during the Revolutionary era. By layering examples—including the liberty tree's initial connection to the Great White Pine of the Iroquois—over a base text paragraph describing how the Bostonians disguised themselves as native people during the Tea Party of 1773, this student highlights deep contradictions in the colonists' struggle for freedom.

The second project thoughtfully annotates a chapter from Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin, Jr.'s *Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party* published by the University of California Press. The annotations shown in figures 10 and 11 interact closely with the base text by supplying richly textured context while also recovering a new voice through archival research.

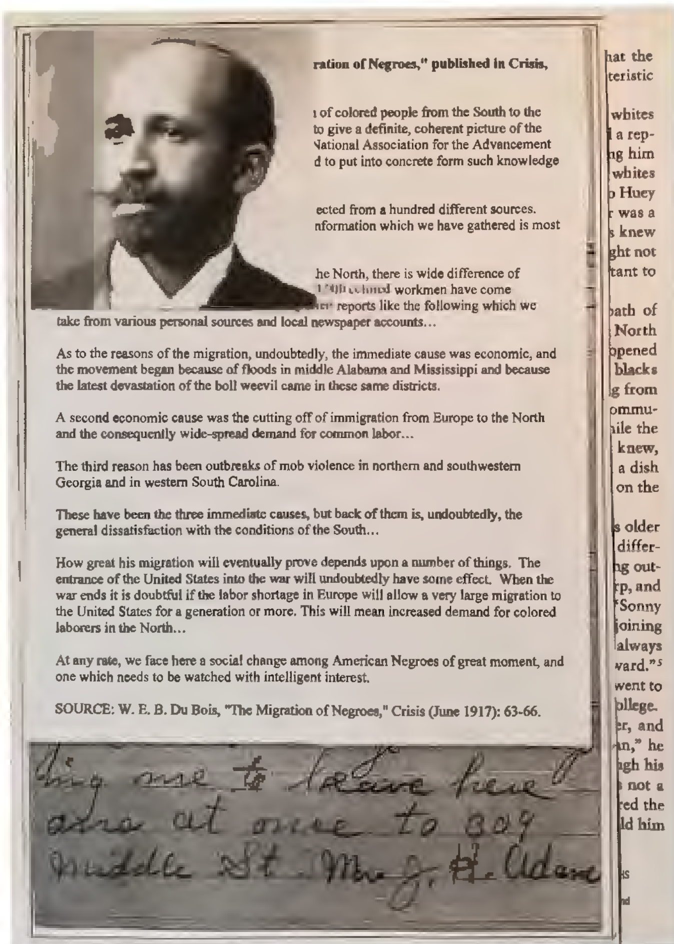
Beneath these annotations, the base text introduces Huey P. Newton and describes his family's 1945 relocation to Oakland—part of the twentieth-century Great Migration of African Americans from the South to the urban North and West. Layered onto the base text are three annotations: (1) a photograph of W. E. B. Du Bois; (2) a portion of Du Bois's *Crisis* article, "The Migration of Negroes" (1917); and (3) a 1918 letter by Macon Georgia resident Mrs. J. H. Adam to the Bethlehem Baptist Association of Chicago requesting migration assistance. These annotations interact with both the base text and each other in compelling ways. Du Bois's article, for instance, marks the early origins of the Great Migration and speculates that migration may grow. This growth is notably represented in the base text's description of the Newton family three decades later "following the path of many black families migrating from the South" (Bloom and Martin 20).

Further significant is Mrs. J. H. Adam's letter (figure 11) from the Carter Goodwin Collection of the Manuscript Division at the Library of Congress (made digitally accessible through The Phillips Collection Migration Series).

This 1918 message further resonates with Du Bois's article, which outlines "general dissatisfaction with the conditions in the South" due to floods, devastation, Northern labor demands, and "outbreaks of mob violence" in Georgia and South Carolina (63-65). The letter reads:

Macon Ga April 2, 1918

> To the Bethlehem Baptist Association reading in the Chicago Defender of your help securing positions I want to know if it is any way you can oblige me by helping me to get out there as I am anxious to leave here & every thing so hard here. I hope you will oblige in helping me to leave here ans at once to 309 Middle St. Mrs. J. H. Adam (Adam)



ration of Negroes," published in Crisis,

i of colored people from the South to the to give a definite, coherent picture of the National Association for the Advancement d to put into concrete form such knowledge

ected from a hundred different sources. nformation which we have gathered is most

he North, there is wide difference of workmen have come reports like the following which we take from various personal sources and local newspaper accounts...

As to the reasons of the migration, undoubtedly, the immediate cause was economic, and the movement began because of floods in middle Alabama and Mississippi and because the latest devastation of the boll weevil came in these same districts.

A second economic cause was the cutting off of immigration from Europe to the North and the consequently wide-spread demand for common labor...

The third reason has been outbreaks of mob violence in northern and southwestern Georgia and in western South Carolina.

These have been the three immediate causes, but back of them is, undoubtedly, the general dissatisfaction with the conditions of the South...

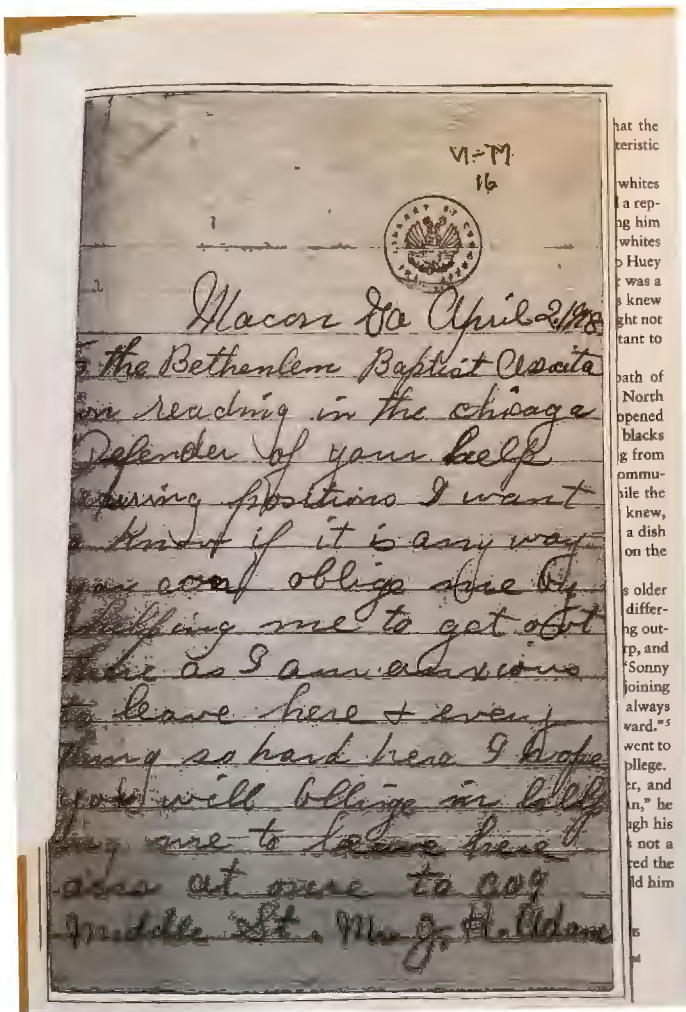
How great his migration will eventually prove depends upon a number of things. The entrance of the United States into the war will undoubtedly have some effect. When the war ends it is doubtful if the labor shortage in Europe will allow a very large migration to the United States for a generation or more. This will mean increased demand for colored laborers in the North...

At any rate, we face here a social change among American Negroes of great moment, and one which needs to be watched with intelligent interest.

SOURCE: W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Migration of Negroes," Crisis (June 1917): 63-66.

ing me to leave here
ans at once to 309
Middle St. Mrs. J. H. Adam

Figure 10.



VI-M
16

Macon Ga April 2/1[illegible]8
[illegible] the Bethenlem Baptist [illegible]
[illegible] reading in the chicago
Defender of your help
[illegible] positions I want
[illegible] if it is any way
[illegible] could oblige me by
helping me to get out
[illegible] as I am anxious
to leave here & every
thing so hard here I hope
you will oblige in help
ing me to leave here
[illegible] at once to [illegible]
Middle St. Mr J. H. Adams

Figure 11.

These annotations and their rhetorically powerful interplay on the page indicate a commitment to multivocality that resembles the rhetor's annotation practices in *Progress and Achievement*. They also reflect this student's close attention to language, multimodal capacities, and ability to draw meaningful connections—in addition to his growing archival research skills. Indeed, similar to students in Hayden's recent undergraduate course on Rhetoric and Composition's archival turn, the student here demonstrates that he has "learn[ed] the feminist value of archival research" and "the feminist research [strategy] of recovering lost voices" (134).

These outcomes are further reflected by other student projects including one that annotates a short biography of Rosa Parks by Mary Hull. This project features digitally accessible archival materials including African American newspaper articles from the New York Age and a poll tax receipt from the "Rosa Parks Papers" at the Library of Congress. For this student, layered feminist historiography inspired her to examine "a wider range of sources" than she would have "by simply researching and writing a paper on my chosen topic." She observes particularly that "the newspaper archives . . . in which I looked through were monumental in my understanding of my topic along with my creation of rhetoric." Hayden has recently noted that archival research "requires students to adopt a more nuanced approach to information literacy" and that "[s]ynthesizing . . . primary sources into a coherent narrative involves further development of that nuanced approach" (135). Consistent with Hayden's findings, students in this course gained valuable information literacy skills through their careful archival research—utilized in our case, however, to compose not "coherent narrative[s]" but rather purposefully unsettled ones.

Ultimately, the multifaceted nature of layered feminist historiography inspired students' meaningful archival work and deep research. As one student reflected: "The project itself really makes you dig into research and discover different aspects of a topic. I think the project itself was really symbolic. You are searching for more and more layers," she went on to explain, "and it's pretty cool to actually find the layers and see that sometimes, when you just stick to the first thing you find, you don't get the whole story." This account highlights strong ties between material engagement, feminist historiography, and archival/research skills.

Material engagement also inspired highly creative critical composing. As one student remarked, "having to use physical materials brought a new concreteness and creativity to the project that got me to really think about what I was doing." This point is illustrated by two projects with innovative form/content connections. The first project annotates "Women in 1970" (1971), a record by the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women recounting women's advancements.

released the report of the President's Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities and published

Labor Department guidelines for enforcement of Executive Order 11246.

The formation of two new national organizations has testified to the growing solidarity among women

The Interstate Association of State Commissions on the Status of Women will enable these commissions

to increase their effectiveness at home and to exercise a greater influence on national policy. The National

Conference of Women Law Students provides a forum and a means of communication for young women

law students and shows promise to be a most effective mover within the establishment in bringing about

equality of rights under the law.

By far the most important development of the year was the concerted effort of a wide spectrum of

women's organizations to secure passage of the equal rights amendment. Some individual men,

particularly lawyers and law professors, and also some mixed groups who formerly opposed the equal

rights amendment gave valuable support, after restudying the issues.

Figure 12.

Executive Order 11246 prohibits sex discrimination by Federal contractors. Those pictured are predominantly white males. There are no females pictured.

Retrieved from https://www.pinterest.com/pin/362258363757518956/

forcement of Executive Order 11246.

organizations has testified to the growing solidarity among women.

Commissions on the Status of Women will enable these commissions

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be a most effective mover within the establishment in bringing about

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ssage of the equal rights amendment. Some individual men,

sors, and also some mixed groups who formerly opposed the equal

"The number of women lawyers jumped from 13,000 (4%) in 1970 to 62,000 (12.4%) in 1980. "The percentage of women in large law firms increased from 14.4% in 1975 to 40.3% by 2002 (Bowman, 2009, p. 15)

"By the 1970s, women law students were fed up with repeated rejection. A study of sex discrimination in the legal profession by a women's rights group at NYU reported that, six years after Title VII, these remarks were made to women applicants for positions at New York law firms:

- "We don't like to hire women."
- "We hire some women, but not many."
- "We just hired a woman and couldn't hire another."
- "We don't expect the same kind of work from women as we do from men."
- "Women don't receive more than $_ salary."
- "Women don't become partners here."
- "Are you planning on having children?" (Bowman, 2009, p. 13).

Figure 13.

This student pastes "hidden" information on each annotation's underside. While the recto replicate original words from the base text (figure 12), the verso create a more expansive story (figure 13). Consider the bottom annotation, for instance. The recto (the base text) praises The National Conference of Women Law Students as a promising "mover within the establishment in bringing about equality of rights under the law" ("Women in 1970"). The verso then reveals an excerpt from a recent Cornell Law Faculty publication that states "[b]y the 1970s, women law students were fed up with repeated rejection." The publication goes on to reference "[a] study of sex discrimination in the legal profession" during this period that revealed "remarks . . . made to women applicants for positions at New York law firms"; these remarks included "We don't like to hire women" and "Women don't receive more than $__ salary" (Bowman 13). This annotation concretely establishes the discriminatory context within which The National Conference of Women Law Students operated. As a sobering complement to the base text, it also resonates with the project's treatment of the gender pay gap two pages earlier when this student links the base text's discussion of equal pay ("In fiscal year 1970 over $6 million was found due under the Federal equal pay law to nearly 18,000 employees, almost all of whom were women") to more recent findings from a 2016 Pew Research Center study, "Racial, Gender Wage Gaps Persist in U.S. Despite Some Progress" ("Women in 1970").

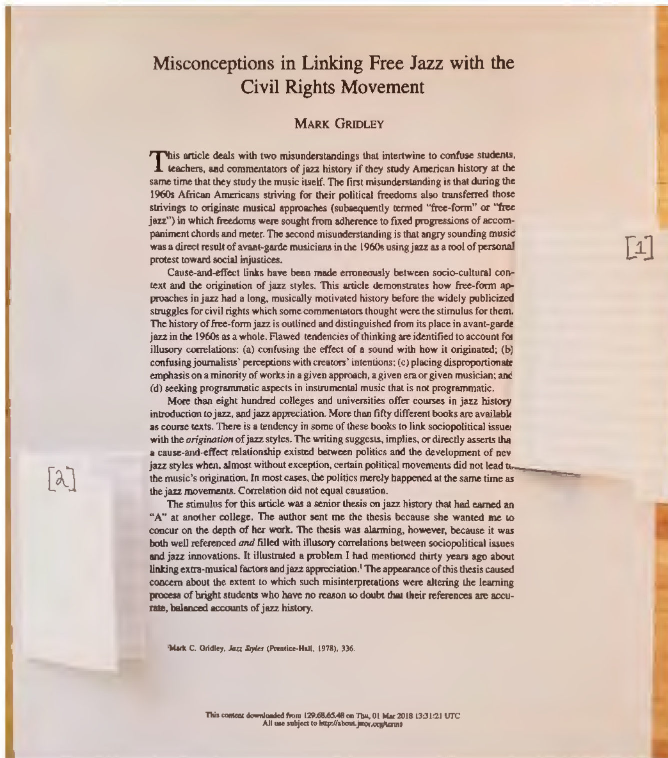
Overall, the design of this project reflects deliberate rhetorical choices and a strong form/content relationship centered on touch—a modality that Davis and Yancey deem "central to the making of meaning" in scrapbooks and related genres (Davis and Yancey 16). As this student recounts in her reflection paper:

> I chose to cover the top of my layers with the original base text so that it could be read easily (without having to lift up the layers). I did this to demonstrate that though it is easier to read one document (or perspective) on a historical event, it is not enough to get a comprehensive understanding. In order to fully understand a historical event, you must do some digging. Though this is more work, as demonstrated through the lifting of the layers, it is worth doing.

The form/content relationship described here is premised on readers' engagement with their haptic sense (touch). Such composing experience is valuable for students. As Alexander maintains, "[a]lthough our writing classrooms emphasize verbal and visual modes, they do not typically pay as much attention to the haptic"—despite the powerful role of touch in "impact[ing] how readers make meaning" (20, 18). Layered feminist historiography foregrounds the

haptic mode by suggesting that history can be more dynamically and complexly composed and read when touch has a role in our stories about the past.

An additional project reinforces the value of the haptic mode through its own unique form/content relationship. Consider the following annotations of Mark Gridley's *College Music Symposium* article, "Misconceptions in Linking Free Jazz with the Civil Rights Movement." These unique annotations take the shape of folded books (figures 14 and 15) and a pop-out accordion (figures 16 and 17). Present on these annotations are also numbers (figures 14 and 17) that correspond with sources in the Works Cited page.



Misconceptions in Linking Free Jazz with the Civil Rights Movement

MARK GRIDLEY

This article deals with two misunderstandings that intertwine to confuse students, teachers, and commentators of jazz history if they study American history at the same time that they study the music itself. The first misunderstanding is that during the 1960s African Americans striving for their political freedoms also transferred those strivings to originate musical approaches (subsequently termed "free-form" or "free jazz") in which freedoms were sought from adherence to fixed progressions of accompaniment chords and meter. The second misunderstanding is that angry sounding music was a direct result of avant-garde musicians in the 1960s using jazz as a tool of personal protest toward social injustices.

Cause-and-effect links have been made erroneously between socio-cultural context and the origination of jazz styles. This article demonstrates how free-form approaches in jazz had a long, musically motivated history before the widely publicized struggles for civil rights which some commentators thought were the stimulus for them. The history of free-form jazz is outlined and distinguished from its place in avant-garde jazz in the 1960s as a whole. Flawed tendencies of thinking are identified to account fo illusory correlations: (a) confusing the effect of a sound with how it originated; (b) confusing journalists' perceptions with creators' intentions; (c) placing disproportionate emphasis on a minority of works in a given approach, a given era or given musician; and (d) seeking programmatic aspects in instrumental music that is not programmatic.

More than eight hundred colleges and universities offer courses in jazz history introduction to jazz, and jazz appreciation. More than fifty different books are availabl as course texts. There is a tendency in some of these books to link sociopolitical issue with the *origination* of jazz styles. The writing suggests, implies, or directly asserts tha a cause-and-effect relationship existed between politics and the development of nev jazz styles when, almost without exception, certain political movements did not lead to the music's origination. In most cases, the politics merely happened at the same time as the jazz movements. Correlation did not equal causation.

The stimulus for this article was a senior thesis on jazz history that had earned an "A" at another college. The author sent me the thesis because she wanted me to concur on the depth of her work. The thesis was alarming, however, because it was both well referenced *and* filled with illusory correlations between sociopolitical issues and jazz innovations. It illustrated a problem I had mentioned thirty years ago about linking extra-musical factors and jazz appreciation.[1] The appearance of this thesis caused concern about the extent to which such misinterpretations were altering the learning process of bright students who have no reason to doubt that their references are accurate, balanced accounts of jazz history.

[1]Mark C. Gridley, *Jazz Styles* (Prentice-Hall, 1978), 336.

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Figure 14.

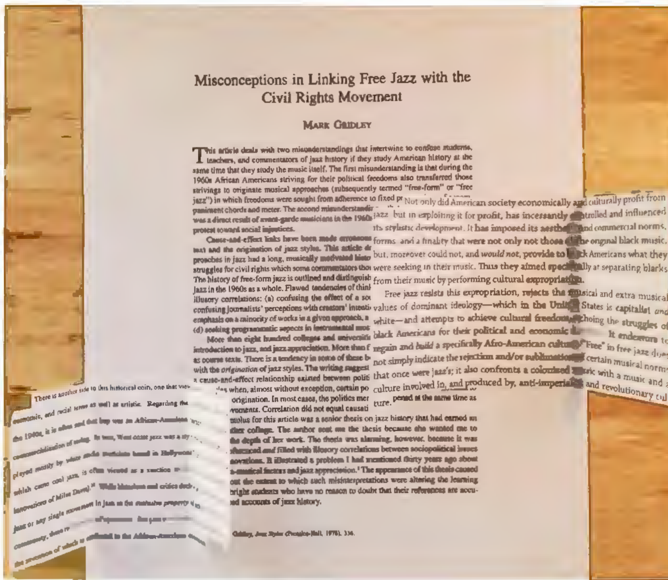

Figure 15.

Both the folded books and the pop-out accordion ask readers to critically engage with the text through haptic interaction. As this student further explains, “I wanted to ‘complicate’ the base text by constructing layers that require flips and folds just to read the text. Essentially, the complication exists not only in the content of the added layers, but also in their structure.” The folded book, for instance, conveys “the symbolic association that there is more than one ‘story’ being told for free jazz and its relationship to politics/civil rights.” The pop-out accordion meanwhile “incorporate[s] three layered texts” through a dialogic “‘linking’ process.”

In linking free jazz with civil rights protests, the above-cited tendencies were complicated by: (a) identifying music that was both free of preset form *and* perceived as angry "protest music" (such as Kofsky's and Jones' perception of Albert Ayler's playing, as sampled in his *Spiritual Unity* album); and then (b) failing to distinguish it from music that was *not free* of preset form but *was* perceived as angry, such as a few political-themed pieces by Charles Mingus ("Haitian Fight Song" and "Fables of Faubus"), which are tightly organized, not free-form at all. Furthering the confusion is the fact that these Mingus works: (c) are often classified with "avant-garde jazz," a label that is, in turn, sometimes (d) interchanged with free jazz, for which it is not equivalent.[33] This problem is addressed next.

Distinguishing "Free" from Avant-Garde

Ordinarily, the music of individuals who are ahead of their peers in developing the newest, freshest creations can be referred to as "avant-garde." Unfortunately, this term has been applied in recent writing about numerous jazz styles that were prominent during the 1960s and 1970s, as though "avant-garde" was an actual style of its own. New kinds of jazz in the 1960s were often merely called "avant-garde," "the new thing," or "out music," instead of earning such original names as Dixieland and bebop that had been coined to designate previous styles.[34] This classification was very loose, and it not only led outsiders: (a) to assume that the different musicians of this era had more in common than they actually did; but also (b) to believe that this was the only period in which "avant-garde" jazz was created. Such outsiders would then be overlooking, for instance, recordings by Charlie Parker and Lennie Tristano that qualify Parker and Tristano as avant-garde for the 1940s.

One of the approaches employed by a few musicians of the 1960s avant-garde was improvisation that was not tied to any progression of chords that was agreed upon before the performance. Sometimes such improvisation was not tied to steady tempo or meter, either. "Free jazz" is the classification for this approach, and it is most closely

[33]Brian Harker, *Jazz: An American Journey*. (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 2005), 253. Frank Tirro, *Jazz: A History, Second Edition*. (Norton, 1993), 376.

[34]Mark C. Gridley, *Jazz Styles: History and Analysis*, 10th ed. (Prentice-Hall, 2008), 306-8.

Figure 16.

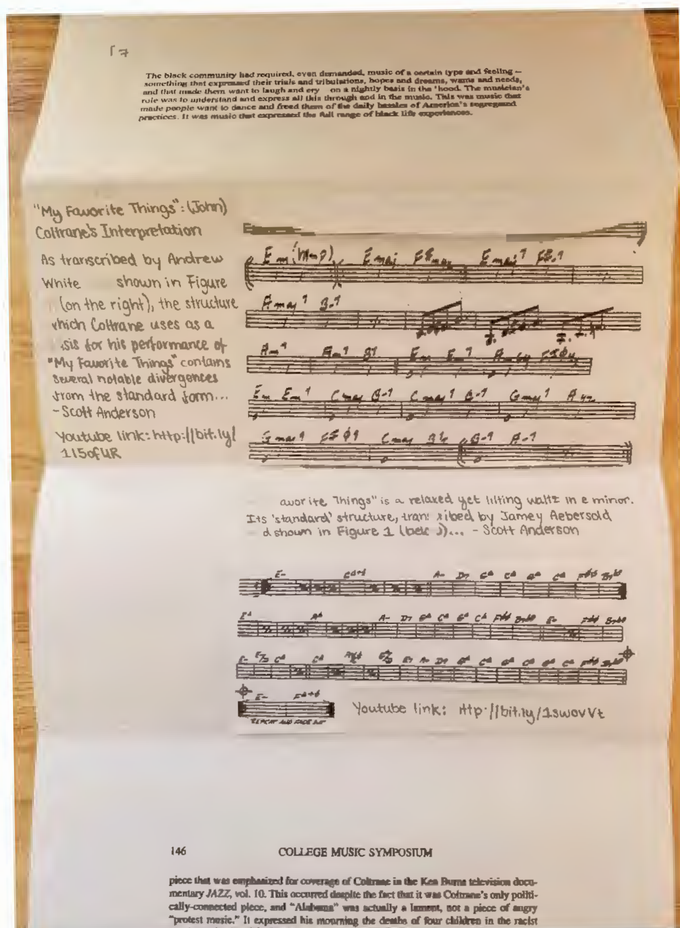

Figure 17.

Alexander has argued that materiality—especially within scrapbook assignments—"affords students a wide range of possibilities for conveying and representing their meaning" (3). This is apparent in this student's creative use of the haptic mode to accentuate "multiplicities" and "to physically and figuratively play with my audience's interpretation/experience." The depth behind such thoughtful rhetorical choices is further indicated by two fascinating pieces of this student's invention process:

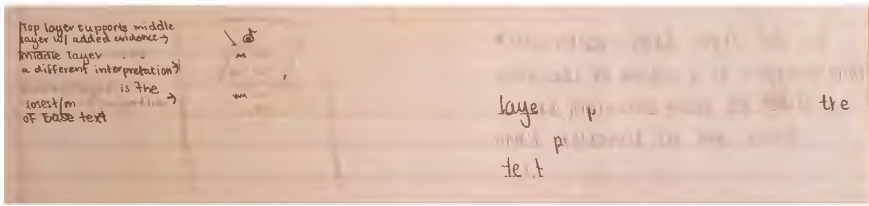

Figure 18.

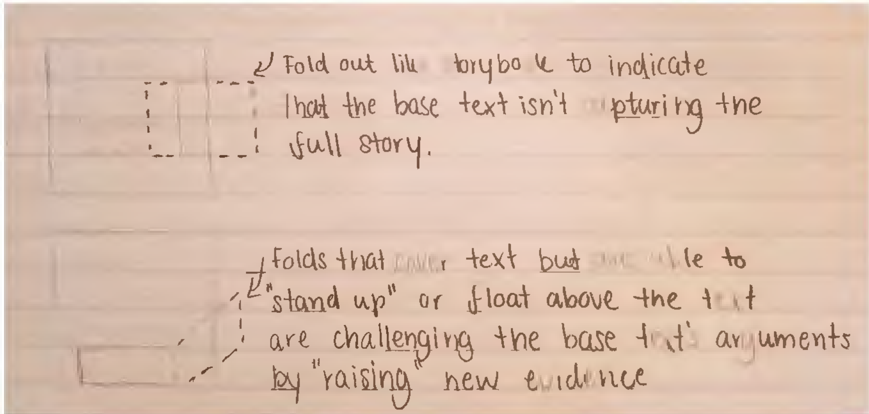

Figure 19.

Ultimately, both student projects reflect sophisticated rhetorical facility and critical composing skills as well as students' overall increased capacity for "expansive" and "playful" storytelling (Lunsford "RSA at 50"). Put differently, these projects "forestall coming to closure too quickly"—an important value of feminist rhetorical research (Royster and Kirsch 139). This emerging commitment is articulated insightfully in another student's reflection. She writes:

> I really enjoyed this project but I don't know if I could ever be fully satisfied with it. It was definitely hard to cut myself off of finding more connections, but I think that speaks to the fluidity of history. It's hard to even comprehend the expanse of voices and narratives I haven't been able to capture. I'd be really curious to see someone undertake the layered historiography of this text in a couple decades' time.

This passage suggests—as Liz Rohan has observed in "Everyday Curators: Collecting as Literate Activity"—that texts can carry "limitless" contexts (59). Quoting Mikhail Bakhtin, Rohan reminds us that "There is neither a first nor

a last word and there are no limits to . . . dialogic context (it extends into the boundless past and the boundless future)" (qtd. in Rohan 59).

Overall, students enthusiastically affirmed the value of layered feminist historiography—including the rewards of DIY material engagement. As one student wrote:

> This project was unlike any other project I have been assigned in college, especially in an English course. I feel that the goal of the project could not have been as well presented if it was assigned as a formal English paper. I believe that I benefited from actually interacting with my layers. From the research, to the printing, cutting, folding, and pasting. By physically engaging with my texts I was able to see firsthand how my history had different dimensions to it … I am a kinesthetic learner, so any project that allows me to physically interact with the material benefits myself as a student.

A second student corroborated the benefits of physical textual engagement while also highlighting its enjoyable aspects. Her below comment (in addition to other student remarks such as one suggesting that constructing layers "demanded an 'artist's eye'") in this way supports Tamar Katriel and Thomas Farrell's observation that scrapbooking arrangement practices "often [take] on the flavor of a pleasurable artistic enterprise" (11). She writes:

> I enjoyed creating this project, despite the amount of work it required. I particularly enjoyed the fact that we had to create it physically with our hands…I think that a project such as this has more benefits than simply writing a paper—in fact, I don't know how we could have achieved the same result if the project was simply a paper.

Noticeably, both of these students posit the distinct value of DIY material engagement in comparison to paper writing. Their comments are suggestive of reasons why many composition instructors have embraced vibrant supplements or alternatives to the traditional research paper. Examples include both Davis and Shadle's "multi-writing" research project (a means of moving beyond "the modernist research paper" in order to "resist, suspend, and/or decenter the master consciousness or central perspective inscribed in the essay") and more recent archival-based assignments such as Keegan and McElroy's "alternative to the five-page paper" involving the crowdsourced DIY History Project (Davis and Shadle 440, 431; Keegan and McElroy "Archives Alive!"). This latter assignment asked students to transcribe, rhetorically analyze, and contextualize archival letters while jettisoning the "arid work" of traditional

research papers—which as the authors argue contain "no texture, no hook; nothing animates them" (Keegan and McElroy "Archives Alive!").

Layered feminist historiography brings an animated and decentered perspective to history (re)writing—offering benefits to students across disciplines through dynamically material-based learning. This process encouraged new understandings of history and meaningful appreciation for multivocal stories. As one student recognized, "just because something is published does not mean it is the whole truth. This project helped me realize . . . I am able to interact with a history and deepen my understanding." A second student connected the project directly to feminist rhetorical researchers from our course, writing: "this project helped me change the way I read and understand history. Like Glenn, Ronald, and Ritchie stated in the works we read this semester – there isn't one 'history' and every story or historical account consists of many different histories. This project helped me see that for myself." Perhaps most notably, a final student linked the project to Adichie's TED Talk—anticipating Lunsford's RSA keynote address:

> One TED Talk that I kept thinking about throughout the process of creating my layered historiography was the talk given by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie entitled "The Danger of a Single Story." The message of this talk aligns with this new thinking that has been developed because of this project. That new way of thinking involves looking at a story from multiple angles . . . but also how we can break down prejudices and barriers amongst people through educating ourselves on every aspect of a given "story" or "narrative."

This comment highlights the value of materially engaged multimodal composition driven by feminist rhetorical practices. If—as Lunsford argues—"[r]hetoric's responsibility" is "to create and sustain just narratives that are invitational, inclusive, expansive, and playful," then layered annotation seems to offer one promising way to approach this goal in the writing classroom ("RSA at 50").

Conclusion

Overall, layered feminist historiography yields valuable pedagogical benefits while calling attention to "the enormous complexity" of the past, the inevitable limitations of history texts, and the importance of approaching history as "inquiry" (Schlereth 340, 342). DIY material annotation practices help students critically intervene in the histories that have been handed to them and in doing so builds multimodal composing skills, rhetorical facility, and

archival/research capacities. To conclude, I offer two broader takeaways from this research.

First, I propose using terms such as "scholarly foremother" or "scholarly forerunner" to capture instances in which our research subjects reveal new dimensions of our rich and multifaceted scholarly pasts. This builds on work by Heidi A. McKee, James E. Porter, and Jacqueline Jones Royster who have discussed approaching archival research subjects "as *persons*" and "even co-researchers" (McKee and Porter 77).[9] The budding elements of feminist rhetorical practices and values in the annotated *Progress and Achievement* reveal early seeds of future work in feminisms and rhetorics; in doing so, they more broadly emphasize the importance of attending to a range of scholarly "legacies of thought and action" of various kinds (Royster and Kirsch 23).

Second, this compelling instance of shared research commitments not only helps contribute to an expanded picture of a long-standing feminist scholarly heritage, but also affirms how our research subjects can function as valuable pedagogical mentors. In this case, the rhetor who annotated *Progress and Achievement* inspired one of the most productively rewarding classroom experiments I have pursued in recent years. I am grateful for the mentorship provided through her innovative work. There remains much more to learn from other scholarly forerunners, especially those whose work offers both unique pedagogical applications and exciting new ways of understanding our scholarly pasts.

Notes

1. Lunsford borrows the term "narrative justice" from Lisa Russell, the Dulwich Centre (Adelaide, Australia), and Judithe Registre. See Lunsford's blog post entitled "Can We Achieve Narrative Justice?" for further discussion: https://community.macmillan.com/community/the-english-community/bedford-bits/blog/2018/09/06/can-we-achieve-narrative-justice.

2. I borrow this fitting phrase from Lunsford's description (as shared in her keynote) of her forthcoming *Norton Anthology of Rhetoric and Writing*, which aims "to demonstrate the multivocal, multifocal, multimedia, multiethnic nature of rhetoric" (Lunsford "RSA at 50").

3. Federation histories published during this period include (to name only a few): *The Story of the Illinois Federation of Colored Women's Clubs: 1900-1922* (1922); *A Record of Twenty-five Years of The California Federation of Women's Clubs: 1900-1925* (1927); *History of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs: 1899-1941* (1941); *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America* (1898); and *Lifting as they Climb* (1933).

4. The intricate work and knowledge of this rhetor suggest she was likely a Massachusetts clubwoman. The book's reference to individual clubwomen's libraries also points to this possibility (ix). It is further possible that *Progress and Achievement* was

reconstructed collaboratively. No name(s) or confirming details are available in the book, however.

5. Two indicators suggest the text was reconstructed during the late 1950s or over the years leading up to this time. First, the rhetor updates a list of Federation presidents until the year 1956. Second, there are many inserted clippings from the 1950s, but none I found dated from the 1960s.

6. Building on Royster, my use of the term "feminist" suggests that the rhetor who annotated this volume "take[s] actions that we might recognize and describe as complementary to our goals and actions—ones that we have chosen to call 'feminist' even" if this rhetor "may not have made this terminological choice" (qtd. in Royster and Kirsch 146).

7. Interestingly, one of these "multiplicities" appears twice—the narrative describing the "Ladies' Educational Association" founded in 1833 (see figures 1 and 2). While this could be interpreted as the rhetor's "favored" narrative, I would argue that these similar clippings (considered within the larger context of "multiplicities" in the volume) draw attention to how certain narratives can gain traction through press reprints and circulation.

8. IRB approval was obtained for this study. As requested by the Saint Joseph's University IRB, I quote and share projects from only those students who agreed in writing to the protected use of their data.

9. McKee and Porter discuss "viewing the archives as *persons*—perhaps not persons in the IRB sense of subjects, but persons as research participants, even co-researchers. As Royster describes her own study: 'The women emerge not just as subjects of research but also as potential listeners, observers, even co-researchers, whether silent or voiced, in the knowledge-making processes themselves' (274)" (McKee and Porter 77-78).

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank editors Laura R. Micciche, Matt Davis, and Kara Taczak and the blind reviewers for their helpful revision suggestions. Additionally, I thank Cristina D. Ramírez for proposing the term "historical layering" during an early conversation about this project; from this suggestion, I developed the term "layered feminist historiography." I also thank Rachel N. Spear, Courtney George, and Rachael L. Sullivan for their feedback on earlier versions of this article.

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